CHANGING USE OF THE RESOURCE BASE AMONG THE TAITA OF KENYA

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
ANDREW ALLEN NAZZARO
1974

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

"Changing Use of the Resource Base Among The Taita of Kenya"

presented by

Andrew Allen Nazzaro

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Geography

John Melton Hunter
Major professor

Date June 27th, 1974

O-7639

ABSTRACT

CHANGING USE OF THE RESOURCE BASE
AMONG THE TAITA
OF KENYA

By

Andrew Allen Nazzaro

Among the questions of interest to geographers and other social scientists are those pertaining to the processes of economic and social change. This has become more true since the 1950's in Africa, because of the achievement of independence from colonial rule in most African countries since the end of that decade. The East African country of Kenya became independent from British rule in 1963. Its popular government is extremely desirous of encouraging development in all sectors of the nation, both urban industrial and rural agrarian. In order to plan for future expansion it is necessary to comprehend the level of development that exists today and it is even more crucial to understand how the contemporary scene has evolved.

The focal area of this research is the Taita Hills, located in Taita District of the Coast Province. These hills represent the densest population division within the District. This study examines the changing resource identification and resource use over time by the Taita People. The temporal framework through which these processes have operated is divided, for analytic purposes, into three eras: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial.

Written documentation and oral testimony are integrated in order to discuss the spatial dimensions of pre-colonial Taita society. This treatment includes information about the settlement of the Hills by

their present occupants as well as data concerning early resource and land management. The pre-colonial era serves as an historical-geographical baseline for the consideration of the roles that the mission societies, commercial companies, and the government played, in the colonial era, in reshaping the Taita's use of resources. Both intentional and unintentional effects of these organizations are included and competition for the use of land is a recurrent theme in these interrelations.

The post-colonial era concerns contemporary patterns of resource identification and land-use. Two areal scales of observation are employed. Districtwide, economic and population changes are the focus in the larger area; whereas the comparison of two valleys, within the District, illustrates levels of specialization and differentiation that have occurred at the local level.

Comparison of Bura and Werugha valleys demonstrated that Werugha, with high yields of coffee and vegetables, sent fewer migrants to work outside Taita than did Bura. The arrangement of farm-plots and houses in these two valleys also differed, largely as a result of land consolidation. In Werugha, where consolidation was complete by 1969, housing patterns had begun to shift from agglomerated to dispersed. Werugha farm-plots became more rectilinear in shape after land consolidation. In Bura, where consolidation had not yet begun, at the time of the survey, the housing was still largely arranged in an agglomerated pattern, and the sizes and shapes of the fields were very irregular.

The Taita have become committed to participation in the cash economy by supplying cash-laborers and by producing high quality

agricultural goods for both regional and world markets. Regionally, vegetables play an important role and internationally, coffee does. These changes, and others which are discussed, reflect the expanded resource inventory with which contemporary Taita operates.

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Geography

1974

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the many people who gave freely of their time and consideration, the author is grateful. The cheerful encouragement and direction from public officials and nationals in Kenya made the field portion of this research all the more rewarding.

Developing, as it did, from a larger research proposal by Dr. Harm J. de Blij and Dr. George Petrides, this study has had the benefit of their counsel and support. The author gratefully acknowledges their sustained inspiration and helpful suggestions. To Dr. John M. Hunter, the Chairman of the Supervisory Committee, the author acknowledges an especial debt for his supervision, criticisms, suggestions, and intellectual example. The other members of the Committee, Dr. Lawrence Sommers, Dr. Ian Matley, and Dr. James Hooker, have also offered helpful advice and direction, for which the writer is very grateful. This study was materially supported by the Midwestern Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc. (M.U.C.I.A.), administered through the African Studies Center, a part of the Center for International Programs at Michigan State University.

The list of individuals who gave of themselves to make this research a reality is so long as to make it impossible to thank them all here. For helping the author to understand the Taita Hills from a more personal perspective, he wishes to thank Tom Wolf, the teacher, and Shako Felix Mndenyi, the student. Thanks also are due to the Taita people for

their patience in helping the author to find answers to his questions. For her cartographic talent and sensitivity to detail and to deadlines, the writer thanks Carole Wortley of Eastern Michigan University. The writer also wishes to thank Sue Helppie for typing preliminary drafts and Alice Sano for typing the final draft. The author acknowledges his deep appreciation for his parents' support, both in this country and overseas.

The writer's greatest debt is to his wife Priscilla, for her sustained intellectual and emotional support, as well as for her efforts in the hundreds of mechanical tasks required for the assembly of a project such as this one. To her go my greatest thanks.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The search for order in science is well represented in the field of geography. Geographers have long sought to understand the modes by which mankind has perceived, identified, and organized his environment. Adherents of the school of Human Geography particularly, have been concerned with the discovery and explanation of the differing spatial-organizational forms of man's design. Some recent important statements, by geographers, concerning human spatial organization include those of Ambrose,[1] Haggett,[2] Morrill,[3] Abler, Adams, and Gould,[4] Johnson,[5] and English and Mayfield,[6] among others.

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[1]Peter Ambrose, ed., Analytical Human Geography (New York: American Elsevier, 1969).

[2]Peter Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1966).

[3]Richard Morrill, The Spatial Organization of Society (Belmont, California: Duxbury Press, 1970).

[4]Ronald Abler, John Adams, and Peter Gould, Spatial Organization (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

[5]E. A. J. Johnson, The Organization of Space in Developing Countries (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[6]Paul English, and Robert Mayfield, eds., Man, Space and Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

A major difficulty in looking for order in Man's activities, is the tendency toward determinism, be it climatic, economic, or cultural. As Haggett suggests, "Order and chaos are not part of nature but part of the human mind. . . ."[7] Mindful of similar statements, modern geographers have exercised caution in their search, in order to avoid imposing a preconceived order where, objectively, one cannot be shown to exist. One direction that some geographers have taken in recent research efforts, is toward an understanding of the possible interrelationships between culture and environmental perception.

Culture and Environmental Perception

The concept of environmental perception has received some attention from geographers as well as from urban planners.[8] Perceptual images have been dealt with in a variety of contexts, from the frozen arctic North[9] to the Middle Eastern city.[10] In a treatment of urban imagery, Lynch considers the city's identity as deriving from the perceptions of its inhabitants. "Each individual creates and bears his own image, but there seems to be substantial agreement among members of

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[7]Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography, p. 2.

[8]A useful collection of works has been edited by David Lowenthal around the themes of environmental perception and human behavior. David Lowenthal, ed., Environmental Perception and Behavior (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Research Paper No. 109, 1967).

[9]Joseph Sonnenfeld, "Environmental Perception and Adaptation Level in the Arctic," in David Lowenthal, ed., Environmental Perception and Behavior (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[10]John Gulick, "Images of an Arab City," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 29 (August, 1963).

the same group. It is these group images, exhibiting consensus among significant numbers, that interest city planners. . . ."[11] In recognition of variant individual and group environmental images (interpretations), Sonnenfeld has fashioned the term "Operational environment." He has used this term to represent one classification in a series of nested environments ranging from the broadest inclusion of elements to the narrowest; from geographical to operational, to perceptual, to behavioral.

> The exact makeup of the operational environment varies, according to physiology, sensory sensitivity, and behavioral orientation and inclination. Thus a basic distinction between the geographical environment and operational environment is that while the former is the same for all of man, the operational environment differs, race from race, culture from culture, and individual from individual.[12]

It is with group operational environments that geographers have usually been concerned. The role of culture[13] in the continuity or discontinuity of operational environments is a question of long standing interest to geographers and anthropologists. Cultural distinctness between discrete human population groups appears to play a critical role in environmental perceptions and hence in each group's organizational

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[11] Kevin Lynch, The Image of the City (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1960).

[12] Joseph Sonnenfeld, "Geography, Perception, and the Behavioral Environment," in P. English and R. Mayfield, eds., Man, Space and Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 247.

[13] Culture is conceived of here as a system of learned values, shared by a human group, through which information is selected, accentuated, and interpreted. Allport's explanation of the process of perception-cognition (selection, accentuation, and interpretation) has been included in this definition of culture. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958), p. 161.

forms. Group perceptions, like individual ones, are subject to radical change; or one physical environment may represent different group operational environments within the same timespan.

The example of the Plains Indian of North America serves well to illustrate the changing perceptions of environment which often accompany technological innovation. The introduction of the horse helped to extend the physical mobility of the plains Indians and therefore to encourage a greater use than previously of the high plains. The utilization of the horse as a beast of burden was an important element in the broadened management of the plains habitat by the Indians. This innovation may have played a central role in their enlarged economic success.

The same Plains area was perceived differently by European immigrants whose cultural predilections were toward sedentary agriculture. The vast open grassland areas, in their apparent emptiness, seemed to offer unlimited opportunity for agricultural settlement. European settlers claimed large tracts and introduced the deep plow, with variable results.

The examples above portray several principles with which geographers have dealt. Perhaps the most obvious principle illustrated is the modification of environmental perception within one cultural group, over time, concomitant with the introduction of a technological innovation; the use of the horse. Another principle involves the variance between the operational environments of two cultural groups whose occupation of the same physical area was synchronous. The degree to which one cultural group's environmental interpretations affect another's, often

depends on several factors, all of which may be considered as elements in the process of acculturation.

Acculturation

Anthropologists have led the way in the study of acculturation. Although there has been some disagreement in the English-speaking world as to the use of the proper term, in this paper, acculturation is used instead of the term culture-contact preferred by Malinowski. A useful operational definition of acculturation was fashioned by Herskovits.

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.[14]

In a discussion of the processes of acculturation it is useful to indicate at the outset, what has come to be an implicit misimpression. In the meeting of different societies, having different cultures, it is often the society with the most forceful technology which prevails in the maintenance of its culture, with the least disruption. The society with a less forceful technology may, whether intentionally or not, feel the greater imperative to change. Although this principle is clearly understood, what is often not pointed out is that both societies in such cases were involved, even before mutual contact, in the processes of social change, technological development, and cultural modification. The so-called "traditional" society already contained the seeds of change, which were then fertilized by contact with outside societies.

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[14]M. J. Herskovits, "The Significance of the Study of Acculturation for Anthropology," American Anthropologist, 39 (1937), 259.

Innovation was not originated by the invading society, it was merely encouraged in prescribed directions by the invaders. In the study of acculturation it is all too easy to imply that "progress" starts with the invading population.

The migration and settlement of human population has held an abiding curiosity for geographers. Since Whittlesey coined the term "sequent occupance" to describe the successive occupation over time of one area by different population groups, geographers have used the concept to attempt to explain both evolving settlement patterns and systems of functional organization. Questions of acculturation have been partially answered by this approach, insofar as an historical reconstruction of settlement patterns can tell us about the degree of interaction that obtained between coexistent cultural groups. Problems focussing on what is often a part of acculturation, that is, diffusion,[15] have been of more current interest to geographers.

As it is true with the diffusion of disease, it is also true with the diffusion of innovation; not everyone will become infected, nor will all innovations be equally accepted. Diffusion and acculturation occur, like many other transformations, by degrees. The confrontation of one society by another does not necessitate the acceptance by one of the other's view of reality.

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[15]Examples of this growing field of interest amongst geographers are: T. Hägerstrand, "The Propagation of Innovation Waves," Lund Studies in Geography, Series B, Human Geography, Series B, Human Geography, of Regional Science, 8 (1968), G. Pyle, "The Diffusion of Cholera in the United States in the Nineteenth Century," Geographical Analysis, 1 (1969), and J. M. Hunter and Johnathan C. Young, "Diffusion of Influenza in England and Wales," Annals A.A.G., 61 (December, 1971).

> Because we cherish the past as a collective guide to behavior, the general consensus alters very slowly. Scientists as well as laymen ignore evidence incompatible with their preconceptions. New theories which fail to fit established views are resisted, in the hope that they will prove false or irrelevant; old ones yield to convenience rather than to evidence.[16]

Colonialism and African Societies

The degree of interaction that existed between indigenous and immigrant groups within a colony was often not mutually defined. Under colonial domination, in which the immigrant population had major technological advantages, it was the invaders' decisions that prevailed. Colonialism in Africa gave rise to a variety of philosophies of administration and interaction.[17] Often, in colonial situations, indigenous societies were severely circumscribed in their attempts to compete with the invading or immigrant populations in the economic, social or political spheres. Various restraints were imposed upon the original inhabitants, often regardless of their desires, by the colonial settlers and their institutions. Colonial societies have existed in which the dominant group is a majority of the total population. In colonial Africa, the reverse was, and in several cases still is, true.[18] The controlling

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[16]David Lowenthal, "Geography, Experience and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology," Annals, A.A.G., 51 (September, 1961), quoted in P. English and R. Mayfield, Man, Space and Environment, p. 225.

[17]For an informative treatment of colonial administrative philosophy see: Michael Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial Rule (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968).

[18]The examples of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique as well as the semi-independent Rhodesia still persist as cases in which the African majorities are dominated, in almost every field of human endeavor by Caucasian settlers.

group was a minority of European descent.[19] Some African territories were organized in much the manner of factories in which there were extremely small numbers of managerial staff, all European.[20] Other territories were opened for settlement by European farmers, of both the peasant and "gentlemen" varieties. Kenya Colony went through several stages of economic exploitation; from large chartered company domination, to an influx of "gentlemen farmers" from Europe and Southern Africa, to modern independence. In every case, prior to independence, a small number of Europeans dominated the political and economic activities of the country.

Statement of Problem

The selection of a discrete cultural group within an African country for the analysis of the processes of social change and the impact of immigrant populations, is a well founded approach in the social sciences with many enlightening precedents. Such a cultural group are the Taita of Kenya. The Taita are usually included among the Northeastern Bantu complex of peoples that are dispersed throughout Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. The term Bantu, represents a language group whose speakers are widely distributed through central and eastern Africa.

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[19]For a discussion of numerical versus sociological minorities, see Georges Balandier, "The Colonial Situation," in Pierre L. Van den Berghe, ed., Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965).

[20]All Caucasians, except for some Middle Easterners, are referred to in East Africa as Europeans, even if they are of British, South African, or American descent.

The Taita speak a language whose vocabulary and sounds are only partially intelligible to neighboring peoples. Although there are loan words from other languages, the language of the Taita has maintained a degree of exclusiveness, which reflects their feelings of social uniqueness. The 1969 Kenya Census recorded in excess of 108,000 individuals who claim affinity with the Taita ethnic group. At that time, just over 80 percent of the Taita lived within the Taita District of the Coast Province of Kenya. (See Figure 1.)

The focus of this study is upon the Taita Hills, which represent the most dense population division within the Taita District. The purpose of this research is to analyze the Taita Hills in terms of the patterns of resource identification and use that have evolved from pre-colonial days until the present. This elaboration is traced by comparing three successive time periods; pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. These eras have been chosen as an analytic convenience only. The processes involved in social and economic change are not time-bound.

Method of Approach

In light of the interdisciplinary nature of the research problem outlined above, it was appropriate to employ equally interdisciplinary data acquisition techniques. The data to be collected fell into two major categories. The first concerned data which had been recorded by others, whether published or not. The second category involved information which, to this researcher's knowledge, had not previously been collected.

Fig. 1.--Taita District is in the southwestern corner of the Coast Province of Kenya.

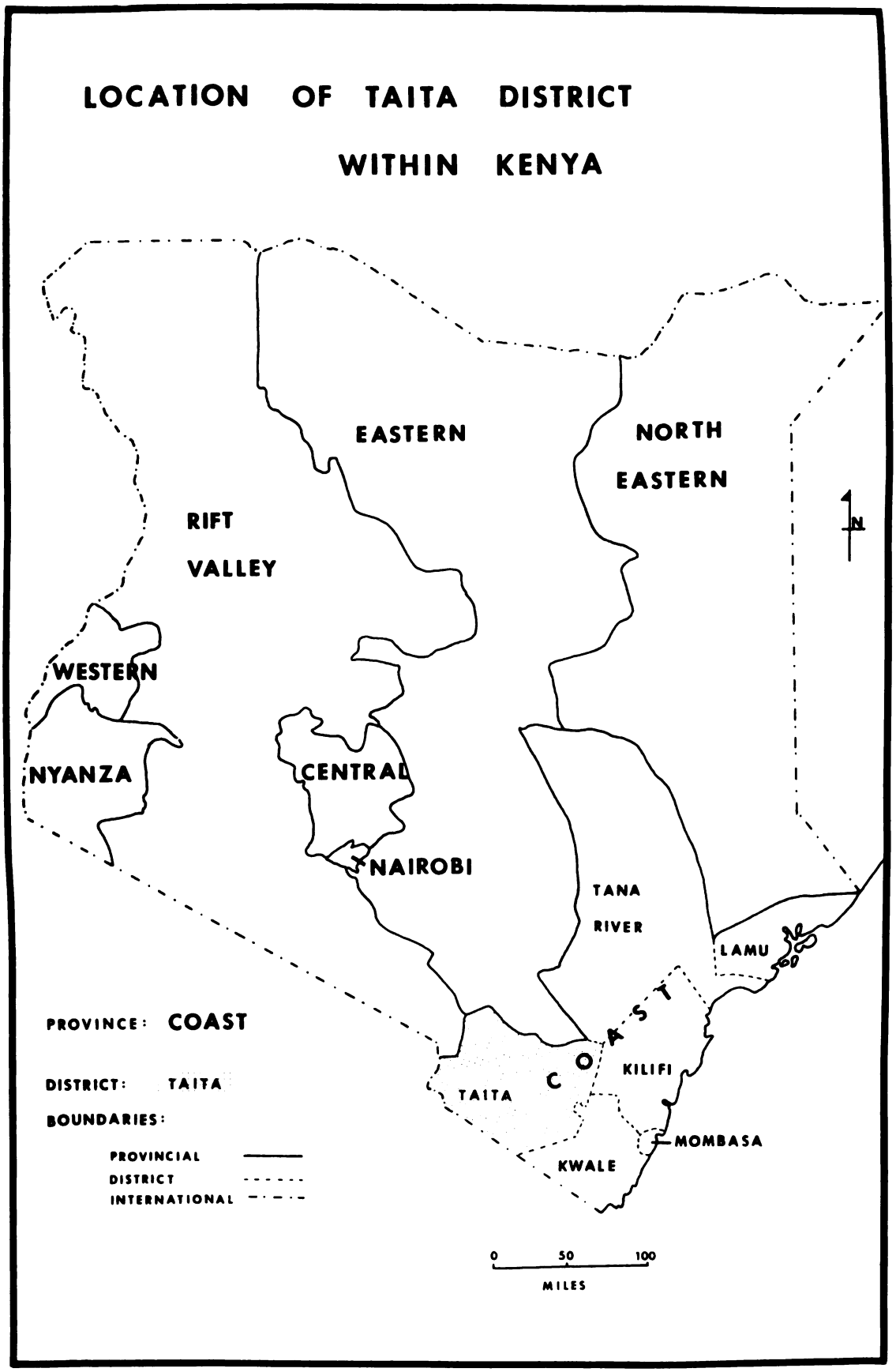
LOCATION OF TAITA DISTRICT
WITHIN KENYA
EASTERN
NORTH
EASTERN
RIFT
VALLEY
N
WESTERN
NYANZA
CENTRAL
NAIROBI
TANA
RIVER
LAMU
COAST
KILIFI
TAITA
MOMBASA
KWALE
PROVINCE: COAST
DISTRICT: TAITA
BOUNDARIES:
PROVINCIAL
DISTRICT
INTERNATIONAL
0 50 100
MILES

Fig. 1.

Information in the first category came from a variety of sources. Preliminary information of both theoretical and substantive importance was gleaned from the African Studies Library at Michigan State University, and through the inter-library loan arrangements of that institution. Additional archival information was collected in extensive visits to the library of the British Museum and especially to the Public Records Office, both located in London. Kenya government documents were seen both at local governmental offices in the Taita Hills and in East Lansing, in the University's collection of Kenya Archives microfilms. Aerial photographs and topographic sheets were secured from the Kenya Survey Office in Nairobi. Selected Land Consolidation Field Survey sheets were acquired from both the Nairobi office and from the local area field officers of the Survey of Kenya.

Data falling into the second category was also secured by a variety of methods. Large-scale field-mapping was executed where appropriate. In some cases photography was used to supplement field-mapping. Much valuable information was acquired through extensive interviewing of a wide cross-section of respondents. Within this cross-section were off-duty government officers of both local and Province standing. For the most part, the interview of government officers was of an informal nature, without a structured questionnaire. Both formal and informal interviews were conducted with market participants, homeowners, shop-keepers, students, cattle-herders, farmers, and members of cooperatives. Of additional value was the opportunity to observe cooperative society meetings and to take part in discussions of locally perceived problems.

Research outside the United States was executed between August 1968, and July 1969. The month of August 1968 was spent in London in the Government Public Records Office and in the library of the British Museum. The remainder of the time the researcher was collecting data in East Africa.

Organization of the Study

The ultimate aim of this thesis is an analysis of the directions of social and spatial organizational change of the Taita, especially since the coming of Europeans and the achievement of political independence from Britain. The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter I is concerned with introducing the reader to geographers' growing interests in such concepts as: culture and environmental perception; acculturation and diffusion; colonialism and plural societies. The first chapter also includes a brief statement of problem, and an outline of the writer's method of approach. The second chapter discusses the spatial dimensions of pre-colonial Taita society, and introduces the reader to the Taita Hills of Kenya. Chapter III examines the historical impact of non-African organizations on the Taita, especially since the incursion of Europeans. This chapter is concerned primarily with the influence of three types of non-African organizational forms: Missionary societies, private companies, and the British colonial administration. The fourth chapter investigates various levels of order and change in Taita society, focussing particularly on economic and political aspects. Chapter V analyzes the occurrence of differential modernization within the Taita Hills. For this purpose, two sample areas in Taita are

compared and contrasted. Chapter VI reviews and summarizes the conclusions derived from the study.

CHAPTER II

SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF PRE-COLONIAL TAITA SOCIETY

Introduction

Physical Location

The East African country of Kenya is administratively organized into seven provinces and one extra-provincial district (Nairobi). Each province is further divided into districts. Taita District, with its headquarters at Wundanyi, is one of six within the Coast Province (Figure 1). The Taita Hills, the largest population agglomeration in the District, are approximately five miles to the west of the town of Voi in southeastern Kenya. From Mombasa, Kenya's major seaport, to Voi is barely 100 miles. From Nairobi, Kenya's capital, to Voi is over 210 miles. At Voi the main railway, originally built to connect Uganda to the Indian Ocean, junctions with track that proceeds west, on the south side of the Hills, to the Kenya-Tanzania border-town of Taveta. The Taita Hills are located in the northwest angle of the junction of the two railways (Figure 2). Taita District, like much of East Africa, is an area of stark physical contrasts.

Physical Background

Rising abruptly from an eastward extension of the Serengeti Plains, the Taita Hills reach elevations in excess of 7,200 feet above

Fig. 2.--The Taita Hills were located in the path of caravans to and from the coast. The surrounding plains are still known for their abundance of wildlife.

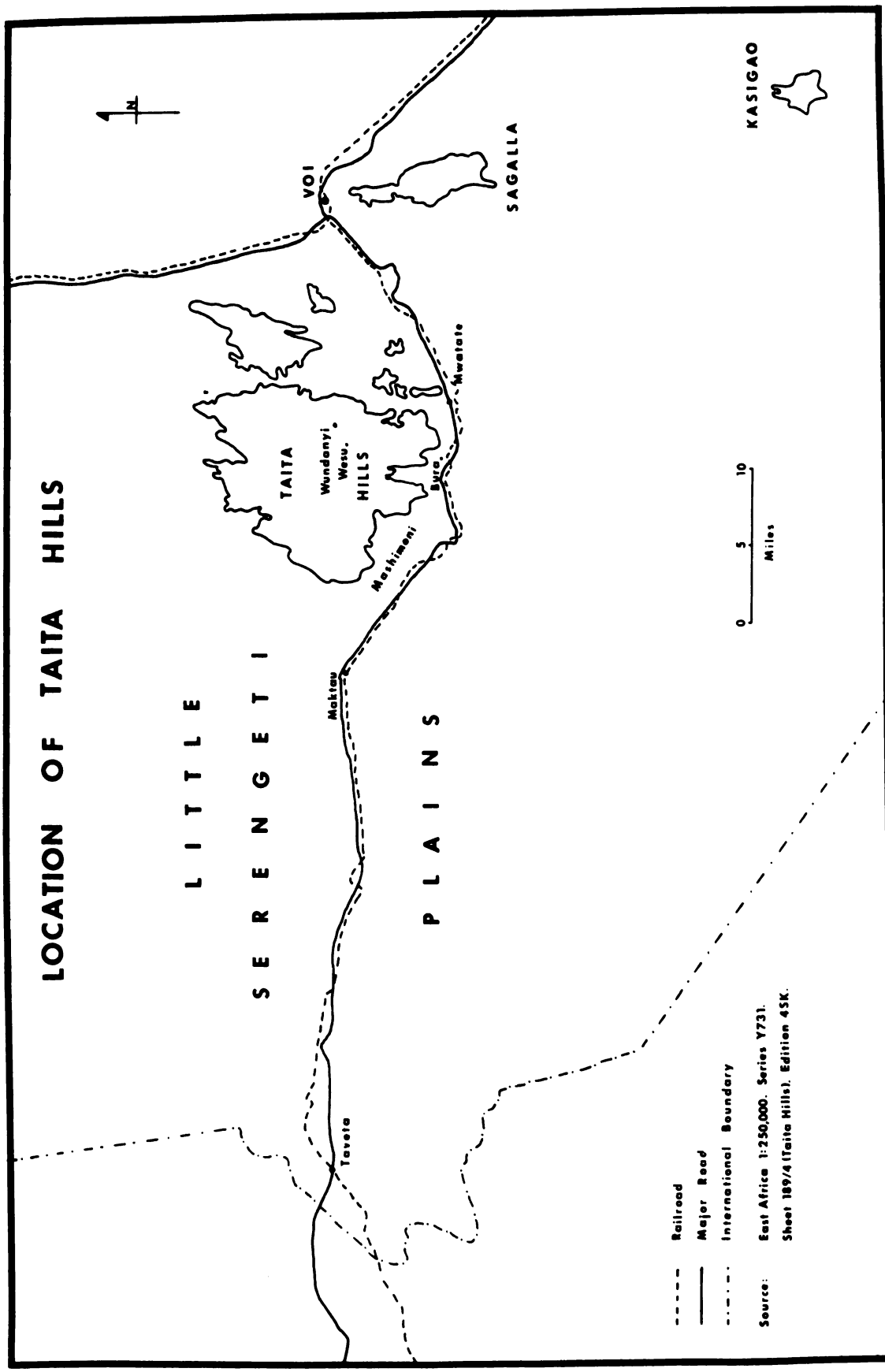
LOCATION OF TAITA HILLS
LITTLE SERENGETI PLAINS
N
VOI
SAGALLA
KASIGAO
TAITA HILLS
Wundanyi
Wesu
Mwatate
Bura
Mbololo
Maktau
Taveta
0
5
10
Miles
Railroad
Major Road
International Boundary
Source: East Africa 1:250,000. Series Y731. Sheet 189/4 (Taita Hills). Edition 4SK.

Fig. 2.

sea-level. There are many points in the Hills that reach elevations over 5,000 feet, and at least half a dozen points that are higher than 6,000 feet. These "hills," so-called because they are dwarfed by the nearby Kilimanjaro, at over 19,300 feet, rise from a gently tilted plain, which is itself elevated to about 2,000 feet on the eastern side, and over 3,000 feet on the western side of the Hills. The contrast between the almost monotonous continuity of the plains and the extreme vertical relief of the Hills is indeed striking.

The Hills appear like a mass of green islands from a sea of parched brown which is the surrounding plain (see Figures 3 and 4). The elevational difference between the plains and the Hills appears to be a major factor in the variation in precipitation receipts (see Table 1). Vegetational differences between the Hills and plains are even more remarkable than the precipitation receipts would indicate because of groundwater storage characteristics in the two areas. The Hills themselves, however, in addition to being a catchment area for higher rainfall receipts, also serve as major reservoirs of groundwater. This storage capacity is reflected in the vegetational assemblage of the Hills and their immediate foothills.

A reconstruction of the "natural" vegetation of the Hills is a very difficult proposition because of the continuous and persistent impact of cultivators on plant communities there.

> In the open plains in the west and south of the area there is virtually no run-off, the proportion of rainfall not held in surface water-holes being lost by evaporation and downward percolation the latter accounting for the greater part.[1]

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[1]J. Walsh, Geology of the Area South of the Taita Hills, Report

Fig. 3.--Panorama of the South Side of the Hills, Part One.

Fig. 4.--Panorama of the South Side of the Hills, Part Two.

TABLE 1

SELECTED RAINFALL REPORTING STATIONS
IN TAITA DISTRICT

Place-name	Elevation[a] in feet	Average Precipitation in inches	Number of Reporting Years
Voi	1900	21.18	55
Mbale	3800	48.43	38
Wundanyi	4800	53.50	45
Wesu	5200	56.24	27
Bura	3500	36.45	17
Maktau	3600	16.32	20

Source: African Land Development in Kenya--1946-62, Ministry for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Water Resources; Nairobi, 1962, Appendix A, p. 297.

[a]Elevations were derived from East Africa 1:50,000 (Kenya), Series Y731, Sheets 189/3 and 189/4, Edition 4-SK, Nairobi: Survey of Kenya, 1965.

There are, however, areas within the Hills that a practically natural vegetation occurs, and some of these indicate a more dependable water supply. Many of the steeper slopes are covered with forests of both natural distribution and human planting (Figure 5). These forests, particularly when they occurred on very steep slopes, served as reserves of wood for both fuel and building materials. In some parts of the Hills, where settlement has a particularly long history, and within which communal land was reserved for pasturage, there occurs a cover of rich grass. In many respects these parts of the Hills are reminiscent of Alpine pastures. A type of cedar tree occurs in these same areas,

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No. 49, Geological Survey of Kenya (Nairobi: Kenya Government Printer, 1960).

Fig. 5.--Forested and Cultivated Slopes

Fig. 6.--Acacia and Commiphora Vegetation

and appears to have been planted in rows to serve as a nearly permanent boundary between cultivated land and pasture-land. Due to local variations in relief and consequently areas of cultivation, a more comprehensive treatment of vegetation in two sample areas of the Taita Hills is presented in Chapter V. Though by no means uniform in rainfall or floral distribution, the plains surrounding the Hills do offer scope for a higher degree of generalization.

In the transition between the Hills and the plains, and along both wet and dry watercourses, higher densities of vegetation occur. Many of the trees and shrubs present may be classified as different types of Acacia and Commiphora, both of which are somewhat drought resistant (Figure 6). Occasional Baobab trees (Adansonia digitata) are also seen in the plains. On the northern side of the Hills in particular, there are dense thickets of a variety of thornbushes, many of which are between ten and twelve feet high. Besides these areas of thickets and bush, there are extensive areas of grassland which are interrupted by both single and grouped acacias. In the foothills and plains where slightly more water has been available, scattered "sausage trees" (Kigelia aethiopica)[2] are found.

Many of the plants found in both the plains and the Hills are difficult to differentiate by all but botanical experts. Many African cultivators and herdsmen, the Taita included, could easily be ranked as

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[2]The seed-pods of this tree have a diameter of four to five inches, and a length from ten to fourteen inches, and when split and dried, they are used as a combination flavoring and fermenting agent by the Taita in the making of sugar-cane "beer" (denge).

such, not by their mastery of Linnean terminology, but rather by their impressive understanding of vegetation and soil complexes. In appreciation of the "fund of ecological knowledge" of the "shifting" cultivator in Africa, Allan observed that this same shifting cultivator could:

> . . . assess the "staying-power" of a soil, the number of seasons for which it can be cropped with satisfactory results, and the number of seasons for which it must be rested before such results can be obtained again. His indicator of initial fertility is the climax vegetation and his index of returning fertility is the succession of vegetational phases that follows cultivation.[3]

The Taita have long used vegetational cues to decide on types of land-use practices in different sections of the Hills and plains.

Historical-geographical Reconstruction

The Taita distinguished between land types in two ways. They differentiated among ecological types by reference to wet versus dry lands, and to hill slopes (mishoromoto), plains (wurindi), and upper valleys (mavongo). They also discriminated among preferred uses of particular land. Some areas were reserved by tacit agreement for grazing, both in the hills and on the plains. Swampy land, wherever it occurred, was preferred for sugar cane and banana growing and when so used was called migunda. Well drained land in both the hills and the plains was used for a wide variety of crops.

Contemporary researchers can observe current vegetation assemblages and settlement patterns, but an understanding of their evolution is more difficult to ascertain. A question of wider interest than the

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[3]William Allan, The African Husbandman (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1965), p. 5.

description of present reality is the one which asks how that reality came to exist. In the search for an explanation of the unfolding of contemporary spatial organization in the Taita Hills, it is necessary to extablish an historical base-line from which to build a composite picture, as complete as possible, of the historical-geography of Taita. It is to this end that this chapter is directed. The reconstruction of this historical-geography depends on the use of information from a variety of sources, from both written and oral "records."

In recent years, many academicians have begun to appreciate the promise that oral testimony holds for the careful reconstruction of the histories of families, clans, and even larger social groupings. Vansina conceives of oral testimony in three types: "the eyewitness account, oral tradition, and rumour."[4] Of these three, perhaps the one most in need of explanation is oral tradition. Vansina offers the following definition which discriminates between the types of oral testimony.

> Oral traditions exclusively consist of hearsay accounts, that is, testimonies that narrate an event which has not been witnessed and remembered by the informant himself, but which he has learnt about through hearsay.[5]

The difficulties in correctly interpreting hearsay evidence, or oral tradition, are appreciated by both Vansina and Oliver.

> The many perils to which oral tradition is exposed are well known: bias imparted by the institutions through which it is preserved; more important, the dependence upon those institutions--for when an African state is destroyed, its traditions are destroyed with it, or at least seriously impoverished; there is also the

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[4]Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965), p. 20.

[5]Ibid., p. 26.

> difficulty of interpretation woven into the recording of tradition. In spite of these, there remain some interesting and important conclusions to be drawn from the tribal histories of East Africa.[6]

As in many other African societies, the history of the Taita, previous to European colonization, is, to a large extent, composed of oral testimony. In attempting to reconstruct the pre-colonial historical-geography of the Taita Hills both oral and written sources have been consulted. By cautiously piecing together both oral and written testimony it is possible to secure a general record of historical events and movements.

Patterns of Settlement

There is some confusion, even among the Taita, regarding their origins as an ethnic group. Reports by informants from one location in the Hills refer to the west and southwest as the directions from which their ancestors came. People in other locations reply that their ancestors came from the east and northeast. In the traditions regarding the historical reasons for ancestral migration to the Hills there are apparent contradictions. Some informants placed the major determinant of Taita migration in the warlike movements and predations of the Galla[7] in

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[6] R. A. Oliver, "Oral Tradition," in History and Archaeology in Africa, ed. by R. A. Hamilton, Report of a conference held in July 1953 at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London, 1955), pp. 15-16.

[7] The Galla, probably of ultimate Arabian origins, are believed to have come into present day southern Somalia and Northern Kenya from Ethiopia and Somalia. Huntingford suggests that " . . . the coming of the Galla seems to have been the cause of the southerly movement of the Nyika and Taita from Shungwaya, and of the westerly movement of the Central Kenya Bantu. If Lambert's date of 1300 is correct, then the Galla must have arrived after 1200, but before 1300." G. W. B. Huntingford, "The Bantu Peoples of East Kenya and North East Tanganyika," in History and Archaeology in Africa, ed. by R. A. Hamilton, p. 49.

the thirteenth century, while others mentioned the recurring raiding and warfare of the Masai on the plains (see Figure 7).

Several neighboring ethnic groups tell of Taita additions to their own societies. Earlier researchers have written of the apparent connections between the Taita and the Chagga, Pare, and Shambala.[8] Bostock suggests that ". . . perhaps the first immigrants to the Taita Hills, which forced the pygmies to give up their land, arrived . . . between 1300 and 1400 A.D."[9] The pygmies referred to by Bostock may have occupied the Hills as long ago as 1300 A.D.,[10] or as recently as 200 years ago.[11] These aboriginal inhabitants, whether pygmies or not, seem to have been responsible for the mifingiri ya Wambisha,[12] or the Wambisha pyramids. Prins[13] concluded that these pyramids were from an earlier group of people because of the lack of ritual, or ritual history attached to them by modern Taita. Bostock[14] mentioned that the pygmies

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[8]C. C. F. Dundas, Kilimanjaro and Its People (London: Cass Publishing Co., 1968), p. 45.

[9]P. G. Bostock, The Taita (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1950), p. 7.

[10]Ibid., p. 5.

[11]A.H.J. Prins, The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu (London: Ethnographic Survey of Africa, 1952), p. 3.

[12]The word Wambisha was applied to the Portuguese, but this usage probably occurred long after the mifingiri ya Wambisha were built. Another possibility lies with the tymological characteristics of the word Wambisha, which can be construed to mean "those who defeated us." The possibility that these "conquerors" were the Galla, will be left to future research.

[13]A. H. J. Prins, "An Outline of the Descent System of the Teita, a North-Eastern Bantu Tribe," Africa, 20 (January, 1950), 30.

[14]Bostock, The Taita, p. 5.

Fig. 7.--The Hills offered safety from the attacks of the Masai on the plains.

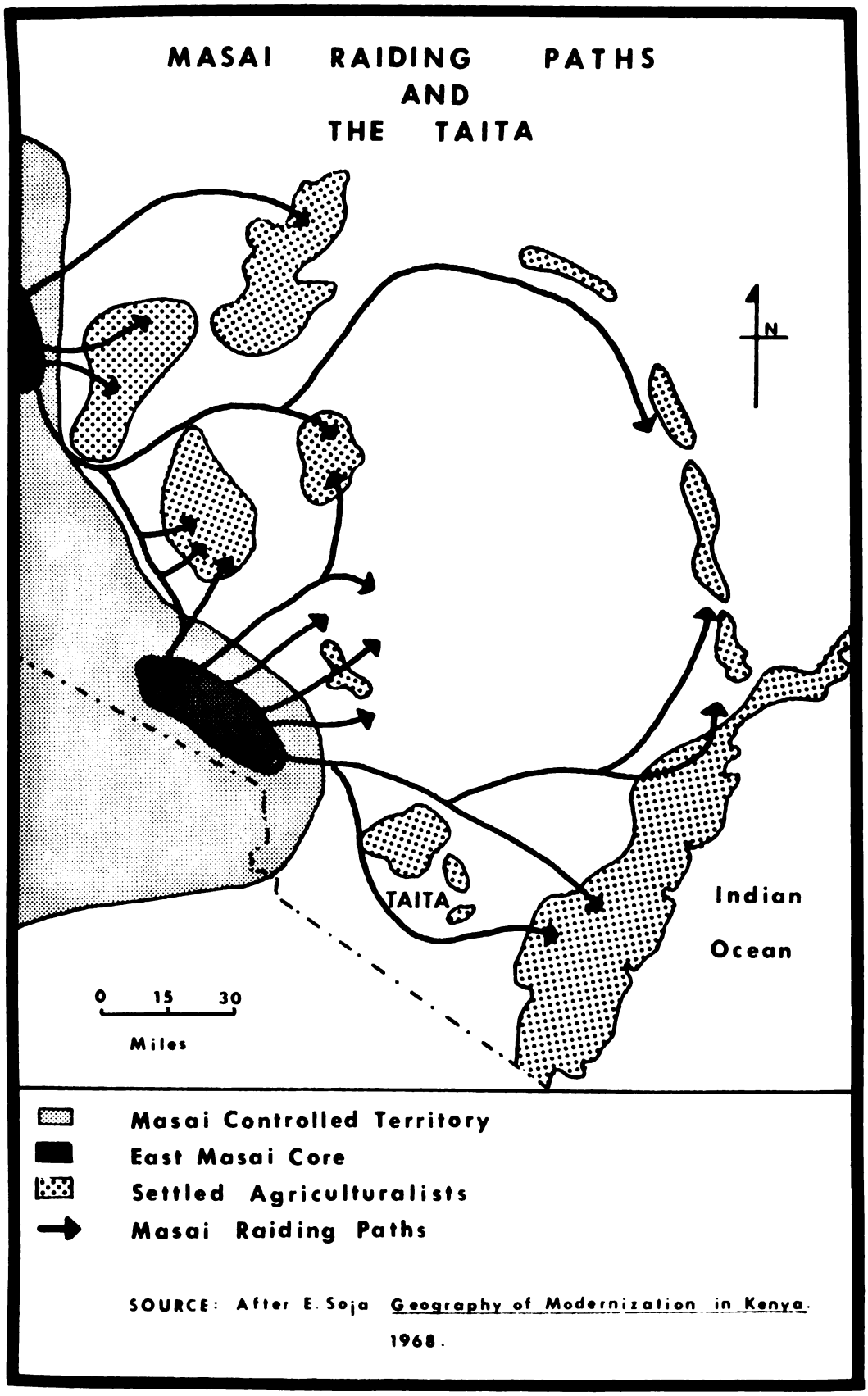
MASAI RAIDING PATHS
AND
THE TAITA
N
TAITA
Indian
Ocean
0 15 30
Miles
Masai Controlled Territory
East Masai Core
Settled Agriculturalists
Masai Raiding Paths
SOURCE: After E. Soja Geography of Modernization in Kenya.
1968.

Fig. 7.

were thought to be represented by three groups, the Wanyamba, the Warukuma and the Wambisha. Only the Wanyamba survived the wholesale poisoning perpetrated on the others by another group of uncertain origin, the Wasasadu. The shortness of stature of many Taita is attributed to their intermarriage with the supposed pygmy aboriginals.[15]

A further indication of the possibility of the multiple origins of the Taita are the several language dialects which persist today in the Hills. When confronted with the language of an individual from Bura Location,[16] this researcher's assistant, who came from Werugha Location, admitted to some difficulty in understanding him. The Taita themselves recognize several dialects, including Kisagala, Kimbale, Kiwusi, Kimbololo and Kikasigao.[17] This researcher, who is untrained in lexicostatistics and glottochronology, can do little more than broadly generalize about the reflections of history available in linguistic evidence. Published work by those who are trained in these methodologies unfortunately was not available in the particular case of the Taita. Until such work is complete, in more detail, statements about linguistic change and historical development must be extremely tentative. An additional clue to the origins of the Taita may lie, however, in the structure of their traditional military organization.

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[15] Ibid.

[16] The word Location, with a capital 'L,' refers to the actual administrative sub-units, by the same name, which the colonial administration assigned. Cf. Chapter I.

[17] The 'Ki' prefix is used in Swahili and other Bantu-root languages as an indicator of language, i.e., ki-Taita, ki-Swahili, etc. The second part of the dialect name in the case of the Taita, represents a physical location, for instance ki-Mbale, in which Mbale is a place-name.

Traditional Military Organization

In order to reconstruct the historical-geography of settlement and land-use in the Taita Hills, it is useful to investigate those features of society which appear to have been of continuous importance to the people. If such societal elements may be identified, often they eloquently record the passage of time, events, and the persistence of objectives and group images. An activity which was of vital importance to the Taita was the waging of war. The organizational remnants of this activity may give us a deeper understanding of Taita history and relations, both within their own ethnic group and with their neighbors. It is to this apparently highly structured activity that this study now turns.

The following outline of this organization is adapted from the work of L. T. Smith, one of the District Commissioners[18] of the Taita District in 1918. The military system was based on numerals, which were used for divining for war. When war was thought to be imminent, an ox, goat, or sheep was slaughtered. The animal was opened out, and the veins in the tripe, commencing from the tail, were counted, up to ten. The condition of these veins was important for assessing the potential success or failure of different aspects of the impending military campaign.

Each numbered vein represented a particular purpose, means, or event in the planning and waging of the campaign. Besides having a

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[18]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/6, 1918. In 1918, there were three different District Commissioners in Taita District. The impact of the British Colonial administration will be discussed in Chapter III. Particular attention will be paid to the lengths of service of District Commissioners.

numerical organization for military activities, it has been reported that the clan organization of the Taita is also numbered.[19] The numbering of the clans follows designations of one through ten, with the interesting absence of individuals in several of the numbered categories. A possible explanation might be gained by comparing the military organization and contemporary clan numbering (Table 2).

By comparing the numerical representations in the military organization and in the clan designations, it appears that the empty clans, in some cases, represent specific components of warfare that do not concern living people. The number one (Imweri) is not represented by a clan, perhaps because of its assignment to the founder of the system of organization, who may not have been directly related to the Taita. Smith suggests[20] that there is a possibility that the war divining rituals of both the Masai and the Taita had a similar origin in contacts with the Galla. Another possibility for the absence of a clan in the number one designation might be in the reservation of this category for the "spirits of the ancestors," rather than for living persons.

The second number (Iwi) refers in the war divination to the children, or the descendants, and so may symbolize the future, and posterity's view of the undertaking. In other words, this vein in the tripe may represent supposed future opinion of the military action taken. One also might interpret this category as being all the descendants of

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[19]Prins, An Outline of the Descent System of the Teita, p. 28.

[20]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/6, 1918, p. 14.

TABLE 2

COMBINED MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND NUMERICAL DESIGNATIONS OF CLANS

Number	Taita Name for Number[a]	Military Symbolism	Clan Name
1	Imweri	Father, founder of system, spirits of ancestors and their probable attitude towards campaign.	None
2	Iwi	The children, the descendants, the diviner himself.	None
3	Idadu	The things, the property, the risk involved.	Wasadu
4	Inya (ina)	The people, first of the next wave of settlement.	Wanya
5	Isanu	Leopard, lion, snake, anything that creeps up, hence the enemy.	Wasanu
6	Irandadu	Guides or spies.	Wasasadu
7	Mufungade	The time or period of the campaign.	None
8	Wunyanya	Food, foragers, small fierce outlaws.	Wanyanya
9	Ikenda	The captured women.	None or Wakenda
10	Ikumi	To pillage stock.	Waikumi

Source: (TTA/6. Smith 1918) and (Prins, 1950, p. 27) both combined.

[a]These numbers are in general agreement with the "usual numerals" in Williamson's article. John Williamson, "Dabida Numerals," African Studies (Johannesburg), 2 (December, 1943), 215.

the ancestors, and therefore not representing any one clan but, indeed, all of the clans. Or, if as Bostock suggests, "the object of these raids was to obtain cattle and children," this category could have been reserved for the captured children. "The children would be fully adopted into the tribe, and would be married or given in marriage by their adopters, just like ordinary members of the tribe."[21] With individual marriage being an agreement between the two families as well as between the marriage partners, it is probable that the adopted person would be considered a part of his adopting parent's clan.

The fact that the number seven (Mufungade) does not represent a clan, may be explained in terms of war divination. In the divination the seventh vein represents the time period of the campaign, therefore, it does not represent people or their possible assignments in the campaign. Prins has posited a more semantic and etymological explanation. He postulated, ". . . that the connexion of seven = fungade (kufunga = to close, to shut) with a group of people would have been fatal for procreation."[22]

A similar explanation is advanced for the apparent lack of human representation in the ninth category. "In the same way, it may be suggested that no male could be included in a group called after nine = kenda (ke + nda, female suffix + 'insideness') which might thus represent the nine months inside the womb, and so is a specifically female number."[23] In the military symbolism the number nine represents "the

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[21]Bostock, The Taita, p. 36.

[22]Prins, An Outline of the Descent System of the Teita, p. 28.

[23]Ibid.

captured women" who would of necessity be from some other tribe, and therefore not from one of the Taita clans.

Migration and Settlement Cores

From the combined table of Military organization and Clan enumeration above, it appears that members of certain clans were assigned specific roles in times of war. Regarding the order of enumeration of clans, it has been suggested that the sequence of arrival in the hills may have helped to establish; or at least strengthen, the number assignment.[24] The only firm evidence that this might be the case, lies in the general agreement that the Waikumi were the last to settle in Taita. The Waikumi are believed to have been derived from a mixture of already present Taita elements, and immigrants from the Wakwavi.

The Wakwavi were considered to be a major offshoot of the Masai, who had taken up agriculture. "The original home of the (Wakwavi) was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Taita and Usambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaravui."[25] The Wakwavi were ". . . nicknamed by the Masai, Im-barrawuio, or Em-barawuio."[26] These names for the Wakwavi derive from the Masai name of the Voi River and the surrounding country (Voi = Wuio and land near Viu = Barawuio), much of which had been in dispute between the Taita and Masai for generations. The Wakwavi

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[24] Ibid., p. 22.

[25] J. Thomson, Through Masai-Land (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1895), p. 240.

[26] J. L. Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), p. 462.

suffered serious reverses in warfare and natural disasters in the shape of locust plagues about 1830,[27] which encouraged them to settle with more sedentary tribes. This chain of events has only added to the Waikumi (Wakwavi) in Taita, and may not have been the original impetus to their joining the Taita.

The belief that some of the numbered clans traveled together to the Hills, indicates that the clan organization at least, if not also the military organization, existed prior to the 1830's.

> Only one division, the Wanya[28] travelled by itself, the other four migrated as two distinct groups. None of the groups was genealogically pure, according to tradition. It is said, however, that all (apart from the Wakwavi infiltration) came from Mangea and were Taita groups, though mixed, to a certain extent, with Kamba and Giryama.[29]

Mangea is mentioned by neighbors of the Taita as being important in their own traditions of migration and settlement. Although,

> . . . the Giryama traditions are not given in any detail . . . we are told that they came from Shungwaya,[30] went south to the Taita Hills, returned to Mount Mangea, and were driven south again to Ribe and built Kaya Giryama, which was abandoned about 1860.[31]

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[27]Thomson, Through Masai Land, p. 240.

[28]Wanya represents the number four, see Table 2.

[29]Prins, An Outline of the descent System of the Teita, p. 27. In this writer's own prose the spelling of place-names and ethnic identities, are standardized according to the most current and widely accepted form. This spelling of "Giryama," has been supplanted by the more modern form Giriyama.

[30]Shungwaya has been tentatively identified by Grottanelli as being in the area Berkau (Bur Gao) in present day Somalia, while McIntish believes that Shungwaya was a general area rather than a distinct location. V. L. Grottanelli, "A Lost African Metropolis," Afrikanistische Studien (Berlin, 1955), p. 236. B. G. McIntosh, "The Eastern Bantu Peoples," in Zamani, ed. by B. A. Ogot, and J. A. Kieran (Nairobi: Longmans of Kenya, 1969), p. 201.

[31]Prins, The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu, p. 48.

The Digo speak of the "olden times in Shungwaya"[32] and Rebbman was told in 1847, by the Taita he met at Kasigau (Kadiaro), ". . . that their ancestors had come thirty days journey from the north. . . ."[33]

Upon comparison of the oral traditions of origin of Bantu peoples of Eastern Kenya and North Eastern Tanzania, Huntingford[34] has suggested a series of population movements in which the Taita Hills were important in at least three, if not more phases of the movement of Bantu peoples in East Africa. Many of the tribes of Eastern Kenya and of Northeastern Tanzania mention, in their oral traditions, the Taita Hills as a dispersal area from which they migrated to their present locations. Some tribes (Taita, Digo, Rabai, Duruma, Giriyama and Pokomo), share the tradition of Shungwaya being a second dispersal area from which they migrated to their present homes. Concerning the Taita, therefore, the following three phase reconstruction is possible; indeed, with additional evidence being added every year, is probable.

In Phase I (Figure 8), a Bantu wave of migration and settlement (called by Huntingford Bantu Ethno-type A) moved from west of the western Rift Valley around the Southern end of Lake Victoria, to the Taita Hills area. In Phase II, some of the Bantu peoples then migrated north to an area referred to as Shungwaya, or Sungaya. This area of Shungwaya

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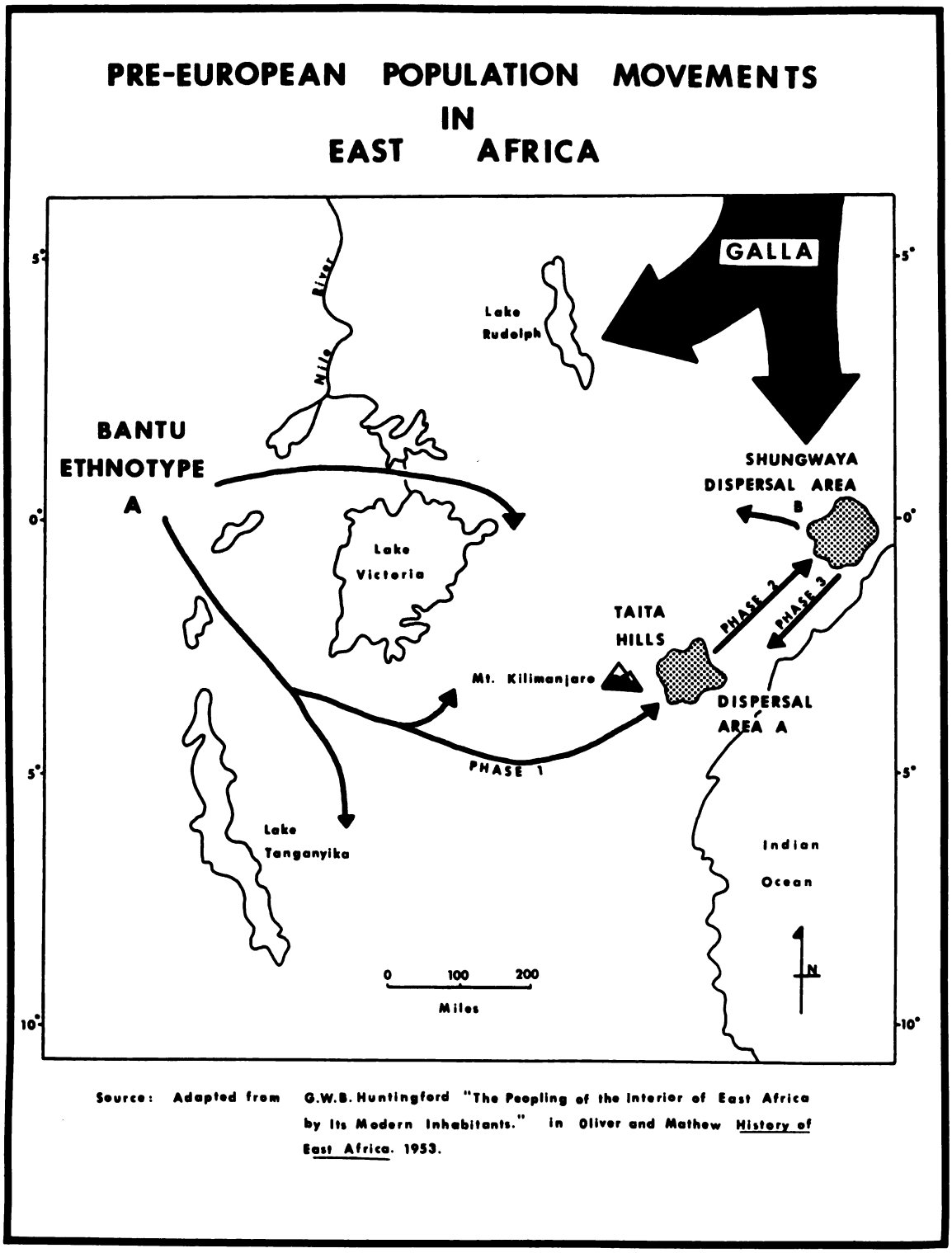
[32] Ibid., p. 79.

[33] Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa, p. 183.

[34] Huntingford, "The Bantu Peoples of East Kenya and North East Tanganyika," and Huntingford, "The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by Its Modern Inhabitants" in History of East Africa, ed. by R. Oliver and G. Mathew (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963).

Fig. 8.--The area around the Taita Hills served as a dispersal area for Bantu-speaking peoples before the European era.



Source: Adapted from G.W.B. Huntingford "The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by Its Modern Inhabitants." in Oliver and Mathew History of East Africa. 1953.

Fig. 8.

then served as the major dispersal area for Phase III, in which some groups migrated west (perhaps to the Mount Kenya area) and others, including the Taita, moved south to Mangea and further to the Taita Hills. Some people moved even further after arriving at the Taita Hills, to the Pare Mountains, the Usambara Mountains, and even to the slopes of Kilimanjaro. From the combined oral and written evidence, it appears that settlement of the Taita Hills by the ancestors of the current inhabitants took place in waves, extending over several centuries.

The arrival and settlement of the different segments of the Taita can be traced with some difficulty, from the incomplete written record, and the complex oral record. Several areas in the Hills can be identified as apparent settlement cores[35] in the precolonial period. These settlement cores served as areas of reorganization and further dispersal. One of the major core areas seems to have been in the vicinity of Wundanyi (Mtenyi) and Kedaya (Figure 9), and will be called the Wundanyi-Kedaya core. Wundanyi, the most interior part of this core, is referred to as "the Boma," which is Swahili means, "any kind of raised structure for defensive or protective purposes." Indeed, upon approaching Wundanyi, after having climbed from an average of 2,000 feet elevation on the plains, to an average of 5,000 feet elevation in this part of the hills, one gets the impression of being in a great upper basin.

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[35]In this instance, settlement "core" represents that area which served as a focus of immigration, and in which greater population densities accrued by means of both immigration and natural increase. Although there is traditionally an implied political relationship in the term "core," in light of the reportedly loose and ephemeral political organization amongst the Taita in the time period considered above, the discussion of such a relationship will be deferred for future research.

Fig. 9.--There were early settlement cores in the Taita Hills which later served as source areas for resettlement.

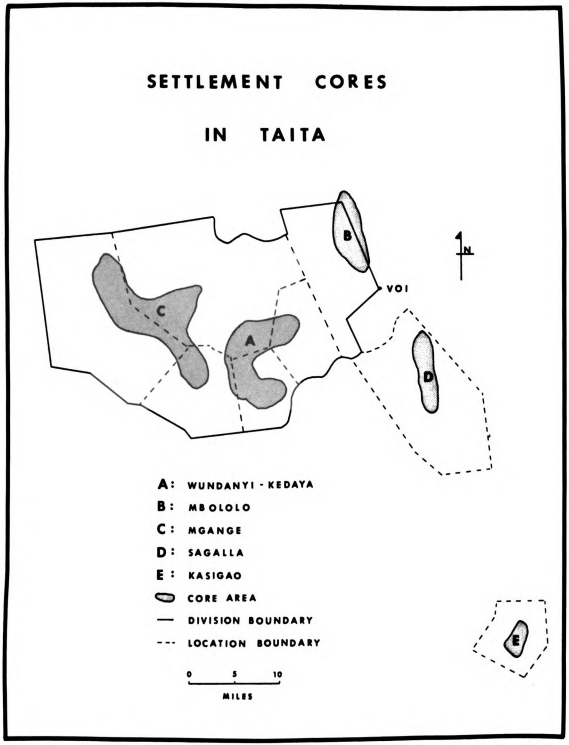
SETTLEMENT CORES
IN TAITA
B
N
VOI
C
A
D
A: WUNDANYI - KEDAYA
B: MBOLOLO
C: MGANGE
D: SAGALLA
E: KASIGAO
CORE AREA
DIVISION BOUNDARY
LOCATION BOUNDARY
0 5 10
MILES
E

Fig. 9.

From within the Wundanyi area, it is almost impossible to see out onto the plains because of the surrounding hills. The easier approaches to Wundanyi are through fairly narrow gaps in the peripheral ridges, and must have served admirably in at least slowing the movement of approaching belligerents, if not in discouraging them altogether.

The more southerly part of the Wundanyi-Kedaya core is much more rugged country, and in places there are bare rock faces which drop from about 5,000 feet, to approximately 3,000 feet to 3,500 feet in the horizontal distance of several yards (Figure 10). From selected points along these cliff-faces, it was reported that sentries observed the movement of people on the plains below without being seen themselves. Kedaya was the focal point of this part of the core. The Taita immigrants who settled in Wundanyi-Kedaya are thought[36] to have fled up the Sabaki River under pressure from the Galla, and to have settled first at Wundanyi, and later expanded to Kedaya. A later population infusion into this core probably occurred from Usambara,[37] after which the area, Kishamba, is named.

Ndile was the focal point of area "B," or the Mbololo Core (Figure 9), which was settled by people who had come to Taita via Ukambani.[38] By virtue of their earlier contacts with the Kamba, and

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[36]Bostock, The Taita, p. 5.

[37]Usambara is the name given to the country of the Sambaa, Shambaa, or Shamballa people. The Usambara mountains are located in Northern Tanzania to the South of the Taita Hills. The country is quite similar to Taita and the people in both areas admit to some intermarriage. In the recent past (1880's), the Sambaa and Taita are reported to have combined forces in order to raid the coast for cattle and other goods. Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/6, 1918, p. 10.

[38]In Swahili the prefix "U" accompanied by the suffic "ni" are

Fig. 10.--Mwachora, Margin of the Wundanyi-Kedaya Core.

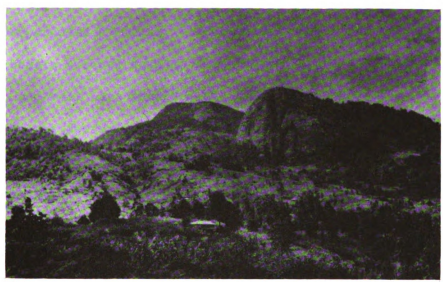

Fig. 11.--The Wundanyi Area, or the "Boma."

their position near the Kamba caravan trail, the people of the Mbololo core seem to have developed a closer relationship to the Kamba than did others in the Taita Hills. According to one informant, it was not unusual, in times past, for people from Mbololo to travel in caravan with the Kamba, and Swahilis,[39] carrying ivory and rhino horn to the coast. It must not be assumed that all contacts between the Taita and caravans were peaceful, however, because there is good reason to believe that at least some of the raids in the vicinity of Ndile and present day Voi, were perpetuated by Taita.[40] The experience of Krapf in 1851, when a band of robbers swooped down on the combined Kamba and Wanika caravan[41] near Tsavo, may well have involved the Taita from Mbololo.

Ndile, at approximately 2,300 feet elevation, is to the east of Mraru Ridge, which is the physiographic backbone of Mbololo Location. The ridge reaches elevations in excess of 5,700 feet. The western side is more protected from intrusion by strangers than the eastern side. The average elevations in the west range between 4,000 and 4,500 feet,

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often bracketed around the name of an ethnic group to create a word which represents the country of the group named. For example (u + Kamba + ni = Ukambani = land of the Kamba).

[39]There is a great deal of argument about the use of the term Swahili as it has been applied to a specific ethnic group. In fact, many coastal peoples have been subsumed under this appellation because of their use of the Swahili language, when they may well have been some other identifiable ethnic group. The use of the term Swahili in this case is an historical reference only, and should not be otherwise construed.

[40]The symbolism of number eight in the military organizational scheme (Table 2) in part, mentions the "small fierce outlaws," who may have been represented by individuals of this area.

[41]Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa, p. 247.

and receive more dependable rainfall in greater abundance. The west also exhibits a greater and more complex stream system, than does the east.

The third major area that may be identified as a settlement core is the area marked "C" (Figure 9), or the Mgange Core. This area is generally agreed to have been much influenced by the Masai. This influence was of two general types, in the first instance, an agricultural offshoot of the Masai settled in the Mgange area. This settlement may have continued into the 1830's, and the population of Mgange is considered to be derived from a mixture of Masai and Taita. In the second instance, the Masai, who passed by this area on their way to attack travelers between the coast, Kilimanjaro and Ukambani, often raided this section of the Taita Hills. One of the stories in Taita tradition dealing with the interaction of Taita and Masai, describes how the Taita were able to defeat the Masai in battle.

When the Masai marched against them, the Taita would retreat to the hills. As they retreated, some hid in the lowlands, while others climbed into the high places. When the Masai advanced, the Taita warriors in the high places let fly their arrows. The Masai, to protect themselves from the falling arrows, raised their shields over their heads. This was the signal for the Taita who had hidden in the lowlands to rise up and shoot the Masai, whose shields were now out of the way. In this manner the Taita claim to have defeated the Masai.

Mgange Core is located in the Western part of the hills and includes the highest elevation in Taita, Vuria peak, whose elevation is 7,200 feet. From the top of Vuria, on a clear day, it is possible to

see Lake Jipe, on the Kenya-Tanzania border and Mount Kilimanjaro. This part of the hills is extremely rugged, with precipitous slopes almost straight down to the surrounding plains. This area was virtually impregnable to attacks from the plains.

The remaining two settlement cores shown in Figure 9 are "D," or the Sagalla Core and "E," the Kasigao Core. These two areas are inhabited by people closely related to the Taita. This study, however, does not deal with Sagalla or Kasigao in anything more than a cursory manner, so any discussion in depth of these two areas will have to be left to future research.

Patterns of Internal Movement

From the three major cores (Wundanyi-Kedaya, Mbololo, and Mgange) the Hills were more fully populated, both by natural increase and by the addition of individuals who were war prizes. Though it is possible to find many members of one clan occupying one part of the Hills, it is rarely true that any one clan is territorially dominant. This heterogeneity testifies to the length of time of occupance and the degree of intermarriage between clans. The preponderance of one clan in a distinct area could indicate the relative lateness of that groups settlement there. Prins felt that the tenth clan demonstrated, by its distribution, its later arrival. "The Waikumi only spread to a certain extent towards Mbololo through Weruga and to a much smaller extent towards Bura via Mrugua."[42] What has occurred over time is a coalescing

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[42]Prins, An Outline of the Descent System of the Teita, p. 30.

of settler groups of the three major cores, both in terms of distribution and intermarriage.

In addition to this overlapping settlement in the Hills, the Taita also migrated into the immediate vicinity of the plains. This Hills to plains movement was effected for one of several reasons. In the case of people who were primarily cultivators, the plains offered a safety-valve to alleviate increasingly dense agricultural holdings in the Hills themselves. Under the onslaught of warring neighbors, in particular the Masai, these plains cultivators usually retreated to the safety of the Hills. Years of adequate rainfall saw many cultivators moving to the plains to plant and harvest crops in the lighter alluvial soils.

During times of inadequate rainfall, many of these cultivators retreated to the more dependable moisture of the Hills. An interesting pattern evolved concerning rainfall, cultivators, and wild animals. In years of abundant rainfall in the plains, both the peasant cultivator and plains animals were successful and encroached upon each other's territories only marginally. Conversely, with low rainfall the cultivator, whose yields were already threatened by drought, was faced with the intrusion of plains animals in search of food and water. Occasionally this animal invasion led to the complete destruction of the farmer's hard won crops. The wildlife were attracted to the lower sections of the Hills, in spite of the presence of human settlement, by the more dependable supplies of water there. One might conceptualize this partially complementary movement between human and wildlife populations in the following diagram. There were of course human settlers who

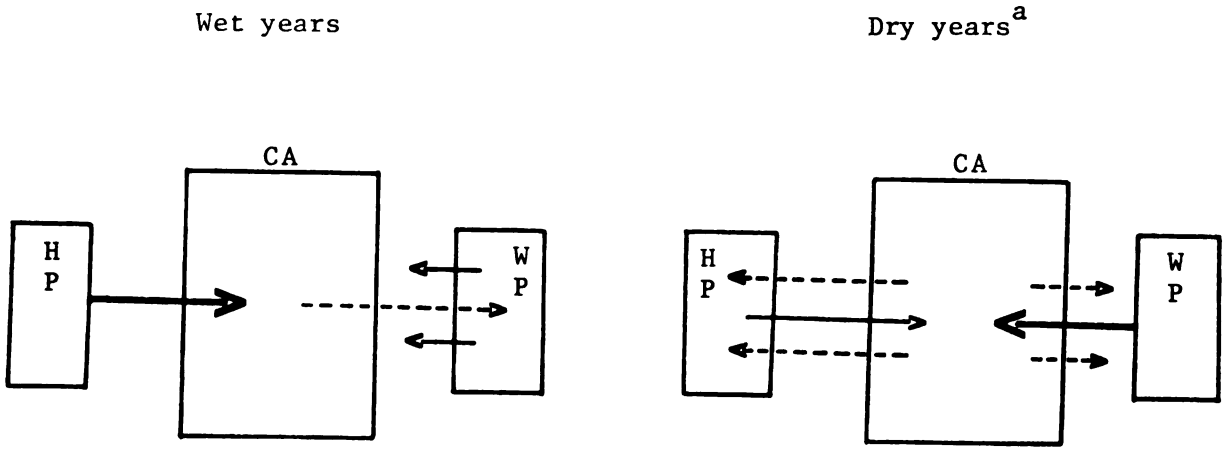

Fig. 12.--Human Versus Wildlife Population Pressure.

HP = Human population, WP = Wildlife population, CA = Contested area, → = Inmigration, ------ = Outmigration.

[a]What constitutes a "wet year" and or a "dry year," varies of course, with each species of animal and plant. This diagram is intended to represent the level of generalization perceived by traditional Taita cultivators.

remained even during the very dry years and this graphic representation deals, for the most part, with those who moved.

The traditional practice among some Taita of retaining multiple land-holdings can be viewed from the perspective of social as well as ecological imperatives. Historically, there were three types of multiple land-holding practices in Taita. In the first, a man might have several farm-plots in the Hills; one ecological zone. Or, a man might own multiple plots in the plains; one ecological zone. A third type includes the man who held farm-plots in both the Hills and the plains, simultaneously; in two ecological zones. An explanation of this last type may be derived by considering the interrelation of three factors: one, the differences in both planting and harvesting times in the plains

and Hills: two, the practice of polygyny; and three, the traditional male-female division of labor. Turning to the first factor, it must be understood that in the Hills proper it is possible to bring in one and sometimes two crops in a year. In the plains fields many farmers were able to harvest as many as three crops in optimum years. In such years of average or slightly above average precipitation the planting times of crops were staggered, so that a main crop such as maize was planted in Hills in July, and the harvest was expected in December, other main crops, perhaps even maize, could be planted in June in the plains and harvested in September. This sort of crop planning allowed for a more transient labor force and therefore for the perpetuation of the traditional male-female labor roles and polygyny.

Remembering that one of the prizes of war were captive women, and the fact that it was the male sector of Taita populations that suffered decreases in war, it is not difficult to postulate a slightly higher ratio of resident women to men. If a man could station one wife on one farm and a second on another, he could be more assured of constant maintenance of the farms. This was true because the women and their children had the specific duties of weeding the crops and of discouraging animal pests. This was the case whether he had farms in the plains and Hills or even multiple fields in one ecological zone only. If he were able to secure land in both zones, however, it was easier to arrange the staggering of crops and hence maximize labor allocation. Adding to these two factors the third, concerning traditional male-female labor roles, an understanding of the ideal Taita traditional patterns of land exploitation can be realized.

Traditionally the men's socially defined agricultural labor role involved the preparation of the land for planting (i.e., the clearing of trees, bush, weeds, etc., and rough hoeing to break up the soil for easier seed germination). In addition, his would be the task of designing and constructing any required irrigation works. After these land preparatory efforts were completed, his skills were not socially required again (although they were occasionally applied nevertheless) until the harvest was ready to be brought in. It would appear then, that the man might have a great deal of uncommitted time between the preparation for planting and the harvest. His agricultural labor role was such that he had a great deal more spatial mobility than his spouse.

The female role required a hand in the planting, but more especially in the constant cultivation of the prepared land to aerate the soil, and keep major competing weed plants from dominating the farm plots. It was also her role to organize her children to protect the crops from minor vermin and birds. The larger animals were chased away and sometimes destroyed by the men. The woman's tasks, however, required her almost daily presence, whereas the man was able to be absent from any one farm for longer periods of time.

Even with the husband moving back and forth between several plots, all of his time could not be accounted for in just an exclusively cultivating framework. It must be understood that the Taita have long been cattle-keepers as well as cultivators. The importance of cattle to the Taita is eloquently recorded in the role that they play in bridewealth payments. Harris[43] reported on the several specific types of

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[43]Grace Harris, "Taita Bridewealth and Affinal Relationships,"

cattle, their symbolic references and the nature of their transfer in Taita bride-wealth payments. In most cases the ownership of cattle appears to have been a masculine right.

Cattle herding was almost exclusively the prerogative of the men and boys, and did not usually involve the transplanting of the entire household, not even for a transient settlement. As population densities increased in the hills, more and more people used the plains for grazing. A pattern of cattle movement, very similar to transhumance, evolved in Taita, the major stimulus for which was available moisture. In very dry times, cattle were moved upslope to take advantage of orographic precipitation in the hills. When rains had been quite heavy, the cattle were often moved as far as twenty miles out onto the surrounding plains to graze.

Many families were both pastoralists and cultivators, and their settlements exhibited characteristics of both kinds of organization. It became increasingly common in pre-colonial times for one family-head to take his sons and drive cattle on the plains and at the same time to move one of his wives onto the plains to cultivate a small plot of maize and beans. Ideally, this arrangement allowed the family to accumulate wealth in cattle and also to be self-sufficient in plant food production. The advantages of this type of settlement can also be appreciated from an environmental risk point of view.

By planting crops in both the plains and the hills, a family could more nearly assure themselves of a dependable food supply from

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in Marriage in Tribal Societies, ed. by Meyer Fortes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 61-62.

season to season. The soil, temperature, and precipitation variations between hill and plains farms often meant the difference between sustained and fitful yields. In the case of a partial crop failure in one area, required food crops could be supplemented from another. If there were floods and washouts in the hills sometimes an extra crop was planted on the plains. The plains served as the secondary area of crop growing, however, because of the wider range of variation in precipitation receipts.

Exchange Networks

From the earliest European reports[44] there appears to have been regularized trading between the Taita and others. Traditional raiding parties of Taita are known to have gone as far as the Coast, both to pillage and to trade. As mentioned earlier in this study, there seems to have been cooperation between the Taita and the Kamba, and between the Taita and other groups, such as the Pare and Shambala (Shambaa), in trading caravans as well as raiding.

As late as 1884, a leader of the Shambaa, named Samboja, invited the Taita to help him overthrow his rival. In payment for their aid the Taita were joined by the Shambaa in raiding parties (and presumably some trading activity) as far away as Tanga. These raids were successful and the Taita brought back many cattle. Unfortunately on the heels of these successes followed the so-called famine of Mwakasingi in 1884, which was attributed to several factors. The cattle from the coast are believed

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[44]Krapf, Thomson, Meyer, and Rebbman all mention caravan traffic in which the Taita were involved.

to have brought disease to other Taita cattle. The numbers of men away on raiding-trading ventures is believed to have led to a neglect of farms and grazing lands. All of these events were followed by a plague of locusts which destroyed the crops. This pattern of mutual military-economic ventures is generally believed to be one of long standing. There were, of course, items desired by the Taita other than food and cattle, the supply of which were guaranteed by trading relations with others.

The traditional preference, mentioned by Prins,[45] for wood of one species of Dombeya, for the construction of hunting bows, may have encouraged external trade. There are several reasons for suspecting this was true. The same wood was preferred for bows by the Kamba, Kikuyu and the Ndorobo. Another species of Dombeya which occurs in the Taita Hills, but which is not generally used for bows, is called "Waru" by the Taita. Dombeya praetermissa,[46] the species used for bows, is called "Mukeu" in Kitaita. The name "Mukeu" is very similar to "Mukeo," which is the tradename for several Dombeya species and also the Kikuyu name for at least three different species of Dombeya. The facts that the Taita have two such different names (Waru and Mukeu) for similar species, and that Mukeu was not ordinarily found in the Taita Hills, indicate that they were probably dependent on external sources, hence trade, for their supply of this valued commodity.

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[45] A. H. J. Prins, "A Teita Bow and Arrows," Man, 55 (1955).

[46] I. R. Dale and P. J. Greenway, Kenya Trees and Shrubs (Nairobi: Buchanan's Kenya Estates Ltd., 1961), p. 547.

External trade with pre-colonial Taita was dominated by the Kamba, who were close neighbors, and to whom the Taita claim some early relationship. There is little doubt that this trade was a fairly regular event. Some disagreement, however, revolves around the issue of internal trade; its regularity, mobility, and method of exchange. It is certain that there was internal trade in surplus food production, and other locally produced commodities such as cattle, goats, pottery and baskets. The difficulty lies in ascertaining the periodicity of trading and the locations of market places. Prins suggests that internal trade, ". . . used to be and still is centered in a few institutionalized markets (Chete) which do not belong to any of the political units but served originally as neutral meeting-places for all of Taita."[47] The term "Chete" is rendered in Swahili as both "the day on which a market is held" and also, "the place in which it is held." It is this researcher's contention that though there was widespread bartering within Taita, that regularized markets and market places existed in relation to external trade only. In conversations with old people in Taita, their recollections were that regular periodic markets existed at Bura and near Voi, but not in the Hills. Charles New's record of travels through Taita records the presence of several Bendari, or caravan market-places, notably one on the south side of Kasigao and one on the east side of Ndara. New mentions the cooperation of the Taita with the Kamba. The market-place at Ndara was also reported to be well supplied with such

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[47]Prins, The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu, p. 110.

things as sugar cane, dried cassava, and gourds.[48] Early maps, like Hans Meyer's record regular camps at Bura and Mwatate, which appear to have been old trading points and perhaps regular market-places.

From the evidence available to this writer, the markets that existed in pre-European Taita were focussed on, and seem to have been induced by, external exchange.[49] Some of the trade occurred between Taita and Kamba, Taita and Arabs, and between Taita and Kikuyu. Referring to the early nineteenth century, one author states that "Commercial agreements existed between the Kamba and such peoples as the Nyika, Taita and Kikuyu which ensured the former safe passage and provisions on their journeys to and from the coast."[50] As time passed many of these market-places developed into more permanent locations with internal trade functions. Ultimately, some of these sites served as the foci of modern trading-store establishment, in which cash exchange became a daily occurrence.

Earlier, pre-European markets exhibited a degree of periodicity, but with irregular time segments between market days. With the passage through their territory of caravans, the news was rapidly communicated to potential market participants who moved goods to previously agreed upon locations. The nature of transportation difficulties facing

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[48]Charles New, Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa (London: Frank Cass, 1791), pp. 481 & 319.

[49]Markets in Taita seem to have had similar origins vis-a-vis external trade that B. W. Hodder's evidence for Yoruba Markets suggests. B. W. Hodder, "Some Comments on the Origins of Traditional Markets in Africa South of the Sahara," Institute of British Geographers, Transactions and Papers, 36 (June, 1965), 98.

[50]McIntosh, The Eastern Bantu Peoples, p. 213.

head-loaded caravans militated against more than a very loose scheduling of market meetings. The operation of contemporary periodic markets is discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

NON-AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS AND THE TAITA

Introduction

The fact that the Taita seem to have had long-standing, albeit irregular, contacts, both politically and economically with neighboring peoples has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. This chapter is concerned with the examination of the Taita, especially since the incursion of Europeans into East Africa. It is not the intent of this section to reconstruct a general history of Taita since European entry, but rather to select historical events and occurrences which reveal the nature of change in Taita in regard to the more specific theme of land-use modification. Land, labor, and capital, the classic economic elements, are shown in their varying relationships with the successive influences of non-African organizational forms.

With the introduced organizational strategies of three different, but at times overlapping, establishments, the importance of land, labor, and, or capital varied. The three organizations referred to above are: the missionary societies, private companies, and the British colonial government. Relevant to the aims of this chapter are the nature of the activities of these organizations in Taita, the character of Taita interaction with them, and the amenities and disamenities deriving from such

contacts, as perceived by the Taita. An attempt is also made to consider these contacts from the various points of view of the respective foreign organizations.

The Missionary Societies

Perhaps one of the most lasting impacts upon East Africans resulted from the "Missionary Invasion."[1] Missionaries made inroads in East Africa when the slave-trade was a thriving business. Through the combined efforts of Christian missionaries and diplomatic officers in East Africa, the scope of the slave-trade became widely known in Europe. Following the expanded European awareness of the extent of slavery in East Africa, organized opposition (both clerical and secular) to the practice eventually led to the official end of the trade.

Although many missions were already established, one of the major stimuli to the expansion of mission activity in East Africa was the problem of freed slaves. The British government, explorers, and especially the Church Missionary Society[2] had been extremely active in pressuring the Sultans of Zanzibar and their agents on the coast to curtail the trade in human lives.[3] As this pressure increased in

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[1]This is the title of a chapter in Coupland's book, East Africa and Its Invaders, which is a source of much valuable information on the activities of non-Africans in East Africa.

[2]The Church Missionary Society was a protestant organization, dominated by British Anglicans but also included European protestants such as Johann Ludwig Krapf.

[3]Citing evidence from the Custom-house records at Kilwa, of slaves that were recorded for export, Oliver estimates that in the 1860's, between 50,000 and 70,000 slaves reached the coast every year. This estimate includes those slaves that were not registered, but who were

effectiveness the concomitant problem of rehabilitating freed slaves arose. With the cognizance of this problem, developed a lively disagreement over the kind of training missions should offer to Africans. The main argument between Roman Catholic missionists and the Evangelical missionists of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) was whether or not to offer vocational training.[4]

"The Catholic, whose primary object was to induce membership of a Church with subsequent access to 'the means of grace' in its sacraments and its discipline, saw little harm in such material incentives."[5] Many C.M.S. leaders felt that their missionary roles should be limited strictly to the preaching of the gospel. With the exception of Freretown, an early combination of religious and secular education outside Mombasa, it was only after the passing of another generation that the C.M.S. changed its position. They continued in the belief that these ". . . economic incentives spelt nothing but danger, both to the inquirer who would be deceived by worldly benefits, and to the missionary who would forget his 'message' as a result of such material distractions."[6]

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smuggled out. Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans Green, 1965), p. 15.

[4]Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society, seems to have been more in agreement with the Catholics and with Livingstone, ". . . spiritual and temporal means must be applied at one and the same time. Christian families of various secular professions should invariably be connected with every missionary, to represent Christianity intuitively to a people who have left off reasoning." H. Goodwin, A Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie (Cambridge, 1864), p. 188, cited in Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 13.

[5]Ibid., p. 24.

[6]Ibid., p. 25.

Nevertheless, whether by intent or not, the missionary societies heightened many East Africans' awareness of material ends. In spite of the relatively short period of contact, the missions had a profound effect, both religious and secular. One later missionary observed that ". . . the former restraints have gone, and the tendency to individualism unchecked by social or a community sense of responsibility is likely to increase, unless the message of Christ is widely accepted."[7] In this passage, Bostock was referring to the 'heathen' Taita who in one generation had forsaken their traditional religious worship, but had not replaced it with Christianity. The major reason for their abandonment of traditional forms lay in the conflicts between tradition and Christianity.

The nature of the confrontation between missionaries and African tradition varied, of course, from place to place. With the developing awareness of Europeans of the dense African population clusters and sophisticated political organizations in the interior, it was there that the missionaries re-intensified their efforts to establish mission stations. The building of the Uganda Railway, at the turn of the century, further opened up the country, both to mission activity and to European settlement. The proliferation and relative success of missions in the interior compared to those at the coast, and particularly in the Taita Hills, may be attributed, at least partly, to the influx of European settlers to the highlands. "There was a far greater readiness up-country to accept what missionaries had to give. One factor leading to this

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[7]P. G. Bostock, The Taita (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1950), p. 31.

greater response was the widespread expectation that the missionaries held the key to the new situation created by colonialism."[8] Africans living near British colonialists realized very early that a command of English and the ability to read were useful tools in their evolving desires for successful economic competition with Europeans. In Taita, where Europeans were rarely seen except for administrators and missionaries, this realization was less significant, until much later in this century.

The first Protestant mission stations were established in Taita in much the same manner that other innovations were introduced, that is, they were incidental to other ends. Trade caravans travelling between the coast and Kilimanjaro stopped off to trade with the Taita. Their main objectives were the coast and Kilimanjaro. Similarly, the first mission stations in Taita were way-stations to either Usambara, Kilimanjaro, or the Highlands. Krapf advised the C.M.S. to establish a chain of missions[9] which would eventually stretch all the way to West Africa.

Krapf was joined at Rabai[10] in 1846, by Johann Rebmann, who trained at the C.M.S. college in Islington, England. Both Krapf and

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[8]Gordon Hewitt, The Problem of Success: The History of the C.M.S. 1910-1942 (London: SCM Press, 1971), p. 142.

[9]"I estimated at some 900 leagues the distance from Mombasa to the river Gabon in Western Africa, where Americans, before the occupation of the French, had founded a mission and laboured successfully. Now if stations with four missionaries were established at intervals of 100 leagues, nine stations and thirty-six missionaries would be needed, probably at an annual expense of from £4,000 to £5,000." E. Stock, History of the C.M.S., Vol. II (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), pp. 131-32, cited by R. Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), p. 402.

[10]A C.M.S. mission established in 1846, about 15 miles in from the coast.

Rebmann travelled inland in early attempts to extend mission activities and to explore the country. In one exploratory journey, beginning on October 14, 1847, Rebmann sought the area of the Taita.[11] From Rebmann's account of the trip,[12] we learn that he reached Kadiaro[13] on October 19, 1847. This was the only part of Taita that Rebmann visited at that time, but he was impressed with the serious nature of the Taita and felt that, "As regards a mission to these people, up to this date we can only say that it is very feasible and very desireable."[14] When Charles New visited Kasigao, in 1871, the people were hospitable, but did not seem to him to be interested in the gospel. Rather, they appeared to be more intent on assuring success in their raids against Usambara, and it was to this end that they tried to enlist his aid, especially in the supply of firearms.[15] New also felt that the Taita were much in need of Christianity. More than a decade passed, however, before a mission was established amongst them (see Figure 13).

The mission in Sagalla was opened in 1883, under the direction of J. A. Wray, partly as a stepping-stone in Krapf's mission chain. This mission continued even though many of the Taita blamed the Famine

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[11]Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders, p. 392.

[12]J. L. Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), p. 182.

[13]An earlier rendering of the name Kasigao, also called Kisigao, Kisigau, and Kasigau, all of which are names for the same place in Taita District. Kasigao is the officially accepted spelling today.

[14]Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa, p. 185.

[15]Charles New, Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa (London: Frank Cass, 1971), p. 327.

Fig. 13.--From these major Christian missions both Christianity and European technology diffused throughout the hills.

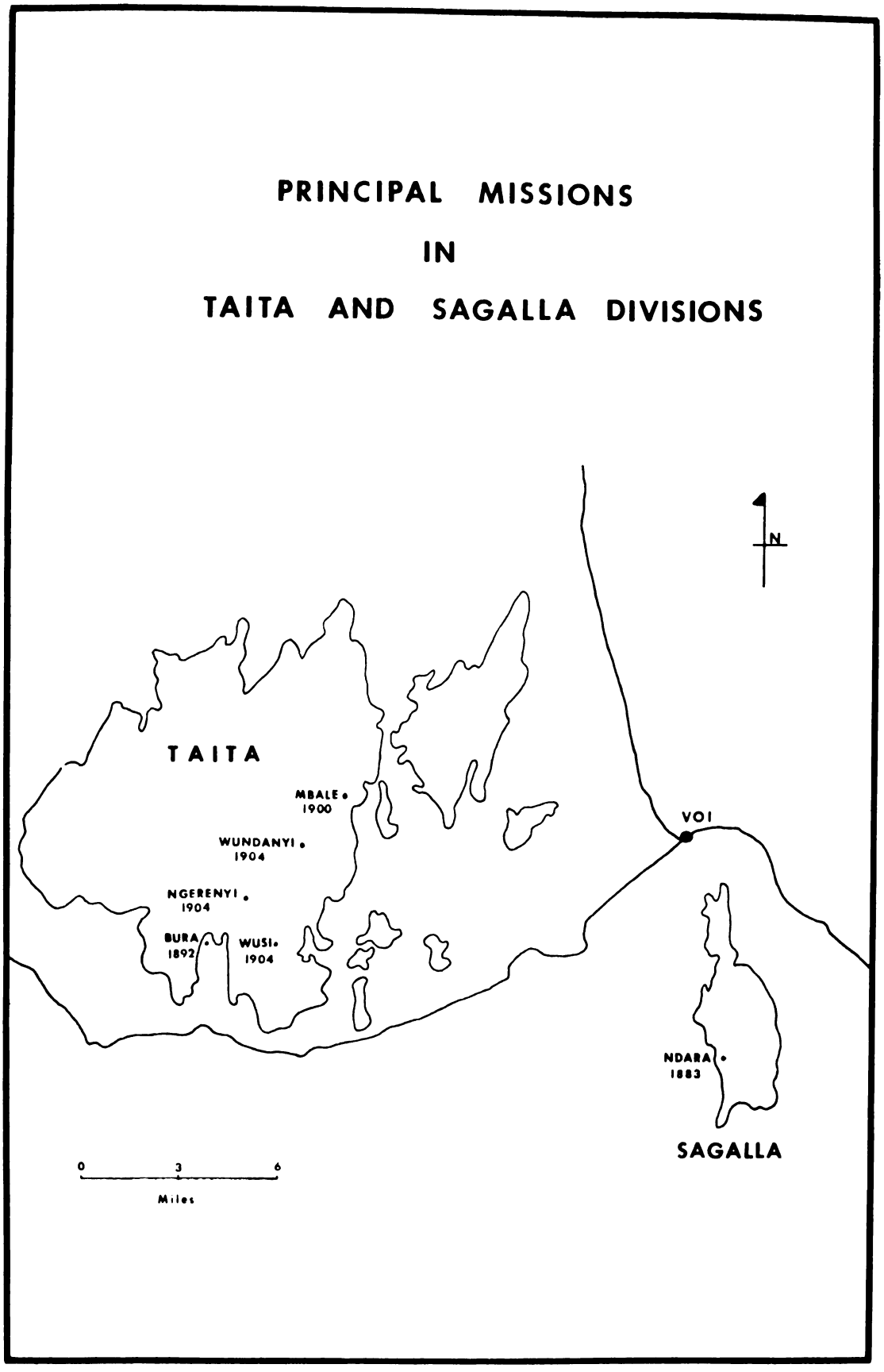
PRINCIPAL MISSIONS
IN
TAITA AND SAGALLA DIVISIONS
N
TAITA
MBALE
1900
WUNDANYI
1904
NGERENYI
1904
BURA
1892
WUSI
1904
VOI
NDARA
1883
SAGALLA
0
3
6
Miles

Fig. 13.

of 1884 on the presence of a white man in their country.[16] Seventeen years later, in ". . . 1900, the Authorities of the Mission believed the time had come to establish a mission in Dabida, the largest and most populous of the three[17] Taita mountains."[18] This mission station was built in what later became Mbale Location. Within a week of first coming to Mbale, the hill called Terinyi was deeded to the C.M.S. by six elders of Mbale.[19]

Catholics as well as Protestants evangelized in East Africa. Priests from the Congregation of the Holy Ghost represented the Catholic efforts in Taita. Established in eighteenth century France, this Congregation became particularly involved in the evangelization of Africans after it merged with the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary in 1848.[20] Since its representatives in East Africa were mostly from Alsace, there was suspicion by some diplomatic personnel of the British government that the Black Fathers, as the Congregation was also called, were potential if not actual agents of French colonial policy. One

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[16]Additional evidence of the fitful nature of Wray's acceptance among the Taita lies in the following citation. "Of the inland stations having their base at Mombasa, Taita was the cause of no little trouble from time to time, owing to the fickleness of the Natives; and for a while Mr. Wray had to leave them and work at Mombasa." E. Stock, History of the C.M.S., Vol. III (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), p. 432.

[17]Taita was considered to be divided into three parts, each dominated by a highland area; Dabida, Sagalla, and Kasigao.

[18]Allen Madoka, Taita na Kanisa La Kristo (Wusi, Kenya: Taita Rural Deanery, 1950), p. ii.

[19]Ibid., p. iii.

[20]J. A. Kieran, "The Origins of Commercial Arabica Coffee Production in East Africa," African Historical Studies, 2 (March, 1969), 51.

reason for this suspicion was that a large set of buildings in Zanzibar had been leased to the Bishop of Reunion, but that a part of the space was to be used for the storage of provisions for arriving French ships.[21] These suspicions were shared to some extent by the Sultan of Zanzibar's advisors and it has been suggested that, indirectly at least, this was a contributing element to the late expansion of the Black Fathers' missions inland.

The Congregation's relative freedom from political nationalism in East Africa is testified to by their refusal to choose sides in 1885 in a jurisdictional dispute over Zanzibar, between France, Britain, and Germany.[22] Later the German Society for the Exploration of East Africa wrote:

> The French mission of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Heart of Mary has remained faithful to its well known purpose, not only in theory but also in practice. As a matter of principle [the Congregation] eliminates political designs from its missions, and only rarely has it become involved in them. Without sounding the trumpet but with unflagging zeal, these missionaries devote themselves to the promotion of the Christian spirit and the benefits of our civilization among the black population.[23]

Of greater importance in the retardation of interior expansion was the lack of financial support from France after the ravages of the Franco-Prussian war. This factor together with the budding competition with Cardinal Lavigerie's better financed White Fathers movement to the interior in the late 1870's, slowed the Black Fathers' expansion to the

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[21] R. Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1939), pp. 33-34.

[22] H. J. Koren, The Spiritans, A History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1958), p. 506.

[23] Ibid.

interior. It was not until 1892 that the Catholic mission at Bura, in the Taita Hills was founded, although it is only about 110 miles in from the coast.

With only a short period of shutdown during World War I, the Bura Mission has continued until the present day. From these two nodes (i.e., Mbale and Bura) of Protestant and Catholic activity in the Dabida segment of the Taita Hills, Christian doctrine and "Western" influence spread.

Mission Land Alienation

Besides obvious differences in doctrine between Catholics and Protestants, there were also divergences in mission philosophy. One of these differences has been mentioned earlier in regard to vocational training versus purely religious enlightenment. Another point of difference lay in the attitudes of the Catholic and Protestant Missions toward the alienation of land for missions. This was less of a problem in Catholics' minds and in fact it was believed to be the height of efficiency. "To build around a plantation was both the cheapest and the most effective method of starting a mission. It was a natural development of the older system of freed slave settlements."[24]

Originally, the Protestant missions, to a large extent, avoided the alienation of large parcels of land. A notable exception in Kenya was the Presbyterian mission in Kikuyu, administered by Dr. Henry Scott in which the plans called for, ". . . a self-supporting mission based

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[24]Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p. 172.

upon an agricultural estate of 3,000 acres."[25] Most Protestant missions, especially those under the auspices of the C.M.S., were reticent to claim or purchase large holdings of land. This restraint was philosophically consistent with the C.M.S. and other Protestants' approach, in that they usually avoided involvement in any training other than spiritual training. As time went on the Protestant and Catholic mission philosophies, especially regarding the alienation of land, came more into mutual accord. Sir Bartle Frere, well known for his efforts to negotiate an end to the slave trade, advised the Protestant missionaries at Ribe in 1873, that ". . . if they would take a hint . . . from the Black Fathers at Bagamoyo and give their converts a practical training in industry, Ribe might soon prove 'a great success.'"[26]

This advice was not lost on Protestant missionaries elsewhere and was implemented in a variety of locations,[27] among which was the Taita Hills. Some missions felt that land alienation was required to fulfill these ends. The following section of this chapter attempts to establish three categories of information directly related to land alienation by missions: (1) the original purposes of the land claim, (2) the

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[25] Ibid., p. 173.

[26] Frere to Granville, 25, iii, 73: K.P. IIIa, 151, cited in Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa, p. 361.

[27] Early precedents for Industrial type missions in the C.M.S. were set at Mombasa and at Taveta, a part of Taita District. In Mombasa the "Industrial activities" were an outgrowth of occupational therapy at Mzizima Medical Mission, and of the training of freed slaves of Freretown. At Taveta, Mr. Steggall directed the construction of irrigation channels and the manufacture of bricks primarily for the building of the church. For more details on this project see, Stock, History of the C.M.S., Vol. III, pp. 732-33.

resultant amenities to the Taita, and (3) the resultant disamenities to the Taita. In this section the ownership and use of land will be focussed upon, in an attempt to show the crucial links between land alienation, education, and modernization.

Within the Dabida segment of Taita District the major parcels of land claimed by Christian missions were the Bura Mission and the Industrial Missions Aid Society's plot in the Wundanyi area. Valuable information on the original purposes of these land claims is available in the report of the Carter Commission and from the record of evidence collected by that Commission. It is to the original purposes of land alienation by the Black Fathers in the general area of Bura, that this research now turns.

The Bura Mission

In 1892 the Black Fathers established missions both in Mombasa and in Bura. "The development of the agricultural resources of the land has always been a typical aspect of Spiritan residences in Africa."[28] The Spiritans (Holy Ghost Fathers, or Black Fathers) were convinced that the teaching of spiritual lessons must be accompanied by social and technological training to be effective. Theirs was a commitment to introducing Western civilization as well as Catholic doctrine to their African charges. Ultimately they hoped to lay the groundwork for the evolution of an African Church. Their general missionary purpose was summed up nicely in the 1878 version of the Congregation's constitution as follows:

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[28]Koren, The Spiritans, p. 475.

> Although the missionaries' special purpose is the salvation of souls, they must take great care to do their share in promoting a well-planned civilization and the temporal interests of the peoples whose conversion is entrusted to them, by inspiring them with an esteem and love for work and by teaching them, with the aid of the Brothers, planned agriculture and the most useful arts and crafts.[29]

To fulfill these general aims the usual Holy Ghost Mission would include both priests and lay brothers. Often the brothers and the priests would have training in subjects in addition to religion and these would be taught. With a persistent shortage of personnel and the increasing numbers of mission stations, the Spiritans sought for more effective means to occupy territory and thereby evangelize amongst greater numbers.

> It was not until the last two decades of the nineteenth century that the Spiritan missions of Africa began systematically to divide their territory into sectors with a central residence surrounded by a large number of auxiliary stations. As a rule, such residences, occupied by from two to four priests and one or two Brothers, were constructed at strategically situated points that offered facilities for travel in all directions.[30]

To serve as a central residence, 1,000 acres were acquired in the Bura Valley for the price of Rs. 1,000.[31]

The alienation of 1,000 acres in Bura (Fig. 14) has had both salutary and discordant affects upon the Taita. The use of land by the Catholic missionaries in Africa was, as has been intimated earlier, instrumental in the achievement both of their general and specific

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[29]Spiritans Constitutions, 1878 edition, cited by Koren, in The Spiritans, p. 455.

[30]Koren, The Spiritans, p. 475.

[31]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III (London: H.M.S.O., 1934), p. 2797. The symbol Rs., represents Rupees, the coinage of British East Africa at the time.

Fig. 14.--Bura Mission occupies a choice site for agriculture, in that it is both gently sloped and well drained compared to much of the rest of the valley. Its elevation also moderates the temperature.

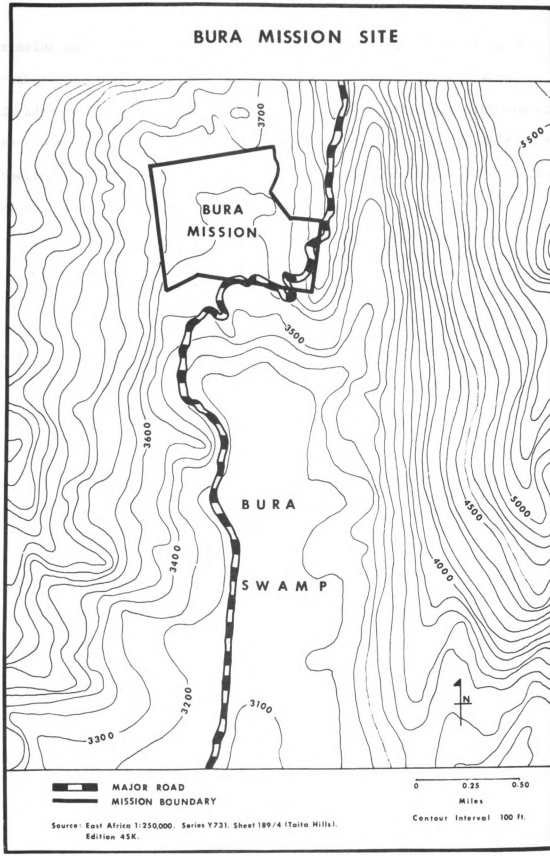
BURA MISSION SITE
BURA MISSION
BURA
SWAMP
3700
3500
3600
3400
3200
3100
3300
4500
5000
4000
5500
N
MAJOR ROAD
MISSION BOUNDARY
0
0.25
0.50
Miles
Contour Interval 100 ft.
Source: East Africa 1:250,000. Series Y731. Sheet 189/4 (Taita Hills). Edition 4SK.

Fig. 14.

mission goals. Many of the objectives of the Catholic missions were rather long term ones, the success of which often waited several decades for tangible evidence. At times the priests were discouraged by the slowness with which change appeared to occur. An example of this feeling is included in a letter from a priest at Bura to District Commissioner Brook in 1932.

> The Taitas do not want civilization. The parents do not encourage their children to go to school, the contrary takes place very often. All what [sic] they want is to conserve their old customs with plenty of beer, meat, and dances.[32]

Attempting to explain early marginal successes in their "civilizing mission" it was common to blame the prevalence of alcohol consumption, namely in the form of sugarcane beer (denge). In a letter to the District Commissioner in 1929, Father Finnegan of Bura Mission opined that:

> In view of the fact that most of the native grown sugarcane is cultivated for the illicit brewing of "tembo," I think it would be well if some steps were taken by government to have the planting of sugar cane restricted as much as possible, if not entirely prohibited in the native reserves.[33]

Sharing the feeling that the Taita were overly dependent on alcohol, the Acting District Commissioner, four years earlier had observed that:

> They are indifferent traders and I fear, somewhat addicted to drink. In this respect it was suggested at a meeting of the Native Council that government be asked to introduce legislation to restrict or control the growth of sugarcane.[34]

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[32]Letter, Father Muller to District Commissioner Brook, 30th. Dec., 1923, Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1923, p. 22.

[33]Letter, Father Finnegan to District Commissioner Jennings, Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1929, p. 20.

[34]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1925, p. 2.

Paradoxically, the alienation of land in Bura by the Catholic Mission may itself have encouraged an increase in the cultivation of sugarcane. Bura Valley is made up of two flat areas and extremely precipitous slopes. One flat area is very gently sloping and joins the surrounding plains to the south. The elevation of this area is between 3,200 feet toward the head of the Valley, and 3,050 feet where the Valley joins the plains. Even during the dry season this area has available water, and in fact is quite marshy.[35] In June of 1969, the water of one of the two streams that flow through this marsh was over two and one-half feet deep in the center. The width of the stream averaged only about eight feet. The soil in the bottom and on the banks was a black micaceous clay-loam. At that time there was both rice and sugar cane under cultivation. The consistent availability of moisture in the marsh enables the successful cultivation of sugar cane and rice.

Further up the valley there is a small escarpment in which the elevation increases more than 300 feet in less than a half mile. Above this lies the second flat area of approximately 2,500 acres. The Bura Mission occupies 1,000 acres of this plateau which ranges in elevation between 3,500 and 3,700 feet. Although sugarcane can be grown in this area it does far better in the lower area. The fact that the Mission alienated such a large portion was surely an aggravating factor in the

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[35]It is interesting to note that in 1870, Wakefield's informant related to him that the name Bura in Kidigo ". . . means a fen or marsh, where water lies concealed amongst the sedge, and must be turned aside before the water can be discovered. There is such a marsh at the base of Bura Mountain." T. Wakefield, "Notes on the Geography of Eastern Africa," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 40 (1870), 314.

early non-acceptance by the Taita of the priests. With this area largely withdrawn from independent African cultivation, the Taita resorted to farming the slopes even more than previously and also depended more on the lower valley. In other words, the missionary pressure on the upper valley encouraged movement to, and utilization of, the lower valley to a larger extent than previously. Recognizing that sugarcane was a dependable crop in the lower valley, the Taita became more involved in its cultivation.

Land-shortage in one area, historically, was mediated by emigration and or, by renting the use of land in another area. The importance of sugarcane and especially sugarcane beer or denge in these transactions is supported in the testimony of Mr. Marchant (former D.C. of Taita District) in which he stated: "Permission to cultivate another's land is usually obtained by payment of a quantity of sugar beer. . . ."[36] If, however, the growing of sugarcane, especially for conversion into beer or denge was proscribed, the effect would be to limit, severely, the ability of the Taita in that area to rent or buy the use of land elsewhere. With some of their land occupied by a mission and their ability to rent other land threatened, it is reasonable that many Taita from Bura began to search for other economic pursuits.

The making of sugarcane beer became illegal unless licensed according to the African Liquor Ordinance of 1930.[37] This law prohibited not only the sale, but also manufacture of African intoxicating

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[36]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 2732.

[37]The African Liquor Ordinance, Laws of Kenya, Cap. 122, Rev. 1962.

liquor whether it was for the individual's personal use or not.[38] It was possible under this law to be licensed to produce or distribute intoxicating liquor by petitioning the District Commissioner but for all intents and purposes this law, when enforced, made the production of sugarcane beer a limited and risky[39] enterprise. As a result of the restrictions on the production of denge, the Taita were forced to look to other means with which to seal contractual relations, including the rental of land. Ultimately this change can be seen as a part of the overall process of increasing involvement in a cash economy.

Other than religious training in which the Spiritans were most centrally involved, the greatest impact in the long-term view was their experimentation with plant varieties in Africa. In East Africa, among the plants which the Holy Ghost Fathers tried were coconuts, vanilla, and coffee. Coconuts had already been grown on the coast with commercial success by the Arabs, but vanilla and coffee were new introductions. The coffee grown was Coffee arabica with two major varieties, var. bourbon and var. arabica, being tried in the mission farms. The diffusion of arabica coffee to Kenya is a matter of some disagreement, but Kieran's hypothesis[40] of the path it may have taken appears to be quite reasonable. Kieran makes a strong case for the following diffusion: from Reunion in the Indian Ocean to Bagamoyo in 1877, to Mhonda in 1879,

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[38] Ibid., part III, Sec. 9, Para. 1.

[39] The maximum punishment was a fine of Sh. 1000 or imprisonment for six months, or both fine and imprisonment.

[40] Kieran, "The Origins of Commercial Arabica Coffee."

to Morogoro in 1884, to the Kilema Mission at Kilimanjaro in 1891, to Bura in Kenya in 1892, and from Bura to St. Austins in Nairobi in 1899.[41] From this reconstruction (Figure 15) it appears to have taken the remarkably short period of 22 years for coffee cultivation to advance from Bagamoyo, on the coast of present day Tanzania to Nairobi. It is also apparent that coffee was grown for seven years in Bura before 100 coffee seedlings from there were taken to St. Austin's in Nairobi.[42]

Arabica coffee growing increased in both Kenya and Tanganyika with the example of the Black Fathers' successful efforts. A major difference, however, came about in the two places which decreased the priests immediate positive impact on the Africans in Taita. The Black Fathers had concerned themselves with teaching Africans more modern agricultural techniques as well as the growing of new crops. With the increase in the numbers of European settlers to East Africa there arose a competition between the Africans and Europeans in the cultivation of coffee. "By 1907, European settlers on Kilimanjaro were already complaining of the danger of disease spreading to their plantations from African-grown coffee."[43] Succumbing to similar arguments, the Kenya government prohibited the growing of arabica coffee by Africans in Kenya on the grounds that:

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[41]Reconstructed from the text of Kieran, "The Origins of Commercial Arabica Coffee," pp. 55-62.

[42]Ibid., p. 62.

[43]June 27, 1901, Kilema Mission Journal, 1898-1905: J. Iliffe, "The German Administration in Tanganyika, 1906-1911: The Governorship of Freiherr von Rechenberg" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1965), 297 cited in Kieran, "The Origins of Commercial Arabica Coffee," p. 61.

Fig. 15.--The cultivation of Coffea arabica took only fifteen years to diffuse from Bagamoyo to Bura thanks to the botanical experimentation of the Spiritans.

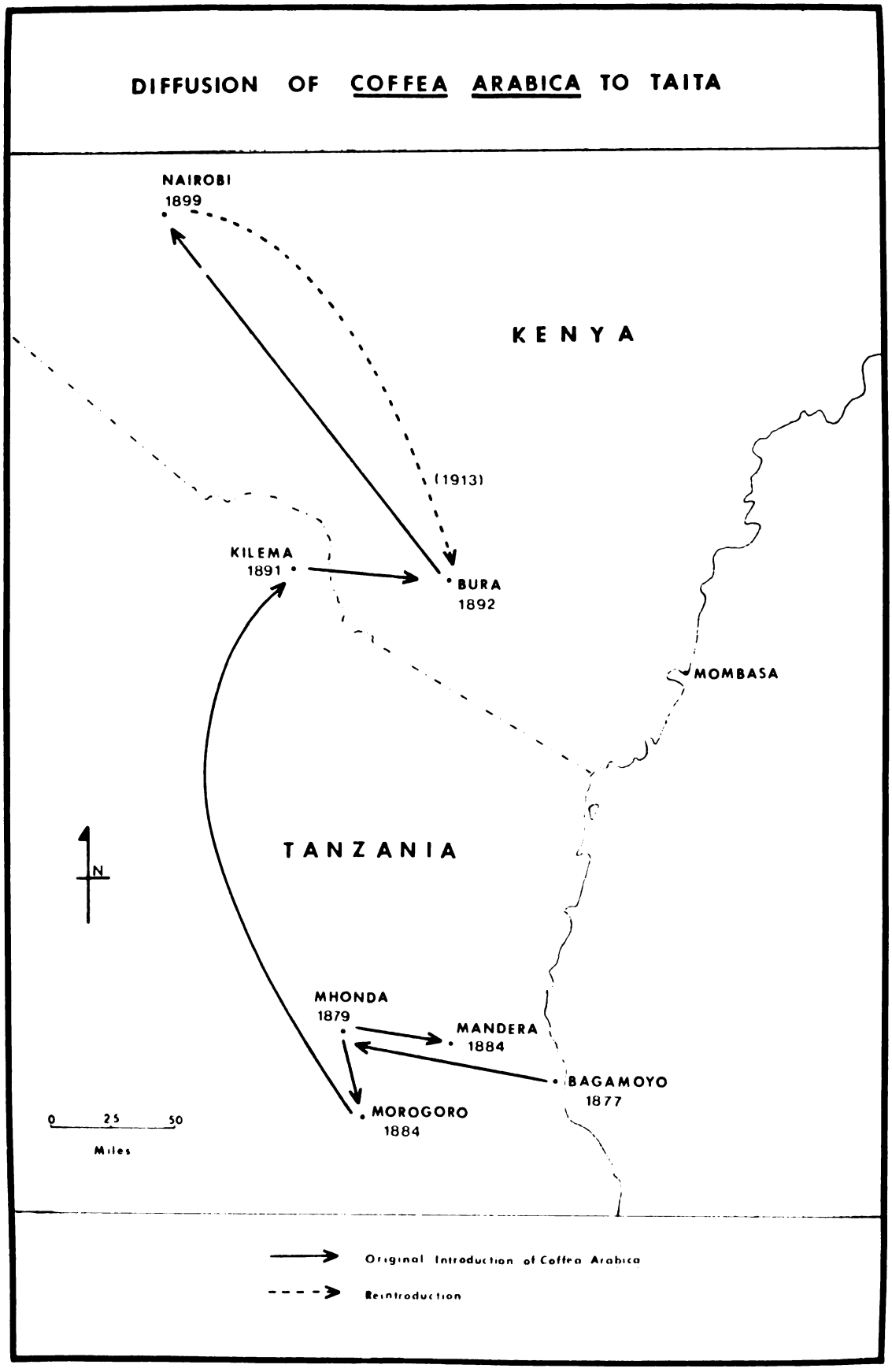
DIFFUSION OF COFFEA ARABICA TO TAITA
NAIROBI
1899
KENYA
(1913)
KILEMA
1891
BURA
1892
MOMBASA
TANZANIA
N
MHONDA
1879
MANDERA
1884
BAGAMOYO
1877
MOROGORO
1884
0 25 50
Miles
Original Introduction of Coffea Arabica
Reintroduction

Fig. 15.

> . . . native-grown coffee would lessen the confidence which the coffee buyers possess in the Kenya marks, and thus depreciate their value. But more important still, . . . it would lead to the introduction of coffee pests and ultimately to the virtual extinction of the industry.[44]

Coffee growing continued in Tanganyika, especially around Kilimanjaro, but Africans in Kenya were prohibited from growing arabica coffee. When in 1925 the Taita officially requested to be allowed to cultivate arabica,[45] their request was denied. From 1892, when the first plantings occurred at Bura, until 1946, when the government finally acceded to their requests, the Taita were frustrated in this avenue of modernization. Their evolving ability to economically compete with the European colonists was retarded by discriminatory legislation. In effect, then, this important impetus to join the cash economy, which originated with the Holy Ghost Mission at Bura, was thwarted until 1946.

Land pressure on the Taita, especially in regard to the supply of food, was traditionally met by two other strategies in addition to migration or rental; pastoralism and hunting. The hunting tradition was, until recently, a strong one among the Taita. This is evidenced by the fact that they not only made their own bows, but also were well known for the manufacture of arrow poison. Made from a species of Acocanthera which is found in the lower foothills of Taita, this poison was sold to other tribes as well as being used by the Taita themselves.[46] Another method used in hunting animals was the digging of pitfalls for

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[44]Great Britain, Report of the East African Commission (London: H.M.S.O., 1925), p. 152.

[45]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1933, p. 1.

[46]A. H. J. Prins, "A Teita Bow and Arrow," Man, 55, 1955, ff. 13.

the trapping of game. To the west of Bura Valley is an extension of the Serengeti Plains (Figure 2) which have gained world-wide attention as the habitat of abundant wildlife. Locally, this extension is referred to as Mashimoni, which freely translates as: "the place of the holes, or pits." This area has long been a hunting and grazing area for the Taita and especially for those from nearby Bura. This traditional land pressure relief valve then, was available when the Catholic Mission increased the already high population pressure in the Bura Valley.

The second major parcel of alienated land that was actually in the Hills was claimed by the Industrial Missions Aid Society[47] in 1903. It is to the purposes of this land alienation and its major effects on the Taita who were most directly concerned, that the following section is addressed.

The Wundanyi Mission

At the turn of the century the C.M.S. became committed to instruction in applied technology such as printing, smithing, carpentry, and brick-making, as well as instruction in Christian doctrine. To these combined ends, ". . . in 1903, the Industrial Missions Aid Society applied for an area of approximately two square miles in Dabida (Figure 16) for the purpose of cultivation."[48] The demarcation by Rev. Maynard, of these 1,288 acres, a larger plot than even the 1,000 acre Catholic Mission at Bura, was justified by the then Ven. Archdeacon Maynard in

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[47]A quasi-official arm of the Church Missionary Society.

[48]Great Britain, Report of the Kenya Land Commission (London: H.M.S.O., 1934), p. 320.

Fig. 16.--The cession of lands to commercial estates in the neighborhood of the Reserve removed much land from use by the Taita.

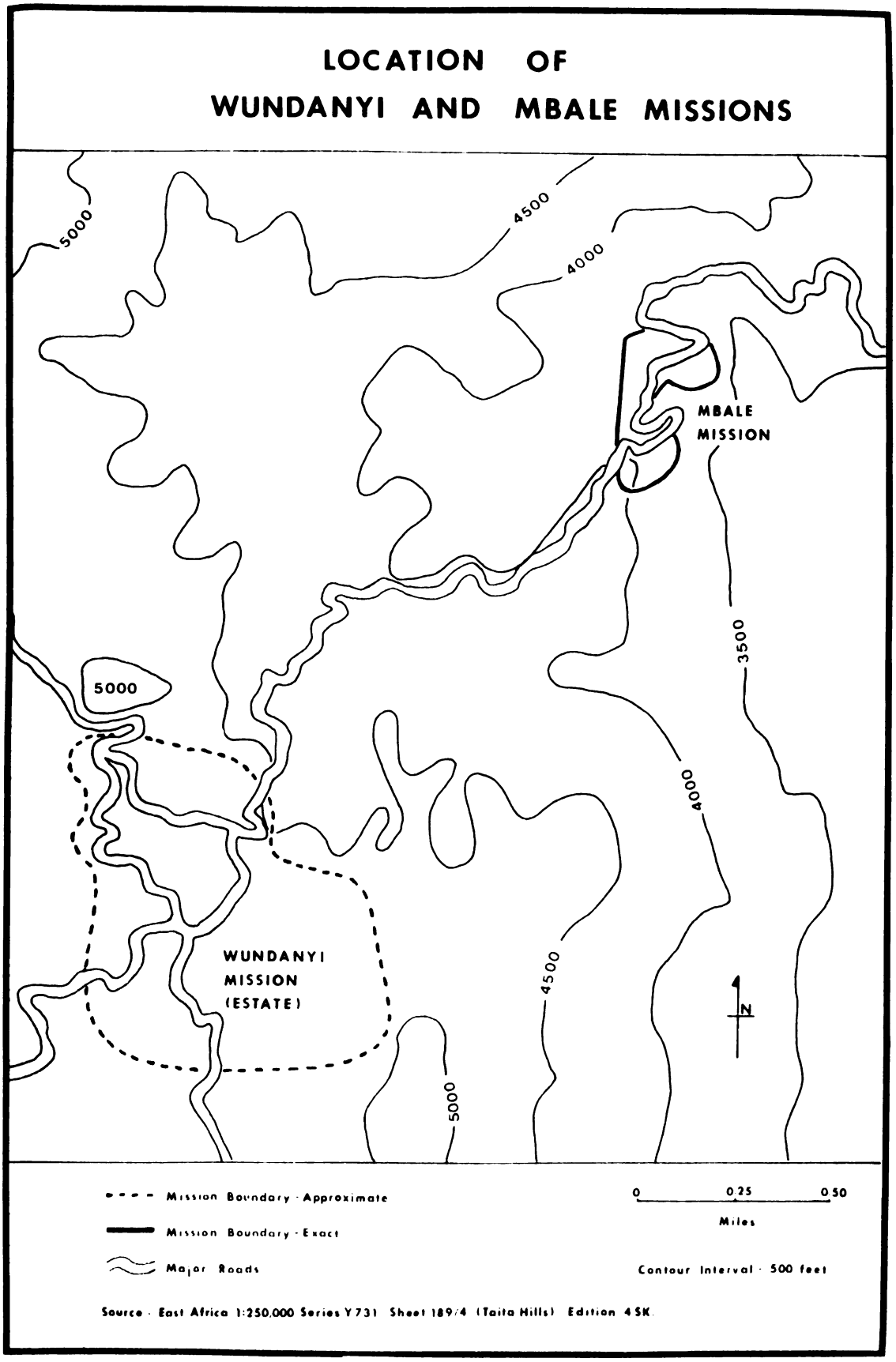
LOCATION OF
WUNDANYI AND MBALE MISSIONS
5000
4500
4000
MBALE
MISSION
3500
5000
4000
WUNDANYI
MISSION
(ESTATE)
4500
5000
N
Mission Boundary - Approximate
Mission Boundary - Exact
Major Roads
0
0.25
0.50
Miles
Contour Interval - 500 feet
Source - East Africa 1:250,000 Series Y731 Sheet 189/4 (Taita Hills) Edition 4SK.

Fig. 16.

1933, by the following statement.

> It was an industrial Mission attached to the Church Missionary Society with the object of helping the Church Missionary Society in its work by taking up land and helping the natives to cultivate better. This land was originally given to the Society for that purpose, of helping the people in the hills.[49]

In at least partial corroboration of Archdeacon Maynard's testimony, is the following abstract from a letter of Bishop Peel of Mombasa to Sub-Commissioner Tritton in 1903.

> On behalf of the Industrial Missions Aid Society, which has its offices at 17 Paternoster Row, London, I beg to apply for the following grant in Dabida for the purpose of cultivation (cotton, coffee, and castor oil, etc.), a free grant of two lots of 640 acres each. . . .[50]

After further appeal by the Bishop, the Survey and Land Office of the East Africa Protectorate, on the 24th of August, 1904, issued a "Permit to Occupy Unoccupied Crown Land Pending Survey."[51] This document allowed the I.M.A.S. to temporarily occupy and demarcate the Wundanyi plots without an official survey.

Even though Bishop Peel, acting as Director of the I.M.A.S. expressed a willingness to compensate Taita for occupied land that might fall within the land grant,[52] according to testimony by several witnesses this was never done. When questioned before the Carter Commission,[53] regarding action taken to ascertain which Taita were occupying

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 2799.

[51] Ibid., p. 2801.

[52] Ibid., p. 2799.

[53] The Kenya Land Commission of 1933-34 was also called the Carter Commission after its chairman, Morris Carter.

the grant land, and steps taken to compensate them for their losses, Archdeacon Maynard replied as follows.

> There were no steps taken at all at that time. I do not think it was ever contemplated that we should have to compensate all of the people; it was just any land that we required that people were cultivating--if one really took over that land, one had to compensate them. The original idea was to allow the people to remain there.[54]

In light of these expressions of original intent by members of the C.M.S. it is useful, at this point, to review the conditions under which land in East Africa could be alienated. In what appears to be explicit language, the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, Section 30, it is stated: "In all dealings with Crown Lands, regard shall be had to the rights and requirements of the natives, and in particular the Commissioner shall not sell or lease any land in the actual occupation of natives."[55] It appears from the language of the Ordinance, that no matter whether the intent of the I.M.A.S. was "to help the natives cultivate better," or not, that their occupation of this block of land was in contravention of both the spirit and the letter of the law. The tenure of the I.M.A.S. was relatively short, in that, the title was transferred to East African Industries Ltd., in 1906. This company was formed in 1904, by Mr. Victor Buxton, ". . . in order to provide employment for the mission's (C.M.S.) industrial trainees."[56]

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[54]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, p. 2759.

[55]Ibid., p. 2798, emphasis is this author's.

[56]Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, pp. 214-15.

East African Industries activities in Wundanyi appear to have been almost completely commercial. Any argument that, by their example of coffee cultivation, they were training the Taita to farm coffee is obviated by the well known prohibition against African coffee growing in Kenya. It must be concluded that in the case of Wundanyi, at least, the impact of both the I.M.A.S. and East African Industries Ltd. was, on balance, largely negative. Through an apparent lack of communication between the Europeans who alienated the land and the Taita who lived on or near the plot, an argument over rights of cultivation persisted.

Testimony by Taita to the Kenya Land Commission reveals that there was a longstanding disillusionment with European settlers being in the Taita Hills. In the case of Wundanyi, the Taita expected a church and some small gardens, but not the large number of acres that were granted. Since, however, the legally recognized ownership of Wundanyi was transferred to the Companies of East African Industries Ltd., and later to Wundanyi, Ltd., further discussion of its prospects and problems will be deferred until the section of this chapter which treats private companies.

Other Mission Lands

Although Bura and Wundanyi were the two largest alienated plots in the Dabida segment of Taita District, they were not the only plots claimed by affiliates of Christian missions. In addition to these two sites, there were: Wusi Mission (C.M.S.), Mbale Mission (C.M.S.), and

90 acres that Rev. Verbi purchased at Ngerenyi in 1904 for 900 or 1,000 Rupees.[57]

There were occasional disagreements between the occupants of these sites and the Taita, but they seem insignificant when compared to the problems surrounding the Wundanyi and Bura Missions. In the case of Ngerenyi, the land was actually in the private ownership of Rev. Verbi who grew coffee on the plot, and also diverted water from a community stream for irrigation purposes. His alienation of land both for personal and church use seems to have been more acceptable to the Taita by reason of his attempts to compensate the previous occupants.

There were quite a number of other churches and church properties in Taita in 1968 and 1969 when this researcher lived there, but these properties appear to have been acquired through local community action, involvement, and decision. They were formed with the advice and consent of the local Taita, to a much greater extent than the earlier missions had been. As late as the early 1950's the Dabida section of Taita was very nearly divided by a North-South line separating the Catholics into the Western half and the Protestants into the eastern half.[58] This condition appeared to be greatly modified, though remnants of the pattern remained, between the 1950's and the year in which this fieldwork was completed. Both Catholics and Protestants seemed to live in most parts of Dabida.

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[57]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 3303.

[58]Alfred Harris, private interview University of Rochester, New York, June 1968.

The overall impact of Christian mission influence in Taita appears to have included an increased awareness of the outside world, a feeling of the need for interaction with that world, and a search for the institutions which could mediate the transition from traditional parochial concerns to wider national ones. The coincident influence of the missions, colonial government, and commercial companies in this transition are extremely important and will be more apparent when the activities in Taita of the remaining two establishments (colonial government and commercial companies) have been explained.

Private Companies

The expansion of European commercial activity into East Africa, especially into what later became Kenya, was fitful, often under-infinanced, and rather late compared to European commerce in other parts of Africa. The motives for the establishment of British companies in East Africa were quite often an amazing complex of imperialism, "free-market" economics, monopoly formation, and humanitarianism. The successful education of Europeans about the continuing East African slave-trade stimulated the formation of various strategies to counteract the trade. Besides the efforts of Christian missions, discussed above, it was also true that commercial companies became involved in attempts to stem the tide of slaves out of East Africa. There were varying degrees of cooperation between commercial concerns, missionaries, and British government officials, especially in the realm of stopping the slave-trade. What cooperation existed was strengthened by the fact that many company personnel were themselves members of the mission or humanitarian societies

in Britain and, as will be shown later in this chapter, many stayed on to become government officials when the British government became officially responsible for East African administration.

Many Britons were convinced that a long-run solution to the slave-trade problem could be had by encouraging, often forcibly, the substitution of legitimate commerce for that in slaves. In addition to the humanitarian aspects of this arrangement, it was also believed that economic benefits would accrue both to Africans and to British traders. Among those sharing this belief were Sir Fowell Buxton and William Mackinnon who planned, in 1876, to finance the construction of a road from the coast to Lake Nyasa in order to replace the slave trade with legitimate trade.[59] There was also a sense of the inevitableness of greater economic and social interaction of East Africa with the rest of the world.

> Mackinnon shared the Anglo-Scottish nineteenth-century conviction of the inevitability and desireability of material progress. He accepted unquestioningly the superiority of his own moral standards and the truth of the precepts of his church. He undoubtedly believed the Africans would benefit from British trade, British institutions, and British religion.[60]

In light of increasing competition with the United States and Germany, in particular, and the economic depression in Britain from 1873 through 1896, it is easier to appreciate the inclination of some in Britain to secure new markets in Africa. The view that colonies were necessary was hotly debated in this period of British history. In 1895

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[59]Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa, p. 302.

[60]John S. Galbraith, Mackinnon and East Africa, 1878-1895 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 15.

Lord Lugard, supporting colonial expansion, said that the dividing up of Africa,

> . . . was the natural overflow of the nations of Europe into the waste places of the earth, following the law which has guided and indeed formed the history of the world.[61]

The implication of natural law in the above statement attempts to justify, and more, to encourage greater expansion into Africa. Lugard's statement and its implicit philosophy parallel, in economic terms, what Ratzel expressed a year later in more generality in his discussion of the state as an organism.[62]

The halting establishment of British companies in East Africa represented a curious mixture of civilizing mission, ending the slave-trade, opening up the country to trade with the (British) world and keeping the British State (organism) alive by economic expansion and growth. One company in which all these motives have been identified was the Imperial British East Africa Company. This company, under the direction of William Mackinnon tried unsuccessfully in 1878 to come to an agreement with the Sultan of Zanzibar about the terms of the company's activities on the East African mainland. It was not until 1887 that terms were finally agreed to, which allowed the Company to operate in the British sphere of interest on the coast and in the hinterland. The length of time between first attempts and final agreement was not

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[61]F. D. Lugard, "The Extension of British Influence (and Trade) in Africa," Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, 27 (1895-96), 6, cited in John S. Galbraith, Mackinnon and East Africa, p. 8. Underlining is this writer's.

[62]Friedrich Ratzel, "The Laws of the Spatial Growth of States," trans. by r. Bolin, in The Structure of Political Geography, eds. R. E. Kasperson, and J. V. Minghi (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

entirely due to intransigeance on the parts of the Sultan or Mackinnon's agents, however.

Underlying the difficulty of arranging a mutual settlement was the ambivalence of the British government itself. Wanting, on the one hand, to expand British commerce overseas, and on the other, to refrain from further international political commitment, the government alternatively encouraged and then discouraged the establishment of I.B.E.A. in East Africa. This commitment in principle, but not by supportive deed, was mirrored by many of the businessmen of Manchester as well.

> The Manchester Chamber of Commerce and leading industrialists who belonged to it ardently advocated British expansion in East Africa in the mid-1880's, but the resources necessary to carry out their desires were not forthcoming from the Manchester area.[63]

These inconsistencies in British government and independent businessmen's policies perpetuated the uncertainty of investment in East Africa.

In light of German business expansion into East Africa and the apparent sanction of Bismark's government of German commerce in Africa, the British began to focus their policy on encouraging, indirectly at least, British business development there. Although it is not the purpose of this work to trace a history of British commercial developments in East Africa, it is helpful to understand the tenor of the times, in which the establishment of commercial firms relevant to the Taita experience took place. Following the example of I.B.E.A., other firms invested their efforts in Kenya and it is to those, which had direct relevance to the people of Taita, that the attention of this paper is now directed.

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[63]Galbraith, Mackinnon and East Africa, p. 9.

The concern of this section is to detail the nature of various companies' impact on the Taita's conceptions of the approved uses of land, labor, and capital. These elements, and the inter-relationships between them, have been discussed in a "traditional" framework earlier in this work. To more clearly understand the transition or process of change in the Taita's conception of the proper interplay of land, labor, and capital it is useful to organize the following discussion into three main themes; first, company land alienation, second, company labor requirements, and third, Taita complaints about company practices. Each activity that is included will be considered in light of these three elements.

Wundanyi Ltd.

With the major exception of the Wundanyi Estate, most of the commercial firm land alienations that had a direct effect upon the Taita were outside the reserve boundaries. The Wundanyi estate, however, was located in the middle of the reserve and was, as previously stated, a point of Taita disenchantment and grievance almost from its establishment.

In 1906, the same year that freehold title was granted, the Industrial Missions Aid Society transferred the title to East African Industries Ltd. They kept the land until 1916, at which time they, in turn, sold it to a company called Wundanyi Ltd. The documents of transfer and sale indicate that these transactions were more "paper" than actual. In one set of documents the sellers and purchasers had the same London address. This last company, wundanyi Ltd., leased the land, in

1922, to Major Dru Drury for a period of ten years. The conditions of his lease were very much on the order of a franchise in which he was advanced capital from the company to develop the estate, in particular the commercial cultivation of coffee, and from the profits made he was to repay the advance and his own salary.

There were both advantages and disadvantages to the Taita, resulting from this major land alienation by Europeans. The total acreage of 1288 acres was not outstanding in comparison with European land claims in other parts of Kenya. The Wundanyi estate was, however, the largest parcel alienated that was actually in the hills. In testimony submitted to the Carter Commission in 1933, Hobley observed, "this grant covers one of the few flat areas in the mountain mass, and I submit that its approval was unfortunate for it was even at the time of its allotment of great value to the Taita tribe."[64] The use of the land varied under the lease to Major Drury as the following statement from the Kenya Land Commission shows.

> In addition to the manager's house and garden, the estate includes a small golf course, and 173 acres of coffee in bearing. The remainder of the estate is thickly occupied and cultivated by the natives, who are not registered as squatters, but live the normal life of natives in a reserve.[65]

The planting of coffee on the Wundanyi Estate could be considered as supporting evidence to the contention of some, that the management of the Estate was setting a good example in farming techniques.

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[64]Great Britain, Report of the Kenya Land Commission, p. 321.

[65]Ibid.

Unfortunately this "good example" along with the growing of coffee at Ngerenyi by Reverend Verbi, served more as stimuli to increase Taita frustrations, rather than increasing their levels of economic achievement. This was true because of the legal restrictions placed upon African cultivatin of arabica coffee in Kenya.

Some of the frustration felt by the Taita was derived from their inability to redress their grievances when they presented them to the District officers. The following evidence from the testimony of Daniel Peter to the Kenya Land Commission illustrates this point well.

> When Mr. Drury came he uprooted growing crops from the people's shambas--banana trees, crops and maduma--everything that was in the shambas. We were very upset over this, and we came before Mr. Platts, the then District Commissioner. Mr. Platts and cr. Drury came up, and Mr. Platts pointed out that Mr. Drury could cultivate in such and such a place, but not on the other side of Wundanyi stream. We saw afterwards that Mr. Drury was increasing his cultivation, and was planting coffee and uprooting the natives' crops that were in the shambas.[66]

Before the coming of Europeans, the Taita limited the selling of their labor to the occasional caravan to which some would contract as porters. Labor, other than for this activity, was very largely confined to exchanges within clan and lineage limits. An example of a labor exchange in traditional society might be instructive here. If a man were opening a new field for cultivation, or building a terrace and irrigation network on his land, he might find that labor additional to his and his immediate family's was required. On this occasion he would call on his brothers, or other close relatives for aid. The usual case involved indirect payment for the labor in the medium of food and drink

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[66]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 2747.

while the work was in progress, and a specified amount of beer (denge) to be brewed for the worker's consumption at the completion of the project. This was often accompanied by the roasting of meat as well.

According to informants this labor exchange arrangement often included men from outside a lineage who were personal friends of the contractor or of his relatives. It is fair to say, then, that the selling of labor, though not for actual money, was institutionally rooted in Taita society before Europeans appeared. The Wundanyi estate did employ African labor to clear, plant, and cultivate as well as harvest the yield. The following table reveals the employment of Wundanyi Ltd.

As indicated in Table 3, the numbers of Taita who were employed by Wundanyi Ltd. were quite small, and more importantly, those that were employed were, for the most part, only occasional laborers. The period of the year when the most sustained employment occurred was during harvest time. Due to the characteristics of coffee ripening, this employment was of longer duration than one might expect in the harvest of other crops, like maize or wheat for instance. The cherries, that is the berries, within which usually two coffee beans are contained, do not all ripen at the same time. If a grower hopes to maintain a consistency in the quality of the coffee, he is obliged to pick the cherries only when they are ripe. If this practice is followed, a more uniform quality is assured, and the continued employment of laborers to pick only the ripe cherries is required.

The payment for this labor was in both cash and ground corn meal (posho). The fact that Major Drury kept a small shop in which a limited amount of consumer items could be purchased with the cash, can only be

TABLE 3

WUNDANYI ESTATE STATISTICS

Year	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Total acres cultivated	190	190	173	188	n.d.
Acres under coffee cultivation	173	173	173	188	n.d.
Exported coffee in tons	5.50	18.00	19.35	20.00	n.d.
Taita employed[a]	50	70	82[b]	n.d.	n.d.

Source: The Annual Reports of Taita District were consulted, and from the statistics contained therein this table was constructed. Subsequent Annual Reports failed to list a continuation of this information from 1927 onward, nor were there figures for years previous to 1923.

[a]This employment figure is really a yearly average, and should not be taken to mean that this number of Taita were employed year round.

[b]In addition to this number there were apparently also 18 children employed, on an average, through the year 1925.

seen as a positive inducement to seeking cash employment. This sort of persuasion to become involved in the cash economy is a time-tested one which has been almost universally applied. The establishment of shops in nearby Voi, Mwatate, Bura, and Kedai with the building of the Uganda Railway and its military confluent the Taveta Railway, helped to induce the Taita to become cash consumers. Some of the shops were associated with the sisal directly, others located near the estates in the hope of attracting consumers from amongst potential sisal estate laborers. As Figure 17 shows, quite sizeable plots of land were granted or leased for agricultural estates.

Fig. 17.--Nearly two square miles of territory were awarded to the C.M.S. at Wundanyi in one of the major elevated flat-land areas. The size of Wundanyi far exceeded Mbale's.

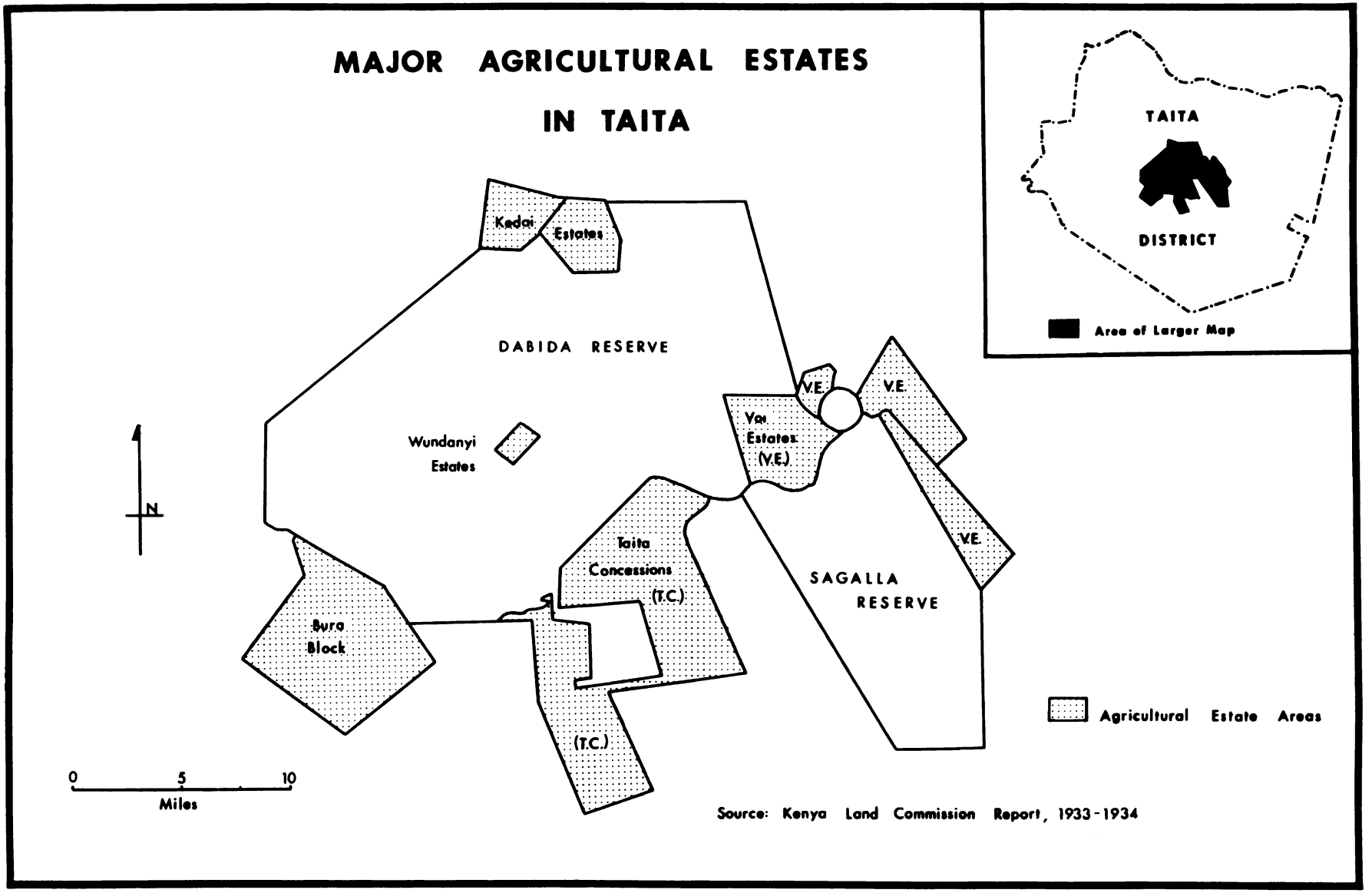
MAJOR AGRICULTURAL ESTATES
IN TAITA
TAITA
DISTRICT
Area of Larger Map
Kadai Estates
DABIDA RESERVE
Wundanyi Estates
V.E.
V.E.
Van Estates (V.E.)
V.E.
Taita Concessions (T.C.)
SAGALLA RESERVE
Bura Block
(T.C.)
N
0 5 10
Miles
Agricultural Estate Areas
Source: Kenya Land Commission Report, 1933-1934

Fig. 17.

The Sisal Estates

Locating these agricultural estates on the plains around the Taita and Sagalla Hills was done for a complex of reasons. This area was attractive to commercial agricultural development because of the presence of the Uganda railway, and because of the nearby source of potential agricultural laborers in both Dabida and Sagalla. The physical characteristics of the land were though to be an advantage also, because of the large plots of seemingly untilled, gently sloping, well drained land available. The success of the Germans in sisal cultivation on similar land, with like rainfall receipts, to the west and south, also encouraged this type of enterprise. The presence of nearly perennial streams for the washing, soaking and decorticating of sisal was yet another attraction. The estates immediately around Voi used water from the Voi River and eventually from the Kigombo reservoir which was built just northeast of Ronge Chini in Dabida. The sisal estate south of Mwatate drew water from the Mwatate River and from a reservoir built just south of the Taveta Railway. The Kedai estate took water from the Mbololo River and from streams which orginated in Werugha as well.

The Kedai Estate

The use of water was, in several instances, a bone of contention between the Taita and the sisal estates. The case in which the Taita seem to have had the greatest justification for complaint concerned the diversion of water by the Kedai Sisal Estate, just to the north of the Hills. In the original permit to the company, the government

". . . authorized the diversion of as much water as can be conveyed by a 4-inch pipe or half the flow of the stream, whichever may be the lesser."[67] This restriction on company use of water was apparently not enforced prior to 1934. It was reported in evidence to the Kenya Land Commission of 1933-34, that additional pipes had been installed to tap water from other streams, and that several times the water was taken from upstream leaving none for the Taita living downstream for irrigation. The Commission was also told:

> . . . that the manager and his employees had forcibly closed down furrows in native reserves situated many miles above the intake; that in one case they had forcibly taken a native, who was irrigating, down to the Kedai Plantation and covered him with tar. . . .[68]

Besides overstepping their authorized use of water and harassing individual Taita, the Kedai company systematized their usurpation of government authority by sending the following notice out to Taita living within watershed areas that the company was interested in securing for themselves. This is a translation of the notice sent and is as follows:

> To Mjama,
>
> If there is sufficient water for the needs of Kedai Estate it will be safe for the people of Veruga to use the water of the River Bolobolo to irrigate the shambas in the Veruga district. It will be your duty to see that the people at Umingu are not deprived of water.
>
> If the supply of water diminishes, it will be the duty of the inhabitants of Veruga to cease irrigating.[69]

The Kedai company had no legal authority, whatsoever, to establish such discriminatory, autocratic, and self-serving policies. In this instance

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[67] Ibid., p. 2825.

[68] Ibid., p. 2826.

[69] Ibid., p. 2827.

the company apparently operated in the belief that the Taita could be more effectively coerced if a pretension of government sanction of company policy were maintained.

The alienation of land which the Kedai Estate occupied appears to have conflicted only marginally with Taita occupation. This drier side of the Hills is not, even now, as densely settled as the interior, southern, and western portions. The major local economic activity with which the Estate conflicted was the herding of cattle. The planting of sisal introduced a physical barrier to movement of cattle and also removed the grass upon which they had earlier grazed. This was only a minor perturbation in comparison to the earlier mentioned interference of the Estate with the farming practices of the neighboring Taita. On the more positive side of Kedai's impact on the Taita is the employment of Taita as laborers. In a letter to the Kenya Land Commission in March of 1933, the manager of Kedai Fibre Estate observed that:

> Considerable numbers of the Teita living in the vicinity of the stream, from which the pipe draws water, are workers on this Estate. . . . Throughout the whole period of the present world depression the Estate has continued sisal production. As a source where natives could work for the means to provide for the payment of their hut taxes the Estate is available.[70]

An earlier Estate manager reported to the District Commissioner that the average labor employed per month by the company ranged from 250 to 450 individuals.[71] All the Africans employed were not Taita, however; some came from as far away as the Kavirondo area adjacent to Lake Victoria. Interestingly enough there appears to have been a differentiation in

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[70] Ibid., p. 2728.

[71] Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1921.

wages received by Taita and Wakavirondo employed at Kedai. The Taita wages ranged from five to seven Rupees per month, whereas the Wakavirondo received a straight five Rupees per month.[72] In addition to cash, other forms of remuneration existed, including disbursement of corn meal and medical care at the company infirmary.

Referring to this last form of compensation the manager at Kedai stated that:

> Our native hospital and medicines are always available and made use of by natives from the reserve when time and distance does not always render it possible to attend the Government hospital in the reserve.[73]

A year after this statement was made the District Commissioner ordered an inspection of the facilities at Kedai, and found that the housing for African laborers was poor and unsanitary, and that there were, at that time, eight verified cases of relapsing fever among the African employees.[74]

When, in the course of the field research for this report, the Kedai Estate was visited in February of 1969, there was little apparent activity. Driving from roughly west to east on a dry-weather murram road, the condition of the plantation was in great contrast to both the Voi Estates and the Taita Concessions. Whereas the sisal was well tended and weeded in these other estates, at Kedai it appeared to be much overgrown and there were no obvious signs of recent cultivation.

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[72] Ibid.; a year after this the Kenya government changed from Rupees to Shillings.

[73] Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 2828.

[74] Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1934, p. 9.

Perpendicular to the road there were two rows of houses, all attached, which were reported to be laborers houses in busier times at the Estate.

Taita Concessions Ltd.

Sisal estates also developed around the township of Voi and to the south of Mwatate. Taita Concessions Ltd. began its operations in 1927, just south of Mwatate on a lease of 36,184 acres. The reasons for the location of the estate on this block of land involved several considerations. An extremely important factor was the proximity of the Voi-Taveta railway which either closely parallels the boundary of the estate, or passes through estate land, for more than two-thirds of the company's northern boundary. For the extraction of fiber from the fleshy leaf of the sisal plant, water is required and this need was met by withdrawing water from the Mwatate River, on the banks of which a part of the factory was built. To insure a constant supply of water a dam was constructed south of the railway. In addition to the presence of water and the railway, there was also the availability of labor from this end of the Hills, which have had heavier population densities ever since these facts have been recorded. Indirectly, it was this density of African population that led to disagreements between the Taita and the Sisal estate.

As suggested earlier (Figure 5, Chapter II), there was an ebb and flow of plains settlement by the Taita in concert with wet and dry years. Some of the migrants stayed, whereas others more temporarily occupied plains land. Reverend Maynard, who came to Taita in late 1895, stated to the Carter Commission in 1932, that:

> To my knowledge, that Mwatate Valley has been cultivated for four miles south of the railway for years. There is also some 600 to 800 acres nearer Voi that has, to my knowledge, also been cultivated for many years--that is all in Teita Concessions. . . . I can never understand why they did get this shamba land, as there was any amount of other land equally useful to the Teita Concessions which they could have taken and cultivated. At the time they were surveying this plot, they cut through the people's standing corn.[75]

The population inhabiting Mwatate were not all Taita, however, because the colonial[76] government had relocated a community of Kasigao in the area in 1917 after their having been deported to Malindi.[77] When, . . .

> In 1927, the Teita Concessions, Limited, commenced operations, . . . the Kasigao were moved back to the waterless hills called Sembe and Vongoloni[78] (on Teita Concessions, Limited, land). . . . The company was given a further 10,000 acres to compensate them for land in occupation by the Kasigao. . . .[79]

The Taita Concession needed labor for successful operation and their requirements were filled by Africans from a variety of places. Some laborers were Kamba, Luyia, Luo, Taita, and still others came from as far away as Kavirondo. Associated with the sisal estate were several stores which offered a variety of consumer items to African laborers,

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[75]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 2761.

[76]The term colonial government is used as a convenient shorthand term for governments under the auspices of both the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office after the British Government replaced the I.B.E.A. administration in 1895.

[77]Kenya, Taita Political Record Book, Vol. II, TTA/6, p. 9. They were originally deported to Malindi from Kasigao during World War I because of alleged collusion with the Germans.

[78]The spelling Vongoloni has been displaced more recently by the spelling Zongoloni.

[79]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. III, p. 2736.

often for credit. Although statistics were not available to this researcher concerning labor employed at the Taita Concession, in excess of 250 houses for laborers were observed, in 1969.

Housing conditions at Taita Concessions Ltd. were occasionally cause for discontent, on the part of the laborers and, when alerted, on the part of the government. In 1934 an inspection by the government discovered the infestation by ticks of fifty-one laborer's dwellings on the Taita Concessions housing lines.[80] This condition existed in spite of the fact that four years earlier there had been an outbreak of plague ". . . at Mwatate on Taita Concessions land early in October, and there were a few deaths in the reserves, all of men from the estate at Mwatate."[81] It must not be assumed from this evidence that the concessionaires were not committed to maintaining the health of their workers, but rather, that the job was larger than they had anticipated.

Sisal at Voi

Labor was drawn from many Districts by the plantations around Voi. More recently known as the Voi sisal Estates, some of the land was previously used for the growing of limes and other portions are reported to have been used for experimentation with types of wild rubber. For the most part, the Voi Estates did not displace African cultivators, though a few were dislocated in the company's attempts to secure lands near the Voi River. The fact that it was a rail center helped Voi to

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[80] Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1934, p. 11.

[81] Ibid., TTA/1930, p. 12.

attract labor from other parts of East Africa as well as from the Taita Hills. As will be apparent in the next section of this paper, the fact that Voi was for so long the administrative center of the District also encouraged people to investigate its employment potential. In 1921 the labor employed at Voi to work sisal was reported as averaging 360 men and 105 boys per month.[82] Six years later, Major Layzell, then manager of British East Africa Corporation Sisal, Voi, informed the District Commissioner that Taita labor was paid eighteen shillings per month.[83]

Other Commercial Companies

There were some difficulties with the Voi Estates, but not to the same extent that the Taita had with either Kedai or Taita Concessions. The government inspection that took place in 1934 also found tick infestations in laborers quarters at Voi, to the extent of 108 dwellings being affected.[84] It would be reasonable to explain the relative harmony between the Taita and the Voi Estates by the lack of contested land questions between them. There were, of course, labor management problems but once again to a lesser extent than with the other more controversial companies.

Although it would be incorrect to assume that the commercial concerns discussed above were the only ones with which the Taita had dealings, it would be correct to appreciate the degree of daily consciousness that the Taita had of the presence of these estates in their

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[82] Ibid., TTA/1921, p. 6.

[83] Ibid., TTA/1927, p. 10.

[84] Ibid., TTA/1934, p. 11.

midst. The fact that they did require land, to which the Taita often felt a sense of communal, if not individual, usufructual right, certainly increased the tribal awareness of, and wariness toward these organizations. Labor was, of course, exported from the Hills for employment in Mombasa, Malindi, Taveta and was also reported to have been secretly trucked into Tanganyika to work on estates in the Moshi area.[85] The exportation of labor was not always greeted with approbation, however, as the following remarks from the Acting District Commissioner indicate.

> It is, however, to be regretted that a very large number migrate to the Coast where they work as "kibaruas," or day-labourers. This is bad for the native as well as the District where there is plenty of demand. In the former case they contract disease and bad habits, while in the latter the supply these days scarcely meets the demand. The headmen themselves complain of the migration for the same reasons. . . . It is true that most return eventually to the Reserve, but they become indolent and lazy and spread venereal disease.[86]

Besides adding to the Taita's heightened understanding of a wider world of social and economic interaction, the commercial companies also appear to have played a large role in the eventual restructuring of their views of the relationships between land, labor, and capital. The coincidence of the religious missions' implied economic behavior patterns, and the labor requirements of the commercial concerns, were an almost irresistible combination in modifying the Taita's world view, and their conception of their place in that world. Standing at times above, and at other times in the midst of these two major forces for change, the colonial government was often required to develop policy

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[85] Ibid., TTA/1936, p. 14.

[86] Ibid., TTA/1925, p. 11.

which served all parties and did not unnecessarily hinder any. It is with the attempts of the colonial government to represent all interests, and its eventual acceptance, by the Taita, as a replacement for traditional grievance redressing mechanisms that the following section is concerned.

Colonial Government

One could conceive of the Omani Arab control of coastal areas, as the beginning of colonial government in East Africa. Though the authority of the Omani, and later, the Zanzibar sultans was differentially effective from place to place on the coast, and was successively diluted the further into the hinterland that one travelled, in the nineteenth century, it was with this identifiable authority that European bodies implemented mission, commercial, and administrative arrangements. The pattern of missionary, trader, soldier-administrator in successive waves of occupation, culminating in colonial control is certainly a tempting explanation in the case of East Africa. A difficulty with a formulation of this type, however, lies in the degree of oversimplification of the processes of social change that it implies, as well as its deterministic quality. Though it might prove a simpler, and in some ways a more comfortable, explanation of the institution of colonialism, the search for a single underlying cause tends to mask the complex interplay of forces in both Europe and Africa which gave rise to the presence of European colonialists in East Africa.

The attrition of Arab power and authority in East Africa began in earlier centuries with their expansion inland, with the establishment

of nearly independent city-states on the coast, and with the activities of the Portuguese. In the uncertain maneuverings of the British, French, and German governments, focussing on the acquisition of colonial territories, the process of erosion of Arab power in East Africa was hastened. A dependency upon one European power for protection from another was inculcated, which ultimately sapped the power of the Zanzibar sultans to such an extent that few decisions could be made or implemented without consultation with, and the acquiescence of, the particular European power. Although the actual administration of coastal towns beyond Zanzibar had for years been entrusted to independent agents of the Sultan, who were paid a percentage of customs duties and other administrative fees, these agents were usually co-religionists and non-Europeans. With the acceptance of the conditions of the I.B.E.A.'s charter, this situation changed radically.

Effectively, the concession to I.B.E.A. by the Sultan of Zanzibar made the company the on-the-spot administration. With the exception of possible treaty guarantees previously made to other nations (France, Germany, and the U.S.A.) the powers of the company were nearly unlimited. I.B.E.A. was required to return a percentage of fees and profits from mineral exploits to the Sultan, which in essence was in the nature of a guaranteed income for him. At the same time he relieved himself of many of the expenses of administering a widely dispersed territory. Since some of the previously made treaties dealt with the establishment and maintenance of trade, the company could not effectively implement a monopoly in trade. An additional result of the earlier treaties was the maximum rate of customs dues allowable, therefore limiting the company's

freedom to adjust them for higher profits.[87] Among the many powers exercised by I.B.E.A. was that of making treaties with ". . . subordinate and and other native chiefs. . . ."[88] The following table shows some of the treaty schedule facts that apply to Taita District. The text of the treaties reveals the intent of I.b.E.A. to serve as "the government" in East Africa.

TABLE 4

TAITA DISTRICT SCHEDULE OF TREATIES

Number	Date[a]	Names of Chiefs	Tribes or District
2	20-6-1887	Mearoni; Tomwatu; Lodali; Mali Vishne; Salook	Wataveta
3	20-6-1887	Mbogoli; Kamba; M'taveta	Wataita

Source: Memorandum by the Commissioner of Lands, Appendix I, in Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Vol. I (London: H.M.S.O., 1934[, p. 69.

[a]Often, the date of the Concession to the I.B.E.A. by the Sultan of Zanzibar is recorded as October 9, 1888, which at first reading seems in conflict with the dates of signature of the five treaties referred to here. In actual fact the Concession was first agreed to by the Sultan, in much shorter form, on May 24, 1887. Queen Victoria granted a royal charter to the company on September 3, 1888, and this fact together with the assigning of one founder's share of stock in the Company, occasioned the re-issuing of a longer, more specific, edition of the Concession in 1888.

[87]For a full exposition of the conditions of the sultan's concession to I.B.E.A. see Appendix I, p. 457ff. In P. L. McDermott, British East Africa or I.B.E.A. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1895).

[88]Ibid., p. 464.

The following is the text of the general, form-treaty which the company used.

> LET IT BE KNOWN to all whom it may concern that . . . has placed himself and all his Territories, Countries, People and Subjects under the protection, rule and government of the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY, and has ceded to the said Company all his sovereign rights and rights of government over all his Territories, Countries, Peoples and Subjects, and that said Company have assumed the said rights so ceded to them as aforesaid, and that the said Company hereby grant their protection and the benefit of their rule and government to him, his Territories, Countries, Peoples and Subjects, and hereby authorize him to use the flag of the said Company as a sign of their protection.
> Dated at . . . this . . . day of . . . 18. . . .
> On behalf of the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.
> [N.B.--Translation of this document is written in the vernacular character on the back hereof.][89]

From the language contained in this sample treaty, there can be little doubt as to the intention of I.B.E.A. to serve as a quasi, if not actual governmental administration. Considering the Arab impact and the attempts of the I.B.E.A. to administer the territory as precedents, the establishment of British governmental responsibility in East Africa can be seen as a continuation and intensification of colonialism. From 1895 until 1905, the administration of East Africa Protectorate was managed through the Foreign Office. In 1905 the Colonial Office assumed responsibility.[90]

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[89]Great Britain, Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda, Appendix I, Vol. I (London: H.M.S.O., 1934), p. 69.

[90]After protracted discussion and occasionally vitriolic argument, the I.B.E.A. and the British government came to agreement about the conditions of the transfer. The settlement of company claims was effected by the payment of ten shillings for each pound invested. The total payment came to £250,000, of which £200,000 was taken from the Sultan of Zanzibar's account in London and the remainder came from the British government. For more details, see Galbraith, MacKinnon and East Africa, pp. 227ff.

One of the immediate problems facing the Foreign Office in 1895 was the staffing of an East African administration. Where could men with experience in Africa be found who were not already on government assignments elsehwere? One source of administrative manpower was from the ranks of the now defunct I.B.E.A. company. "Many of them were offered and accepted employment by the government, on the transfer of power to the protectorate on 1 July, 1895."[91] The first government administrative officer of Taita District, Charles Wise, who was appointed to the Company's staff in Africa in 1894,[92] transferred to government service in 1895. Mr. Wise operated out of the old I.B.E.A. station at Ndi, northwest of Voi, until 1896, when he was relieved by Dr. Gregory. The station at Ndi was used as the administrative center until 1900, at which time it was transferred to Taveta (see Figure 19). In July, 1902 building was under way at Mwatate for a new station which opened later that year. Mwatate was the District headquarters until February of 1911, when the station at Voi opened.[93] Voi served as the center of administrative decision for the District until 1954 when the headquarters was finally moved to Wundanyi.[94]

In a gradual transition, the structure of local government, in Taita, changed from a very loosely, ephemerally organized system to one

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[91] Ibid., p. 234.

[92] McDermott, British East Africa, p. 445.

[93] Kenya, Taita Political Record Book, Vol. II, TTA/6, 1909-34, p. 1.

[94] Kenya, List of Officers of the Taita District from 1894-1962, TTA/10.

disposition of the case of Wundanyi Estate. Of perhaps greater impact though, was the upholding by the Carter Commission of ethnic land-holdings. Though they were largely pleased with the decisions of the Commission regarding the status of Wundanyi, they were also reminded of the perpetuation of a society in which there continued to be separate, but not equal, systems of political participation. Though one can argue that this sort of limited participation exists in many class systems, the perpetuation of differential rights and privileges on the basis of ethnic origins was particularly hard to accept by the Taita, especially in light of their exposure to Christian missions from as early as the 1880's. In addition to the colonial government's role in the perpetuation of the laws defining ethnic land-holdings, it also played a part in the supply of labor for essentially European industries.

Labor Supply

Believing in a policy of encouraging male labor and discouraging female labor on the land, the colonial government tried, through various coercive means, to transform African agriculture to a system wherein male occupational dominance was supremely visible. "It is essential for any social progress of the native that the main obligation to manual work should fall on the man and not on the woman."[96] In at least partial conflict with the expressed government policy of encouraging African men to assume more obvious roles in local agriculture, was the desire of European farmers and industrialists for the labor of African

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[96]Great Britain, Report of the East Africa Commission, p. 33.

with progressively more rigid and bureaucratic definition. The change-over from I.B.E.A. to British government administration, at first, continued the pattern of control in which an agent would convey relevant government decisions to presumptive local leaders, in the hopes that this would insure implementation. As the actual British government colonial administrators gained experience and became committed to more effective control of the territories under their command, they were faced with questions of primacy of interest between their African charges and their European compatriots. The choices that colonial administrators had to make relative to Taita versus European interests, and the effects of some of their policy decisions is the theme of this section. Though a complete historical reconstruction of the evolution of local government in colonial times is not this writer's intent, the citation of selected events in the history of this period will help in understanding the role of government in the Taita's changing conceptions of the interrelationships between land, labor, and capital, and the organizational strategies that issued from them.

Land Ownership

Following on the heels of I.B.E.A. the colonial government received control of large portions of land within which human occupance was transient, if present at all. With the intent of controlling a later disbursement of lands to interests that would encourage economic development, the colonial government proceeded to identify and establish ethnic landholdings. As referred to above, the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 the Commissioner of the Protectorate was empowered to sell

or lease land to individuals or companies. His power was restricted, however, to land that was not occupied by Africans. In the case of some of the alienated land in the Taita Hills, as we have already seen, this law was occasionally contravened. It is not surprising, in light of the actual governmental behavior in questions involving land occupation, that many Taita were reticent to cooperate with government surveyors in boundary determinations.

In retrospect, the Taita's belief that the colonial government was an active agent of land alienation appears to this writer to have been justified. Their early experiences with local government respecting their grievances against the Wundanyi Estate, and later against the Kedai and Mwatate Estates, stands as evidence of the pro-European bias of the colonial government. The tendency was to identify government and individual European business interests as being one and the same. The example mentioned above of the manager of the Wundanyi Estate, and the government's apparent lack of concern for the fact that Taita occupied land was being taken for the estate, served as eloquent testimony that there was a similarity of interest between government and companies, regarding land alienation. The granting of immense parcels of land to European sisal estates on the plains adjacent to the Hills, was also regarded as evidence of the primary interest of the colonial government in protecting European business ventures, often at the expense of local African land-needs.

As colonial government experience grew in Taita, the District was divided into Locations (Figure 18) within which headmen were appointed. They were often commissioned because of the favorable

Fig. 18.--The locations of the various Taita District Headquarters illustrate the lack of local-level access to government in early years.

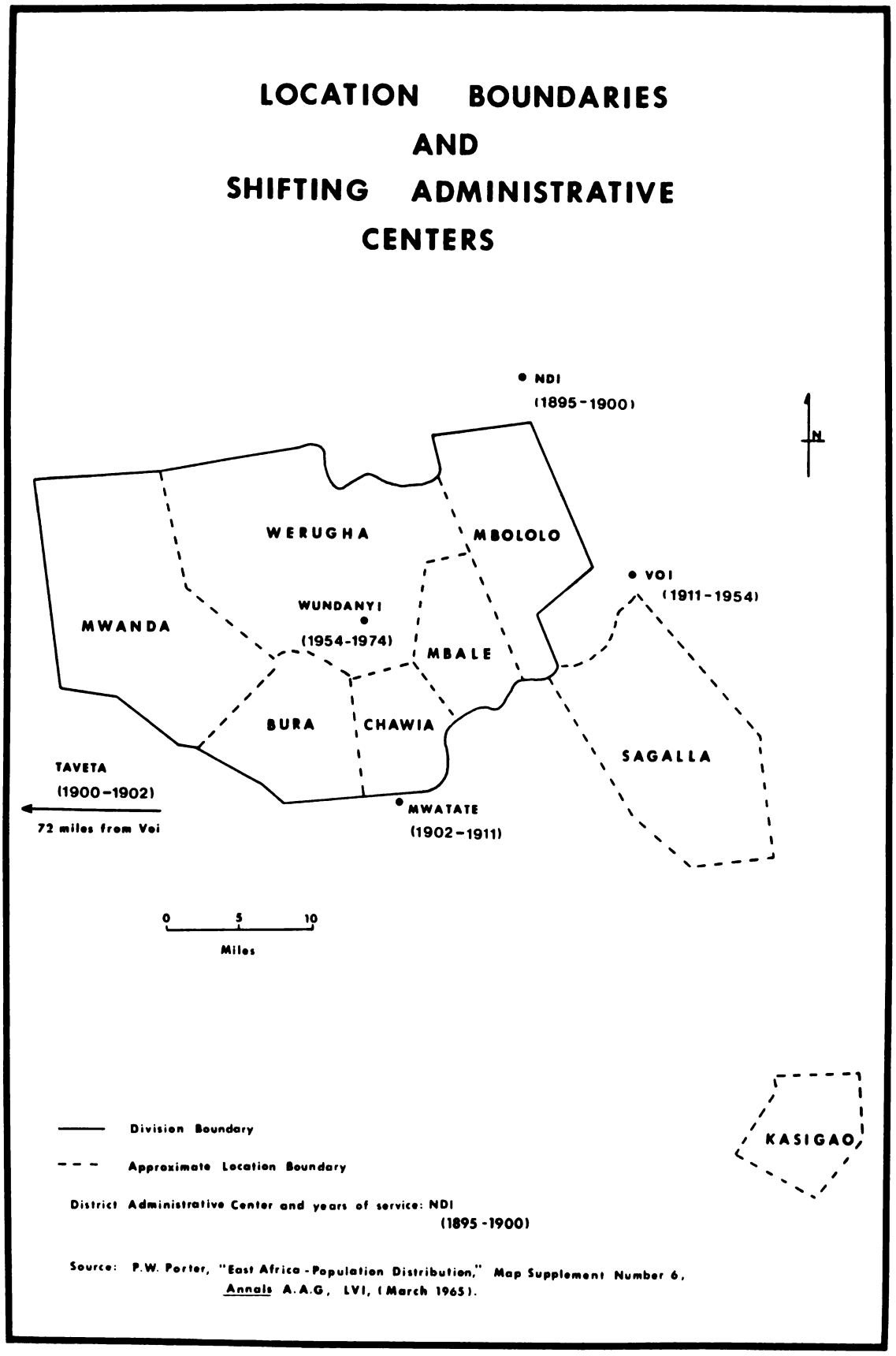
LOCATION BOUNDARIES
AND
SHIFTING ADMINISTRATIVE
CENTERS
NDI
(1895-1900)
N
WERUGHA
MBOLOLO
VOI
(1911-1954)
WUNDANYI
(1954-1974)
MWANDA
MBALE
BURA
CHAWIA
SAGALLA
TAVETA
(1900-1902)
72 miles from Voi
MWATATE
(1902-1911)
0 5 10
Miles
KASIGAO
Division Boundary
Approximate Location Boundary
District Administrative Center and years of service: NDI
(1895-1900)
Source: P.W. Porter, "East Africa - Population Distribution," Map Supplement Number 6,
Annals A.A.G, LVI, (March 1965).

Fig. 18.

impression they had made upon the District Commissioner, but not necessarily because they had any traditional sanction as leaders. Because the headman was selected by the colonial officers, he was often viewed by the Taita as an agent of the government and not necessarily as their representative to the government. The adjudication powers included within the office of headman continued until about 1913. At that time a system of native courts was established under the authority of the Courts Ordinance of 1907.[95] The authority of the African courts was extended several times during colonial rule, but the cases heard and decided were limited, to the extent that trials were not heard involving European residents of the district. As a result of widespread discontent, in practically every part of Kenya, the Carter Commission served as a vehicle for the articulation of African complaints over land adjudication involving Europeans as well as Africans. This was true of the Taita District where evidence was heard from Taita and Europeans over land alienation, labor practices, and potential future land requirements of African populations.

Government decisions resulting from the Carter Commission's inquiries did not provide solutions to all of the problems regarding land use and ownership in Taita, but they did serve to illustrate to many Taita that, though difficult, it was possible to get their side of a case heard. Of great symbolic importance to the Taita was the

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[95]M. G. Power, "English Local Government in Taita District, Kenya," Journal of African Administration, 6 (January, 1954), 32. This article provides a useful overview of the development of representative government in Taita District.

men. With labor recruitment as encouraged by Governor Northey after World War I, one result was the intensification of female labor in local agriculture. The direct intervention of government in the recruiting of labor for non-African farm or company employment was a matter of some disagreement amongst local and upper level administrators. In reply to a request for policy instruction, in 1917, from the District Commissioner at Voi, Provincial Commissioner Hobley replied in the following manner. "District Commissioners are not allowed to recruit for private enterprises and while this urgent call for labour exists, no recruiting party for private undertakings should be allowed to enter the reserve."[97] Hobley's feeling about the separation that should exist between government officials and businessmen in the securing of labor was amplified by no less a figure than Winston Churchill in September of 1921. Then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Churchill wrote:

> . . . beyond taking steps to place at the disposal of natives any information which they may possess as to where labour is required, and at the disposal of employers, information as to sources of labour available for voluntary recruitment, the Government officials will in future take no part in recruiting labour for private employment.[98]

Though this attitude toward recruitment existed at several levels of government consciousness it did not preclude the conscription of Africans for government service.

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[97]Letter, C. W. Hobley to District Commissioner at Voi, 8th March, 1917, Kenya, Coast Province, Minute Paper 569.

[98]Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons & Command), Cmnd. 1509, September 1921, Winston S. Churchill, "Despatch to the Officer Administering the Government of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Relating to Native Labour," p. 3.

Taita laborers were employed on various public works projects under local government authority. Usually the labor required for public works was collected from the local populace by the authority vested in the government appointed headmen. Taita workers were employed in the building of roads and anti-erosion measures in and around the Hills. The government actively recruited Taita laborers during World War I, and in the year 1914-15 three hundred Taita were employed.

> In March 1915, it had been decided to utilize local labour in building up the vitally important communications and transport system of the strategic area around Voi, and the Teita were exempted from the carrier corps in return for work on the Voi-Maktau railway, telegraph lines, and general supply. The whole able-bodied male population turned out to work on these projects at some time or another.[99]

As the war continued, with German successes in East Africa, the need for African participation increased. In what was known as the Grand Levy, the government vastly increased its recruiting efforts in 1917. These efforts extended to groups who had not been called upon previously, among whom were the Taita. "All loopholes had to be closed. Some of those groups which had previously been exempt from service in the carrie carrier corps lost that exemption--the Teita, who had sent no men in 1915 and 1916, sent 2,648 in the year 1917-18, ..."[100]

With the exception of "national" emergencies like the two wars, and local problems such as natural hazards the colonial philosophy, particularly after 1921, on labor recruitment for private enterprise, was

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[99]D. G. Savage and J. F. Munro, "Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East Africa Protectorate 1914-1918," Journal of African History, 7 (June, 1966), 313-42.

[100]Ibid., 331.

that it was a practice with which government should not become directly involved. The difference between policy and action was minimal after the 1920's in the case of the Taita. It was still possible, of course, to advise local headmen where labor was needed and occasionally they recruited labor for employment at less than optimum conditions.

Questions of land alienation and labor treatment by European land-holders were very much outside the system of "Native Authority" established under the colonial government's auspices. The fact that disputes against Europeans could not be litigated in the local tribunals helped to segregate government into local African government and colony-wide European government. The District Commissioner was the only effective link between local Taita needs and colony government. Approaching the D.C. to press their claims was often difficult for the Taita, especially in view of the relatively short average tenure of D.C.'s in Taita District (see Table 5). In comparison to the length of service of their own elders in the common cause, the parade of European D.C.'s was a bewildering phenomenon and, in itself, helped to foster the opinion amongst the Taita, that many of the Colonial D.C.'s had no identity of interest with them. Adding to this difficulty of personal access to the D.C. was the feeling of physical remoteness attached to the centers of administration of the District. It was not until 1954 that the District Headquarters was relocated in the center of the Hills at Wundanyi. This move was long contemplated by the Taita but was discouraged by some of the D.C.'s themselves on rather superficial bases. The following example illustrates the considerations included in one D.C.'s condemnation of the proposed relocation as early as 1923.

TABLE 5

TENURE OF COLONIAL TAITA, DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS, 1918-1958

Name	Service Years	Months Tenure
A. B. C. Gibson	1918	2.0
L. T. Smith	1918	9.0
E. C. Crewe-Read	1918-19	2.3
E. b. Horne	1919	.7
W. A. F. Platts	1919-21&22	27.1
G. H. C. Boulderson	1921	10.0
Fairfax-Franklin	1922	4.0
F. W. Bell	1922-23	7.7
R. W. Lambert	1923	3.5
W. B Brook	1923-25	21.2
L. M. Dundas	1925	8.6
E. G. St. C. Tisdall	1926	12.0
H. E. Lambert	1927-28	16.2
F. G. Jennings	1928-29	20.9
J. L. B. Llewellyn	1930	9.9
V. G. Cole	1931-32	13.0
W. S. Marchant	1932	10.0
J. F. G. Troughton	1932	1.3
W. Slade-Hawkins	1932-34	19.8
H. G. Elphinstone	1934-37	29.6
C. B. Norman	1937	6.4
S. R. Harrison-Lowder	1937-38	13.6
G. B. Rimington	1938-40	15.4
J. E. H. Lambert	1940-41	14.5
E. A. Sweatman	1941-43	33.3
F. C. Jennings	1944	6.8
E. J. A. Leslie	1944-46	20.8
G. C. M. Dowson	1946	2.9
K. M. Cowley	1946-49	32.1
A. J. Stevens	1949	7.4
P. E. Walters	1949-53	38.5
M. E. N. North	1953-54	23.9
R. A. Wilkinson	1955-56, 57	23.7
R. H. Symes-Thompson	1957	6.1
A. F. Holford-Walker	1957-58	17.8
Total		492.0

In cases where one individual served within two years of a previous term, it has been counted as an extension of the same term. When absence from that post exceeded two years, the return was considered a new term; for calculation purposes, as another individual.

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports and Handing-over Reports of the Taita District.

Number of D.C.'s=35 $\bar{X}$ Months of Service=14.1

Longest Service =38.5 months Shortest Service = .7 months

> There is still some hope in the minds of some people that the station will be removed someday to the Dabida Hills, but they are all personally interested and the more I think of it, the more it appears to be sheer madness. The hills are most inaccessible and there is no sufficient flat ground to lay out a government station. No doubt a charming D.C.'s house and garden could be made, and the D.C. would be free from the worries of contractors and other labour troubles and live the life of a hermit. If Voi is never likely to be a place of any importance it is perfectly certain that the Dabida Hills never will.[101]

The physical distance of the district headquarters from the major centers of Taita population intensified, in the minds of the Taita, the social distance implied in the ethnic land-holding provisions of colonial government laws. Practically speaking, the accessibility of the D.C.'s office to the people of Taita was severely proscribed by its areal separation from their population centers. This condition was largely corrected after the move to Wundanyi.

Although this chapter has been divided into three major segments, it has been done purely as an analytical convenience. To completely separate the impact of colonial government, from the influence of private companies, and in turn from the effects of the mission societies would be unrealistic. In fact, the degree of coincidence of the aims of the missions, companies, and the colonial government was often great. The views of all three organizations concerning the relationships between land, labor, and capital overlapped to such a large extent, that the Taita often thought of all three organizations as one. This belief was greatly strengthened when the Taita observed Europeans who had previously been mission workers becoming involved in company activities; or, men who had worked for the I.B.E.A. being employed by the British

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[101] Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1923, pp. 6-7.

"colonial" government. The apparent interchangeability of personnel between the three organizations, in combination with the system of ethnic landholding definition, played a magnified role in the transformation of Taita society. Even in 1968 and 1969, the appearance in the Hills, of a European with surveying equipment brought questions of which government ministry he represented.

The modification of the Taita's world view occurred under the combined impetus of all three of these European organizations. The mechanisms for change were already present but were given new force and direction by the impress of European organizational forms. The nature of of modernizing changes which have occurred in Taita under this complex of European influences is among the issues to which the following chapter is addressed.

CHAPTER IV

ORDER AND CHANGE IN TAITA SOCIETY

Introduction

As the previous chapter attempted to delineate the potential influences of, and Taita reaction to, three different European organizational types, this chapter's intent is to discuss the nature of order and change as observed in Taita society during this researcher's presence there. Much of the nature of social interaction with Taita society may be recognized as an amalgam of patterns, including some European ones. To better understand the nature of order and change within Taita society one is well advised to heed Bascom and Herskovits' warning that, "Even where selectivity in the acceptance of cultural elements from outside is recognized, analyses of the contemporary African scene too often fail to grasp the fact that selection is additive and not necessarily substitutive."[1] With this stricture in mind, it is easier to understand some situations which, at first, appear to be logically contradictory. An example which presented itself in Taita on

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[1]Melville J. Herskovits and William R. Bascom, "The Problem of Stability and Change in African Culture," in Continuity and Change in African Cultures, ed. by William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1962), p. 6. Emphasis is Bascom and Herskovits'.

several occasions, was the maintenance of polygyny within devoutly Roman Catholic families. This was not the usual case, but where it did occur it was supported by both the practitioners, and by local priests, as being excusable on the basis of the concerned adult's love for children.

Keeping in mind the processual nature of social and technological change, this chapter will deal specifically with two major classes of information. The first class includes the major economic activities and their interrelationships, whereas the second class is composed of selected demographic characteristics of the Taita universe. Within the major economic activities are included some which were represented in traditional society, such as: hunting, plant agriculture, and pastoralism; as well as others which have assumed a greater importance only recently. Of these latter, the production of goods and services for marketing will be considered. The second class, dealing with population characteristics will investigate several possible relationships. Regarding the resident Taita, population densities in Taita Division and in the areally larger Taita District will be compared. The question of sex-specific rural to urban migration by the Taita will be discussed. The presence of Taita migrants in Nairobi and Mombasa and the nature of male-female dominance in these centers and in the Taita Hills will also be considered.

Each of the activities and characteristics mentioned above are discussed within the complex of relationships that are evident within the ongoing processes of social transformation. Implied here, is that the view portrayed in this work is of one arrested segment of human experience. The processes which gave rise to the state of reality

exemplified by this particular segment remain operative. The processes of social change may be likened to the wind, which cannot be seen; rather, its effects are observed. In a wind-tunnel, smoke is introduced to facilitate the observation of flow patterns and turbulence. What is, in fact, observed are the particles suspended in smoke being carried by the wind. The processes of social change are similarly difficult to observe, other than through their effects. Among the observable effects of these processes as well as the forces maintaining the status quo, are the major economic activities of the Taita.

Economic Activities

By considering the resource identification of a society and its management of those resources, over time, it is possible to ascertain, at least partially, some of the aspects of that society's ability to modify its technology. If the identification of resources, the techniques for their exploitation, and the degrees of product specialization are viewed in an historical perspective, it is possible, if transformation occurs within the time-span chosen, to partially identify its processes. The Taita had experienced over seventy years of colonial impact, but less than a decade of modern independence when this research was carried out. Throughout this time-span the Taita were traditionally involved in three major economic forms: hunting, pastoralism, and most importantly, plant agriculture. As their experience under colonialism grew, the importance of these economic types varied in relation to each other and in relation to newer forms which became established. The purpose behind the production of specific goods or services also changed.

The economic activities with which this section is concerned are: hunting, pastoralism, farming and the commercial marketing of goods and services.

Hunting

Like many East Africans who rely, for the majority of their food, upon domesticated plants and animals, the Taita supplemented their protein intake with game meat. The availability of water, pasture, and browse near the base of the Hills served as a magnetic attraction to many migratory animals (Figure 12). The Taita, even before they were fully established in their Hills fortress, perceived of the wildlife as a food and materials resource. They developed two main hunting techniques, the use of game pits, into which the animals were either driven, or to which they were attracted by the presence of food, and the use of bows and arrows.

The bow (ndana) of the Taita was described by Prins as being 138 cm. long (54.3 inches) and tapering from a middle thickness, with a maximum diameter of 2 cm. (.79 inches) to pointed ends.[2] During this researcher's tenure in Taita, only two bows were seen, one of which was carried by a herdsman in the plains, and the second of which was owned by a European teacher. Both of these were approximately the size described by Prins. The arrows used in hunting were tipped with poison, which was traditionally made by the Taita themselves, often in large enough quantities to be sold to others. Informants disclaimed any

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[2]A. H. J. Prins, "A Teita Bow and Arrows," Man, 55 (1955), 33.

knowledge of contemporary local production of poison, though acknowledging that this had been a prevalent activity before independence.

The technique which appears to have persisted to a greater extent than the use of the bow and arrow, is the use of game pits. In this method, pits were dug on the plains, often lined with sharpened stakes, and the animals were driven into them. At times the driving of prey was achieved by large groups of people advancing noisily through the bush beating sticks together, or on drums. Occasionally fire would be used to scare the game toward the pits. The location of the Hills in the path of migratory animals on the eastern extension of the Serengeti and the Tsavo area was a distinct advantage in the supply of game.

The territory to the west of Bura is even today well populated with a variety of wildlife. There are a number of small intermittent streams which drain into the plains from both Mwanda and Bura. Even though these streams do not carry running water year round, they do serve to recharge the ground water in the area, to the extent that a variety of grass and browse is available for wildlife. This particular sector is so well established traditionally as a wildlife source area that it has been named Mashimoni, or the place of the pits. In terms of the animal types for which pits might be most useful, size is certainly a factor. The smaller animals who might more easily succumb to poison were hunted with arrows, whereas larger beasts like elephants and rhinoceros were more often driven into pits. In neither case were the two techniques exclusively reserved for either type of animal, but as a generalization this appears to have been the case.

All of the game killed by the means discussed above was not for meat in local diets. In fact, the killing of rhinoceros and elephant was more than occasionally done to supply two major products for external trade, ivory and rhino horn. The horn was (and to some extent, still is) believed by orientals to be an effective aphrodisiac, when pulverized and ingested. Ivory has been a sought after material for jewelry, sculpture, piano keys, and even billiard balls. Both ivory and rhino horn were products for external trade before British colonial government and continued right into modern times. As Table 6 illustrates, between the years 1913 and 1952, at the District level, 7,236.5 pounds of ivory and 585.25 pounds of rhino horn were confiscated. Over the forty-year period considered, this amounts to an average of 180.9 pounds of ivory per year and 14.6 pounds of rhino horn per year. Compared to the 25,218 pounds of ivory and the 462 pounds of rhino horn that were confiscated during a fifteen month campaign against poaching in Tsavo National Park in 1958 and 1959, these amounts are not as astounding.[3] Viewed in the perspective of the wide range of the responsiblities that district administrators had, what is more important than the amounts themselves, is the persistence of this illegal commercial hunting. If the products of the hunt were more fully used as protein supplements there would be slightly less reason for complaint, but as it happens these animals were not, for the most part, being killed for meat, but rather for tusks and horns. Occasionally the hides, or at least parts

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[3]Bernhard Grzimek and Michael Grzimek, Serengeti Shall Not Die, trans. by E. L. Rewald and D. Rewald (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1961), p. 226.

TABLE 6

TAITA DISTRICT GOVERNMENT IVORY AND RHINO-HORN CONFISCATION

Year	Ivory confiscated in pounds	Rhino-horn confiscated in pounds	Number of offences
1913-14[a]	348.50	81.00	12
1914-15	150.00	--	4
1915-16	56.75	--	--
1918-19	439.00	22.00	--
1919-20	773.00	22.00	12
1923	703.50	6.00	3
1924	714.75	25.50	42
1925	84.00	5.25	14
1926	84.00	--	13
1928	251.00	--	--
1929	21.50	40.50	--
1936	--	--	10
1948	267.00	136.50	--
1949	1,712.00	56.50	--
1950	818.00	29.00	--
1951	--	110.25	--
1952	413.50	50.75	--
Total	7,236.50	585.25	110

Source: The various Taita District Annual Reports for the named years.

[a]In these earlier years, records were kept from April 1st in one year until the end of March in the next.

of them, were sold to illicit traders for manufacture into leather and curio goods.

In an attempt to limit the killing of wildlife and preserve a habitat for its perpetuation, Tsavo National Park was gazetted in 1948. Interestingly enough, the largest confiscation of ivory in Taita District occurred the following year. Speculating somewhat, it is possible that this increase in captured illicit ivory reflects the renewed commitment

of the Kenya government to put an end to poaching. The increase may demonstrate that a higher proportion of the total illegally obtained ivory was being recovered by government agents. If there was, in reality, a greater supply of ivory being moved in 1949, there is another possible explanation. Rather than sell all the ivory that they collected at the same time, occasionally the poachers buried it. When times were difficult, financially, this savings account would be drawn upon. As a reaction to the news of the government's intent to strictly control hunting in the Tsavo area, many people disinterred their ivory caches to sell before the market was sealed off. As the figures mentioned above, from the 1958-59 campaign show, these people's fears were unjustified, because the market was still operating in a big way a decade later.

Throughout the British administration of the Hills, some Taita have been involved in poaching activities, but to what extent is not clear. After the Prince of Wales' visit in 1930, Europeans became increasingly interested in hunting near Taita. The presence of European hunters in the vicinity of the Hills demonstrated that hunting was approved for some, but not for others. Though Taita poachers were occasionally caught in the act, it must not be assumed that they were the exclusive illegal hunters around their hills. In fact various District Commissioners believed the offenders were from a variety of tribal groups. The most often accused were the Kamba, the Waliangulu, who are still a largely hunting people, and the Giriama,[4] who, if not involved

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[4]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1936, pp. 13 and 38.

directly in the hunting, played a large role in the sale of arrow poison.

> An idea of the extent of illegal game hunting by natives may be gathered from the fact that two consignments of arrow poison were confiscated, one of 650 and the other of 760 bundles of the stuff: the Giriama found with the second consignment had already sold 138 shillings worth.[5]

The Taita themselves were not forced to give up the legal use of poisoned arrows until 1958.[6] It was also during this year that evidence was discovered liking the Taita directly with poaching activities.

> In August it was apparent that poaching southeast of Mwatate and Bura was increasing and two gangs were eventually broken up. A large number of pits, fences and snares were found in the hills by Lualani. The pits were attributed to the people from Bura and communal labor from that location was used to fill them in.[7]

During the period of field-research for this study, the extent of Taita involvement in hunting activities was almost impossible to accurately determine. Judging from the intake of meat in the average family diet, it would appear that hunting, for meat at any rate, has become an economic form of considerably less importance than in earlier years. Especially in the upper levels of the Hills, where some of the heaviest human population densities occur, there is less familiarity with game meat, or for that matter with the identification of the live animals. In 1969, some of the teachers at Aggrey High School, near Wundanyi, decided to take a bus-load of students down into Tsavo National Park to see the wildlife. There was great interest in the

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[5] Ibid., TTA/1935, pp. 37-38.

[6] Ibid., TTA/1958, p. 19.

[7] Ibid., p. 20.

project by the students, the majority of whom had not seen wild animals before.[8] This lack of acquaintance with wildlife was not limited to school-age children, but extended to many adults as well. In 1966, a cape buffalo somehow blundered its way into the outskirts of Wundanyi, having come from the north up the Werugha Valley. Its appearance was cause for mild panic, largely from the extraordinary infrequency of the presence of wildlife of that size in the Hills. Since buffaloes are quite dangerous, one of the government officers shot it. The meat was shared around and the skull and horns were mounted near the Officers' Club in Wundanyi.

The familiarity with wildlife varies a great deal according to the local area within Taita in which people lived. Those individuals living nearer to the margin of the Hills and the plains had more frequent exposure to, and therefore, a greater awareness of, the nearby presence of wildlife. It could be argued, that those who occupied lower land, either in the Hills or on the plains, because of a greater variability in potential agricultural production, might be more inclined toward hunting activities. In June 1969, while in the lowlands at Mwatate, this researcher and a Taita friend were approached by another Taita, who offered information on where as many as six leopard and cheetah skins could be purchased cheaply. The informant-salesman was unknown to either of us, and as he was pressed for further information he reported that although he was not free to talk at that time, he would

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[8]Tom Wolf and David Graham, teachers at Aggrey High School, private interview Wundanyi, Kenya, March 1969.

return later that day for further discussion. Needless to say, he did not keep the appointment. This incident demonstrates, that even this recently, illicit game was locally available in parts of Taita. The extent of this type of activity is difficult to ascertain, and given the brevity of this researcher's tenure, the necessary communications links were only partially developed. This avenue of exploration appears to hold promise for future research.

Plant Agriculture

Plant agriculture was traditionally, and is today, the dominant economic activity of the Taita. To a large extent, the short-handled hoe (jembe), a common implement among many Northeastern Bantu speaking peoples, is used in Taita. Sometimes it is accompanied by a pointed digging stick (mulo). The mulo was used more in the past for loosening and cultivating the soil, but is somewhat less popular today. In addition to using these basic implements and some sort of bush knife (panga), the Taita also irrigated in different sections of the Hills. In the flat valley bottoms, simple irrigation ditches of various depths are used, whereas in some of the steeper areas, a more complicated irrigation network has been developed. This latter case is often combined with hillside terracing. In some instances banana tree stems, which are arcuate in cross-section, have been incorporated into the irrigation network. All of these techniques appear to have pre-European origins.

The traditional Taita cultigens included such crops as: maize, cowpeas, finger-millet, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, bananas, and cassava. For the most part these were produced for local consumption. In

addition to serving as a storable crop in the ground, cassava was used occasionally to mark boundaries between different individuals' fields. When there was a surplus of crops such as maize, or millet, these were traded to passing caravans. Sugar-cane was also a crop used in trade, if not specifically grown for market. More recently the Taita have extended their agricultural expertise to the planting and harvesting of a greater variety of crops. Many of the newer cultigens are grown specifically for market exchange purposes. The decisions involved in changing the focus of agricultural production from a dominantly subsistence one to a harvest-for-sale one, have resulted from the complex interplay of extra-Taita organizations and various segments of the Taita population.

The selection of specific crops for cash production exhibits some degree of areal variation in the Taita Hills. The nature of spatial differentiation derives in part from differences in rainfall dependability and amounts, and also from slope and elevation characteristics from place to place. As a broad generalization one can identify the areas in which specific cash-crops are grown by using a topographic contour map as a key. If irrigation were not included within the Taita's technology, this generalization would have an even greater degree of coincidence with reality than it does. In the lowlands and areas with less rainfall, crops such as castor beans, green grams, pigeon peas, black grams, and chillies do best, whereas in the higher elevations where precipitation receipts are higher, and more dependable, and where the temperatures are moderated by elevation, such crops as coffee and a wide variety of vegetables give relatively dependable yields (Figure 19).

Fig. 19.--Bura and Werugha Valleys are shown in relation to the rest of the Hills. Cash-crop specialization exhibits areal differentiation within Taita.

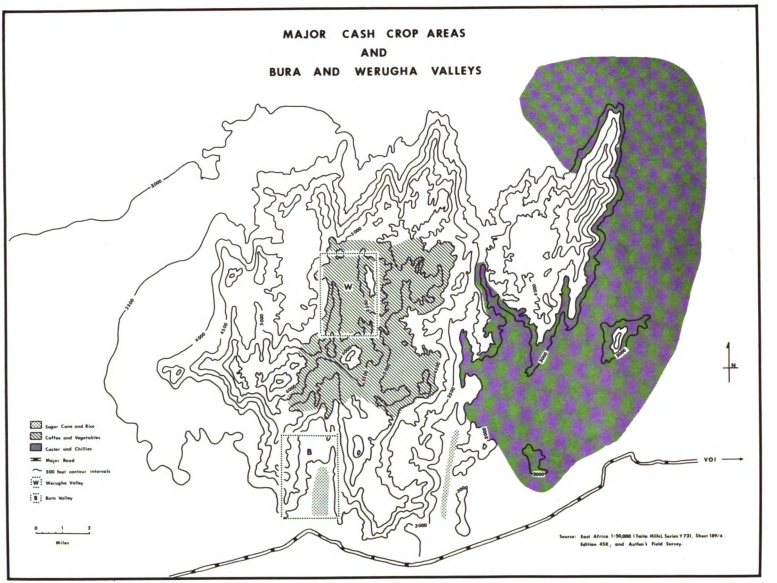
MAJOR CASH CROP AREAS
AND
BURA AND WERUGHA VALLEYS
Sugar Cane and Rice
Coffee and Vegetables
Castor and Chillies
Major Road
500 feet contour intervals
Werugha Valley
Bura Valley
Miles
VOI
Source: East Africa 1:50,000 (Taita Hills) Series Y 731, Sheet 189/4 Edition 4SK ; and Author's Field Survey.

Fig. 19.

With the use of irrigation, however, these patterns are intermingled somewhat.

Coffee

As a cash-crop in Taita, coffee was introduced twice before Africans were allowed to grow it, 1892 and 1913. In March of 1945, an official from the Ministry of Agriculture visited Taita to assess the suitability of the Hills for

> . . . gazettement as a Native coffee growing area. He recommended that all the coffee on Wundanyi should be uprooted and destroyed and that licences should then be granted to natives after one year had elapsed. . . . The Taita Hills above the 4500 ft. contour were gazetted as a Native Coffee Growing Area.[9]

The government felt it was necessary to destroy the old coffee trees from the previously European Wundanyi Estate, so that no individual would have an unfair advantage over another in the beginning of Taita coffee growing. Some Taita felt that this was an excuse designed to impede potential African competition with European growers for yet another few years. Nevertheless, the Local Native Council (L.N.C.) approved the proposed action. The Taita had been told for so long that coffee was a European crop that when the government finally conceded that Africans should also be allowed to grow it, they were suspicious of ulterior motives. Many feared that if they put their land in coffee, Europeans would then come and claim the land.

By the end of 1948, almost two full years since the coffee nursery was established in early 1947, at Wundanyi, Taita farmers had

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[9]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1945, p. 5.

responded by planting only three acres.[10] This marginal response reflected the persistent fears of the Taita that Europeans might alienate more of their lands. With government encouragement, however, Taita coffee acreage increased to a maximum of 1,114.57 acres in 1967, which had not been exceeded during the period of fieldwork for this dissertation. Tables 7 and 8, demonstrate the growth of coffee cultivation in Taita District. The limitations on this expansion in Taita derive from a wide range of factors. Local African consumption is very limited; tea being the preferred drink, by an overwhelming proportion of the people. The fact that coffee is very largely an export crop puts additional restraints on its successful marketing. With Kenya as a signatory of the International Coffee Agreement, a production quota was established, which even allowing for a world-demand increase could be met by existing trees. Believing that established coffee trees would soon produce in excess of the quota established for Kenya, the government decided in 1963, that ". . . any further expansion of the coffee industry must be postponed and emphasis must be shifted to other crops."[11] This de-emphasis in coffee planting is reflected in the decreasing rates of expansion in Taita in the mid 60's.

The Taita remained cautiously conservative in their adoption of coffee as a cash-crop. Referring to Table 7, it is apparent that the

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[10]Walter E. Adero, District Agricultural Officer, "Taita Coffee Industry," mimeographed paper presented to the Coffee Seminar at Machakos, 26th November, 1968, p. 1.

[11]L. H. Brown, A National Cash Crops Policy for Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, Kenya, 1963), p. 10.

TABLE 7

STATISTICAL DIMENSIONS OF MODERN COFFEE CULTIVATION
IN THE TAITA HILLS

Season[a]	Acres planted	Acres in production	Number of growers	Clean Coffee Total (tons)	Clean Coffee per grower (pounds)	Acres planted per grower	Acres in production per grower	Clean Coffee per acre in production (pounds)
1953-54	110.69	18.00	498	2.43	9.76	.22	.04	270.00
1954-55	129.38	21.60	721	4.14	11.48	.18	.03	383.33
1955-56	176.18	51.30	998	8.63	17.29	.18	.05	336.45
1956-57	222.48	82.65	1,225	n.d.	n.d.	.18	.07	n.d.
1957-58	285.12	110.69	1,469	15.62	21.27	.19	.08	282.23
1958-59	393.34	129.38	1,773	23.24	26.22	.22	.07	359.25
1959-60	509.80	176.18	2,160	32.36	29.96	.24	.08	367.35
1960-61	638.27	222.48	2,625	56.60	43.12	.24	.08	508.81
1961-62	735.50	285.12	2,937	66.00	44.94	.25	.10	462.96
1962-63	1,039.10	393.54	3,636	88.19	48.51	.29	.11	448.19
1963-64	1,039.10	509.50	3,636	120.00	66.01	.29	.14	471.05
1964-65	1,082.54	573.27	3,757	97.00	51.64	.29	.18	288.15
1965-66	1,109.67	735.50	3,812	87.00	45.65	.29	.19	236.57
1966-67	1,114.57	1,039.10	3,826	64.00	33.46	.29	.27	123.18
1967-68	1,114.57	1,039.10	3,826	62.15	32.49	.29	.27	119.62
1968-69	1,114.57	1,039.10	3,826	50.00[b]	26.15	.29	.27	96.24

Source: The raw data are from: Walter E. Adero, District Agricultural Officer, "Taita Coffee Industry," mimeographed paper presented to the Coffee Seminar at Machakos, Kenya, 26th November, 1968, pp. 1-2; derived statistics are from the author's calculations.

[a]The seasons correspond roughly with international "coffee years" (October 1-September 30).

[b]District Agricultural Office Estimate.

TABLE 8

GROWTH STATISTICS OF COFFEE CULTIVATION IN TAITA

Season	Percent increase of acres planted	Percent increase of acres in production	Percent of planted acres in production	Percent increase of growers
1953-54[a]	--	--	16.2	--
1954-55	16.8	20.0	16.6	44.7
1955-56	36.1	137.5	29.1	38.4
1956-57	26.2	61.1	37.1	22.7
1957-58	28.1	33.9	38.8	19.9
1958-59	37.9	16.8	32.8	20.6
1959-60	29.6	36.1	34.5	21.8
1960-61	25.2	26.2	34.8	21.5
1961-62	15.2	28.1	38.7	11.8
1962-63	41.2	38.0	37.8	23.7
1963-64	41.2	29.4	49.0	0.0
1964-65	4.1	32.1	62.1	3.3
1965-66	2.5	9.2	66.2	1.4
1966-67	0.4	41.2	93.2	0.3
1967-68	0.0	0.0	93.2	0.0
1968-69	0.0	0.0	93.2	0.0

Source: Author's calculations.

[a]Year that statistics began to be recorded.

heaviest average investment of land in coffee amounted to just under one-third of an acre per grower. It is important to note here, that this figure (.29 acres per grower) is derived from just the population of coffee growers. Considering only the area within which coffee is grown in Taita Division of Taita District, there was a slight increase in the percentage of the total population who cultivated coffee, between the 1962 and 1969 censuses. In 1962, only 4.7 percent of the population of the "coffee area" were growers, whereas in 1969 this figure increased to 5.8 percent. The Taita's conservatism appears to have been justified

when all the obstacles to the growth of a local coffee industry are considered. In addition to lack of further government encouragement in the 60's, coffee planters also had to contend with an outbreak of Coffee Berry Disease (CBD). The occurrence of CBD was more widespread than it should have been, because of the imminent implementation of the land consolidation program.

Many coffee farmers feared that when land consolidation became a reality their coffee acreage would be given to someone else. Faced with this potential threat, many farmers reacted by neglecting their coffee trees. In cases where CBD was present, this led to the perpetuation and spread of the disease. Another result of this negligence, even in cases where CBD was not present, was that the trees were not pruned, weeded, or harvested properly, all of which decreased the yields. Although the government statistics do not reflect it, some acres have been taken out of coffee production because of the lack of agreement between old and new owners of land which was re-distributed as a part of land consolidation. This writer witnessed coffee trees, in bearing, being cut down. Inquiry as to why this was being done brought the reply, "This is not my coffee." When pressed further, the farmer who was destroying the coffee trees explained that he had received the land as a result of land-consolidation, but that he and the previous owner could not come to any agreement about the disposition of the coffee crop. Because of their inability to come to a mutually beneficial settlement, and because of the traditional view toward ownership of crops, the trees had to be removed. Crop ownership, as referred to here, implies that the person who planted the crop owns the harvest. This type of

usufructual right was and, as the example above demonstrates, still is a feature of the complex inter-relationships between men and the use of land in Taita.

Coffee in Taita is partly processed before it leaves the Hills to be sold to the national Coffee Marketing Board. The first "factory" built in Taita for this purpose, was opened at Wundanyi in 1953. Later factories were built at Mgange-Dabida, Werugha, and at Chawia in 1959, 1961, and 1965 respectively.[12] All of these processing plants use the wet-method, which is believed by many commercial coffee producers to have advantages over the dry-method,[13] in assuring a consistently high quality yield. Starting with the ripe (red in color) "cherry," within which there are usually two beans, the factory produces dried, sorted, coffee beans (see Figure 20). The pulping is done by a gasoline fueled machine which removes the flesh of the cherry and leaves the beans intact inside an integument which is known as the "silver-skin" (again because of its color). The beans are then soaked and fermented in open tanks containing water, to remove the silver-skin and loosen the "parchment' which is the covering of each bean. Although some sorting was done while the coffee was still in the cherry stage, a more exacting selection occurs after the beans have been air-dried on open wire mesh and wooden drying racks (see Figure 21).

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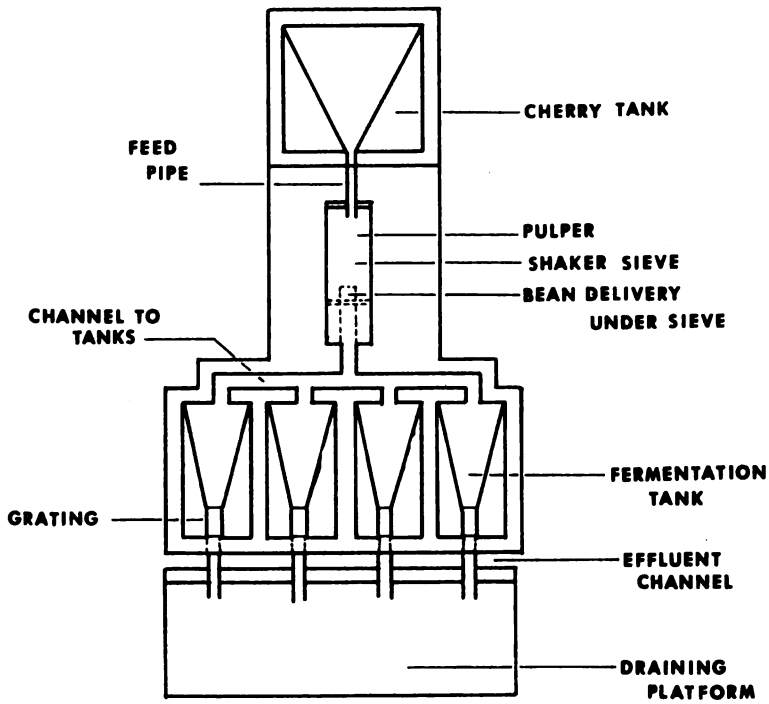
[12] Adero, "Taita Coffee Industry," p. 2.

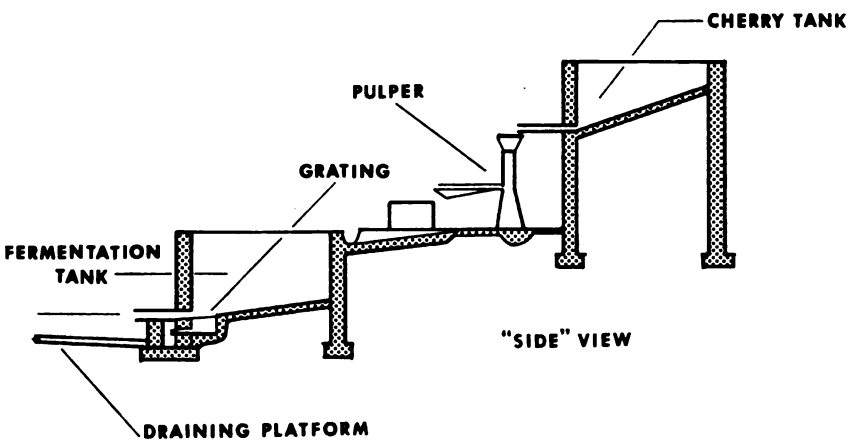
[13] J. W. F. Rowe, The World's Coffee (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), p. 25; and V. D. Wickizer, Coffee, Tea, and Cocoa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), pp. 46 & 52.

Fig. 20.--With minor adaptations from place to place in Taita, this is the type of factory used to process coffee from the cherry to the dried bean.

MODEL COFFEE FACTORY LAY-OUT



"TOP" VIEW



"SIDE" VIEW

0 5 Feet

Source: Wundanyi Coffee Factory

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.--Wundanyi Coffee Factory and Drying Racks.

The Taita coffee factories are not privately owned, but rather, are the joint property of the cooperative societies which have been established since the 1950's. Because of the drop in yields of coffee after 1963, it was necessary to cut production costs where feasible. In response to this need, Werugha coffee factory sent its members/customers to the Wundanyi factory in 1968-69 (Table 9) to have their coffee processed. The other factories operated, but with reduced work loads.

TABLE 9

WUNDANYI COFFEE FACTORY RECEIPTS OF CHERRY
FROM MAY 1968 TO JANUARY 1969

Growth area	Cherry "A" (Kg)	Cherry "B" (Kg)	Total (Kg)
Wundanyi	70,906	29,532	100,438
Mgange	31,481	16,825	48,307
Werugha	16,739	17,840	34,579
Ronge	11,208	3,593	14,801
Chawia	3,891	5,259	9,150
Total	134,225	73,050	207,275

Source: Records of the Wundanyi Coffee Factory.

The land in coffee appears to have reached a maximum in Taita, due to the ecological and market constraints mentioned above. The future of local coffee production appears to lie with the improvement of the quality of the yield rather than with any vast increase in volume of production. If local consumption could be enlarged then a proportional increase in output would be justified, but at the time of this field investigation, this did not appear to be a likely eventuality. Some would argue that consolidation of land holdings should lead, ultimately,

For the most part these crops are grown by individual farmers and their families. In a few cases, however, there are larger farms which are owned by one individual and are cultivated by wage employees. Perhaps of even greater importance than the expanded variety of vegetable production in contemporary Taita society, is the change in the general purpose of production as represented in this agricultural type.

Many of the vegetables listed above are not major consumption items in Taita diets, even today. Their production is overwhelmingly for the purpose of marketing, largely outside the local area. The Taita Hills have long been considered as having truck-farming potential in relation to the port-city of Mombasa.[14] The nearby town of Voi has also served as a market-place for Taita vegetable production. A market which holds promise of future expansions, perhaps more than either Voi or Mombasa, however, is the developing tourist industry that is being attracted to Tsavo National Park. If dependable transportation facilities can be guaranteed for delivering vegetables to the hotels and game lodges, both built and projected, then Taita vegetables should offer an economically attractive alternative to supplies from the Nairobi area. Some Taita entrepreneurs, notably those with some control over transportation facilities (either owners of motor vehicles, or those able to invest in bus-line freight rates) have already established tentative agreements to supply vegetables to private enterprise in the Tsavo National Park's tributary area.

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[14] A. M. O'Connor, An Economic Geography of East Africa (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1966), and A. H. J. Prins, The Coastal Tribes of the Northeastern Bantu (London: Ethnographic Survey of Africa, 1952).

to a greater degree of security in land-tenure and therefore to a decrease in the reluctance of farmers to invest in longer-term cash crops. Regarding coffee, however, the argument is largely obviated by the relatively inelastic demand for this commodity on the world market, and by the international agreement restricting production. Nevertheless, the argument should apply in the production of other cash crops.

Vegetables

Overlapping to some extent with the main coffee area, are those sections within which vegetables are grown for cash exchange. As Figure 19 shows, much of the land having higher elevation is used for vegetable cultivation as well as for coffee. Whereas the slopes are used more for coffee trees, the gentler slopes and nearly flat valley bottoms are used for growing a variety of vegetables. In modern times, the Taita have become increasingly interested in growing a wider selection of plants for both local consumption and extra-local marketing. The selection that was available in 1968-69 is shown by the following list:

TABLE 10

LIST OF AVAILABLE VEGETABLES IN THE TAITA HILLS, 1968 AND 1969

Cabbages	Turnips	Parsley
Peas	Radishes	Marrow
Beans	Carrots	Sweet Peppers
Lettuch	Broad Beans	Potatoes
Spinach	White Celery	Leeks
Tomatoes	Cucumbers	Spring Onions
Black Celery	Beets	Cauliflower

A major stumbling-block to the development of more permanent contractual agreements, has been the inability of the Taita to maintain a dependable schedule of product deliveries. This failure is not, as one might at first suspect, due to yield vicissitudes, but rather, may be explained by the nature of the road network over which these goods must pass. The terrain, as alluded to earlier, in Taita is extremely complex, having very steep and convoluted hills.[15] The present roads in the District follow the contours of the hills and valleys in such a manner that the distance between two points, "as the crow flies," is often magnified by a factor of four or five. These same roads are often wide enough for the passage of only one car, with only occasional wide spots, wherein one vehicle may wait while the other safely passes. During, and just after the rains, most of these roads, which are surfaced only with laterite, occasionally mixed with local crumbly gneiss, are transformed into rivers of thick, greasy mud. This surface is extremely difficult to manage even in four-wheel drive vehicles and it is not a rare occurrence when a truck full of vegetables is hub-deep in mud for several days, and therefore unable to meet delivery schedules.

Even when the roads are dry, they are not the best conduits for vegetable shipments. The same features of terrain are there which add to driving distance, and hence time. In addition, the roads alternate between uneven rock surfaces, potholes, and alluvial drifts, which in combination assure a very rough ride for easily damaged vegetables.

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[15] In recognition of this problem, and in an attempt to solve it, the government imported fifty donkeys in 1948 to serve as pack animals to carry vegetables out of the Hills. Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1948, p. 10.

These road conditions are perhaps the most serious constraint against the successful delivery of vegetables to the lodge and hotel industry in the surrounding plains. At the Voi Safari lodge, and at the Park Inn (both lodges in the Voi area), vegetables have been purchased from Taita horticulturalists, but due to the lack of dependability in deliveries, the managers of these concerns felt that they had no choice but to cancel contracts with the Taita in favor of contracts with the Horticultural Cooperative Union, based in Nairobi. The feeling appeared to be, that if someone from Taita could guarantee a regular supply, that the hotels would welcome contracts with the Taita.[16]

In addition to private enterprise needs for vegetable production, there are public (government) institutions with similar requirements. Among these institutions are Voi Hospital, Mbololo (Manyani) Prison, Wundanyi Prison, and Wesu Hospital. These last two are actually in the Hills and near to the sources of supply, whereas delivery to the former two institutions suffers from the same difficulties mentioned in regard to the extra-Hills private institutions. The supply of government departments has been attempted by both individuals and cooperative societies. The N'gangao Vegetable Cooperative Society (located near Werugha), was a supplier of vegetables to the Mbololo (Manyani) Prison until March 1968, when the prison cancelled the contract.[17] This cancellation was a direct result of supply difficulties. As an example, out

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[16]M. Kelly, Manager of Voi Safari Lodge, private interview, Voi Safari Lodge, Voi, Kenya, February 1969.

[17]Taita District, Kenya, Taita District Cooperative Union File Number 57, Letter, Taita District Cooperative Union to Chairman, N'gangao Vegetable Cooperative, 8th March 1968.

of 280 pounds delivered to the prison on January 11, 1968, 160 pounds was spoiled and condemned by the prison doctor.[18] After this contractual breakdown occurred, a private individual trader undertook to supply ". . . all government departments in Taita District including Mbololo Hills Prison."[19] The individual referred to here is a trader, truck-owner who has, for years, practiced a sub-contracting arrangement with small farmers in Werugha and has carried vegetables to Mombasa as well as to the market at Voi.

Dry Land crops

A third type of cash-cropping which exhibits a degree of areal specialization involves such crops as castor beans, chillies, pigeon peas and black and green grams. The areas where these crops are specialized in are usually those with lower rainfall receipts. The lower elevations in the Hills and in the surrounding plains are the major parts of this production area, but some higher elevation locations are also included if they exhibit local rainshadow characteristics (Figure 19). These crops require much less attention and are easier to grow than vegetables. The movement of dry crops is not plagued with the spoilage problems that have been mentioned in reference to vegetable production.

After crops such as castor beans and chillies are harvested, they are bagged and then trucked to one of several railway stations for

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[18]Taita District, Kenya, Taita District Cooperative Union, File Number 57, Letter, Mbololo Prison Officer to Chairman, N'gangao Vegetable Cooperative Society, 9th February 1968.

[19]Taita District, Kenya, Taita District Cooperative Union File Number 57, Letter, S. Bosire (for Acting District Commissioner) to Medical Officer, Voi District Hospital, 18th June 1968.

shipment to other parts of Kenya. Though some of the production from these dry land crops is used locally, most of it is sold to the Marketing Board for distribution throughout the country. Agricultural Export Returns are kept for certain railway stations and forwarded to the District Agricultural Office files. A comparison of the two stations, of Voi and Mwatate, gives a clear indication of the extent of this type of production that exists in their neighborhoods (Table 11). Voi, as a major rail center with a more regular schedule, attracts more of the dry crop production than the Mwatate station. It also happens to be located nearer to the major areas of dry crop production (Figure 19).

These dry land crops may be classified according to purpose of cultivation as being grown mainly for sale. Some chillies and pulses are used locally, but the major proportions of these crops are grown for marketing, through the Marketing Board, both within Kenya and on the

TABLE 11

SELECTED DRY CROP EXPORTS FROM TAITA BY RAIL
(in pounds)

Year	Voi		Mwatate		Total	
	Castor	Chillies	Castor	Chillies	Castor	Chillies
1962	216,894	144,144	134,807	141,087	351,707	285,231
1963	602,087	279,344	170,943	157,674	773,030	437,018
1964	398,632	223,237	108,689	236,794	507,321	460,031
1965	538,728	103,580	173,281	48,520	712,009	152,100
1966	666,868	363,448	--	--	666,868	363,448
1967	385,652	121,163	--	--	385,652	121,163
1968	360,503	134,560	--	--	360,503	134,560
Total	3,169,364	1,369,476	587,720	584,075	3,757,084	1,953,551

Source: Agricultural Export Returns, Taita District Agricultural Office, for the named years. Calculations by writer.

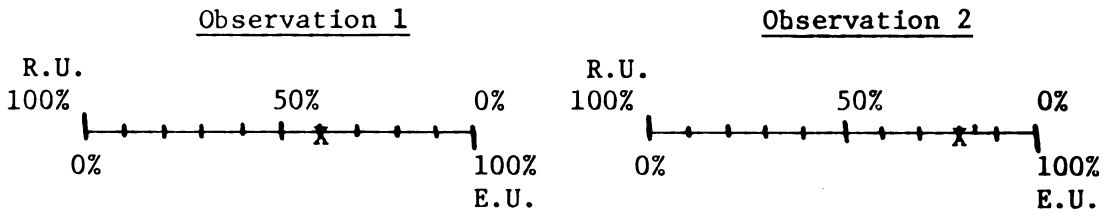
world exchange. One often finds small amounts of these crops being sold in local Taita markets and in Voi at the open market stalls and in the more permanent traders' establishments. Some of the dry crops sold in the shops at Voi are from local sources, while others come from elsewhere in Coast Province and from other parts of East Africa.

Pastoral Activities

The third traditional activity of the Taita, pastoralism, has also felt the effects of a complex of innovative forces. Among the animal domesticates whose reproduction the Taita have controlled, are cattle, sheep, and goats. It is with cattle and goats that this section is most concerned. As suggested in Chapter II, these animals had ritual as well as economic significance for the Taita, both in pre-colonial and later in colonial times. What appears to have happened since then, is a decrease in the proportion of ritual use, and a corresponding increase in the economic use of these animals. One could portray this shift in emphasis graphically with a series of continua, recording the proportionate uses from one time period to another. The top of the continuum (Figure 22) increases from right to left while the bottom increases from left to right. The result is a pair of numbers at each point on the line which total to 100 percent, therefore portraying the proportion of total use represented by economic and ritual usage.

Even though the illustration in Figure 22 is hypothetical, the Taita situation resembles the double-edged continua shown. The actual proportions are not known, but the Taita do persist in the use of goats and cattle for ritual purposes as well as for economic ones. Though

Fig. 22.--Ritual Versus Economic Use of a Resource: A Hypothetical Scheme.



E.U. = Economic use.
R.U. = Ritual use.
X = 40% Ritual use, 60% Economic use.
X' = 20% Ritual use, 80% Economic use.

becoming exceptionally infrequent, the "reading" of goats entrails is still practiced. Cattle are still used in familial gift-giving and rite of passage ceremonies. These uses have declined in proportion to the more nearly exclusive economic uses, but nevertheless both purposes continue to co-exist.

In almost every section of the Hills, the Taita keep some livestock. It is a common event to find a handful of cattle grazing on the lawns of government officers' homes around Wundanyi. The outdoor market squares, which are grassed, also serve as grazing areas, in combination with the school grounds and sports grounds, when not in use. Although cattle and goats are nearly ubiquitous throughout the District, there is also a degree of areal specialization in the major stockraising effort. As shown in Figure 23, the areas, where cattlekeeping is a dominant activity, are those which have a Hills-plains margin location. This is true because of the availability of precipitation run-off, hence grass, in areas where the human populations are less dense than in the Hills themselves. In wetter years, the Taita are known to move their

Fig. 23.--Cattle grazing is practiced wherever possible in Taita but the major area, with the largest number of stock, is shown on this map.

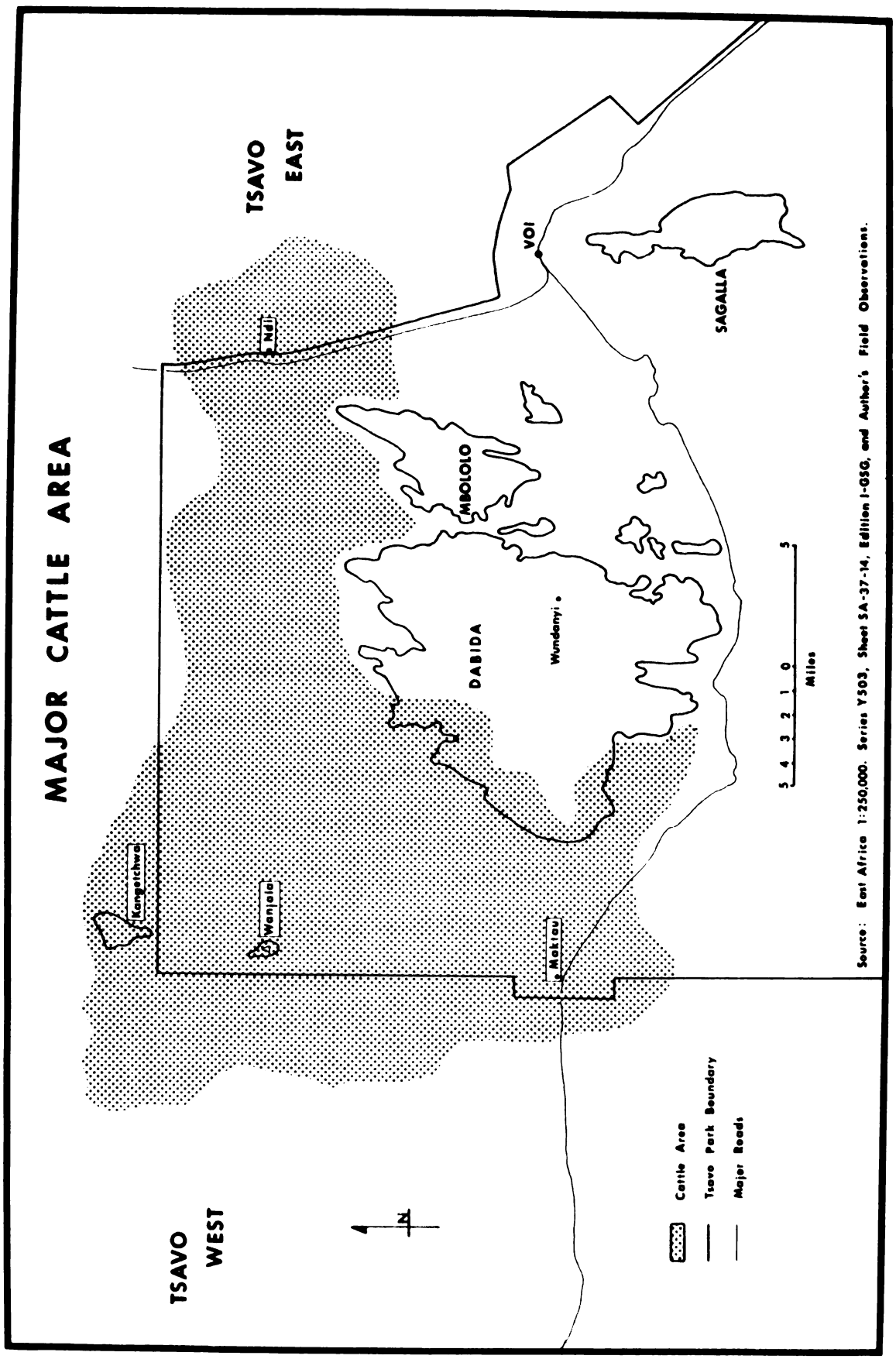

MAJOR CATTLE AREA
TSAVO EAST
TSAVO WEST
VOI
SAGALLA
MBOLOLO
DABIDA
Wundanyi
Ndi
Kasigau
Wanjala
Maktau
N
5 4 3 2 1 0 5
Miles
Cattle Area
Tsavo Park Boundary
Major Roads
Source: East Africa 1:250,000. Series Y503, Sheet SA-37-14, Edition 1-GSG, and Author's Field Observations.

Fig. 23.

herds further out into the plains and occasionally to transgress the Tsavo National Park boundary. Besides this legal obstacle to herding their animals, the alienation of land for sisal estates has also obstructed the free movement of livestock on the plains. Extensive sisal estates and the presence of the Voi-Taveta railway have discouraged, to some extent, the herding of animals to the immediate south of the Hills. The major area of cattle driving describes an arc on the northern and western sides of the main Hills massif. Some herding is done on the other Hills-plains margins, but not to the same extent as in the area described in Figure 23.

As mentioned above, the Taita move their cattle further out onto the plains in wet years. In dry years, herding into the foothills and into the Hills themselves takes place. The people involved in this movement are, usually, the men and boys. This seasonal movement, though irregular, may be considered as a type of transhumance. Besides moving their cattle back into the Taita Hills in dry years, the Taita also migrate to Wanjala and Kangetchwa, further into the plains to the northwest of the Hills. Wanjala (Kitaita for girl) is a hill which rises to over 3,600 feet elevation and has grass even in the driest years. Kangetchwa is a larger area which has elevations over 4,300 feet, and is said to have grass all year round. Interestingly, Kangetchwa is across the Tsavo National Park boundary and none would admit that they themselves had taken cattle there, only that they had heard that others had.

The purposes of livestock production, just as the purposes for plant production discussed above, have changed, over time. In modern Taita, to be sure, cattle are still used occasionally for bridewealth

arrangements and goats are still used for divining purposes, but the greatest proportion of use may be seen as economic in design. The production of hides, meat and milk have assumed an even greater importance, economically speaking, than previously. Although still pitifully low, meat ingestion amongst the Taita has increased since World War II.[20] Milk consumption has also become a more regular event in Taita households in recent years. To encourage the production of cattle for meat, milk, and hides, the government has granted money for the construction of a water pipeline from the 13 million gallon dam at Werugha, to a 70,000 acre grazing block on the plains to the north, at Kishushe.[21]

The Kishushe scheme was designed to support 2,400 cattle on a six paddock rotation system[22] (Figure 24). In February 1969, Kishushe Ranching Scheme was serving both cooperative members and nonmembers. Kishushe Co-operative owned just over 300 beef cattle. The pipeline which came from Werugha passed through two holding tanks, to a cattle-dip, and then on to another tank. The cattle of Co-op members are dipped (ideally) once a week, whereas cattle belonging to nonmembers are dipped once or twice a month. At the time of this researcher's visit, the pipeline from Werugha was not working properly and had not been for several weeks. The resultant shortage of water meant less frequent dipping of Co-op cattle, and the curtailment of nonmember cattle

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[20]Although no hard data are available to support this contention, the growth in the number of butcher shops and the statements of informants indicate its veracity.

[21]Kenya, African Land Development in Kenya, 1946-1962 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1962), p. 198.

[22]Ibid.

Fig. 24.--Kishushe Scheme was designed to assure a more dependable water supply and dipping facilities to raise the quality of cattle production.

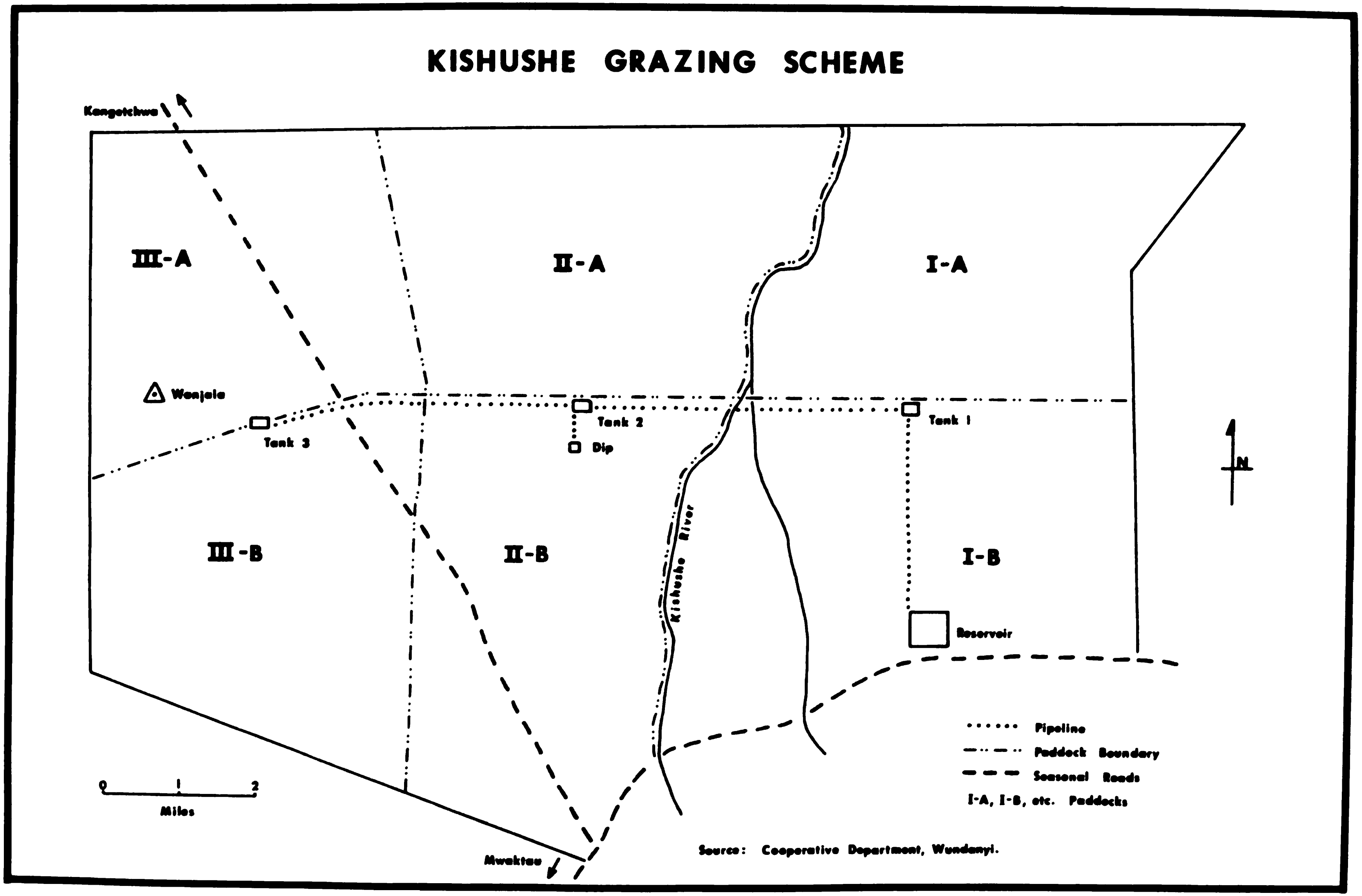
KISHUSHE GRAZING SCHEME
Kangatchwa
III-A
II-A
I-A
Wanjala
Tank 3
Tank 2
Dip
Tank 1
N
III-B
II-B
Kishushe River
I-B
Reservoir
Pipeline
Paddock Boundary
Seasonal Roads
I-A, I-B, etc. Paddocks
0 1 2
Miles
Mwaktau
Source: Cooperative Department, Wundanyi.

Fig. 24.

dipping until the pipeline was repaired. Upon checking the water-level in the holding tank nearest the dip, it was found to be less than one-third full.

Referring to Figure 24 once again, it is interesting to note that the pipeline and holding tanks have been placed along the midline of the six paddocks. The cattle dip is also centrally located, so that cattle from all parts of this approximately 78,000 acre[23] scheme may use it with equal ease of approach. The placement of each of the three tanks is very nearly central in reference to each of the three pairs of paddocks, once again for ease of accessibility. Near each of these tanks is a series of watering troughs for the cattle. The area encompassed by the Kishushe scheme overlaps with a large part of the stock raising section shown in Figure 23. In the case of Kishushe, however, the boundary is legally established, on the north and west, as being coincident with the Tsavo National Park boundary. In theory, the cattle are rotated from paddock to paddock to preserve and maintain the grass cover, but due to lack of personnel to police the area, it is difficult to determine if this practice is rigidly followed.

When the cattle are not being herded they are kept in kraals made of dried thornbush and pilings. This protects both the cattle and herdsmen from predators during the night. One of the kraals in paddock 2-B contained eighteen bull calves of less than a year average age. One of the remarkable aspects of cattle-raising amongst the Taita is the

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[23]Though the original grant and loan arrangement was made for 70,000 acres, according to District Co-operative Office the actual acreage is closer to 78,000 for the Kishushe Scheme.

very low proportion of steers in the cattle population. This condition derives from the prevalent Taita belief that castration of the bulls will stunt their growth, and make them more susceptible to disease. For this reason there has been massive resistance to the practice. This refusal to castrate bulls has tended to exacerbate the difficulties of selective breeding as well as limiting the potential weight-gain of the cattle. Besides keeping the cattle and herdsmen safe at night from predators, the kraals also serve as milking stations for the cows.

The production of milk as well as meat is a concern of the Kishushe Ranching Co-operative Society Ltd. The Society does not rely entirely upon the cows of its members for milk, but rather acts as the wholesaler in purchasing milk from independent farmers who also range their cattle on Kishushe Ranching Scheme land. The yield from cows in the Taita District, though often as high as 6.5 percent to 7 percent in butterfat content, were very low in total volume. The high butterfat level is attributed to the corresponding lack of moisture in the grasses that these cattle consume, as well as the general lack of drinking water. These high proportions are accompanied by low total yields, often calculated in cows per pint rather than pounds per cow as is usual in the U.S. and Western Europe.

The marketing of milk is almost exclusively local, with occasional cans of milk being sold in Voi. For the most part though, milk is sold locally, either at butcher-shops, at dairy stores, at the outdoor market, or from door to door. The Kishushe Ranching Co-operative Society plays a role in its collection, distribution and sale. The society owns a land-rover with which they make almost daily trips to the

northern plains to collect milk from cows belonging to both society-members and non-members. Standard milk cans as well as five gallon kerosene tins (debes) are used to contain the milk. On a good day little more than 30 gallons is collected in this way. This is true because of low yields of milk and also because there is some competition in milk collection and sale. Whereas the society acts as a wholesaler of milk to retail outlets; some shop-keepers, notably those who are also butchers, employ agents who collect milk for them and deliver it to their shops. Some of these agents bring milk from within the Hills and also from the plains. They travel on foot with a five gallon debe full of milk balanced on top of their heads. These men have been observed making house deliveries of small amounts.

Although some tinned, evaporated milk has been available since the late 1940's in occasional shops in Taita, it has never seriously competed with fresh milk in the people's consumption preferences. Tinned evaporated milk was, and to some extent still is, bought as a luxury, almost gourmet item, and is served at special occasions.[24] The packaging revolution is only just beginning to reach the Taita. Interestingly enough, the tourist industry, together with the packaging industry, have developed a coated paper tetra-pak containing one liter of heat-treated milk which is called safari-milk, because of its ability to withstand spoilage without refrigeration for some weeks, even in the

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[24]Tinned milk has also served, along with sugar and tea, as a substitute amongst many Christian families for the traditional sugar cane beer drunk at various bridewealth beer drinks. See Grace Harris, "Taita Bridewealth and Affinal Relationships," in Fortes, Meyer, eds., Marriage in Tribal Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 62.

East African plains. In 1969 this safari-milk was being sold by one of the major shopkeepers in Wundanyi. The local people seemed anxious to purchase the milk and were very pleased about its storable quality. Although this new milk was expensive, two or three times the cost of locally produced milk, many Wundanyi residents bought it as a novelty.

Tertiary Economic Activities

The economic activities discussed above have the shared characteristic of being modifications of largely traditional modes of enterprise. What has occurred among the Taita regarding these activities is that many more of the goods produced are now used in a cash exchange, than was common previously. The reasons for increased participation in a cash economy are manifold, but in the Taita's case it reflects a broadened world view and a willingness to draw upon an expanded world resource inventory. This next section deals with activities which are themselves, rather newly integrated into the fabric of Taita society, namely those activities which could be classified as tertiary, in that they are concerned with commercial trade, personal service, and leisure activity enterprises. The increasing proportion of tertiary and even quaternary activities in a society is an indication of that society's modernization. It is to some of the tertiary activities in the Taita Hills that this report now turns.

Soon after the British became involved in East African government, they attempted to encourage Africans to take part in commerce. Concerning the Taita, the colonial government tried not only to establish African shops, but to protect those shops from undue competition

until they became solvent. In July of 1917, the District Commissioner at Voi wrote to the Provincial Commissioner at Mombasa a letter, from which the following is excerpted. Regarding trade centers in the Taita Reserve, he wrote:

> I have the honour to report that during my recent Safari, I tentatively selected two sites--one near Wusi (Chawia Location) and one at Msao (Mbale Location) with a third somewhere in the upper part of Mbale Location under consideration. . . . Both at Chawia and Mbale they are ready to build one shop as a start; I have instructed them to submit a list of the things in common demand, which will be forwarded to you, so that an idea could be obtained as to the amount of money which it will be necessary to put down at first.[25]

Implied in this letter is the suggestion that government should supply investment funds for stocking the shelves of these new Taita-run shops. The selection of sites for these shops was not done without the advice and consent of the Taita elders in these two locations, as one might infer from the letter. The choice of a site in another part of the Hills was not decided at the same time because "the Elders of Bura and Mwanda have come to no agreement yet on a site. . . ."[26]

To more nearly assure that this Taita Commerce would not fail, the District Commissioner suggested:

> . . . I think it will be essential to protect it for a certain time against the competition of the Indian trader, who will most certainly do his best to crush it. I would strongly urge, therefore, that no steps be taken (during the current financial year anyhow) to throw open any "trade centres." As long as these centres are not thrown open we can control the situation.[27]

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[25]Letter from District Commissioner, Voi to Provincial Commissioner, Coast Province, Re: Trading Centres in Dabida Native Reserve. July 11, 1917.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

This protection of African shopkeepers from competition by Indian traders was felt to be necessary because of the already demonstrated business acumen of the Indians. During the war with Germany in East Africa, a "good behavior" deposit of 10,000 rupees was required of Indian traders in Voi.[28] Many were able to supply the deposit thus exhibiting their financial solvency, and so demonstrating their competitive potential.

By the year 1919, there were five registered Taita traders in Mbale and four in Wusi. These numbers waxed and waned as the new entrepreneurs gained experience in merchandising. Six years later there were five traders in Wusi and four in Mwanda, all of whom were Taita. Also by 1925 Mwatate and Voi had one and two Taita tradesmen respectively. Although African and Asian traders had previously maintained establishments in Ndi and Bura, in 1925 Taita businessmen started shops in these two trading centers. The degrees of success of each of these varied to a great extent. As late as 1951, the numbers of traders in Mwatate had grown, but the only successful Taita traders was believed by the District Commissioner to be Mwanake Kala. Earlier (1950), Mwanake Kala had built ". . . an enormous block of shops in brick, rumoured to cost £5,000."[29] Though still a profit making concern with shops in both Mwatate and Wundanyi, the business appears to have seriously decreased after Mwanake Kala's death. Still important, both in terms of local retail sales and wholesale supply of specific goods, this concern was largely overshadowed by the Felix Kitonga firm based in Wundanyi.

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[28]Kenya, Taita Political Record Book, Vol. I, TTA/5.

[29]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1950, p. 4.

The Kitonga family own several motor vehicles and put them to good use supplying many of the other shops in Taita. From a sample of 51 dukas[30] whose managers were interviewed by the writer, 26 bought at least part of their stock from the Kitonga family. The proliferation of dukas in Taita seems to have taken place mostly since independence in 1963. Of the sample mentioned above 27 respondents reported that their establishment had opened after independence. Eleven other dukas were established in the 1950's. Among the managers who expressed consumer preferences for the type of goods that were sold in their dukas, the overwhelming consumer choice was for three items: sugar, clothes, and tea.

Although sugar is grown in various parts of the Hills, a large proportion of it is used for the brewing of denge. Some is made into semi-refined jagree but this tends to be shipped out for further processing. The Taita have developed a preference for white refined sugar. In 1969 much of the sugar that was imported into the Hills was refined in Hong Kong. The other two main preference items are also dependent on extra-Taita sources of supply. Some small cotton acreages may be found to the south of the Hills in the vicinity of Mwatate Railway station, but the production from these is relatively small, and is shipped out to be woven into cloth elsewhere. During this writer's tenure in Taita many of the cotton fabrics were Japanese imports of medium to high quality.

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[30]Duka is the Swahili and Kenyan English term for a general store.

Tea, the third preference good, is produced further up-country in highland Kenya, and it was largely from those sources that it was supplied to Taita. There has been some talk about starting tea farms in the Taita Hills as another potential cash crop, but in 1969 no action had been taken on the suggestion.[31] There was a great deal of question about the economic ability of new tea farms in Taita to compete with the rather large, well established ones already in the Kenya highlands. The tea sold in Taita shops is, for the most part, grown and packaged in Kenya.

Many of the shops were general purpose stores with only occasionally apparent specialization. One type of specialization exhibited in Taita was in the tailoring of clothes. Why this should be the case may be partly explained by the presence of two related institutions, the schools and the Christian churches. By example and by sermon, the Ministers and priests encouraged the Taita to adopt a modest desire for more Western style apparel. The schools taught the same lessons, having been, in the past, connected to the Christian missions, perhaps more importantly, they required students to wear uniforms. These influences are strongly felt even today and certainly have played a role in the specialization of some shopkeepers along the lines of clothing sales and manufacture. The training of men and women to use sewing machines (in every case the treadle type) was also done by the mission schools.

There are also specialty enterprises that provide such things as shoes, or butchered meat, or books, but these are few in number

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[31]Ian Fraser, Provincial Planning Office, Coast Province, Kenya, private interview, December 1968.

compared to the large number of dukas. Service oriented enterprises have begun to play a more important, though still small, role in Taita. It was possible to have clothes washed, repaired, and ironed at one establishment in Wundanyi. Another service establishment was the Taita Bus Line which played an extremely important role in the movement of both goods and people. The bus carried goods and passengers from place to place within the Hills and also to and from Mombasa. Among the service enterprises which have developed in Taita are the combination bar-hotel establishments. These concerns are small in size, spartanly furnished and deal mostly in the sale of lager beer. Most of the bar-hotels are privately owned, but one such establishment which also serves as a restaurant, and social hall is run by the local government at Wundanyi. In addition to this combination of bar, hotel, restaurant, social-hall, the local government owns several African beer (denge) halls. The denge is made and sold by local government employees.

All of the establishments mentioned above are housed in permanent structures. There is a good deal of economic exchange which takes place in the open air. The largest of these markets meets on Tuesdays and Fridays in Wundanyi. For the most part the goods sold in this market, as in the others of less importance in Taita, are agricultural produce. The current vegetables are available for cash purchase as well as fresh hens eggs. An occasional rooster is sold at Wundanyi market, and it is possible to order a chicken or a goat for special occasions. Besides meat orders, it is also possible to order future vegetable production. By inquiring around the market, one can discover who is growing specific crops such as green peppers or cauliflower and put in

an order. Some government officials and employees make a regular practice of contracting for specific crop futures, in small amounts.

Market participants are overwhelmingly women, both selling and buying. With the exception of a few who ride from Werugha Valley on a bus to Wundanyi, most come on foot, with large loads of goods balanced on their heads. A woman's children, if not in school, are often recruited to help carry and display the market goods. The market square, in the center of Wundanyi's commercial area, is grassed, and with the exception of five market stalls, also run by women; everyone selects a spot on the grass, deposits her goods, and sits beside them. The marketers are arranged in rows and from week to week select nearly the same spots to display their goods. The five stalls that sell agricultural produce are occupied by people who pay a monthly rental fee to the local government. Much of the produce sold in the stalls is purchased from the other market-women, usually the early arrivals. The stall keepers are very particular in their purchases and quite often they have the the best selections, but at higher prices because their overhead is higher from the stall rental fee. The marketers who do not have stalls are also required to pay a fee of ten cents,[32] no matter how large their load. These market and stall rental fees are collected by the local government.

The Wundanyi market-place is the most active market. The presence of the government offices in Wundanyi, as well as employees and

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[32]Ten cents, in this case, represents one-tenth of one shilling. The Kenyan shilling is worth approximately fourteen cents in U.S. currency, therefore ten cents (Kenyan) represented just less than one and one-half cents (1.4c) in U.S. currency.

prisoners in the Government of Kenya Prison there, assures a regular consuming public for the vegetable produce that dominates the market. With the exception of the Mwatate market-place, the others in the Hills are much smaller and do considerably less business. The Mwatate market meets on Wednesdays and is also dominated by locally produced food sales. The employees of the Taita Concessions sisal estate and the shop-owners at Mwatate comprise a large proportion of the cash consumers. The two markets mentioned above and the smaller markets in Taita, all exhibit a periodicity of occurrence that leads one to question the origin and persistence of this adaptation in economic behavior.

From the evidence available to this researcher, the presence of periodic markets is essentially a colonial era adaptation without traditional precedent amongst the Taita. The presence of a consuming public who had little other recourse to food supply than through purchase from local horticulturalists, helped to establish markets of varying size and temporal occurrence where that consumption group was most densly located. The consuming public referred to here are the missionaries and their employees; government officers and their employees; and those involved almost exclusively in commercial enterprises, such as the sisal estates, or shops in Mwatate. The periodic nature of the market meetings reflects the attempts of colonial government and the local population to rationalize the supply of agricultural produce with the relatively small numbers of cash consumers. More recently the number of cash consumers has increased and some specialization of production is beginning to appear. These regular periodic market meetings, have replaced the

occasional meetings of surplus producers and passing caravans of an earlier era; a substitutive change.

Selected Population Characteristics

Perhaps one of the most persistent problems discussed by both government and governed, in the colonial and post-colonial eras in Kenya, was the relationship between ethnic population groups and the land they occupied. In many cases, where the existing technology appeared to be pushed to its limits of production in feeding the population, two major questions were asked. The first, how may this technology be reformed so that it will support, more effectively, what appear to be steadily increasing human populations; and the second is the particular area already over-populated in terms of both resource potential and technological development. The first question was usually answered by the attempt to introduce Western European agricultural techniques, often where they were not well suited. The second question was often answered in the affirmative and one of the stock responses on the part of government was to encourage resettlement.

The areas chosen for resettlement were often the major point of dispute. If, as in the case of the Taita, adjacent lands had been alienated to immigrant populations, the government's task was exacerbated by the often conflicting demands for the same land by indigenous peoples versus immigrants. The immigrant populations were usually vocal and well organized to press their case upon the government, whereas the indigenous populations were both reticent, and less well organized, in presenting their collective decisions. In the Taita case, the

government attempted to establish a resettlement of Taita outside the district. The area chosen for Taita settlement was the Shimba Hills in Kwale District, just south of Mombasa. Although originally earmarked for excess Taita population, Shimba Hills was more successful in attracting settlers from amongst the Kamba and Nandi.[33] Throughout the colonial era down to the present, some Taita have migrated out of the Hills to other parts of Kenya. The greatest proportion of this migration was, and still is today, focussed on the two major urban centers of Nairobi and Mombasa. The Taita have long preferred Mombasa over Nairobi as a target for rural to urban migration. This population movement, though in itself giving some relief to what were considered to be high population densities in the Taita Hills, was uncontrolled and therefore did not play much part in the planning for population pressure relief in the Hills.

The calculation of population density within Taita District may result in misleading statistics by virtue of the large proportion of land in the district which is effectively removed from potential human settlement. If one compares the population density within Taita Division of the District with the density in Taita District as a whole, using the 1962 Census figures, the following densities are revealed. Whereas the District population density averages to 20.65 per square mile, the density for Taita Division is an astounding 154.17 per square mile. This difference is so great because of the large portions of land

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[33]Kenya, Ministry for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Water Resources, African Land Development in Kenya, 1946-1962 (Nairobi: Government Printers of Kenya, 1962), p. 201.

in the District which are alienated either for Tsavo National Park or for commercial estates. Tsavo National Park alone represented 74 percent of the land area of Taita District in 1962. A boundary modification took place in 1963, which resulted in a 2,239 square mile total addition to the District. Taking into account this added territory, in 1968, the percentage of land in Taita District represented by the National Park (Figure 25) dropped to 62.4 percent of the total district land area; still a remarkable portion of the district, especially when compared to the figure 3.79 percent, representing the percent of the entire nation's land in National Parks. Of the remaining tracts of land in Taita District, only about 400 square miles make up Taita Division,[34] the other two divisions being Voi and Taveta.

Comparing the population densities of Taita Division in the two census years of 1962 and 1969, one finds that in 1962 the Division had an average density of 154 per square mile, whereas in 1969, the same area sustained an average density of just over 194 per square mile. While the population residing in Tsavo National Park in 1962 was recorded as totalling 2,330 persons, in 1969, the national census reported that only 589 individuals still lived there. The decrease of resident population in Tsavo Park reflects the local population's heightened awareness of the national policy of preservation of this land for animals, and perhaps an unwillingness to be recorded as living within the park. The

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[34]In the 1969 Census of Kenya, the Taita Division is renamed the Wundanyi Division. To assure a more nearly accurate comparability between the two censuses, in this study, statistics from the Locations within the earlier Taita Division have been totalled for the 1969 Census. See Appendix A for population estimates from earlier years.

Fig. 25.--National Park occupies over 62 percent of the total land area of Taita District. This fact limits the territorial expansion of future generations.

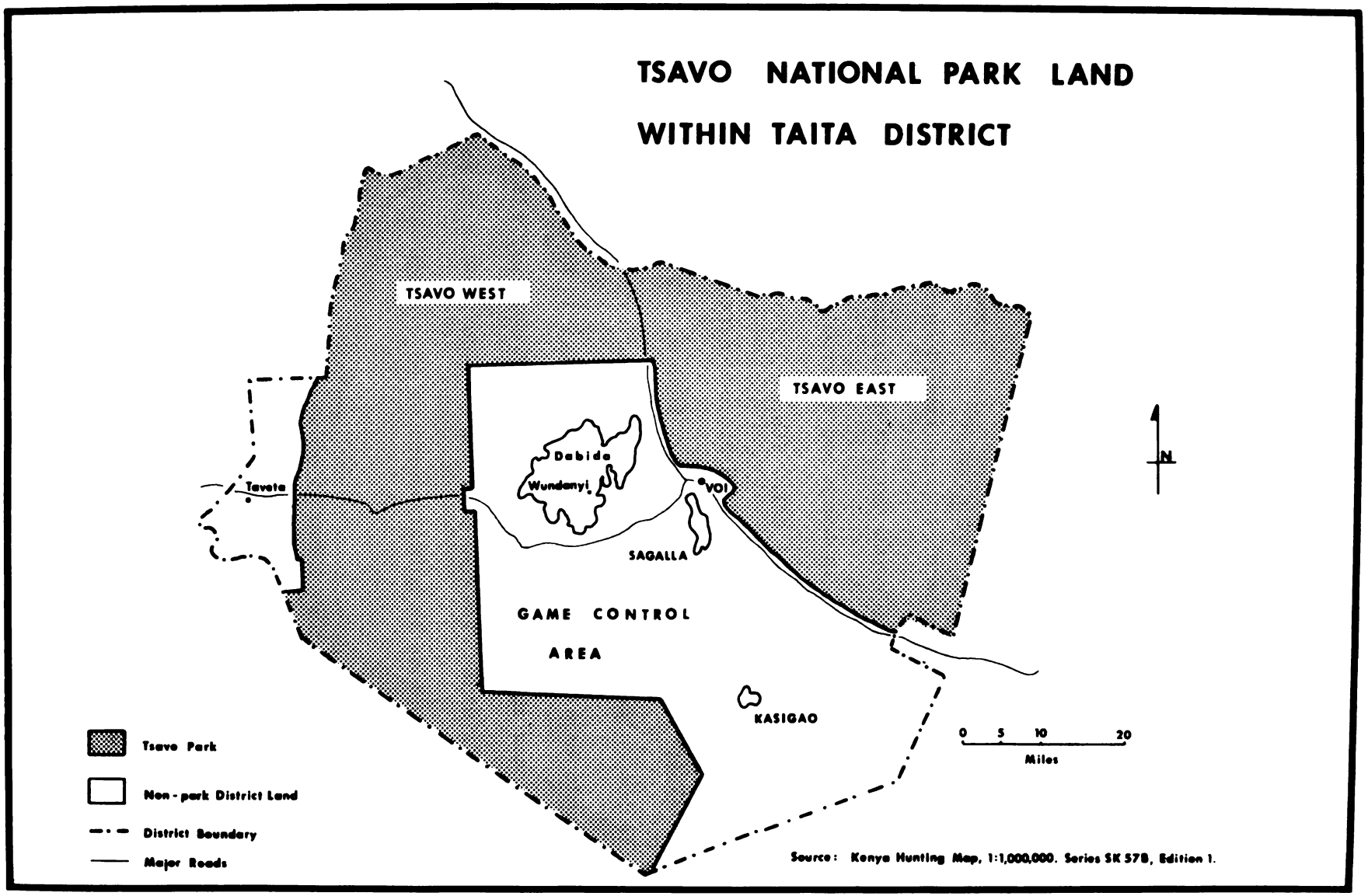
TSAVO NATIONAL PARK LAND
WITHIN TAITA DISTRICT
TSAVO WEST
TSAVO EAST
Dabida
Wundanyi
VOI
Taveta
SAGALLA
GAME CONTROL
AREA
KASIGAO
N
0 5 10 20
Miles
Tsavo Park
Non-park District Land
District Boundary
Major Roads
Source: Kenya Hunting Map, 1:1,000,000. Series SK 57B, Edition 1.

Fig. 25.

total population of Taita Division and its equivalent area in 1962 and 1969, was 61,669 and 77,743 individuals respectively. Stated in percentage increase in the intercensal period, this represents 26 percent. Even with a large addition to the population by migration it is unlikely that the population increased this much. A more probable explanation would appear to be in the improvement, from one census to the next, of the enumeration instruments.

Another population dimension of interest here is the sex ratio in Taita District as compared to the two major urban magnets which attract Taita migration, Nairobi and Mombasa. In 1962, the Kenya Census calculated that of the total 71,631 Taita individuals living in Taita District, 32,581 were males whereas 39,050 were females, or 6,469 more females. Compared with the 1969 Census, of the total 86,964 Taita individuals residing in Taita District, there were 39,788 males and 47,166 females, or a surplus of 7,378 females. Expressed in terms of percentage, in 1962, the resident District Taita female surplus was 9.03 percent compared with 1969, when it was 8.48 percent. This slightly decreasing surplus appears to be the beginning of an equalization of migrant populations.

The historic labor migration to urban centers such as Nairobi and Mombasa have involved male populations to a much greater extent than females. Considering once again just the Taita, the migrants to Mombasa who were enumerated in the 1962 Census were divided into 5,200 males and 3,335 females. Comparing Taita migrants enumerated in the 1969 Census it may be shown that 8,591 Taita males and 5,962 Taita females resided in or around Mombasa. Though only slight, those figures suggest the

beginnings of a shift from the previously male dominant migration toward a more nearly equivalent male-female migration. Male Taita in Mombasa in 1962, made up 61 percent of the Taita residents; female 39 percent. By 1969, the male percentage of Taita residents decreased to 59 percent, while the females increased to 41 percent. Stated differently, resident Taita females in Mombasa increased by 78 percent over 1962, while resident Taita males increased by 65 percent over the same time period. The shift is a small one but seems to at least partially corroborate the reports of Taita informants, in both Taita District and Mombasa, that more women have been joining their husbands in Mombasa in recent years.

Nairobi, Kenya's largest city, is of secondary importance to the Taita as a migration target. Proceeding from a small base of 858 Taita males and 495 female Taita in 1962, the respective increases are somewhat exaggerated. The increase of resident Taita males in Nairobi in the intercensal period, 1962-1969 was 121 percent, while resident female Taita increased 159 percent. The 1962 Kenya Census recorded a total of 1,353 resident Taita in Nairobi, of whome 63 percent were male and 37 percent were female. Of the 3,185 Taita who resided in or around Nairobi in 1969, 59 percent were male and 41 percent were female. This 4 percent shift, though admittedly an exaggeration because of the low base from which the statistic was calculated, does seem to support the claims that rural to urban migration, in specific cases such as that of the Taita, is beginning to lose its historic sex-specificity.[35]

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[35]Population data discussed in this last section either came from, or were calculated from the Kenya Population Census, 1962 and the Kenya Population Census, 1969. Each appeared in several volumes and was produced by the Statistics Division of the Ministry of Economic Planning

Although Taita migrants may be found in parts of Kenya outside of Taita District, other than just Nairobi and Mombasa, these two urban centers have continued to dominate as migrant attractions. Taita from all sections of the Hills have, at one time or another, looked elsewhere for economic livelihoods. One of the concerns of the next chapter will be to compare two areas in Taita Division to discover the nature and degree of modernization in each.

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and Development for 1962, and by the Statistics Division of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning for 1969.

CHAPTER V

DIFFERENTIAL MODERNIZATION IN THE TAITA HILLS

Introduction

It became apparent to this researcher during his tenure in East Africa, that there was much evidence to suggest that modernization was occurring differentially from place to place. In addition to the variance between urban and rural areas, or the well-documented modernization processes within a nation-wide spatial framework,[1] different levels of technological change and resource use appeared to be characteristic within primarily rural areas such as the Taita Hills. Because the processes of social and technological change appear to be neither homogeneously applied nor expressed, even within one tribal society, the need for a more detailed local level analysis suggested itself.

The spatial framework within which information is arranged in this chapter involves a shift in observation-scale from Division to Sublocation; the first of four links in the organizational chain from sublocation through District. This researcher's experience in the Taita Hills led to the choice of two valleys, Bura and Werugha, to demonstrate

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[1]Edward Soja, The Geography of Modernization in Kenya (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), and J. Barry Riddell, The Spatial Dynamics of Modernization in Sierra Leone (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

the kinds of differentiation and perhaps specialization that have occurred within two human landscapes which share the same cultural base. Within these two sub-locations information was sought in three main categories.

The first basis for comparison of the two study areas of this chapter is the range of ecological characteristics which exist in each. In particular, slope, elevation, precipitation, drainage, and temperature regimes are comparatively discussed. The next category of information concerns the nature of agricultural land-use and crop specialization in each area. An offshoot of this section is a consideration of the scope of cashcropping specialties engaged in by the inhabitants of Werugha versus Bura. Settlement characteristics, including comparative homestead agglomeration or dispersal and architectural types are also major foci of this section. The last part of the chapter deals with selected population features, and in particular with comparative labor exportation from Bura and Werugha. The use of sub-locations is particularly well suited to this part of the chapter, because they served in the last census as the primary units of data collection and analysis. This researcher's interviews were also conducted within sub-locational boundaries. To suggest some of the ecological imperatives in the complex of factors that serve as the background for cultural adaptation the following is offered.

Comparative Ecological Features

Two valleys, Bura and Werugha, are viewed in this section (Figure 19) to illustrate the internal differentiation of economic

activities that is possible within one district of Kenya. The environmental setting, far from being uniform, is varied within Taita District, and this variation helps to explain the levels and types of economic participation of the inhabitants. In East Africa, elevation and precipitation appear to be so directly related that one could calculate potential precipitation from elevation figures. With an increase in elevation there is a corresponding increase in rainfall receipts.[2]

Bura Valley

Of the two Valleys under consideration here, Bura has the lower general elevation. The Valley floor at Bura is made up of two major cultivated areas, one with elevations between 3,000 and 3,200 feet elevation, and the other between 3,500 and 3,700 feet above sea level. At the higher elevation in Bura Valley stands the Roman Catholic Mission where rainfall records have been kept. The average precipitation reported from that station is 36.45 inches per year.[3] Though occasional precipitation occurs in other months, the usual pattern of rainfall is a bimodal one. The "short-rains" which, as the name suggests are of shorter duration, usually occur during the months of November and

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[2]Porter suggests that the use of a simple regression equation yields a fairly precise calculation of rainfall figures from elevation figures. P. W. Porter, "Environmental Potentials and Economic Opportunities--A Background for Cultural Adaption," in Variation and Adaptability of Culture: A Symposium on Some Results of the Culture and Ecology Project in East Africa (Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Detroit, Michigan, November 20, 1964).

[3]Kenya, Ministry for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Water Resources, African Land Development in Kenya--1946-62 (Nairobi: Government Printer of Kenya, 1962), p. 297.

December, while the "long-rains" occur from March through May. Irregularity of arrival time for the two rainy periods is a common feature of precipitation patterns in East Africa that is also expressed in the Taita Hills. The statement here regarding the "usual" occurrence must be considered in light of this overall irregularity.

More dependably regular than precipitation figures, are the temperature readings for this area. The coolest months are those of July and August with minimum temperatures reaching the mid-sixty range, and the maximums only approaching the low eighties. The warmer months are January, February and March with daily average maximums in the low nineties and the minimums in the low seventies. A useful measure of comparability between neighboring areas are the expressions of the inhabitants about the opposite area. Informants from Werugha were largely in agreement that Bura Valley was a hot and less comfortable place to live, and that the possibilities of agricultural success were more marginal there. The people from Werugha also believed that Bura was a more likely place to contract malaria.[4]

Bura Swamp is recharged by a variety of small springs and streams flowing from the surrounding hill-sides. At the north end of the Valley two waterfalls carry water over the 3,500 foot contour and supply water year round to the swamp. The flow of these two major streams through the swamp is not always apparent because of the deposits of sandy soils and the growth of water vegetation in this part of the Valley. During the drier parts of the year the streams disappear into the sandy soils

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[4]Though this writer suspects that the Werugha people's fears may be justified regarding malaria and Bura Valley, this topic was not intensively investigated during the research period.

of the lower valley. Although he did not investigate thoroughly, J. Walsh, a geologist for the Geological Survey in Kenya in 1956, advanced the opinion that the Bura River probably follows a line of buried faults and that boreholes tapping this fault-line could yield good supplies of water.[5] One such borehole in the area between Bura and Mwatate yielded 26,400 gallons (British Gallon) in a twenty-four hour test period from a main supply level of 378 feet.[6]

The fact that a great deal of the water that drains from the Hills permeates to these levels has meant that in the past much of it was not useful to inhabitants of Bura Valley. With increased well-drilling, much more of the valley could be put to higher yield agricultural use than it is now. Even increasing water availability will not solve the problem of slope, however, which is a major discouragement to agricultural development in Bura. On the eastern slope of this generally north-south trending valley elevational differences of 500 feet occur in a horizontal distance of one-quarter mile. The western slope is somewhat gentler with the same vertical difference occurring in nearly one-half mile horizontal distance. With current cultivation techniques and crops the slope extremes have discouraged increased production.

Werugha Valley

Compared to Bura, Werugha Valley has higher average elevations with the floor descending to 5,200 feet. These elevations are

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[5]J. Walsh, Geology of the Area South of the Taita Hills (Nairobi: Geological Survey of Kenya, 1960), Report No. 49, p. 24.

[6]Ibid., p. 25.

instrumental in the genesis of greater precipitation receipts in Werugha. Although there is no regularly reporting weather station in Werugha Valley itself, a nearby one, at Wundanyi (4,800 feet elevation) has recorded an average of 53.50 inches per year. A second station at Wesu, also within a mile and a half of Werugha Valley, reports an average of 56.24 inches per year.[7] Wesu station shares the same 5,200 foot elevation as the floor of Werugha Valley. On the average, Werugha receives about 20 inches more rainfall per year than does Bura. People from Bura refer to Werugha as being cold.

Werugha is watered year round by a series of streams that originate in the surrounding hillsides. The slopes of Yale and Wesu peaks serve as reservoirs from which springs issue during every part of the year. Three major streams flow from the south end and join to form a small river about a third of the way down the valley. From this point of confluence the river flows down a gentle gradient in a predominantly northerly direction for about three miles, at which point it turns abruptly eastward.

Though by no means flat, the slopes of Werugha Valley are more useful for cultivation than those of Bura. This may be largely accounted for by a combination of soil, slope and moisture factors. Combined with a convoluted valley floor, the presence of soils with higher proportions of clay help to assure a wetter medium for plant growth in Werugha. The surrounding mountain peaks of Yale, Wesu, and N'gangao also serve hydrologic recharge functions, and guarantee a nearly continuous source of

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[7]Kenya, African Land Development in Kenya--1946-62, Appendix A, p. 297.

water. Werugha is essentially an intermontane basin with a drainage outlet to the northeast. This basin is protected by altitude from the higher rates of evaporation that occur in Bura, and by clayey soils from the percolation of water that occurs in the sandier parts of Bura. The organization of human activities in these two different ecological areas, with the same cultural foundations, is the concern of the next two segments of this chapter.

Agricultural and Settlement Characteristics

Both Werugha and Bura have incorporated some modernizing change, but the differences in agricultural organization between the two areas is apparent to even the casual observer. Besides the ecological differences discussed above, the impact of land-consolidation policies are beginning to be apparent in the human landscape. At the time this field work was completed the amalgamation of the one-owner small separate plots into one-owner larger contiguous plots of land was nearly complete in Werugha, but had not yet begun in Bura. The differences between "consolidated" and "non-consolidated" land holdings will be discussed in this section, both in terms of agricultural land-use, and also regarding the changing relationship of settlement patterns to farming patterns.

Bura Valley

Cash-cropping is a major factor of economic life in both valleys, with differences of both intensity and kind manifesting themselves in each. Some vegetable production takes place in Bura, both for sale in the Bura market-place and some for export on the railway. In that part

of the valley which has the lowest elevation and the least relief, two major crops are specialties, rice and sugarcane (Figure 26). Sugarcane has been grown since as long as the Taita can remember. In spite of attempts earlier in this century by both local government and the church to halt its cultivation it has endured as a specialty of Bura. Some of the sugarcane grown there is exported by rail, but the amounts on the available export returns were so small (measured in sticks, rather than pounds or tons) that its exportation is insignificant. Some of the sugarcane is processed into a partially refined form called jagree sugar, which is both locally purchased and exported out of the Hills.

The traditional use ot which sugarcane was put historically has been given new life under the auspices of the local government. The use referred to here is the production of sugar beer, denge. Sugarcane is cut by employees of the Taita County Council, loaded onto open staked trucks, and brought from Bura Valley to several locations where it is processed to make denge. The canes are forced through a simple two-roller mill (see Figure 27), which crushes the cane; the juice collects into a small trough which surrounds the rollers, flows toward a downward tilted spout and is collected in five gallon cans (debe). The canes are not peeled before crushing, to retain the natural yeasts that grow on the skins. The juice is poured into wooden barrels, diluted with water, and after the addition of "sponges," the mixture is left by the fire for about 20 hours. After this time has elapsed a potent alcoholic drink, tasting much like a tart cider, is ready for consumption. The "sponges" (see Figure 28) are actually the split and dried pods of the kigelia, or sausage tree. These are said to flavor and to hasten the fermentation

Fig. 26.--Rice and sugarcane cultivation are focussed on Bura Swamp while maize and vegetable farming is preferred on the drier lands.

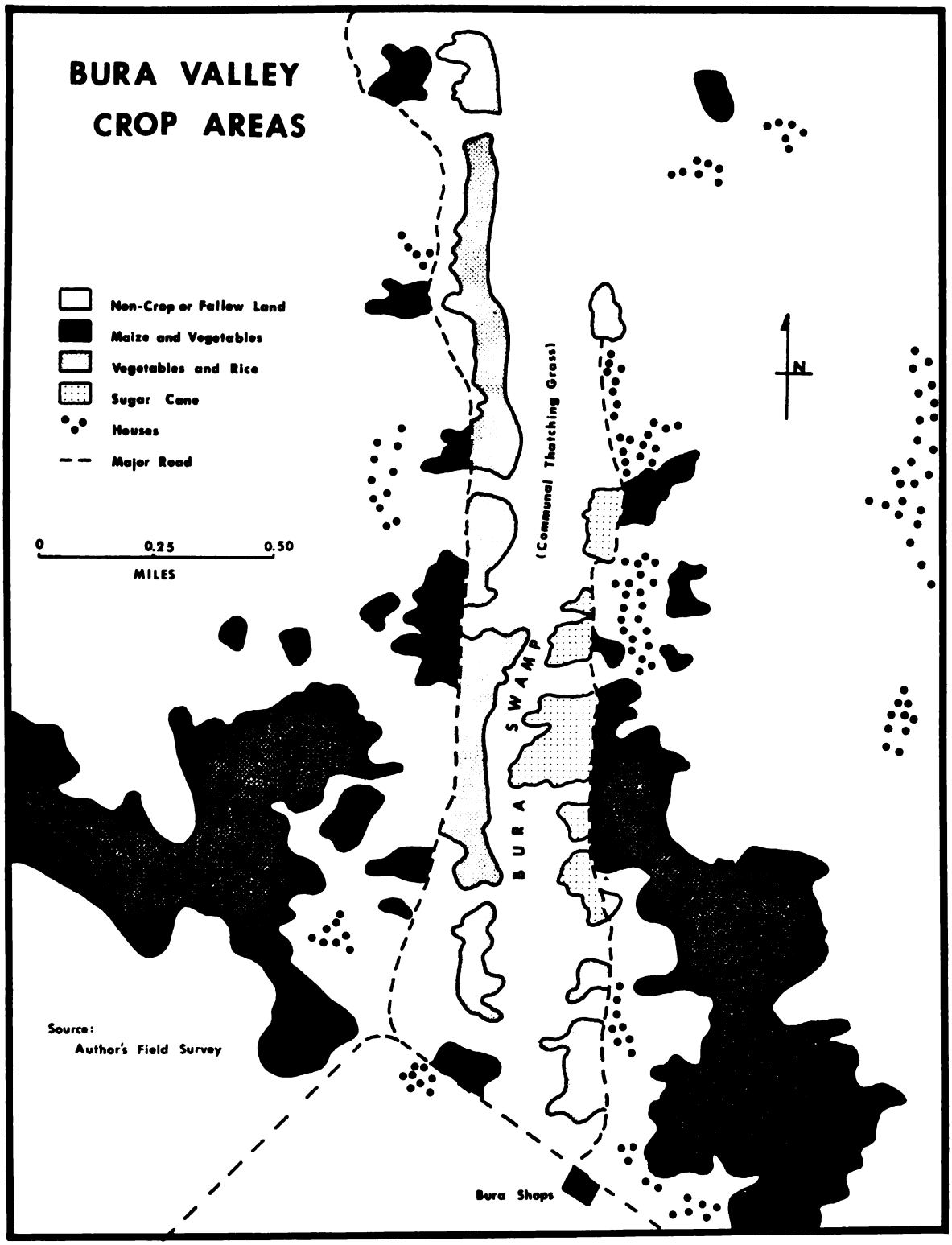
BURA VALLEY
CROP AREAS
Non-Crop or Fallow Land
Maize and Vegetables
Vegetables and Rice
Sugar Cane
Houses
Major Road
0
0.25
0.50
MILES
N
(Communal Thatching Grass)
BURA SWAMP
Source:
Author's Field Survey
Bura Shops

Fig. 26.

Fig. 27.--Cane-Crushing Mill for the Production of Denge.

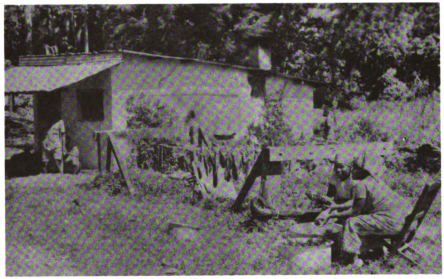

Fig. 28.--"Sponges" (seed pods of Kigelia aethiopica) Drying and Bottles Being Prepared for the Sale of Denge.

of the cane juice and water mixture. The brewing, bottling, and sale of this beverage are all done by local government employees as well as by occasional private entrepreneurs.

Having a shorter history of cultivation than sugar in Bura, two varieties of rice were introduced in 1942 at both Chawia and Bura. Of these, Basmati variety failed, whereas the Faya variety was more successful.[8] Two years later the District Commissioner reported that rice cultivation was well established in Bura and that 80 bags had been exported from there in that year.[9] More than two decades later, in 1968-1969, irrigated rice was still being cultivated in the Bura Swamp area. Local farmers reported that much of the rice then being grown was the crop of an incorporated group of individuals, who had pooled their labor and plots of land. Most of the rice in Bura is cultivated for export out of the District. The Taita regard rice as a high preference food and would not consider any special social occasion as being correctly celebrated without its consumption. If any ritual significance is attached to rice other than the pride of serving an expensive, "gourmet" grain to guests, its nature is not known to this investigator. Because it is so highly regarded by the Taita they try to acquire the best rice known to them. The "best" rice is polished, and polishing is not done in the Hills, so the Taita purchase this type from merchants.

The rice grown in Bura is planted, irrigated, weeded, and harvested by hand. After harvesting the grain is spread out on a cleared

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[8]Kenya, Annual Reports, Taita District, TTA/1942, p. 3.

[9]Ibid., TTA/1944, p. 4.

space on the ground to dry. Occasionally paper or cloth is placed upon the ground first, but quite often a space is simply swept clear of weeds and dust, on rock outcrops or hardpacked laterite, and the rice is then placed directly in contact with the surface. After drying and bagging the rice is sent out of the Hills to be sold to millers and merchants. It is a relatively small scale operation in Taita, but it does represent an areal specialization that differs from other parts of the Hills.

Rice and sugarcane are two specialty crops that are cultivated in Bura Valley, particularly in the lower elevations. These crops are not exclusive to Bura, nor are they the only cultigens there. Other sections of the Hills grow small patches of sugarcane and Chawia grows some rice but, as small as Bura's production is, it is the primate Location in Taita Division in producing these crops. In addition to sugar and rice, the people of Bura also raise vegetables for local consumption and for trade in the market-places of Bura, Mwatate, and Voi. Maize is also grown in Bura and is the most nearly ubiquitous crop in the whole Division. Though some of it is roasted when green and eaten then, most of the maize is dried and ground into meal. This meal is then boiled in water to make a stiff porridge-like starchy food which is eaten with any meal, whether breakfast or dinner. Due to variations in elevation, temperature, and rainfall from place to place throughout the Division, the maize crop often ripens at a different time in one section than it does in another. On the plains just to the west of Bura Valley, settlers from Bura and Mwanda usually have been able to secure two maize crops in a calendar year and occasionally, in absolutely optimum years, three maize crops.

In recognition of the widely varying levels of soil fertility, drainage characteristics and labor input requirements from one plot of land to another, the fragmentation of land holdings represents an attempt to equalize the comparative advantages and disadvantages among individual farmers. The Taita classify land, in a general way, into three types: grazing land, swampy or wet-lands, and dry-lands. The grazing land was often communally used and owned, whereas the other lands were usually organized into individually owned plots. The ideal farm (shamba) was neither all wet-lands nor all dry-lands, but a combination of these two types with the landholder and his family also having access to grazing land. Over the centuries, population increase, land inheritance, and the resulting shortage of new lands, has meant that contemporary Taita farmers have been able to retain segments of each type only by having areally noncontiguous farm-plots. The ideal pattern was one which included both wet and dry lands in a single elongated plot. This practice, when combined with the relief characteristics of Bura Valley, resulted in a series of plots stretching from ridge top to valley bottom (Figure 29). Focussing as they did upon the moister valley bottoms, these "striped" plots are reminiscent of the long-lot system that is still apparent along many of the rivers in Quebec Province in Canada, even though the Taita plots were not necessarily transportation oriented.

The location of houses in Bura Valley still reflects the people's discrimination between land types in terms of optimum use. The houses were, and to a large extent still are, clustered in groups of 15 to 20 on land which had massive rock outcrops, or on ridge-top land

Fig. 29.--The farm plots are quite small with a linear focus on Bura Swamp. The size of individual plots and the agglomerated housing pattern are common in pre-land consolidation areas.


DISTRIBUTION OF FARM PLOTS
AND HOUSES IN BURA
BURA SWAMP
N
Fallow and Grazing
Forest
Houses
Farm Plot
Major Roads
0
0.25
0.50
Miles
Bura Shops
Source: Author's Field Survey and Aerial Photos 9-Kenya - 44 - February, 1955 (056-057).

Fig. 29.

where the soils were thin. Although this land allocation for house siting is not peculiar to Bura, in comparison to Werugha, where land consolidation is now complete and hence the old pattern disturbed, Bura serves as an example of pre-consolidation residential and agricultural land allocation.

The house-types in Bura also reflect a conservatism that is less apparent in Werugha. In the Hills four types of house (nyumba) were still occupied. The oldest type was the round or cylindrical dwelling with a cone-shaped thatched roof. The thatch sloped from a peak of approximately ten to eleven feet to about six feet off the ground, at which point it was usually trimmed (Figure 30). The most modern house was of the type also shown in Figure 30. Corrugated metal roofing has supplanted the old thatch and sun-dried bricks have replaced the wattle and daub construction of the past. This architectural change occurred over a period of several decades and the most modern house was preceded by two transitional forms. The cylindrical house was replaced by a rectangular wattle and daub construction with a thatched roof. This form was later modified by the substitution of metal roofs (of corrugated metal when the family could afford them, or of flattened five gallon kerosene cans when the family's finances were more modest). The changes in housing styles have not occurred homogeneously in the Taita human landscape, but exhibit a degree of areal variation. The inhabitants of the Bura Valley overwhelmingly occupy housing of the thatched roof variety with slightly more rectangular houses than cylindrical ones. As will be shown this condition differs markedly from Werugha Valley's.

Fig. 30.--Old and Modern Style Houses.

Werugha Valley

The major cash-crops in Werugha Valley are coffee and vegetables. In both cases, many of the individuals have organized into marketing co-operatives. Coffee is grown on individually owned farms but is semi-processed at one of several "factories" in the Hills. The "factories" are organized and subscribed by co-operative membership. The co-operatives have been extended credit by National and Grindley's Bank through an overdraft arrangement. With the capital advanced by the bank, the coffee co-operative pays its operating and transportation expenses, and after the processed beans are sold to the national coffee board, the proceeds are distributed to individual members on the basis of the amounts they delivered to the "factory."

Because the temperatures, on the average, are lower in Werugha, it is possible to grow coffee there more successfully than in Bura, even though it was near Bura Mission that coffee was first introduced to Taita.[10] The greater opportunity for coffee growing in Werugha also means that many of the steeper slopes have been put to more economic use there than in Bura. As a tree-crop, coffee seems to be an excellent use of steep slopes that would require much heavier expenditures of labor for other crops. A typical profile of crop specialization within Werugha Valley would be one including coffee on the upper and steeper slopes, then maize as the slope begins to decrease, and finally vegetables on the lower slopes and valley bottoms (Figure 31).

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[10] See Chapter III and especially Figure 15.

Fig. 31.--Slope and drainage are important factors in the Werugha farmer's crop-locational decisions.

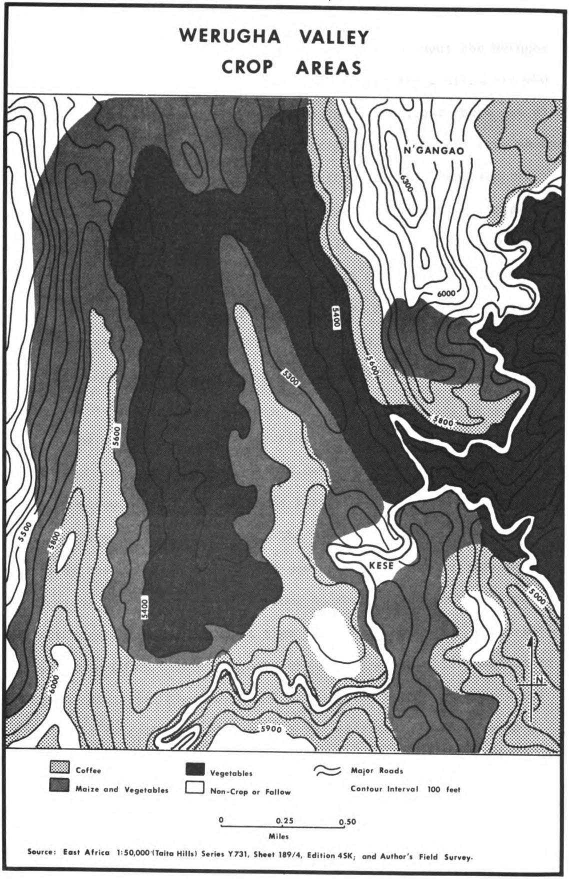
WERUGHA VALLEY
CROP AREAS
N'GANGAO
6300
6000
5400
5300
5600
5800
5500
KESE
5000
6000
5900
N
Coffee
Maize and Vegetables
Vegetables
Non-Crop or Fallow
Major Roads
Contour Interval 100 feet
0
0.25
0.50
Miles
Source: East Africa 1:50,000 (Taita Hills) Series Y731, Sheet 189/4, Edition 4SK; and Author's Field Survey.

Fig. 31.

Vegetable gardens are quite extensive throughout the Werugha Valley. Much of the vegetables are grown by private individuals who plant, cultivate, and harvest the crops themselves, but there are also a few larger farms whose owners hire agricultural laborers from amongst the local population. One such farm visited in 1969, employed ten workers who were planting and weeding as well as directing irrigation ditches to different parts of the farm. The planting underway then was being carried out with a measured stick with notches cut into it to indicate the optimum distances between individual plants. Some terracing had been implemented on this farm, but because the land was mostly in the valley bottom it was not as highly developed as in the steeper sloped parts of the Hills.

The owner of the farm described above also happens to be a truck-owner and trader. Besides his own vegetable production, he ships the production of other independent farmers and the vegetables of N'gangao Vegetable Co-operative. The N'gangao Vegetable Co-op building serves as the collection point for members' and for some nonmembers' production. The trader's truck comes on Mondays and Thursdays to collect vegetables to transport them to Voi and Mombasa. Those independent (non-Co-op member) farmers who do not bring their produce to the Co-op building take their vegetables to agreed upon shops where the truck stops to collect them. One of the difficulties for the co-operative members with this arrangement, was that their produce would often be sold after the private traders' goods, and would consequently receive a lower price. N'gangao Co-operative does have regular customers in both the McKinnon and the Changamwe markets at Mombasa as well

as some private traders who have shops in Voi. The commitment of Taita to producing agricultural goods for cash sale has often been threatened by natural and man made hazards. The program of land consolidation was viewed by many as one of the latter.

Over the generations of human occupance of Werugha Valley, the division and redivision of landholdings between succeeding sons led to the proliferation of small, often less than one quarter acre plots. People who owned several acres of land often found that this acreage was composed of sometimes as many as six or seven extremely small, non-contiguous fields. The fact that noncontiguous holdings might exist in several ecological zones has been understood as an advantage by the Taita, in that, if natural hazard or disaster befell one plot, the other might, by its spatial separation from the other, have been spared. Many Taita viewed the fragmentation of landholdings as advantageous, in the sense of providing some insurance against natural catastrophe. While classing these sorts of "advantage" as illusory,[11] the ALDEV (African Land Development) board nevertheless advised that land consolidation in the Taita Hills, ". . . . must be effected for the individual in at least two zones."[12] These two zones were to be selected from a range of high, medium and low elevations, which nearly correspond to the Taita view of land-types.

The reaction to consolidation in Werugha was mixed, with some fearful that their efforts in the development of cash-cropping were

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[11]Kenya, African Land Development in Kenya, 1946-62, p. 6.

[12]Ibid., p. 193.

about to be rewarded by confiscation and distribution to others of their lands. Others welcomed the idea because of the opportunity to settle conflicting land-claims and because they hoped that the distances between their total holdings could be reduced. Among those who were fearful of the potential redistributive effects of land consolidation were the people who had invested time, effort, capital, and land in the cultivation of coffee. Effectively, the presence of higher value crops on some land in Werugha made the arbitration of land consolidation questions even more difficult than the problem of reallocation of differentially fertile land-holdings. One resolution of the typical problem of coffee bearing land being awarded to an individual while attempting to deal fairly with the previous landowner was discussed in Chapter IV. In cases other than the one discussed above, through arbitration, the owners of land under adjudication came to a variety of compromises concerning the disposition of coffee bearing acreages. One compromise was arranged by assigning a higher value to coffee land than to noncoffee land. Though the specific values were not available to this writer, hypothetical ones may be useful to illustrate the kind of settlement that was common. If individual "A" was the owner of one-half acre of coffee land he might settle for one and one-half acres of noncoffee land in exchange from individual "B." Another type of agreement involved an exchange of land, but the maintenance of the previous owner's usufructual rights, for a specified length of time. Occasionally this type of agreement was made more complex by establishing a schedule of decreasing usufructual rights over a stipulated number of harvests. Individual "A," the original owner, in this instance might claim the harvest for a

five-year period in decreasing percentages of the yield for each succeeding year until year six, when his claim to the harvest was nil.

As Table 12 indicates, the mean acres per farm in Werugha Sub-location was 2.67 after consolidation. Calculating from the 3,324.0 acres consolidated and the 1969 population of 3,178 individuals living in the Sublocation, one discovers that the mean farm acreage per person was slightly over 1.04 acres. The land consolidated in Werugha represents almost all of the land available for plant agriculture. Some small areas are held aside for forest cover on the steeper slopes, mostly to conserve the landscape from massive erosion during the rains. Other parcels are used as communal grazing areas and are productive indirectly in terms of the meat and milk available from the few cattle that are kept. During this researcher's presence in the Taita Hills, all of the land was not actively farmed in Werugha, some was in fallow. The fallow lands were opened to grazing of cattle with the permission of the landowner.

TABLE 12

THE PROGRESS OF LAND CONSOLIDATION IN TAITA DIVISION
MID-1969

Sub-location	Farms demarcated	Acres consolidated	Mean Acreage per farm
Kedaya-Ngerenyi	777	1579.71	2.03
Mgange-Nyika	1251	2034.00	1.62
Wundanyi	1133	1990.58	1.75
Werugha	1245	3324.00	2.67
Mwarungu	385	1377.00	3.57
Total	4791	10,305.29	2.15

Source: Land Consolidation Office, Wundanyi, 1969.

Because of the largely demographically induced land shortage in the Hills, many individuals have historically supplemented their hills shambas with fields in the plains. Following consolidation in Werugha, there were still families who needed extra fields and the plains to the north in the area of Kishushe were attractive, especially for the growing of maize and some drier crops. Besides encouraging this settlement in the plains for supplementary crops, consolidation also appears to be at least partly responsible for a resettlement trend in Werugha itself. The old pattern of house distribution before consolidation was much like that of Bura, with some agglomeration occurring on less arable and ridge-top land. There were in both areas, of course, examples of single houses located away from the grouped dwellings, but these tended to be the exception rather than the rule. In 1968 and 1969 many families, at least those who could manage the cost of building materials, were rebuilding their houses on the land that they had received in the consolidation process. In some cases, in which rebuilding funds were not available, the family made arrangements with the new land-owners so that they could remain in their old dwelling for a specified length of time, and not have to relocate immediately. The overall trend, however, seems to be a disintegration of the house groups and a replacement of the agglomerated pattern by one of consolidated fields with individual dwellings on the property (see Figure 32).

Another direct result of the land consolidation program, which has intensified the differences between Bura and Werugha, is the style of house that has been chosen for reconstruction. The newer rectangular shaped house is the only style that is being rebuilt, the older

Fig. 32.--With land consolidation, farm-plots have assumed more rectilinear shapes and housing appears to be changing from an agglomerated to a more dispersed pattern.


WERUGHA FARM-PLOT
AND
HOUSE DISTRIBUTION
Coffee Factory
Kese
Shops
N
Old Style Houses
Modern Houses
Major Paths
Main Roads
Adjacent Plots, Same Owner
0 100 200 300
Feet
Source: Land Consolidation Field Maps, Werugha Sheet Number 261, 1968.
and Author's Field Survey.

Fig. 32.

cylindrical shaped houses are being destroyed in Werugha. The building materials are largely a matter of available family finances, but where possible sun-dried brick and corrugated metal roofing is being used. The most dominant forms in Werugha are now the rectangular houses with some variance in the materials used. The most common new construction in 1968 and 1969 used wattle and daub and metal roofing. Many new home builders felt that the corrugated metal roofing material was a good investment for future building, in that it could be removed and re-used on another dwelling if they so desired; an advantage not shared by the older thatching process. Perhaps land consolidation will stimulate a similar change in housing types in Bura in the future, but for the moment this is another of the differences that exist between the two valleys. The next section deals with selected demographic characteristics in the two sub-locations.

Some Demographic Comparisons

Individuals who had lived in the Taita Hills since before independence informed this writer of their belief, arising from their years of local experience, that some areas were greater migrant labor suppliers than others. The Bura Valley was suggested as being more prone to labor exportation and the Werugha Valley was reportedly less prone to supply migrant labor. To test these assertions the writer conducted interviews within Werugha sub-location in the Location of the same name, and in Ilole sub-location of Bura Location. In the 1969 Census Werugha sub-location reported a total of 3,178 individuals as compared with Ilole which recorded a total of 1,420 persons (Table 13). As the table indicates Werugha had a higher proportion of children in the population

TABLE 13

1969 POPULATION OF TWO SUB-LOCATIONS

	Ilole	Werugha
Male adults	329	538
Female adults	438	835
Total adults	767	1373
Male children[a]	330	872
Female children	323	933
Total children	653	1805
Total males	659	1410
Total females	761	1768
Grand total	1420	3178

Source: 1969 Kenya Census.

[a]Children are those individuals less than fourteen years of age.

than did Ilole. In terms of percentage, 56 percent of Werugha's individuals were children as compared to Ilole's 46 percent. Of the adult population in both areas, 60 percent of Werugha's were women compared to 57 percent women in Ilole. The higher proportion of adult women in Werugha sub-location would seem, by itself, to indicate a higher proportion of either absent or deceased males. The higher percentage of children in Werugha may be an indication of higher fertility there, or perhaps a lower rate of infant and youthful mortality. The incomplete nature of health and population data available, necessarily limits conclusions to a highly tentative level. If labor migration is especially demanding of youthful adults, hence the higher fertility group of the population, this group's absence could partially explain Ilole's lower child population.

To discover if, indeed, Ilole sub-location or Werugha sub-location exported more or less labor than the other, household occupants in both were interviewed. In Werugha 37 households were questioned. Within these households there were 208 residents and 24 nonresidents. The nonresidents were family members who lived and worked out of the sub-location. From a total then, of 232 individuals represented by these households 10.3 percent lived and worked outside of the sub-location. Only eight of those living away, resided in Taita District, the others were mostly residents of Mombasa and Nairobi. In Ilole sub-location 40 households were interviewed representing a total of 260 individuals. Of the 260 persons who were considered members of the household, 46 or 23.5 percent resided and were employed outside of Ilole. Most of them (32) were living in Mombasa, and only five lived elsewhere within Taita District. To compare the percentages of both sub-locations, they are arranged in the following table.

TABLE 14

MIGRANT/RESIDENT POPULATION

	Ilole	Werugha
Migrant population	17.6%	10.3%
Resident population	82.4%	89.7%
	N=260	N=232
	7.3% difference	

One measure of association that is used to indicate the strength of relationship, such as the one suggested between Ilole sub-location

and a higher percentage of migrants, is a statistic referred to as Yule's Q.[13] If Q equals +1.0 the indication -1.0 indicates a strong negative association. The equation for Q is as follows:

$$Q = \frac{ad - bc}{ad + bc}$$

The letters a,b,c, and d represent the cell frequencies in a 2x2 table such as:

a	b
c	d

Substituting the data collected in Ilole and Werugha for the letters in the 2x2 table above, the result would be:

46	24
214	208

Therefore,

$$Q = \frac{46(208) - 24(214)}{46(208) + 24(214)}$$

$$Q = \frac{9568 - 5136}{9568 + 5136}$$

$$Q = \frac{4432}{14704}$$

$$Q = +.301$$

The Q value of +.301 indicates a weak positive association between Ilole sub-location and higher levels of labor migrancy.

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[13]This measure is referred to as Yule's Q by some and as Kendall's Q by others.

Unfortunately inadequate precautions were taken in the field to assure random sampling, and because the resulting sample cannot be said with assuredness to be random, it is felt that more exacting statistics would only serve to perpetuate error. The Q test used, merely indicates a weak positive association and is useful to that limited extent. Statistical significance is difficult to assess by virtue of the uncertainty introduced by the sample.

Combining the interview results with the observations of long-term residents of the Taita Hills, Ilole sub-location appears to have slightly higher migrancy rates. By contrast, Werugha sub-location exhibited lower rates of migrancy, which might be at least partially explained by the superior agricultural capabilities, and economic organization of Werugha Valley.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Taita Hills, for centuries the home of the Taita (Wadabida), a discrete cultural group speaking a Northeastern Bantu (Niger-Congo) language, were chosen as a field research area for several reasons. Standing in stark contrast to the arid and sparsely populated surrounding plains, the Hills exhibit usually well-watered landscapes and high population densities. This prize location for human settlement, occupied by agriculturalists in the middle of the historical caravan traffic, slave-trade, and nomadic pastoralist raiding paths, as well as the later missionary movement from the coast to the highlands, appeared to be an excellent area within which to investigate questions about the processes of social and technological change.

Attempting to demonstrate the processual nature of resource identification and resource use shifts within a cultural framework, three time segments have been employed. To establish an historical-cultural baseline for consequent events and developments, the first time period discussed involved pre-colonial Taita society. The next historical period considered the interaction of non-African colonial organizations with the Taita, and the intentional as well as unintentional effects on the Taita of those contacts. The third time segment was concerned with

contemporary patterns of resource identification and use at two scales of observation; the Hills at large, and two smaller selected areas. The division of the Taita experience into these three major segments was useful, because of the time perspective that it contributed to the understanding of the evolution of contemporary patterns.

Pre-colonial Taita Society

The Hills location were chosen by the Taita both for the advantages its higher precipitation receipts offered for plant cultivation, and for the degree of military security the rugged, elevated terrain afforded them. The belligerents differed over time, but two major opponents were the Masai and the Galla, both nomadic pastoral groups, with well deserved military reputations. The Hills were occupied by the Taita, or at least by groups which later amalgamated to become the Taita, in settlement waves. The history of the various immigrant groups is partially recorded in the ritual of goats-entrail divination for war, and the clan enumeration system combined.

In the waves of proto-Taita occupation that occurred, certain core settlement areas evolved. These early nodes have been identified as Wundanyi-Kedaya, Mbololo, Mgange, Sagalla, and Kasigao, of which only the first three were considered in this research. From these early settlement areas the occupation of the remainder of the Hills appears to have proceeded. Relations between the settlers of one area and another were not always peaceful. One of the mechanisms for reducing tension between settler groups was the religico-military organization of the several communities for co-operative raiding parties to secure cattle,

women, and children. These affairs appear to have been explicitly structured in terms of the overall warfare. Both group and individual social relations were formalized in these joint military excursions.

Stock-raising and plant agriculture were important pursuits of the early Taita. These two activities in addition to hunting encouraged the use of both hills and plains environments. The farmer found that wet years made the cultivation of the plains profitable, especially in terms of the smaller labor inputs required there. In dry years, however, the competition with plains wildlife increased because of the animals' decreased grazing, browsing, and watering locations, except near the Hills. From the hunter's point of view the dry year often made his job easier, because the animals' search for food brought them closer to the hills-plains margin, where they could then be taken.

Overwhelmingly, the production of consumables amongst the pre-colonial taita was for local use. Some goods, usually coincidental surplusses, were traded to occasional caravans that passed by the base of the hills. This irregular trade increased with the caravan traffic and especially food and sugarcane were exchanged. Non-food products that the Taita produced were also traded, including arrow poison and calabash containers. An item that was important on the list of Taita procurement in trade was the specific type of wood that was believed to be best for hunting bows. This irregular trade developed into more fixed locations at about the same time as European incursion. This development appears to have been coincidental with, but not derived from, European influence. The beginnings of regular trading points were established prior to European encouragement. Many of the changes that occurred within the

Taita's organization of their landscape are an interesting combination of Taita and European innovations, often deriving from unintentional as well as intentional influences.

Colonial Non-African Organizations and the Taita

Three types of non-African organizations played an important role in the Taita's reassessment of environmental potentials and of the proper relationship between the uses of land, labor, and capital. The missionary societies, private companies, and the British Colonial administration, though often not purposely collaborating with each other, nevertheless did effectively co-author European-Taita interaction policy. All three of these organizations exhibited a regional ethnocentrism that encouraged Taita stereotypes of European character to develop. While recognizing the overlap of these organizations in their combined impact upon the Taita, they were, nevertheless, dealt with individually, in this report, to make their roles more comprehensible.

The missionary societies, both Catholic and protestant, had long term goals, the accomplishment of which were not easily assessable. It is not at all surprising that some missionaries felt a degree of frustration when they sought to measure their own success in terms of school and church attendance. From the Taita point of view, land alienation as a part of mission activity was acceptable as long as the acreage involved was comparable to the amount necessary to feed the mission's population. The alienation of larger plots of land in areas of optimum food producing capabilities were a hardship upon the Taita which often

gave rise to adjustments in the range of Taita economic activities, of a kind not intended by the mission.

The transfer of 1,000 acres of prime land from Taita possession to Mission ownership in Bura Valley was one of the major reasons for the Taita's economic readjustments there The removal of this acreage from the possibility of Taita cultivation appears to have increased the population induced land shortage in Bura. Turning to traditional methods of amelioration of land shortage, the Bura inhabitants settled in the lower, hotter swampy area of the valley as well as on the plains. The land many occupied had to be rented from previous owners, and the traditional fee was often paid in sugarcane beer, denge. The mission discouraged, as much as they were able, the brewing of denge because of its supposed demoralizing effects upon the people. With the removal of this "capital" (denge) from the hands of the Bura Taita, they became more easily convinced of the necessity of selling their labor to cash paying employers. This effect was <u>not</u> the intent of the Bura Mission, but derived from a complicated set of local ecological, economic, and social conditions which became enmeshed through the agency of the Mission's activities. From this complex interplay of social and economic factors, the export of labor increased in Bura and there is reason to believe that hunting activities increased.

This same Bura Mission demonstrated early the possibility of raising commercial cash crops in Taita, namely <u>Coffea arabica</u>. It was through the agricultural experimentation of the Black Fathers that Arabica coffee became established in both modern day Tanzania and Kenya. The unfortunate aspect of coffee cultivation in the Taita Hills is that

it was limited to European exploitation. This practice was a colony-wide phenomenon, purportedly designed to protect the coffee industry from the danger of disease spreading from African coffee farms to the newly productive European farms, and the resultant long term extinction of the industry in East Africa. The Taita felt that the restriction against them effectively limited competition and therefore more nearly assured European farmers' economic successes. The fact that coffee was being successfully grown in the Hills served as a constant frustration to those Taita who were anxious to become coffee producers themselves.

Private companies and Missions overlapped to a certain extent especially when mission education began to be more involved with technical training. Private company land alienation usually involved land outside the main Hills area, with the exception of the Wundanyi Estate which began as an industrial mission and then evolved into a private commercial estate. Occasionally selected private establishments practiced what can only be described as water piracy. The tapping of streams and the forced closing down of Taita irrigation systems were exacerbating factors in the Taita's disenchantment with early European economic enterprises. The effect of this water piracy was a technologically induced land shortage in selected areas and had the further effect of inducing some Taita to look for cash employment with the very establishment that pirated water.

Because the people were often confused about the limits of authority of missions, private companies, and the government, all three were assumed to be parts of the same organization. The practice of recruiting Taita labor for industrial employment by early colonial

officers supported this view. Add to this apparent collusion, government sanctioned alienation of land within the Taita Hills to private concerns (in contravention of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902), and it is not surprising that many Taita conceived of the government as an agent of land alienation. Even the colonial government's recognition of some local authority within Taita society was greeted with mixed reactions, because the headmen commissioned by government were often not those with traditional sanction. In addition, the local authorities had government authority to hear complaints amongst Africans, but not against Europeans. This extraterritoriality did not coincide with the equality implicit in the missions teachings of the relationship of man to God.

The attitude of the colonial government toward the African governed, in Taita is reflected to an extent in the locational shifts of administrative centers. The more peripheral, main transportation line, orientation of the District headquarters (at Voi) was a spatial expression of the government's attempt to interact as a part of a colony-wide system without local populace representation inputs. The selection of Taveta as the headquarters site was effected in order to serve as an outpost for surveillance of the Kenya-Tanganyika border area. The choice of Mwatate and much later of Wundanyi as headquarters locations represents two efforts to improve the quality of local information and, indirectly, local advisory participation, in District level decisions. Both Wundanyi and Mwatate are located amongst the Taita people, whereas the other centers were not.

Two other factors which played a role in building skepticism amongst the Taita regarding the degree of sensitivity that colonial government personnel had to Taita concerns, include the apparent interchangeability of personnel between missions, commercial companies, and government, and the relative youth and shortness of tenure of colonial officers in Taita. Depending as they did upon councils of elders whose positions as political leaders derived, in part, from their age and length of life in Taita; the Taita had reservations about the wisdom of decisions, about their area made by men whose experience there was comparatively short.

In combination, the influence of the missions, commercial estates, and the colonial administrators presented an impressive compulsion to modernization. The societal adaptive mechanisms present in Taita proved capable of internalizing both substitutive as well as additive change.

Contemporary Taita

Traditionally, the Taita took part in hunting, herding and horticultural activities. Today the latter two have largely displaced hunting. In fact, of the Taita who live in the Hills area of the District few have actually encountered more than an occasional hedge-hog. The familiarity with wildlife varies, of course, from one part of the Hills to another, with those people who occupy land on the hills-plains margins, having the greater knowledge about wild animals. Most meat in Taita diets comes from domestic sources rather than from wild animals; however, there still is some meat and trophy hunting. The latter is

mostly for the purpose of commercial sales. The local demand for meat and milk, requires all that Taita sources have been able to supply. Although some cattle are sold out of the District, most are used in Taita.

In the realm of plant agriculture, there has been some areal specialization with the higher, moister, more temperate, elevations growing coffee and vegetables for sale in regional and even world markets. The sale of coffee, because of the extremely small local demand, is almost entirely dependent upon the world market. Some is consumed in Kenya, but interestingly enough, small amounts of instant coffee, grown and processed in Tanzania, were being sold in Taita dukas. The cultivation of coffee by the Taita has advanced through the creation of co-operatives which encouraged the pooling of capital for investment in coffee factories, and transportation to deliver production to the Coffee Board.

The development of commercial vegetable production has also been accompanied by the formation of farmers co-operatives. Competition between independent Taita merchants and the co-operative management has often been resolved with the independent merchant the winner. This has been true, partly because of the independent merchant's ability to make immediate economic decisions about sales and reinvestment of capital, compared to the reticence of co-operative management personnel to make immediate decisions without acquiring membership consensus. The necessity for co-operative membership consensus on management decisions has often worked to the ultimate disadvantage of the membership in terms of lost opportunities. The consequent ability of the independent merchant

to reinvest capital has meant that the transportation necessary to the successful marketing of perishables has been controlled by the independents. By offering to ship co-operative production in his vehicles, the independent has been able to discourage co-operative investment in transportation which might make them ultimately more competitive with his own operation.

Dry crops such as castor and chillies are also grown by co-operative members in the lower and therefore drier elevations. These crops are very largely cash production oriented. The comparative imperishability of these crops, hence their storable nature, is an advantage to the co-operative memberships because the crop may be moved in bulk at reduced transportation rates.

Perhaps more than anything else, the proliferation of tertiary economic activities testifies to the wide-scale change in purpose of production, from personal consumption, to production for cash-sale. The range of activities of this type in contemporary Taita include general shops (dukas), tailor shops, butcher shops, dairy stores, cobblers, bars, and hotels. An interesting modification of a traditional secondary activity is the changed nature of the blacksmith's occupation. Since the demand for locally produced weapons and ceremonial bells has decreased, most blacksmiths have turned to the manufacture of household implements, such as oil lamps and charcoal braziers, as well as the repair of agricultural tools. The fact that these activities are economically supported means that a greater proportion of the society has become involved in the cash sector of the economy in modern times.

The migration of labor to employment targets such as Mombasa and Nairobi continues to play a role in the cash earnings of the Taita. The impetus to migrate out of the District to find cash employment derives from a complex array of factors among which both demographically and technologically induced land shortages are included. During recent years, however, the usually male-dominant migration has begun to equalize slightly with an increase of the number of Taita women joining the men in the employment target areas. This change in the sex-specificity of migration patterns is a modern trend.

All of the comments in the above segments of this chapter are concerned with the Taita and the Taita Hills at large, but one of the conclusions of this research is that technological and social change have occurred differentially in the Taita Hills. Starting from essentially the same cultural base, two areas were shown to have divergently evolved into two different human landscapes. This divergence was apparent in the types of agricultural specializations chosen and in the proportion of labor migrancy from the two areas.

The major conclusions drawn in this study are recapitulated here. The different natural conditions of the plains and the hills were managed by the Taita in response to both drought and wildlife migration. In dry years, migratory animals moved closer to the hills for moisture. This movement exacerbated the difficulties of the sedentary farmer, while improving the opportunities for the hunter. Oftentimes, during dry years, the farmer retired his cultivating implements to take up the bow and arrow and thereby to substitute animal for vegetable protein.

The redistribution of food, often to individuals from outside the Hills, gave rise to regular trading points. Fixed market-places were established in response to trade with people from outside of Taita. This was intensified by the passage of slave and other caravans on the nearby plains. Several market-places have become modern day towns such as Mwatate, Voi, and Bura. Some of these early trading points drew the attention of exploring Christian missionaries whose sponsors later established missions in Taita.

When installed in Taita mission stations, some missionaries, with the concurrence of local colonial government personnel, attempted to discourage the brewing of sugar-cane beer by the Taita. Since this beer (denge) was used traditionally as a medium of exchange, especially in land transactions, the effect was to alter Taita concepts of land rental, and to induce them to look for other means with which to rent additional land. The long term consequence of the missions' campaign was to lead the Taita to look for cash employment.

Sisal estates in the vicinity of the Taita Hills served as labor magnets for the people of Taita as well as for Africans from other parts of Kenya. These estates were soon overshadowed by the towns of Mombasa and Nairobi in their ability to attract labor. The Taita have consistently sent a higher proportion of migrant laborers to Mombasa, rather than to Nairobi. Rural to urban labor migration from the Taita Hills exhibits a male-dominance that is common in other parts of Africa. Recent censuses, namely those of 1962 and 1969, indicate that this pattern has begun to shift slightly with an increase in the proportion of Taita female migrants to Mombasa and Nairobi.

The relocation of the District Headquarters at Wundanyi in 1954 has played an important role in the economic development of the Taita Hills. The establishment of Ministry of Agriculture extension services, including planting advice, together with a legal option to grow coffee, has encouraged agricultural development. Coincident with these changes is the areal specialization that has occurred. Coffee and vegetables are the dominant cash-crops in the higher, moister zones, whereas castor and chillies are the most important crops in the lower, drier zones. This areal specialization is also reflected in the proportions of labor migrants that leave different parts of Taita.

Comparing two valleys which differ in ecological condition, and therefore in agricultural potential, it was found that Werugha Valley with yields of coffee and vegetables sent a slightly smaller proportion of laborers to the cities. Bura Valley with lower value cash-crops sent a higher proportion of laborers out of the Hills. The arrangement of farm-plots and houses also differed in these two valleys as a result of land consolidation having been completed in one but not having begun in the other. By consolidating separated, fragmented farm-plots into one or two larger contiguous farmsteads, the Kenya government has changed the shapes of the farms from very irregular to more rectilinear shapes. This has allowed for the stabilization and recording of landholdings, and has also led to a change in the pattern of housing from agglomerated to dispersed. This was true in Werugha, where consolidation was actually completed, in the year 1969; but not in Bura where it had not yet begun.

All of these changes reflect the expanded resource base within which the Taita now operate. Their involvement in the cash economy has led them to identify and use a much broader resource inventory than they did in pre-colonial times.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TAITA DIVISION POPULATION BY LOCATION FOR SELECTED YEARS

Year	Bura	Chawia	Mbale	Mbololo	Mwanda	Werugha[a]	Total
1946	5,862	10,014	20.996	5,963	7,242		50,077
1947	5,862	10,014	20,996	5,963	7,242		50,077
1948	5,042	9.517	15,037	5,404	5,694		40,694
1949	5,629	10,564	18,163	6,452	6,749		37,557
1950	5,901	10,875	19,123	6,802	7,694		50,395
1951	5,901	10,875	19,123	6,802	7,694		50,395
1952	6,161	11,478	19,719	7,109	7,900		52,267
1953	6,449	11,572	21,120	7,526	8,325		54,992
1954	6,431	11,828	21,686	7,792	8,775		56,512
1955	6,738	13,082	22,327	7,823	8,716		58,686
1956	7,025	13,354	23,289	8,156	9,156		60,980
1957	7,242	13,473	24,227	8,340	9,349		62,731
1958	7,206	13,814	9,704	8,465	9,788	14,765	63,742
1962	5,391	17,408	7,558	7,524	8,615	16,173	62,669
1969	7,501	21,635	9,264	11,912	9,349	18,082[b]	77,743

Source: For the years 1948, 1962, and 1969, the figures in this table have been taken from the colony or nationwide census for those years. Statistics for the other years are derived from the District Annual Reports for those years.

[a]Established in 1958, previously a part of Mbale Location.

[b]The 1969 census excluded the count for Wundanyi township from the total for Werugha Location, the figure given in this table includes the 4,385 individuals living in Wundanyi.

APPENDIX B

DUKA OWNERS IN TAITA, QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Date:_____ Name of Duka:_____

Date Established:_____

Village of Duka:_____

1. Village of Owner:_____

2. Customer Preference (1,2,3) Goods - _____, _____,

   _____.

3. Where, or from whom does Duka purchase:

   1. Tinned foods _____,

   2. Dry goods _____,

   3. Cloth _____.

4. Does Duka sell vegetables? Yes, No.
   If yes, list usual types:

5. Does the Duka owner have a shamba? Yes, No.

6. Does the Duka owner have a lorry? Yes, No.

APPENDIX C

HOUSEHOLD OCCUPANTS IN TAITA,
QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview date:_____

Village:_____ Sub-Location:_____

1. Members of household in following categories:

		Male	Female
Number -	A. Under 14 yrs. age, at home	_____	_____
	B. 14 or over, at home	_____	_____
	C. Total at home	_____	_____
	D. Total away from home	_____	_____

2. If members living away, in which place or places?

Mwatate	_____	_____
Mombasa	_____	_____
Voi	_____	_____
Malindi	_____	_____
Kilifi	_____	_____
Nairobi	_____	_____
Mtito Andei	_____	_____
Wundanyi	_____	_____
Taveta	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____

If other, name:

_____

_____

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