THE AFRIKANERS IN KENYA
1903-1969

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.

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This is to certify that the

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Gerrit D. Groen

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J. R. Hooker
Major professor

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ABSTRACT

THE AFRIKANERS IN KENYA
1903-1965

By

Derrit Grove

After the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War, many Afrikaners began searching for other lands in which they could settle. The newly colonized regions of East Africa beckoned a number of these restive people. A few of the pioneer settlers hoped to establish politically autonomous [illegible] in German East Africa but many were searching for inexpensive agricultural lands for themselves and their children. Others who had been accused of collaboration with the British during the war preferred living under British rule rather than suffer the indignities which were being heaped upon them by their fellow Afrikaners after the war. Finally some trekked out of an inner psychological need.

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British East Africa. The British Administration was also reluctant to grant land to these migrants and only responded to their needs when they were joined by the substantial Van Rensburg Trek in 1908. After considerable negotiations between administrative officials and Van Rensburg, the Afrikaners were permitted to settle on the Uasin Gishu Plateau two hundred miles northwest of Nairobi.

Though joined on the Uasin Gishu by an equal number of non-Afrikaner settlers, the Afrikaners strongly resisted any assimilationist tendencies. Congregations of the three Dutch Reformed denominations of South Africa were quickly established and private Afrikaans schools were formed by the first permanent clergyman, Ds. M. P. Loubser. English government-supported farm schools served the many families who could not afford the modest fees of these private schools.

Two leaders emerged during this early period who ably represented the Afrikaners in colony-wide organizations, C. J. Cloete and A. F. Arnoldi. Unfortunately Cloete died of disease in 1912 and Arnoldi was killed leading a number of Afrikaners in battle against the Germans in 1915. The deaths of these men left the Afrikaners with no leaders during the inter-war period who were respected outside their own community. The absence of such leadership and the general poverty of the community retarded the British settlers' acceptance of the Afrikaners and encouraged the continuation of traditional

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British-Afrikaner antagonisms. Nevertheless the Education Department was able to centralize all education on the Plateau in an English Eldoret Central School by 1939. Many British parents refused to send their children to this integrated school; thus in 1944 a second Eldoret school was begun for them.

The economic condition of the community improved considerably in the late 1930s. The liberal credit policies of the administration, the opening of new areas for settlement, particularly south of Thomson's Falls, and higher grain prices were the primary reasons for this improvement. Prosperity fostered greater political awareness and in 1939 the community elected its first Member of Legislative Council. But prosperity also engendered ideological division--division which followed geographical lines. The older Uasin Gishu community had lost its will to resist further anglicization after World War II and it passively accepted the amalgamation of the two ethnically-divided schools in Eldoret in 1956. In contrast the newer and more prosperous Thomson's Falls community used its wealth to begin a private school in 1947 and parlayed it into a substantial boarding school by 1952 with governmental assistance and South African support. Had colonialism persisted the two divisions of the community would probably have grown farther apart but the assurance of independence at Lancaster House in 1960 removed all concern for such parochial matters. Immediately Afrikaners began selling

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their land and the trek back to South Africa commenced. By 1969 only a few remained in Kenya, and of these, only two families had become Kenyan citizens with intent to stay indefinitely.

Though these settlers migrated to East Africa for reasons which were individually arrived at, their nationalist clergyman Ds. Loubser viewed this community as the vanguard of Afrikaner expansionism on the African continent. In the early 1920s he declared all of Africa to be his vaderland and contended that the entire continent should eventually fall into Afrikaner hands. He strongly opposed and feared European colonialism and Asian (Indian) settlement but he did not consider these historical movements to be permanent obstacles to his nationalist goals. Before his death in 1936 he did not foresee that the nascent force of African nationalism would overpower both of the above two forces. It was this last force which caused the retreat of Afrikanerdom from East Africa.

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Finally, this dissertation would not have been completed without the loyal support and considerable technical assistance of my wife, Dawn.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation was accomplished with assistance from many sources. At Michigan State University, Professor James Hooker, my graduate advisor, was a constant source of advice and encouragement. Professors Harold Marcus and Donald Lammers helped to mold the final copy into its present form. The research was made possibly by a National Defense Foreign Area Fellowship and a Michigan State University African Studies Center Grant.

In Africa, the Kenyan Government expedited my research considerably by granting permission to use the Kenyan National Archives. Professors Bethwell A. Ogot and Alan H. Jacobs of the University of Nairobi were very helpful and encouraging during my stay in Kenya. The staff of the Kenya National Archives were most obliging.

Similarly the Reverend F. G. M. Du Toit of the archives of the Transvaal Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and Mr. H. Rex of the archives of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, both in Pretoria, showed interest in the completion of this study.

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Finally, this dissertation would not have been completed without the loyal support and considerable technical assistance of my wife, Dawn.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEA	British East Africa
CO	Great Britain Colonial Office
DC	District Commissioner
Ds.	Abbreviation for Dominus, Afrikaans title for clergyman.
EAS	East African Standard
FO	Great Britain Foreign Office
GEA	German East Africa
GK	Gereformeerde Kerk
KNA	Kenya National Archives
LBEA	Leader of British East Africa
NGK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
NHK	Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk
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CHAPTER I

GREENER PASTURES IN EAST AFRICA: AFRIKANERS LOOK NORTHWARDS 1902-06

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a crescendo of interest in East Africa by the European colonial powers. Before the century ended most of the territory had been divided among the powers, with Germany and Britain controlling the central portion of the coast with its climatically temperate highlands regions.

In order to consolidate their holds on their respective regions, both powers initially welcomed the immigration of Europeans. Consequently, during the early years of this century, many individuals and groups considered settlement and a modest number of settlers began the Europeanization of both British and German East Africa. But European attitudes towards unrestricted settlement of non-European sections of the globe had changed from the nineteenth century. The German Government reflected these changes first when its newly constituted Colonial Ministry had Dr. Bernhard Dernburg appointed as its first minister in 1906. Dr. Dernburg "opposed the ruthless exploitation

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of the material and human resources of overseas territories for the benefit of a few Europeans."[1] The change in policy which followed Dernburg's appointment effectively stopped European settlement in German East Africa.[2]

The Foreign Office administration in BEA followed a much different policy line. Pointing to the costs of maintaining the Uganda Railway which the British had built for strategic reasons, M. P. K. Sorrenson has stated:

> Above all, these financial problems had to be solved if the Foreign Office was to be spared from continuous criticism in the Commons. It was for this reason that the Foreign Office was to grasp at any settlement expedient that seemed likely to reduce the financial burdens of the British taxpayer.[3]

When Sir Charles Eliot became Commissioner of BEA in 1901, he consistently encouraged the migration of European settlers into what became known as the "Highlands." Not only did he encourage resident South Africans, such as Robert Chamberlain and A. S. Flemmer, to lead settlers to the Protectorate, but he also sent his Collector of Customs,

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[1]W. O. Henderson, "German East Africa, 1884-1918," History of East Africa, edited by Vincent Harlow, E. M. Chilver, and assisted by Alison Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 147.

[2]Hereafter GEA. British East Africa will be called BEA or the Protectorate until 1920, when it became Kenya Colony.

[3]M. P. K. Sorrenson, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 30.

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A. Marsden, to South Africa to promote his immigration schemes.[4]

The invitation to settle in East Africa came at an opportune moment in South Africa. The end of the Anglo-Boer War and the withdrawal of British troops from the area had caused a serious depression. Economic recovery was hindered by the devastation caused by Kitchener's counter-insurgency warfare.[5] Certain British elements of South African society were amenable to Eliot's blandishments and, by the end of 1903, there was a steady stream of settlers from the "South," as it was called, to the port of Mombasa.[6] This migration determined the historic South African character of settler politics in Kenya.[7] The British immigrants expected to enter a land with a more amenable political and economic climate: "the war [in

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[4]Ibid., pp. 61-66; G. H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya, 1895-1912 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 104; and Marjorie Ruth Dilley, British Policy in Kenya Colony (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 16.

[5]See L. M. Thompson, The Unification of South Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 52-54; G. H. L. Le May, British Supremacy in South Africa; 1899-1907 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 158.

[6]W. McGregor Ross, Kenya from Within (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), p. 64; C. W. Hobley, Kenya from Chartered Company to Crown Colony (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970), p. 139.

[7]Sorrenson, European Settlement, p. 67.

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South Africa] had served merely to consolidate the monopolies of the mining magnates."[8]

The Afrikaners who migrated to East Africa were subject to the same economic pressures as the British South Africans, but their condition was worse because of the destruction of many of their farms and villages.[9]

> Things were going from bad to worse in this country, and . . . it would be necessary for distressed people to look for "fresh fields and pastures new." . . . These people must go somewhere. They have been ruined through the war. . . . Starvation stared certain people in the face, and they must seek new fields to make a living in.[10]

Some of the Afrikaners recognized that the Anglo-Boer War was not totally responsible for South Africa's economic plight. Members of the Abraham Joubert Trek admitted that they were dissatisfied with the closing of the frontier in South Africa and sought new areas of wide open spaces. In their words, they felt that the farms were becoming "too small,"[11] and they believed that there were

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[8] Ibid., p. 65.

[9] Le May, British Supremacy, pp. 88-93; and C. F. J. Muller, ed., Five Hundred Years; A History of South Africa (Pretoria: Academia, 1969), pp. 320-21.

[10] African Standard, July 30, 1904, p. 2.

[11] A. L. Aucamp, "Die Trek van die Afrikaners na Kenia," "Die Abraham Joubert Trek," narrated to Aucamp on September 28, 1935; and "Tant Nakkie Potgieter se Geskiedenis," narrated to Aucamp on July 24, 1958. These documents are found in manuscript form in the University of Potchefstroom library. The evidence presented here was also verified by a number of interviewees of the author.

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large farms to be had in East Africa for modest sums of money.[12] In the late 1940s a clergyman in East Africa summed up his observations concerning the reasons for the trek by saying: "The base motive for the trek was definitely materialistic," but added that the desire to be independent, so prevalent in the Afrikaner community, was present among those who trekked.[13]

The desire to be independent was a contributing factor to the migration of Afrikaners to East Africa, but, as a motivation, it was applicable only to the first group that migrated to GEA. Doubtlessly some South Africans entertained thoughts about migrating because of British political domination of their territory. A letter to the editor of De Volkstem declared that the country was controlled by foreigners who were preventing the lessons of Afrikaner history from being taught to the Afrikaner people--therefore, trek, not within colonial Africa but to free Argentina and Mexico.[14] Similarly a popular South

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[12]CO 879/99, No. 914, serial no. 281, Governor of Transvaal to Secretary of State, August 3, 1908. This report also recorded the number of families which left from each district: 91 from Bethal, 37 from Carolina, 29 from Ermelo and 4 from Standerton. A few had already returned. These are exaggerated figures.

[13]Phil Olivier, "Kenia," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXIII, No. 6, February 9, 1949, p. 359.

[14]Though no scholarly work has been done on the trekkers to these countries, it is common knowledge among historians of South Africa, particularly Afrikaner historians, that some Afrikaners did indeed trek to these two

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African writer, Lawrence G. Green, claimed that the Afrikaners who settled in GEA "seem to have been under the impression that they would be able to set up a republic in the empty country round about the great mountains."[15] This claim would seem to be verified by a report in the African Standard concerning a group who approached the German Consul in Pretoria with a number of demands with which Berlin would have to comply before the group would travel to GEA. They requested a charter granting them a defined area of land for which they would pay an annual rent and within which they would have self-government.[16] Though the German Government never agreed to such terms, a later Afrikaner writer reported that some settlers claimed that they had

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countries. This writer saw a number of reports on the community in Argentina in the Afrikaans press of the first decade of this century. Sheila Patterson mentions this flight of the "bitter-enders" to Portuguese Angola and the Argentine. The Last Trek (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957), pp. 35-36.

[15]Lawrence G. Green, Great North Road (Capetown: Howard Timmins, 1961), p. 171. Green does have inaccuracies in his book, such as claiming that M. P. Loubser arrived in East Africa in 1905 and attempted to set up a united Dutch Reformed Church. See p. 27. He does not document his work but he implied in the text that the source of his information on these matters was Sangiro, a popular naturalist writer in South Africa, who moved to GEA as a child with his parents. Sangiro is the pen name for A. A. Pienaar.

[16]African Standard, July 30, 1904, p. 2. This writer was unable to discover if this group of prospective settlers did in fact migrate to GEA or if any members of the group became part of other groups of trekkers. Since there was no follow-up story in any of the newspapers perused, it would seem that the group itself under the leadership of Mr. Barend Vorster never did migrate to East Africa.

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migrated to GEA because "they wished . . . to go find a new, free land somewhere in Africa." He commented sceptically: "Not too much value can be attached to this however, because these trekkers went to territories in East Africa which were already occupied by other powers and if they expected that the Germans would set off a piece of German East Africa for the establishment of their own republic, then this was nothing other than a fantastic dream."[17] Nevertheless in 1904-05, there may very well have been some Afrikaners who mistakenly believed that the frontier to the north was only nominally controlled by European powers and would still permit the birth of new Boer Republics.[18]

In one instance a letter writer to De Volkstem united the political and economic issues. The correspondent argued that the poor had fought the war to the bitter end and had lost their herds of cattle and homes; naturally many of them would want to leave to better themselves. The rich were the first "hands-uppers" and now accused the poor of being unpatriotic for trekking. He claimed that the poor would rather live in another country where they could

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[17] C. J. Mans, "Vyftig Jaar Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk in Oos-Afrika," Hervormde Telogiese Studies, Jaargang 20 (Krugersdorp: N. H. W. Pers), p. 176.

[18] A number of the interviewees declared this as one of the major reasons for the trek. Interviews with Mr. and Mrs. J. Boshoff, June 6, 1969; P. L. Malan, August 9, 1961; Jozua Joubert, June 25, 1969.

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acquire land than stay in South Africa and serve the rich. The writer stated that he had toured the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and had determined that 30 percent of the populace were considering trekking.[19] The same issue was brought up earlier by the legal representative of the Vorster group, which had asked for self-rule:

> I may tell you . . . that the Boer leaders as such are not in sympathy with the movement. This is because they are afraid their own balance of power would be weakened. They talk about weakening your nationality while you starve.[20]

Thus it would seem that the fractionalization which occurred within the Afrikaans community during and after the Anglo-Boer War over relations with the British was also a reason for the emigration of some to East Africa, and prior to 1908, it was the "bitter-enders" who found it necessary to move. Certainly this was the case with the first group to explore East Africa with the intention of settling there, the party led by Pieter C. Joubert. He and other members of the "commission," as it was called, "remained under the weapon to the end," and had agreed not to remain in South Africa if the Republic fell.[21]

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[19]Letter was signed "Africanus," De Volkstem, November 1, 1905, p. 5.

[20]African Standard, July 30, 1904, p. 2. For a discussion of the bitterness engendered by the latter phases of the war and the role of the "hands-uppers," see Muller, Five Hundred Years, pp. 311-16.

[21]See H. J. C. Pieterse, Volksaltare of 'n Veteraan van die Eerste Vryheidsoorlog (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1948), pp. 99-100.

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No discussion of the motives for the migration of the Afrikaners would be complete without reference to trekgees, or treklus. An exact translation of these words would be "trek-spirit" or "trek-lust," but an exact definition is much more difficult. The South African historian P. J. van der Merwe has spent his lifetime studying the trekkers. Although he claimed that trekgees requires psychological study, he asserted that his years of research showed that

> trekgees is usually revealed in the form of a conscious but inexplicable drive to trek. This is usually accompanied by a feeling of restlessness, dissatisfaction with the surroundings in which an individual finds himself and a longing for change, new things and adventure.

Further on he limited this broad definition somewhat.

> Trekgees is also revealed in the form of a desire to range over the unknown--he who has trek lust is not satisfied with mere change or variation; he wants something which is completely new. This type of person will trek greater distances and to unknown territory.[22]

Van der Merwe then gave an example of what he meant. He had interviewed an old man of 87 who had trekked all over southern Africa. When asked why he had done so, the old man answered, "This was the way I was; from youth on I had a love to travel round." When asked if he would do it again if he were young, he said that he would first go to school

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[22] P. J. van der Merwe, Trek; Studies oor die Mobiliteit van die Pioniersbevolking aan die Kaap (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1945), pp. 285-86.

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> There are still too many places which I have not seen. If the old Voortrekkers had my temperament, they would not have trekked to the Free State and the Transvaal only, they would have trekked straight across Africa.[23]

Van der Merwe gave another example of this spirit, written in 1834 and taken from Moodie's South African Annals:

> The father of Field Cornet Kruger, then 84 years of age, was asked when the farmers would cease trekking, and live like civilised men? He replied: "When they reach the sea--let them trek, they must trek, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did before them!" . . . On pointing out the totally different circumstances of the Israelites, in sanction--guidance--and destination, and pressing the old man (who was listened to as a high authority) to say how far the Boers were to trek? he raised his hand, so as to indicate a great distance northwards, and said, in a loud decisive tone, "Tot ander kant uit"--"till out on the other side."[24]

Certainly the biographies of some of the East African settlers verify the presence of trekgees within the community. The Hans du Toit family is one example. Hans and his wife Levina were born in the Pietersburg district of the Transvaal. She married a du Plessis at the age of 16 (1876), only to have her husband die a year later. In 1878 Hans and Levina married and shortly thereafter joined the infamous Dorsland Trek to Angola. Over half of these trekkers died of thirst and fever.[25] Subsequently they lived in Damaraland for one year, Humpata for four, and

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[23] Ibid., p. 287.

[24] Ibid., p. 299.

[25] See Muller, Five Hundred Years, pp. 399, 400.

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back to Damaraland for two years. They then returned to Rustenburg, settled in Groot Spelonke in North Transvaal for two years, and then returned to Rustenburg. In 1893 they again travelled to Damaraland but Portugal's compulsory military service prompted the Du Toit's to move to Southwest Africa a year later. After fourteen years trekgees again gripped them and they decided to migrate to BEA. After farming for ten years on the Uasin Gishu Plateau, they moved to the Belgian Congo. In this territory they lived in three northeastern localities: Songolo for one year, Bedo for ten years, and Mt. Rona for eight years. Levina died in 1936 at Mt. Rona, and the family returned to Kenya in 1937, where Hans died in 1938. Undoubtedly the Du Toit's migrations are symptomatic of the presence of old Kruger's trekgees.[26]

If the East African settlers were to be placed on a scale which measured the degree of mobility which they represented, the Du Toit's would be on the extreme end of the most mobile. Some were similar to the Van Rensburgs and the Cloetes, leaders of the two largest treks to BEA, who sold their prosperous farms in South Africa and attempted to reproduce their former farms on the Uasin Gishu Plateau. Most of the settlers were not so financially secure as these men, but their goals were much the same,

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[26]Aucamp, "Die Trek." "Du Toit Familie."

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namely to establish themselves as successful farmers in East Africa.[27]

Those writing retrospectively usually gave trek gees a high position on their lists of reasons for the trek. M. P. Loubser, the first permanent Afrikaner clergyman in East Africa, wrote a booklet in the early 1920s which was an apology for the trek.[28] He contended that his people trekked north because of a God-given desire to do so:

> The inclination to the North is created in the volk by God, our refugees [or expatriates] can not help it that they are inspired with trekgees; it is in their blood. . . . That peculiar trekgees of the Afrikaner comes from Jehovah, and if it were not for that gees, there would also not be an Afrikaans history.[29]

In his estimation the trek to East Africa was merely an extension of the trek northward within South Africa.

As late as the 1950s, Afrikaner writers in East Africa were arguing that trekgees was the primary motive for the migration to East Africa.[30] Though it would appear that this was a cause for the migration of some settlers, evidence does not support this as the only, or even the major cause for the trek.

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[27]See ch. II for a discussion of these men and the treks they led.

[28]M. P. Loubser, "Onse Uitgewekene" (Kaapstad: De Nationale Pers Bpkt., no date), p. 9.

[29]Ibid., p. 10.

[30]Mans, "Vyftig Jaar," p. 178. Also see p. 12 of this chapter for further discussion of the Engelbrecht trekkers.

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namely to establish themselves as successful farmers in East Africa.[27]

Those writing retrospectively usually gave trek gees a high position on their lists of reasons for the trek. M. P. Loubser, the first permanent Afrikaner clergyman in East Africa, wrote a booklet in the early 1920s which was an apology for the trek.[28] He contended that his people trekked north because of a God-given desire to do so:

> The inclination to the North is created in the volk by God, our refugees [or expatriates] can not help it that they are inspired with trekgees; it is in their blood. . . . That peculiar trekgees of the Afrikaner comes from Jehovah, and if it were not for that gees, there would also not be an Afrikaans history.[29]

In his estimation the trek to East Africa was merely an extension of the trek northward within South Africa.

As late as the 1950s, Afrikaner writers in East Africa were arguing that trekgees was the primary motive for the migration to East Africa.[30] Though it would appear that this was a cause for the migration of some settlers, evidence does not support this as the only, or even the major cause for the trek.

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One of the first Afrikaners to consider East Africa as an area for settlement was Pieter Joubert. As the war turned against the Boers, Joubert began considering various areas for settlement. Because of Stanley's description of the Belgian Congo, he initially leaned in that direction.[31] Others in his Ermelo district proposed Mozambique, Madagascar, GEA, and South America. Madagascar was eliminated when Karel Trichardt declared it "too Roman Catholic" after a visit to the island.[32] A few Afrikaners did settle in Mozambique but the settlement did not thrive.[33] Joubert finally decided on GEA after receiving a report from a Willem Joubert who had sailed along the east coast and had stopped in the harbor of Dar es Salaam. There he had talked with two European cattle growers who spoke of much fertile open land in the interior. Willem carried this news to Pieter Joubert in January of 1903. Under Joubert's leadership a number of farmers from his district decided to send an expedition or "commission" to

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[31] Pieterse, Volksaltare, p. 99.

[32] Ibid., p. 100.

[33] De Vereeniging, Deel IV, no. 5, September 8, 1904, p. 75; and A. P. Burger, "Naar Oost Afrika," Part I, Deel V, no. 32 (August 6, 1914), p. 744. The first reports that the settlement was in the Chachai district and the latter in the Port Amelia district.

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explore that possibility.[34] Aside from a futile attempt by the nephew of General Christiaan De Wet, also Christiaan De Wet, to cross into GEA from Northern Rhodesia to search for a homestead, this is the first reported attempt by Afrikaners to explore East Africa with the intent of settling there.[35]

After conferring with the German Consul in Pretoria and receiving a sympathetic letter of introduction from him, Joubert's commission of six left Machadodorp on January 14, 1903. They made their first stop at Dar es Salaam, where they were most cordially received by all of the government officials, including the governor. With Joubert as spokesman, the commission asked Governor von Götzen to state the conditions upon which they would be able to acquire land and to grant permission for them to explore the interior for possible settlement sites. The latter request was quickly granted accompanied with a

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[34]Pieterse, Volksaltare, pp. 102-03.

[35]After he entered GEA, De Wet was never seen again. Cited in Lawrence G. Green, Great North Road, p. 170. C. J. Mans also refers to this assertion by Green in "Vyftig Jaar." Though he does not cite his source, M. P. K. Sorrenson contends that some Boers moved across Rhodesia into GEA and settled there until 1906 when they moved into the Protectorate. Sorrenson, European Settlement, p. 65. Other than this attempt by De Wet to follow the overland route, there is no conclusive evidence that any of the Afrikaners used this route prior to World War I. Only two of the Afrikaners interviewed, Mr. and Mrs. Boshoff, (June 2, 1969) seemed aware of the possibility that some of their community came to East Africa overland and they were very uncertain about this matter. This author can only conclude that all came by sea.

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letter of introduction for officials in the interior directing them to cooperate with the commission. The former request was also granted and the conditions were indeed liberal. The total cost of the land would be one rupee per hectare.[36] Each of the five adult members of the commission (the sixth was the young son of one of the adults) would receive 10,000 hectares of land, and succeeding settlers would receive from 3,000 to 5,000 hectares. Furthermore, each purchaser could pay the cost of the land over a twenty-five year period through a lease arrangement in which the rental cost would apply to the principle.[37]

Rather than trekking directly inland from Dar es Salaam, the commission was advised to travel by ship to

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[36]One hectare = 2.471 acres and one rupee = 15 shillings.

[37]Pieterse, Volksaltare, pp. 104-09. Pieterse received his information from Johannes Joubert, the son of Piet Joubert and a member of the commission. Pieterse had access to a copy of the letter from the German Governor written in Dutch stating the conditions given above. This copy stated that the members of the expedition were to receive a combined total of 10,000 hectares rather than that amount for each. Pieterse convincingly reasons that this must have been the result of an error in the translation from the German because of another statement in the letter which gave the commission the right to reserve two 50,000 hectare areas, one of which could be claimed by the group within two years if they settled on the land. Furthermore, succeeding settlers were promised 3,000 to 5,000 hectares per settler which would be larger than the share of each member of the commission if the lower figure were accepted.

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Mombasa, by Uganda Railway to Lake Victoria, and over land back to Tanga or Dar es Salaam.[38] As they traveled inland by rail, they were very favorably impressed by the land around Nairobi and Nakuru. At Nakuru three members of the commission climbed the slopes of the Menengai Crater in order to get a better view of the land around. Later one of the three told H. J. C. Pieterse: "It was so beautiful and fertile that all of us had a strong desire to remain in Nakuru and occupy farms." Unfortunately, it was British territory and for self-imposed reasons unavailable for these migrant Boers.[39] It is highly probable that this impression of BEA was conveyed to a number of Afrikaners upon the return of the commission to South Africa and may have encouraged others to trek there a few years later.

The commission re-entered GEA via a Lake Victoria steamer and began their journey back to the coast. They had not penetrated the interior far before malaria struck the group, killing one. Shortly thereafter the commission returned to Mombasa by the same route they had gone inland and boarded a ship for South Africa. All were discouraged by the dread fever and were sceptical of the feasibility of settling in GEA.

Others were not intimidated by the experiences of this commission. Under the leadership of Piet von Landsberg, seven families, including forty-one individuals,

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[38] Ibid., p. 108.

[39] Ibid., pp. 112-13.

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set out to settle in GEA in 1904 without reconnoitering the area before-hand. According to one member of the group, their friends and neighbors refused to bid them farewell because of their supposed foolishness. The party landed in Tanga only to find that they would be required to confer with the German governor in Dar es Salaam before they could travel inland and take up land. The governor attempted to discourage them from settling in the remote area of Arusha but acquiesced in face of their determination.[40] He accompanied them to Mombo, the terminal point of the Usambara Railway at that time, and assisted them in the hiring of labor and the acquisition of oxen for their five wagons and agreed to permit them to mark off 1,000 hectares per male adult. After unsuccessfully trying again to dissuade them from their dangerous trek, the governor ordered a government physician to accompany them and bade them farewell.

Despite its short distance, the journey from Mombo to Arusha lasted three months, largely because the oxen were untrained, and to save the time needed to train them, the settlers tried to draw the wagons with kaffers. After the latter ran off, it became necessary to take the time to train the oxen, a skill for which the Afrikaners became noted throughout East Africa. The difficult trek and

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[40] No reason was found for their choice of this area.

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continuous disease had discouraged many by the time they reached Moshi but the hardier individuals prevailed and the group pushed on to the Arusha area. Here they proceeded to mark out their 1,000 hectares apiece and began with the business of eking out a living on the frontier.[41]

No explanation can be given for the discrepancy between the generous offer of land given to Joubert and his "commission" the preceeding year and the considerably more conservative offer given the von Landsberg trekkers. The same year the smaller figure was also offered the Vorster group in South Africa. Specifically, the German Government promised Vorster 50 hectares apiece of arable land to those settlers who would make required improvements on the land (European-styled house and service-buildings). Another 1,000 hectares of pasture land per settler was offered at an annual cost of 30 rupees with the option of purchase at the rate of one rupee per hectare.[42] It is possible that

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[41]This account was given to Ds. Jac. Conradie during his period of service as a clergyman in GEA from 1927 to 1929 by a member of this group of settlers, Petrus Johannes Van Dyk. Upon request Ds. Conradie sent this account to Ds. F. G. M. Du Toit, the Archivist of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Transvaal. The manuscript is stored in the archives of this church in Pretoria. Conradie entitled the article "Boustowwe I. V. M. Geskiedenis van die Afrikaners van Oos-Afrika" and dated it April 4, 1967.

[42]African Standard, August 13, 1904, p. 5. Apparently some overtures were also made to the German Government requesting exemption from military service for Afrikaner settlers. This was also granted. District government support was promised to the settlers in their search for labor. Finally, on the mistaken presumption that the

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this more conservative offer marked the beginning of the German Government's reluctance to encourage European migration into East Africa.[43]

There are a number of other reports of groups of Afrikaners leaving South Africa in 1904 with the intention of settling in GEA. Some must be viewed sceptically. One is a report that F. Bezuidenhout led a trek of 30 families from Middelburg and Waterburg and that 300 families were prepared to migrate from the Transvaal and an unknown number from the Orange Free State.[44] Two small groups did leave South Africa in 1904. Both groups used the Tanga-Mombo—Moshi-Arusha route.[45] Another party under the leadership of Marthinus Engelbrecht left the Enkeldorn district of Rhodesia in August of 1904, traveled overland to Beira, boarded a ship for Tanga, and moved directly inland from there. Their intention was to settle in the Belgian Congo. Near Kondoa-Irangi they were stopped by the rough terrain of the Mburu Mountains and were diverted northwards to the

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settlers would arrive overland, passage and freight (one ton for a single man and one and one-half tons for a family) were promised from Fort Johnston to Mwaya.

[43]See n. 63 for discussion of this change of policy by the Germans.

[44]African Standard, July 30, 1904, p. 2. No other references were found to a Bezuidenhout trek of any size. It is highly unlikely that there was one.

[45]Mans, "Vyftig Jaar," p. 177.

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Arusha area. They arrived at the center of the new Afrikaner settlement, Kampfontein, towards the end of 1905.[46]

The greatest amount of interest in GEA occurred in 1905. One report by a clergyman not participating in the migration stated that 130 families had left South Africa and would join the 75 families already present in East Africa.[47] This figure must have been exaggerated but another report based on the evidence of one of the trekkers noted that there were fifty households in his group.[48]

The reconnaissance missions from South Africa also continued during this year. Extensive reports were published by two of these expeditions. One group left in March under the leadership of S. P. E. Trichard and included at least ten prospective settlers.[49] Most of the

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[46] Ibid., p. 180; African Standard, October 1, 1904, p. 9; "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," p. 18. Subsequently this group migrated to the Nairobi area of BEA where they remained for three years, moved on to the Molo district and eventually settled on the Uasin Gishu Plateau.

[47] A. P. Burger, "De Trek naar D. O. Afrika," De Vereniging, Deel IV, no. 25, June 15, 1905, p. 5. There is no substantiating evidence for this large number. Burger also indicated that twenty families had returned to the Transvaal.

[48] Conradie, "Boustowwe." For other accounts see Almanak van die Gereformeerde Kerk, 1938, pp. 196-202; De Volkstem, November 8, 1905, p. 4.

[49] Reports in De Volkstem listed the names of ten members. March 22, 1905, p. 6; and April 1, 1905, p. 6. The Hotel Cecil of Mombasa listed the names of fifteen arrivals from the Transvaal in the African Standard of June 3, 1905, p. 7. Seven of the names in the African Standard were in De Volkstem. Three names in De Volkstem

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members of the expedition came from the Middelburg, Krugersdorp and Ermelo districts. Their first report was printed in De Volkstem in June and warned those who had already left for Delagoa Bay and GEA that they would have difficulty finding oxen after their arrival in East Africa. Furthermore they warned that "it is not at all certain if all is so rose-colored as some have pictured it."[50] Indeed, the succeeding reports urged caution and recommended:

1. that men should precede their families and acquire oxen and train them before their families arrived;
2. that trekkers should expect to depend on hunting for support rather than agriculture or pastoralism;
3. that each settler should have at least £200;
4. that prospective settlers should confer with a member of the committee before going to GEA.[51]

On their return to South Africa, the expedition stopped at Dar es Salaam and spoke with members of the German administration. They were particularly concerned about the use of Dutch in their schools. To their

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were not in the African Standard. Those eight Afrikaners registered in the Hotel Cecil at the same time as the expedition may have been part of the expedition increasing its size to eighteen.

[50] De Volkstem, June 21, 1905, p. 4. The group which had left was reported to have 35 families and 40 wagons. It is possible that this was the same group referred to in the above paragraph.

[51] Ibid., July 19, 1905, p. 3; August 23, 1905, p. 5.

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displeasure, the German officials insisted that German be used if the schools were to be government supported.[52]

Another expedition of eight Afrikaners (including two residents of Natal) published even more pessimistic reports. Their exact itinerary was not given but they claimed to have traveled through much of GEA. They found the land low and uninhabitable and infested with fever and the tsetse fly. Only the slopes of Kilimanjaro and the foothills of Meru were habitable by whites. One member gave this description of those Afrikaners already settled in GEA:

> Poverty is not the correct word for the misery under which they labour. The possessions of Hans Botha and three other Boers near him are as follows: two cows and calves, two donkeys and one old horse. Snijman has one calf; Van Emmenis has nothing except his wife and children; Van Dijk, or Van Wijk, has one wagon with fourteen oxen. We did not visit the other Boers personally but the Germans told us that their condition was not better. With no exception they live in tents or small, miserable grass-houses.

He asserted that the grass was virtually impenetrable and discouraged planting. The Afrikaners seemed spiritless, and many of the children were naked.[53]

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[52] Ibid., October 11, 1905, p. 8; and October 18, 1905, p. 4.

[53] Ibid., July 5, 1905, p. 4; and September 13, 1905, p. 7. The quote was taken from the latter report. It is impossible to determine exactly how many were sent out on reconnaissance missions. In addition to those reconnaissance missions accounted for here, there was one article in De Volkstem by an A. C. M. du Plooy who had toured GEA and reported that agriculture was good, but that disease seemed to limit cattle-growing; September 3, 1904, p. 5. There may have been a number of other such missions which went unreported and will remain unknown.

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Letters sent back to South Africa by the settlers themselves presented a mixed picture. Initially the reports were favorable. The first such letter to be published was sent by Jan Viljoen to his brother in mid-1904. Generally he approved of the Germans' policy towards the settlers though he objected to the high cost of the game licenses.[54] A few months later, A. S. De Beer favorably described the remoteness of the area and the abundance of wildlife. He concluded: "I shall certainly never return to the Transvaal. We have a great many small cattle and plenty of milk."[55] A month later another letter from a recent arrival stated that his group had had difficulty finding the right area to settle in but had found the Meru area to be very good. The government had offered them liberal terms for the purchase of land and had surveyed the area at no expense to the settlers. The ground was fertile and water plentiful. Labor was cheap, 1s.4d to 1s.6d. per month, and they were not dangerous. " . . . One good lash with a sjambok on the behind is enough to put 1000 on the run, and the government's policy is to handle the kaffers firmly." In conclusion he gave his friend this advice:

> Best friend, we have decided to stay here and we cannot thank the Lord enough for delivering us out of

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[54] Game licenses were £50.

[55] De Volkstem, January 14, 1905, p. 5.

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> our poverty, nevertheless we ask no one to come here. But those people who are desirous of coming must not wait too long.[56]

The editor of De Volkstem, in which this was published, expressed scepticism of this glowing report. In May the newspaper reported that some Boers needed government assistance in GEA. Living on game is one matter, said the editors, but what would happen when the game was gone?[57] A month later De Volkstem cribbed an article from the Sunday Times reporting disagreement among German officials concerning Boer migration to East Africa. The governor and the Kapitein of the Moshi district would not set down definite terms for the acquisition of the land. The editors commented: "Everyone can see from this that this is no land flowing with milk and honey."[58] Another letter from B. M. H. De Beer to oom (uncle) C. J. Kruger dated November 18, 1905, spelled out the grief which some of the earlier settlers had experienced. His brother was ill and his mother, little brother, and grandfather had died. He lamented:

> We heard a great deal about the land but it is not true and I am bitterly sorry that we are here, but it is God's will. . . . There is no gain for us here, and the cattle whereof we heard so much, those that are so inexpensive, are also not so, and all the goodness of the land is also not there. Everything which people eat must be bought and all the game which we shoot must

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[56] Ibid., February 1, 1905, p. 5.

[57] Ibid., May 10, 1905, p. 5.

[58] Ibid., June 1, 1905, p. 4.

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> also be bought [by license fees, presumably]. . . . We want to go back home and help us as you see fit. Oom, if it were possible for us to go by land, then we would already have left. We would tell all our friends who want to trek that I advise them to stay where they are.[59]

In 1905 the first predikant visited East Africa--A. P. Burger.[60] His reports indicated that the Germans were indeed becoming dissatisfied with their decision to encourage Boer migration to their territory. Burger asked one official for land for a church building and was promised some only on condition that the church be open to all nationalities. He accepted this condition but the stipulation that all government-supported schools must use German was unacceptable. In a conversation with the governor, Burger was asked to search for an instructor in South Africa who knew both Dutch and German. The governor insisted, however, that there was to be no ecclesiastical interference in the government schools.[61] Though some of

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[59] Ibid., November 18, 1905, p. 4.

[60] There are three Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, and the Gereformeerde Kerk (hereafter NGK, NHK, and GK respectively). The first, whom Burger represented, is by far the largest, counting about 42 percent of the whites of South Africa in the 1960s. The other two had 6 percent and 3 percent respectively. For a brief historical sketch of the development of these churches, see Lesley Cawood, The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964).

[61] "Mijne Reis naar D. O. Afrika," De Vereeniging, Deel V, no. 8, October 19, 1905, pp. 3-4.

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the German officials were sympathetic towards the Afrikaners, he said that "there is much to complain about the officials in Arusha."[62] A final report described the physical condition of the settlers. Despite the cheapness of the land (one rupee per hectare) only twenty-five of one hundred families had found suitable land. The remainder were landless and homeless.[63] Consequently, during 1906

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[62]A. P. Burger, "Onze Uitgewekenen in Oost-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XXII, no. 52, December 28, 1905, pp. 654-55.

[63]"Verslag," De Vereeniging, Deel V, no. 17, February 22, 1906, pp. 7-8. The dissatisfaction of the Afrikaners with German officialdom had basis in fact. The German imperial historian W. O. Henderson referred to the year 1906 as a turning point in the history of GEA. He attributed this to the advent of Dr. Bernhard Dernburg as the first Colonial Minister after the election of January, 1907 in Germany. Furthermore, the anti-settler policies of the Colonial Minister were actively supported and carried out by the Governor in GEA from 1906 to 1912, Baron Albrecht von Rechenberg. Of him Henderson commented: "He strongly opposed the indiscriminate use of the whip and insisted that corporal punishment should be inflicted only by due process of law. . . . Rechenberg faced opposition from planters, who regarded his native policy as a diabolical attempt to put them out of business. . . . The issue between Rechenberg and the settlers was whether the territory should develop as a 'commercial' or a 'plantation' colony. Dernberg and Rechenberg believed that the territory should develop as a 'commercial' colony. They believed that the natives--and also the old-established German trading and shipping firms--would benefit more from a 'commercial' than from a 'plantation' economy. Their objection to a 'plantation' colony was that European estates would attract native workers to districts far from their homes and that consequently the existing tribal organization would be disrupted. They feared that a black proletariat would develop as a new depressed social class on the plantations." Henderson, "German East Africa, 1884-1918," pp. 147-48.

Though 1906 may have been the year in which the new German colonial policy was officially announced, earlier settler dissatisfaction indicates that lower echelon official attitudes may have been changing before the

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ten families returned to South Africa and thirty-three moved to BEA, leaving fifty-two families in GEA with eighteen unattached adults.[64]

1906-07 period. Burger's reports verify the fact that the Afrikaners' dissatisfaction predated 1906, though the large migration from that territory occurred that year. Furthermore, the liberal land grants offered the Joubert Commission of 1903 were never again offered the Afrikaners, not even the following year, 1904, when the first settlers arrived. Unless this was due to the Afrikanerphobia of particular administration officials, it would seem that the change of policy began at least two years prior to Rechenberg's advent on the scene. This deserves further investigation with more attention being given to the relationships between the settlers and their local administrators.

A more complete study of this transition in colonial policy by Richard V. Pierard identified three areas of reform by the Dernburg ministry: (1) financial autonomy on the part of each colony; (2) rapid railway construction in each colony to further development; and (3) humane treatment of indigenous populations in order to permit them to contribute more effectively to the economic life of each colony. The last policy, which precipitated a non-flogging ordinance, received quick and bitter reaction from the German planters. Undoubtedly, the Afrikaners' position was similar to that of their fellow settlers. Richard V. Pierard, "The Dernburg Reform Policy and German East Africa," Tanzania Notes and Records, no. 67 (June, 1967), pp. 31-38.

[64]J. M. Louw, "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost Afrika," part IV, De Vereeniging, Deel VIII, no. 9, October 29, 1908, pp. 137-38. These figures must be taken as approximations. The figure for those who migrated to BEA is verified by a letter sent from Nairobi by the Reverend N. H. Thenunissen in 1906. In it he stated that there were thirty-five families in BEA. Since only the Arnoldi family, the von Breda brothers and John De Waal had migrated directly to BEA before 1906, the figure of thirty-three for those who migrated from the German territory is very nearly accurate. De Vereeniging, Deel VI, no. 12, December 13, 1906, p. 7.

In one report after his 1905 visit to GEA, A. P. Burger stated that there were 300 Afrikaners in GEA. "Verslag," De Vereeniging, February 22, 1906, pp. 7-8. An earlier report stated that there were 360 "souls" in GEA. It is not clear who was included in either of these two figures. In both cases he used the term zielen meaning souls or baptized members of the church. Though Burger had

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The above figures indicate that most of those who were dissatisfied with the Germans preferred to migrate to BEA rather than return to South Africa or migrate to any other area. Before 1906 a number of Afrikaners migrated directly to BEA. In September of 1904, a meeting was held in Lydenburg to consider the possibility of settling in "Oeganda." Considerable sentiment was shown in favor of sending a reconnaissance mission to the area. The proposal was eventually rejected after a number of speeches were given exhorting the group to remain in the vaderland.[65] Thus, the anti-British sentiment was not strong enough to prevent some Afrikaners from discussing the possibility of settling in BEA, though it did prevent actual settlement in 1904.

The settlers in GEA had become well acquainted with BEA because of the necessity, or rather preferability, of passing through that territory in their travels to and from the coast. In mid-1905, eight families of one of the larger treks went on to Mombasa rather than disembarking at

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made an attempt to unite the members of the three churches in one congregation affiliated with his church, the NGK, four families had refused. They were Abraham Joubert, Martiens Prinsloo, and Danie Erasmus of the GK, and Jan De Beer of the NHK. These families might not have been counted in the lower figure. Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Abraham Joubert Trek." Also he counted thirty Afrikaners in the Moshi area in another report. "Verslag," De Vereeniging, Deel V, no. 6, February 8, 1906, pp. 6-7. These may have been excluded in the lower figure. Therefore the figure of 360 is reasonable for the size of the community before the 1906 flight from GEA.

[65] De Volkstem, September 14, 1904, p. 3.

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Tanga. Subsequent immigrants followed the Mombasa-Voi-Taveta-Moshi-Arusha route rather than the Tanga-Mombo-Moshi-Arusha route. Before this particular migration Afrikaner transport riders were already using the Mombasa-Voi route rather than the Tanga route.[66] Not only was the former route shorter, but it was also cheaper.[67]

Traveling through BEA fostered familiarity with that territory and its administration. These contacts broke down some of the antipathies which the Afrikaners harbored for the British. Furthermore, movement by the Afrikaners across the border caused friction between the settlers and the German administration. Piet Van Dyk had been "riding transport" into BEA in 1904 or early 1905 and had been caught on one occasion by the German officials for not paying tariff on the goods he was transporting across the border. The tariff and the fine cost him all of his profits for that trip. His reaction was to migrate:

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[66]Conradie, "Boustowwe."

[67]In 1905 the Tanga Railway was completed to Mombo, 166 miles from Moshi, whereas Voi, the nearest Uganda Railway terminal, is 79 miles from Moshi. See Heinrich Brode, British and German East Africa (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911), pp. 36-40. When Brode traveled through this area, the railway had been completed to Same, 68 miles from Moshi. The settlers of this area continued to use the Uganda Railway because of much cheaper rates. In 1911 the Tanga Railway reached Moshi. See C. W. Leverett, "An Outline of the History of Railways in Tanganyika 1890-1956," Tanganyika Notes and Records, 48 and 49 (June and September, 1957), pp. 108-09; and John R. Day, Railways of Northern Africa (London: Arthur Barker Limited, 1964), pp. 14-15.

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> After the heavy fine which I had to pay and which I viewed as extreme injustice, I said to Brother Koos; "In this land I will stay no longer. Under this sort of laws I will not buckle!" My intention was then already to go to British East Africa to look things over and to try to get hold of some money.[68]

Van Dyk moved in 1906 and was accompanied by five other Afrikaner settlers.[69] Others among the thirty-three families which moved to BEA include Abraham Joubert and Martinus Engelbrecht and his group.

By mid-1906 the attention of Afrikaners in South Africa who were thinking about trekking changed from GEA to BEA. Though the parents of Sangiro or A. A. Pienaar migrated to GEA in 1907,[70] there is no indication that any others migrated there before the end of World War I. In fact, the population of the community remained so stable that inter-marriages among families became a necessity and a problem for the next twenty years. This practice terminated only when younger members of the community went

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[68]Conradie, "Boustowwe."

[69]One of the five was P. L. (Flip) Malan. He indicated in an interview (August 9, 1969) that he moved because of dissatisfaction with the Germans' policy towards ostrich farming. No other reference was found that ostrich farming was indeed practiced by the Afrikaners in GEA. When interviewed, Malan was ninety-five years old and partially incapacitated. Information received from him may therefore have been inaccurate.

[70]See H. J. C. Pieterse, Baanbrekers in die Maalstrom (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1942), pp. 1-3.

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"South" for their schooling, there to meet non-relatives and enter conjugal ties with them.[71]

Six or seven families who were dissatisfied with the Moshi-Arusha area traveled farther inland rather than return home or settle in BEA. Ds. M. P. Loubser visited this splinter group in 1910. All had originally settled in the Mwanza area but when Loubser visited them only four poverty-striken families remained. The other families had left Mwanza and had traveled south to try their fortunes at gold-mining at Sekenke. They too had been unsuccessful and were then trying to raise money for their return to South Africa.[72]

Life within Meru (as the main settlement was called) deteriorated after 1906. During his 1905 visit, Burger attempted to set up one church in East Africa, hoping to avoid the ecclesiastical divisions characteristic of South Africa. His attempt failed. Shortly after he left, the community again divided and later the NHK was formed.[73] Not only did unification prove elusive but the

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[71]Conradie, "Boustowwe."

[72]M. P. Loubser, "Duitsch Oost Afrika; Rapport aan den Ring van Lijdenburg," part I, De Kerkbode, Deel I, no. 15, October 13, 1910, pp. 239-40. No subsequent references were found to these settlers.

[73]Conradie, "Boustowwe." See Kühn's letter to the editor of De Hervormer, 2de Jaargang, no. 20, December 15, 1910, pp. 4-5. It would seem that the GK was not formed during this early period and that most of its members stayed with the NGK.

strict moral code taught by the Dutch Reformed Churches was also being broken. In 1910 Loubser complained that the men, when out transport riding or hunting, usually forgot about keeping the Sabbath holy. There had been reported three cases of sexual promiscuity, two involving married men and kaffermeiden, and one involving an unmarried girl. Three girls had married outside of the community, one to a German, another to a Syrian (probably a Greek rather than a Syrian), and the third to a Jew.[74] Loubser attributed this promiscuity to the debilitating effect which the German and the few Greek settlers had on the Afrikaners.

Economically, the community remained at the marginal level. One report declared that where there was water the farms were beautiful but that good land and water were difficult to find in combination, and that malaria was a continual problem.[75] The completion of the Usambara Railway to Moshi in 1911 did not substantially improve their economic position.[76] Before the outbreak of World War I

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[74]Loubser, "Duitsch Oost Afrika," part II, De Kerkbode, Deel I, no. 16, October 20, 1910, pp. 257-58.

[75]Louw, "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost-Afrika," pp. 137-38.

[76]See n. 67.

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those Afrikaners who visited BEA usually decided to stay in that territory rather than return to GEA.[77]

One of the major difficulties in GEA after 1906 remained the unsympathetic German administration. Expressing the opinion of most of the settlers, Loubser said in 1910: "The Germans are feeble-minded colonists; at times it looks as if the officials are throwing the land to the sharks."[78] Earlier the Reverend Louw had enumerated the settlers' complaints. He noted the stringent land laws which prevented many Afrikaners from becoming land owners.[79] Furthermore, land-owners were not permitted to purchase big game licenses. This regulation particularly grated the Afrikaners. Loubser's primary complaint, however, was the government's insistence that the school which it had built at Kampfontein near Arusha use German exclusively. When

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[77]A. O. Burger, "Naar Oost Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel V, no. 32, August 6, 1914, pp. 744-45.

[78]Loubser, "Duitsch Oost Afrika," part III, p. 278.

[79]Louw, "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost-Afrika," pp. 137-38. According to Heinrich Brode, thirty-seven Boers owned 21,140 hectares while two Germans owned 2,250 hectares, two Englishmen owned 2,000 hectares, and one Greek owned 390 hectares in the Kilimanjaro-Meru areas. Brode, British and German East Africa, p. 35. The administration subsequently refused to approve the sale of land in this area to any other person than a German, an understandable reaction to this heavy dominance of land ownership by Afrikaners. Nonetheless, Loubser decried this regulation and declared it to be extremely onerous for the Afrikaners, which it undoubtedly was. Loubser, "Duitsch Oost Afrika," part III, p. 278.

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Loubser began teaching Sunday School in 1910, the children had difficulty learning Bible verses in Dutch and Loubser was asked by the parents to permit the children to learn them in German. To Loubser this was tantamount to the complete loss of identity by the Afrikaners and signalled their eventual amalgamation into German society. His complaints to the local administrator, arguing that the Germans were permitted their own school and language in America, France, and South Africa, proved fruitless. Loubser concluded that Dutch could be preserved as the language only through the establishment of private schools.[80] Loubser conceded that the Afrikaners had not been innocent in their deteriorating relationship with the government. The strict game laws and the £50 big game hunting license were frequently disregarded by the Afrikaners. "Some of our people are not free of transgression since some of them shoot big game without licenses, while others cross into British territory to shoot game, which has not placed them in a favorable position with the British government."[81] He further admitted: "Some of our people have fled German East Africa to escape the export fee on their cattle, a deed which has

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[80]Loubser, "Duitsch Oost Afrika," part II, pp. 257-58. Also see C. S. de Wet, "Historiese Oorsig van die Afrikaanse Onderwys in Tanganyika sedert 1905," part II, Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 3, May, 1947, pp. 8-10. Mrs. De Wet recalled the building of the Ngarenanyuki school.

[81]Loubser, "Duitsch Oost Afrika," part II, p. 257.

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made those who remained in German East Africa smell badly to the Germans and it has given those who fled a smudged reputation in the British territory on their arrival."[82]

It is not clear what those who migrated to BEA during 1906 and the following years expected to find. In South Africa the British administration may not have been benevolent in their eyes, but in 1906 it appeared more benign than that of the Germans. At any rate, the ideological qualms which members of the Piet Joubert Commission expressed about living in British territory in 1903 had been dissipated in the minds of many Afrikaners in GEA by 1906. Some may have thought British land policies more generous than they actually were. A letter from one of these settlers erroneously stated that there were specially favorable conditions which applied to the Boers only.[83] Whatever their motives may have been for migrating, subsequent reports do not indicate that their state was improved in BEA. In 1908 a clergyman noted that there were 25 families of these trekkers who resided in the Nairobi and Athi River areas and all were doing poorly. The others had

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[82] Ibid., part I, p. 241.

[83] De Volkstem, August 25, 1906, p. 7. Also see Sorrenson, European Settlement, particularly pp. 57-58 and 87-95.

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gone to the Uasin Gishu Plateau with the Van Rensburg trekkers.[84] In 1910 Loubser painted an even more dismal picture of those who remained in the Nairobi vicinity. Near Nairobi itself one double family lived in a tent on the land of a friend. One father drove transport. Four families lived on land owned by English settlers and another two were bijwoners van bijwoners or hired farm hands of hired farm hands. Twelve families lived along the Athi River; three leased land. Because of a cattle quarantine, the families could not move, and they were retrogressing economically. At Kiboku there were eight families. Three leased land but two had to supplement income by riding transport to the Mt. Kenya district. Only one farmed exclusively.[85] Obviously these trekkers were not finding land easier to acquire in BEA than in GEA.

The position of the Colonial Office and the local administration in East Africa regarding this immigration was not directly stated. Some migrants, such as P. L. Malan, were given stiff fines for crossing the border during a cattle quarantine.[86] Similarly Abraham Joubert

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[84]Ds. Theunissen, "Britsch Oost-Afrika," De Vereeniging, Deel VIII, no. 4, August 20, 1908, p. 57.

[85]M. P. Loubser, "Het Werk in Britsch Oost Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XXVIII, no. 10 (March 10, 1910), pp. 113-17.

[86]Interview with P. L. Malan, August 9, 1970.

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and Willie Van Aardt had traveled to Nairobi to gain permission to bring their cattle into BEA; returned to GEA to gather their families, cattle and goods; and learned of a quarantine after recrossing the border. In spite of these mitigating circumstances, the party was forced to quarantine their cattle in the Athi River area at their own expense. Soon their limited funds were expended and they were only able to maintain themselves with financial assistance from South Africa.[87] W. Russell-Bowker, a prominent British South African settler, reported in a letter to The East African Standard that some Dutchmen were fined Rs.5250 (£350) for crossing the border illegally after the date of their permit had lapsed. He said they had come to him for advice because "they knew they were not looked upon by the government with a too favorable eye and that any small transgression would perhaps prejudice them against their obtaining farms."[88] There is little doubt that those Afrikaners who crossed the border were not treated sympathetically by the British officials.

In conclusion, the Afrikaners migrated to East Africa for a variety of reasons. Some refused to live

[87] Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Abraham Joubert Trek."

[88] East African Standard (hereafter EAS), November 3, 1906, p. 14.

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under the regime which had defeated them in the Anglo-Boer War, but many found themselves more dissatisfied with German colonial rule. When the Afrikaners had initially considered GEA, the Germans were receptive. A change of policy in Berlin and in East Africa between 1904 and 1906, culminated by the advent of Dernburg as the first Colonial Minister and Rechenberg as Governor in 1906, brought on immediate dissatisfaction on the part of the Afrikaners. Many of them left South Africa because of the depression which followed the war, but found economic conditions in GEA far from idyllic. Finally, many migrated to East Africa because of trekgees and frontier spirit which had become a tradition in Afrikanerdom. Strict enforcement of governmental regulations, such as game licensing and tariff collection, did much to dampen the free spirits of these individuals.

Rather than return to South Africa, most of the dissatisfied Afrikaners looked northward to BEA for cheap land and better conditions. Though not openly opposed to this migration, British officials did not welcome these poverty-stricken trekkers and few were able to acquire land. It was not until the immigration of the large Van Rensburg Trek of 1908 that the administration officially recognized the presence of this separate group of settlers and allocated land to them.

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CHAPTER II

VERGENOEG: SETTLEMENT OF UASIN GISHU PLATEAU, 1904-10

The expansion of Afrikanerdom in to East Africa was facilitated by the establishment of colonial rule in that area by the end of the nineteenth century. In BEA expenses incurred by the building and maintenance of the Uganda Railway (completed to Lake Victoria in 1901) demanded the development of territory along the line. There is considerable disagreement among scholars about the year in which European settlement of the Highlands (as opposed to Asian settlement or African development) became the established policy of the British government.[1]

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[1]C. C. Wrigley has contended that European immigration was a foregone conclusion before the completion of the Uganda Railway. C. C. Wrigley, "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life, 1902-1945," History of East Africa, ed. by Vincent Harlow, E. M. Chilver, and assisted by Alison Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 214. D. A. Low has argued that the spirit of expansionism in Europe at the turn of the century demanded that the British make this area productive quickly, leading him to conclude "that by 1902 the E. A. P. [BEA] was committed to a policy of introducing white settlers as a means of establishing its economic prosperity and wiping away its continuing indebtedness to the British Treasury." D. A. Low, "British East Africa: The Establishment of British Rule, 1895-1912," History of

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East Africa, Vol. II, ed. by Vincent Harlow, E. M. Chilver, and assisted by Alison Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 21. A more careful analysis by M. P. K. Sorrenson has pointed out that policy varied at different levels of administration. Sir George Eliot, the first commissioner of BEA (1901-04), segregated the Asians and Europeans, granting the prized Highlands to the Europeans. Meanwhile the Foreign Office continued naively "to encourage both Indian and European settlement, on the assumption that the two races could coexist without friction." Sorrenson has contended that it was probably not until 1906 that London accepted the policy of a European Highlands in BEA. Sorrenson, European Settlement, pp. 31, 32, 37, 41.

Certainly not everyone in the Administration of East Africa agreed with the pro-European policies established by Eliot. This became especially evident after Eliot left his position. Frederick Jackson, an able administrator carried over from the IBEA company's administration period, was made Acting Commissioner during the absence of Sir James Sadler on leave in Britain in 1905. Jackson, with his peer S. S. Bagge's support, had consistently opposed Eliot's grants of land to Europeans. Ibid., pp. 70, 74-75. As Acting Commissioner, Jackson sent a copy of an address by the Colonists' Association of 1905 and commented on the association and the numerous complaints of the administration in the address itself. Jackson explained that the association was composed of malcontent, landless, and capital-less settlers who represented one-fourth of the European settlers. Not too much attention should be given to their demands because, quoting from the personal comments of a "world traveller," "The East African Protectorate is not, and never can be, even in the most favoured parts, a white man's country in the same sense as Canada is." Accepting this fact, said Jackson, "and remembering that the greater part of the trade of the country has been created by and still remains in the hands, either directly or indirectly, of Indians, it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to legislate for these special conditions, and not to unduly favour one race before another." Furthermore, he wryly commented: "It is now three years since white settlers began to come into this country in any numbers, but with very few exceptions they have contributed little or nothing towards its progress, and so far as they are themselves concerned they overlook two very important factors in which most of them are deficient, means and enterprise, and without a small amount of both a man need not settle in East Africa with any hope of success." CO 879/87, Confidential Prints, African no. 771, pp. 96-97. It would seem that as late as December of 1905 Jackson and possibly a few other administrators of East Africa had not accepted the policy of the pre-eminence of European immigration as an irreversible fait accompli. Such an unqualified attack on the

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While these major settlement schemes and development plans were being discussed, the Foreign Office was considering other lesser known settlement proposals, the most important of which was that of the Zionists. Although neither the London government nor the Zionists were enthusiastic about a Jewish settlement in BEA, both considered this an alternative to settlement in Palestine. In 1905 the proposal was rejected by the Seventh Zionist Congress after a three-man investigatory committee wrote conflicting reports of the suggested settlement area, the Uasin Gishu Plateau.[2] However, not all Zionists were willing to drop the scheme that quickly. Until 1907, a "Jewish Territorial Organization" under the direction of Israel Zangwill continued to work for Jewish settlement in BEA, a circumstance which caused apprehension among the British settlers.[3]

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position of the settlers would seem unthinkable and purposeless otherwise. Though policy may not have been entrenched at this point, particularly after the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, continued European immigration and land purchases preempted policy decisions. For further discussion on the Eliot period see his own book, The East African Protectorate (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), especially Chs. IX-XII; also see Robert Alan Remole, "White Settlers or the Foundation of European Agricultural Settlement in Kenya" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1959).

[2]For a complete account of this affair, see Robert G. Weisbord, African Zion, the Attempt to Establish a Jewish Colony in the East Africa Protectorate, 1903-1905 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968). In particular see pp. 81-97, 198-223.

[3]Ibid., pp. 224-49. Additional requests for land were received from a clergyman who was fostering American

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The Zionist scheme occasioned discussion among the European settlers concerning "types" of settlers.[4] In a pamphlet directed specifically against the Zionist scheme, Lord Delamere objected to the principle of harboring an "alien state" within the Protectorate, to giving land to paupers and those who spoke a foreign language, to encouraging small plot farming in BEA, to admitting those with no capital, and to taking land which would be ideal for the settlement of the British and their colonials.[5] Two years later much the same view was expressed by Lord Hindlip, one of the aristocrats involved in East Africa before World War I, when the Zionist scheme was reaching its climax shortly after their exploratory expedition in late 1904. Hindlip suggested that the land had been

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negro colonization, a champion of the persecuted Nestorian Christians of Turkey, and by a Prince Maximilian Lieven from Estonia who wished to secure a haven for Russian Germans. For communications regarding Lieven's scheme, see CO 879/92, no. 844, serial no. 194, Lieven to CO, June 13, 1906; serial no. 207, CO to Lieven, June 19, 1906; serial no. 226, Lieven to CO, July 13, 1906; serial no. 359, FO to CO, September 21, 1906; and serial no. 387, CO to Lieven, October 9, 1906. The Foreign Office was asked to comment on his request and reported adversely regarding the character of Lieven. Significantly, the Colonial Office did not respond negatively to Lieven without considerable investigation. The Colonial Office did not view the Highlands as an exclusive reserve for British malcontents.

[4]See Weisbord, African Zion, pp. 81-97 for settler reactions to the scheme.

[5]Lord Delamere, "The Grant of Lord to the Zionist Congress and Land Settlement in British East Africa" (London: Harrison and Sons, 1903), CO, East African Series, Pamphlets.

offered to the Jews in 1903 because it then was difficult to entice British settlers to East Africa. With the influx of South Africa's British from 1903 to 1905, that situation had changed and there was no longer the need to fill the Highlands with just any type of white settler.[6] "Both from an administrative and from an economic point of view it is most undesirable that there should be a compact body of settlers living under different conditions from the rest of the European population." Furthermore, Hindlip was critical of the area which had been relegated to the Zionists.

> Except on the edge of the forest the Guaso-Ngishu Plateau is not a country for small settlers, and at both ends of it there are natives with whom there is bound to be trouble. . . . Men of the type of proposed settlers, whether they are Jews or not, give trouble wherever they go, and in a country with a native black population they will be a positive danger and a constant source of anxiety to the administration.[7]

Many of the unfavorable characteristics attributed to potential Jewish settlers could also be applied to Afrikaner and to some South African British settlers. In a letter interview, Hindlip commented on the undesirability of the South African settler and he prophetically surmised that those Boers immediately across the border in GEA might soon cross into the Protectorate.[8]

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[6]Sorrenson agrees with the statement that the situation had changed. European Settlement, p. 43.

[7]Interview cribbed from the Morning Post by the African Standard, January 21, 1905, p. 3.

[8]African Standard, January 28, 1905, p. 2.

Not all of those in East Africa defined the desirable "type" of settler as did Hindlip. As early as mid-1914, the African Standard advocated the encouragement of Boer immigration to BEA. The editors claimed that the Boers would prove invaluable to the Protectorate, or, at least, not less valuable than the "Roumanian Hebrew."[9]

The attitude of this paper had not changed by 1906 (though the name of the paper had, to The East African Standard). Continued activity by the Jewish Territorial Organization prompted these editorial remarks regarding the "ideal settler":

> Zionists are flirting once again with our one time offer but the expediency of creating an autonomous state within our own is too fraught with danger for us to consider it seriously. Apart from this we doubt the "Jewish Nation" as a colonizing force the members are not patriotic, in fact, there is not patriotism, strictly speaking among the Jewish Nation [sic]. . . . It is not then to Zionism we must look for the class of Immigrant we need. Can we do with the experienced but poor farmer? There is a class of men in South Africa and Australia, who while expert farmers in every sense of the word, are totally unable through lack of the bump of organization to make a living by working for themselves. Working for other people on a regular wage they are all that can be desired. It is a distinct class and anyone who has travelled these Colonies has met them under various conditions and we are inclined to the opinion that if we can attract the capitalists to British East Africa first, we may safely attract the wage-working farmer thereafter. It is a class of Immigrant which we much desire to see make his home with us. He is invariably an honest man, in fact, his inert honesty has probably something to do with his remaining, one, working for another, the other's conscience being more of an elastic nature. He is contented and easily settles down. His greatest

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[9] African Standard, July 30, 1904, p. 4. Also cited in Weisbord, African Zion, pp. 196-97.

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> ambition beyond carrying out his daily duties is to rear a family of healthy children. Indisputably an ideal settler and one who is already casting eyes on our country, his own becoming cramped from the supply being greater than the demand. But first the Capitalist![10]

Though the author of this editorial was probably not speaking of potential Afrikaner settlers exclusively, the use of such descriptive phrases as "poor farmer," "wage-working farmer," (in Afrikaans bywoner), "inert honesty," and the rearing of "a family of healthy children" were characteristics frequently attributed to Afrikaners. These were to be the wage-earners who worked for the aristocrats like Delamere, Hindlip and Cranworth, or gentlemen adventurers such as the ebullient E. S. Grogan.[11] Since the poor of Britain did not seek paradise in Kenya, it would seem that the editor assumed that the capitalists would be British and the wage-workers colonials. As could be expected, these distinctions led to division within the settler community, the Afrikaners falling into the latter category.

The migration of Afrikaners from South Africa directly to BEA began with the coming of one of the von

[10] EAS, October 13, 1906, p. 8; and October 20, 1906, p. 8. For further discussion of Jewish Territorial Organization activities see Weisbord, African Zion, pp. 224-49.

[11] Sorrenson, European Settlement, p. 67.

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Breda brothers in 1903. The following year there is a record of only one family arriving, the Arnoldi's, who accompanied another von Breda brother. More families arrived during the next four years: 1905, six families; 1906, twelve families (not including those coming from GEA); 1907, seven families; and 1908, fifty-eight families.[12]

There is not much extant information about those Afrikaners who arrived before 1908. The von Breda brothers settled on the Uasin Gishu Plateau immediately after their arrival and received 10,000 acres each. Besides farming, one of the brothers engaged in surveying for the administration.[13] In 1904 Frans Arnoldi investigated the Nakuru area and returned there with his family later that year. He was accompanied by a young man, John De Waal, who purchased land from the von Bredas in 1905 and later became one of the leading Afrikaner farmers on the Uasin Gishu.[14] Those who followed in the 1905-07 period settled first in the general vicinity of Nairobi.[15]

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[12] J. M. Louw, "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost-Afrika," De Vereeniging, Deel VIII, no. 11, November 26, 1908, pp. 172-73.

[13] "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," p. 17. Sorrenson claims that the von Breda brothers settled on the Plateau in 1905 and received 5,000 acres each. He does not cite his source. European Settlement, p. 102.

[14] "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," pp. 17-18; and an interview with Arnoldi's daughter, Mrs. Nicolaas Van Deventer, June 24, 1969.

[15] Most of these immigrants settled in the general vicinity of Nairobi, some as far away as Athi River and

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The largest single trek to East Africa was the Van Rensburg trek of 1908. The leader of the trek, Jan Van Rensburg was a prominent Transvaal farmer from the Bethel district. In September of 1906 Van Rensburg sailed to the Protectorate and explored the Fort Hall, the Molo, and the Eldama Ravine regions, finding none of them satisfactory. At Eldama Ravine he met two English hunters, just returned from the Uasin Gishu, who declared that area to be uninhabitated by either Africans or Europeans.[16] For undisclosed reasons, probably financial, Van Rensburg did not investigate the Uasin Gishu but returned to Nakuru, where he asked Arnoldi to send him additional information about this part of the Protectorate. On his return trip to South Africa he met a former acquaintance, Fred Loxton, who agreed to explore the Uasin Gishu and send him a report. This report was favorable, particularly regarding the fertility of the soil. Simultaneously he received a letter from Arnoldi informing him that the government was about to

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Limuru. An account of one of these families can be found in Aucamp, "Joubert Trek," "Tant Nakkie Potgeiter se Geskiedenis." Tant Nakkie went to East Africa with her first husband, the brother of Piet Joubert in 1906. Another was given in an interview with Mr. Pieter Stefanus Albertus Steenkamp, August 6, 1969, who was a child when his father trekked to East Africa in 1906.

[16]The von Breda brothers were forced to remove themselves from the Plateau because of the Nandi uprising in 1906, KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "European Settlement."

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mark off that area in preparation for colonization. Van Rensburg decided to proceed.[17]

Members of this trek were motivated by several factors, some of which were similar to those of the earlier trekkers. All wanted land. Some years after the trek

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[17]This entire account was found in Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Jan Van Rensburg Trek." Though there is some slight variation, a similar account was given by F. J. Smit, "Die Voortrekkers na Oos-Afrika," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 2 (February, 1947), pp. 19-24. Elspeth Huxley stated in No Easy Way (Nairobi: East African Standard Ltd., 1957) that Van Rensburg saw Governor Sadler on his return journey and was promised that the Uasin Gishu would belong to the South Africans if he could bring thirty families or more to the Protectorate. Pp. 58-59. Mr. C. J. Roets, a member of the Van Rensburg trek, (interviewed on August 9, 1969) also made reference to the thirty family figure but stated that each would get as much land as he could farm if Van Rensburg could bring in that many settlers. He did not indicate who made this promise. No other specific reference was found of this supposed meeting between the Governor and Van Rensburg. It is highly unlikely that a promise of the entire Plateau was given Van Rensburg. There is no record of any complaints being filed when non-Afrikaner settlers followed on the heels of the Afrikaners to the Plateau. This author was told confidentially by more than one of the Afrikaner settlers in Kenya that Van Rensburg had received special favors from the British administration in return for the part he played in the migration from the South, but these same persons recalled that Van Rensburg was a roikop, coloring their opinion of him. Incontrovertible proof of promises given to Van Rensburg, either for his groups' benefit or his personal benefit is not available.

The EAS announced the sketching out of the first 104 farms on the Uasin Gishu on May 23, 1906, p. 11. Parts II and III followed the next week. Each farm averaged 3,000 acres. May 30, 1906, p. 11. Because of the Nandi rebellion a two year hiatus occurred before the publication of Part IV on June 6, 1908, p. 11. The next week the Land Office announced through the paper that all previous registrants for land on the Plateau must file for land immediately and show means because the area would be open to anyone for claims on the first of August. June 13, 1908, p. 12. Arnoldi informed Van Rensburg of these latter developments.

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Ds. Aucamp paraphrased Van Rensburg: "The reason for the trek was to acquire more land for his children."[18] The same reason was given in 1969 by Mr. C. J. Roets, who accompanied the Van Rensburg trek as a young man. The promise of as much land as each farmer could legitimately farm was the primary motive for his family's migration.[19] Some migrated for adventure, particularly big game hunting: "I came to this land not because I thought this country better than the Transvaal, but because I had heard about much game and shooting at lions, camel, rhinocerous, sea-cows [hippopotami], elephants and every kind of game, which offered an inducement."[20] Thus land and game continued to be a motivating factor for migration to East Africa in 1908.

Interviews with a number of the East African Afrikaners uncovered another reason for this and subsequent treks, a reason not specifically mentioned in any of the written sources. One of the consequences of the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa was the division of Afrikanerdom over the positions which various individuals and groups took during the war. Some, such as members of the original GEA trekkers, had fought to the end. Others had joined the

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[18]Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Van Rensburg Trek."

[19]Interview with C. J. Roets, August 9, 1969.

[20]Letter from Nico Postma, The Leader of British East Africa (hereafter LBEA), August 20, 1910, p. 3.

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National Scouts and assisted the British with their knowledge of the land. Still others had given up too quickly and were known as "hands-uppers." The last groups were held in such contempt by the "bitter-enders" that a severe division in Afrikanerdom resulted. Le May, a historian of this period, has pointed out that it was one of the primary goals of Louis Botha, the leader of the Het Volk party, to overcome this division and unite Afrikanerdom.[21] In spite of Botha's efforts some districts remained solidly anti-British and would not tolerate "traitorous" Boers in their midst. All those knowledgeable Afrikaners interviewed affirmed that there were "hands-uppers" or roikops[22] in the Van Rensburg trek and the 1911 Cloete trek. Furthermore it was admitted by most that the ostracism of these people in South Africa by their anti-British compatriots was a reason for their migration to East Africa. A substantial difference of opinion occurred over the number of roikops who participated in the two treks and whether indeed their leaders were roikops. For the Van

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[21]See Le May, British Supremacy, pp, 137, 173-74, and 214-15.

[22]The term roikop meaning "red head" appears to be one which developed exclusively in East Africa. None of the South Africans with whom the author conversed knew of the term and those who migrated to East Africa after World War II seemed unaware of the term. Though no one knew exactly how it came into use, it is surmised that it was a parody of the term frequently used by the Afrikaners for British troops, roinek, or "red neck."

Rensburg trek estimates ranged from a few to over half of the party. There is no doubt that this issue was a major cause for the migration of some of these Afrikaners to British-dominated territory from a homeland which was at that time either assured of independence or, in the case of the Cloete trek, already had it.

The Van Rensburg group numbering between 200 and 300 persons, left their homes on June 19 and boarded the German ship "Windhoek" in Delagoa Bay on July 1.[23] The group arrived at Mombasa on July 8 and were met by a train

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[23]P. J. Smit, "Die Voortrekkers," p. 19. According to C. J. Roets there were 57 families with wagons, trek-goods and horses. He claimed that the ship cost the party £1750. Aucamp reported that there were 70 families with 200 persons, 39 buck-wagons, 4 carts, and 69 horses and that the ship cost £2000. Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Van Rensburg Trek." The official "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure" reported that there were 47-50 families with 245 souls, 47 wagons and 70 horses, and that the ship cost £1750, p. 20. The LBEA reported: "The trek consists in all of about 300 souls or about 80 heads of families, with adult sons and daughters and children. The impedimenta included 70 horses, 30 ox-waggons, 10 Cape carts, fowls, cats, spare waggon tyres, forges, waggon wheels and all the appurtenances for veld settlement." The group had many rifles and much ammunition. Finally, "together with the Boer families, a number of Cape Boys and Hottentot servants are included, and these again have brought their wives and families." July 18, 1908, p. 3. A letter from the Governor of the Protectorate to the Secretary of State dated July 22, 1908, stated that there were 50 families in the party with 254 persons and 7 servants, totaling 310 persons including those who had come the previous month. This report also indicated that they had 38 wagons, 70 horses and a considerable quantity of goods. (These are the only two references to the presence of Hottentots or Africans from South Africa in the treks. No trace of these servants was found in 1969 when the author was present on the Uasin Gishu. Presumably they either died off or were absorbed into local African society.)

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reserved for them.[24] This train brought them directly to Nakuru where they disembarked and camped on the farms of Frans Arnoldi and a neighbor.[25] During their journey, Van Rensburg had stopped in Nairobi to confer with the Commissioner of Lands, Montgomery. Since he could not speak English he had asked Mr. Glieman, a Dane who knew both English and Afrikaans, to join the party and act as interpreter. Through Glieman, Montgomery informed Van Rensburg that surveyed land was available in the southern part of the Uasin Gishu.[26] While the main party waited on Arnoldi's land, a committee of seven or eight was sent to reconnoiter that area. This committee did not like this surveyed area and Van Rensburg and Glieman returned to Nairobi and informed the Commissioner of Lands that they objected to the surveyed area as well as to the preliminary fees for application for land (£5) and to the necessity to show means equal to the development required.

The migration of Boers to the Protectorate presented a difficult situation for the Colonial Office and the local administration. These Afrikaners were not migrating to East Africa with administrative approval. Before the Van

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[24]Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Van Rensburg Trek," and LBEA, July 18, 1908, p. 3.

[25]F. J. Smit, "Die Voortrekkers," p. 20.

[26]CO 879/101, No. 921, serial no. 93, Governor to Secretary of State, March 4, 1909.

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Rensburg trekkers landed at Kilindini Harbor in Mombasa, Governor Hayes-Sadler had telegraphed the Colonial Secretary regarding their forthcoming arrival and asked how to handle the group. He indicated that some of them had written him a few months earlier stating their intentions and he had advised them that there were no accommodations for such a large group. Not realizing that Van Rensburg had already been to the Protectorate, he advised them to send delegates first. They had not heeded his instructions and had come as a group. Therefore, he presented this question to the Colonial Secretary: "Your Lordship would not, I presume, wish any discrimination to be now made between Boers and other British subjects in the matter of grants of land, but it appears to me that we must be careful if immigration continues on this scale, otherwise there is danger of most of available land being monopolized by Boers."[27] The Secretary replied that no distinction should be made between Boer and Briton but the Restriction of Immigration Ordinance concerning the need to show means of support should be strictly adhered to.[28] Obviously both the Colonial Office and the local administration had strong reservations about Afrikaner immigration into the Protectorate. However, in contrast to the earlier settlement schemes for the Uasin

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[27]CO 879/99, No. 914, serial no. 213, Governor to Secretary of State, July 6, 1908.

[28]Ibid., serial no. 215, Secretary of State to Governor, July 9, 1908.

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Gishu, the Van Rensburg trekkers presented the administration with a fait accompli by their arrival at Kilindini.

Considering its ambivalent attitudes towards the Afrikaners, the administration was surprisingly accommodating on the matter of what land was to be made available to them. After Van Rensburg informed the administration of his refusal to settle on the surveyed land, he was told that his party would have to wait until additional land was surveyed. Again he objected because of the expense the entire party would incur maintaining themselves while the survey was made.[29] After further negotiations the governor promised Van Rensburg a block of unsurveyed land, and the Commissioner of Lands informed him that his group could apply at the rate of 3,000 acres per farmer, with the stipulation that improvements be made on the land comparable to forty times the annual rent within five years. Therefore the Afrikaners asked for 165,000 acres of land for 55 farmers. When the actual application was made, the Land Office demanded that the settlers must show means worth forty times the annual rent before the application for the block could be approved. The Afrikaners then went directly to the Colonial Secretary and asked him to overrule the local administration. Their letter contended that they had capital worth £10,000, less than half of the amount needed

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[29]Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Van Rensburg Trek."

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for the acreage desired.[30] The Liberal Secretary, the Earl of Crewe, responded to their plea by urging, though not ordering, Hayes-Sadler to insist that £400 worth of improvements on each farm should be made by the end of five years but that the capital should not be insisted upon before the grant was given.[31] When the governor and his subordinates objected, Crewe agreed to demand a show of means before the grants were given but asked that the amount be cut in half, or twenty times the annual rent.[32] With £10,000 capital the Afrikaners should have been able to acquire all of the desired acreage.

While these communiqués were passing between Nairobi and London, the trekkers had gone to the Plateau and many had marked off individual farms. Consequently the Land Office had returned to its policy of approving individual applications for land rather than turning over a whole block to the group. Under these circumstances the Afrikaners had paid the fees for 27 farms in the unmarked area of the Uasin Gishu.[33]

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[30]CO 879/99, No. 914, serial no. 306, Messrs. Glieman, Van Rensburg, and others to Colonial Office, September 9, 1908.

[31]Ibid., serial no. 316, Secretary of State to Governor, October 14, 1908.

[32]Ibid., serial no. 375, Secretary of State to Governor, December 8, 1908.

[33]Later, the Commissioner of Lands Montgomery, contended that already in early 1909 the Afrikaners were

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Even at the lower figure of twenty times the annual rent, Montgomery questioned whether the Boers had the capital necessary for 27 farms. Scholefield, a surveyor sent to mark the farms, had reported to him that there were a few men, such as Van Rensburg, with means, and these men were lending sufficient funds to the others to begin farming. Apparently, it was because of this lack of capital that Montgomery had not granted all of the 27 farms applied for. By 1909 Montgomery and Scholefield were no longer predisposed to cooperate any more than was necessary with the Boers. They believed Glieman, the interpreter, to be a thoroughly disreputable fellow. Scholefield reported that even the Boers called him a man without money or principle. Furthermore, said Scholefield, "If what I hear is true, he and the Boers think they can do whatever they like, and that they can coerce us."[34] The applications were not processed

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quarreling over boundaries of their properties in this unbeaconed area, justifying in his eyes the refusal to grant a large block to the group. He personally had settled these cases and had granted eighteen farms and had given options for five more.

[34]CO 879/101, No. 921, serial no. 93, enclosures in Governor to Secretary of State, March 4, 1909. Not all members of every level of the administration were similarly adverse to Afrikaner immigration. When the assessor was touring the area attempting to determine the value of the capital of those Afrikaners who had applied for land, he was invited in for something to eat and drink by one of the families. He accepted with the remark that the poor cattle needed a rest as well as he. Of course, the cattle were being shunted from one farmer to the other to enhance the capital value of each farmer. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. J. Boshoff, June 2, 1969.

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until May, 1909 when farms were granted under the "rapid allotment" scheme.[35] It would seem that despite the adverse opinions which some officials in BEA held of the Van Rensburg trek, the sheer size and organization of the party forced the administration to be somewhat lenient towards them. One member of the party declared two years later that this group was very fortunate to get land so quickly after their arrival. The earlier immigrants had to wait much longer to have their applications processed and approved.[36] Had the Van Rensburg trekkers not been granted farms so expeditiously, it is probable that most of them would have been forced back to South Africa within a few years.

On September 14 the party began their trek from Nakuru to the Plateau. Because of the terrain and the forests, and with untrained oxen pulling the wagons, the journey was difficult. They arrived near Sergoit Rock on October 19, chose their farms, and moved to their respective choices on the twenty-first of October.[37]

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[35]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "European Settlement."

[36]Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Van Rensburg Trek."

[37]For an imaginative account of the hardships of this trek, see Elspeth Huxley, No Easy Way, pp. 59-61. Another account was given by A. C. Hoey, a prominent British settler, who was sitting on Sergoit Rock watching game when he noticed the vanguard of western civilization moving into his excellent hunting grounds. EAS, January 9, 1939, pp. 11 and 15. Also see Smit, "Die Voortrekkers," pp. 20-22;

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The reaction of the unofficial community in the Protectorate was mixed, though generally positive. The LBEA, the first Nairobi-based newspaper, was positively pro-Boer. Before the migration had begun, this paper quoted a Transvaal paper: "I hope the Boers who are thinking of trekking from the Transvaal to British East Africa are seriously studying the conditions which prevail in the land they contemplate making their home." The editors concluded that comments of this type were inimical to East Africa, "for after all it is from the South that we can hope for the earliest trek to these lands."[38] The EAS, which was still based in Mombasa at this time, initially favored the migration, though its support was considerably more restrained than that of the LBEA. Three days after the Boer's arrival in Mombasa, the editors of the EAS wrote an editorial entitled, "A New Colony--Sudden Increase of Settlers--An Epoch." The editors noted that the increase in settlers was due to a

> "trek" of importance of our brother colonists from the South. There is every prospect of ten times this number making their homes among us provided we hold out the hand of welcome to this advanced guard of long-haired, long bearded, independent but deserving people.

"Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," pp. 20-21; and KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "European Settlement." The last source stated that the group arrived at the Sergoit River on October 14.

[38] LBEA, June 6, 1908, p. 4.

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The editor reported that these settlers wished to unite with those Afrikaners already in the Protectorate and settle in one Afrikaner area "in order that educational and religious facilities may be more easily obtained."[39]

The following week the LBEA published a more substantive editorial on the effects which this group of settlers would have on the Protectorate. After praising the Boer's pugnacious qualities, the editor enumerated further "virtues and vices" of the Boers. "He is conservative, steadfast, patient and domestic. He is also obstinate, not very progressive, and though not failing in mental stamina and personality, is unintellectual." But the editor believed that this was a move in "the right direction" so far as the settler community was concerned. He listed five areas in which the Boers would contribute to this community: (1) increase its size; (2) strengthen its defense; (3) open new regions; (4) beneficially effect native policy; and (5) provide "the occasion of a fair test for the other South Africans to profit by." The editor had no illusions about the scientific farming techniques of the Boers, for, in his estimation, they had none. As for the treatment of Africans, the editor said:

> The Boer treatment of the natives is more patriarchal than harsh. They do not pander to native proclivities, but simply take him and deal with him as master and servant, invite his presence on the farms, permit him his own cattle and lands, but insist upon his service

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[39] EAS, July 11, 1908, p. 11.

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> at a reasonable rate of wage. They understand the native better than the Englishman--even better than the trained Englishman--even better than the average Native or Provincial Commissioner--and their presence in the midst of the native tribes can trend but for good for their methods with natives are based upon guile meeting guile and not violence meeting violence. When strife becomes inevitable the Boers generally give a good account of themselves, but generally speaking they are not a disturbing factor in contact with natives, but a controlling factor. For this arrival of this contingent of Boer families marks a promising epoch in the history of the land.[40]

Two months later the LBEA had not changed its position. Under the title "The Boer Trek, Are the Grapes Sour?" it reprinted an article from the Usambara Post. In part it read:

> Day by day the men go off shooting, both on horse and afoot, and the pandemonium which prevails everywhere is endless. Soon the beauty of this wild spot will be destroyed unless the English Government intervenes quickly. . . . At Nakuru, I also met some Boers who had formerly been settled among us at Meru, but who had trekked off to settle in BEA. Of course, they grumbled bitterly about BEA (1) because the climate there is unhealthy, (2) because one can't even begin to do anything with the nigger, (3) because their cattle got stolen. Well, the motive of their trek may well be that their hunting is stopped [presumably in South Africa]. We in German East Africa can at least be thankful that we have not been blessed with these 500 Boers.[41]

The reaction of individual colonialists to the Boers was mixed. E. S. Grogen made this enigmatic comment:

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[40] LBEA, July 18, 1908, p. 4. What was meant by the phrase, "the occasion for a fair test for the other South Africans to profit by" is not clear.

[41] LBEA, September 19, 1908, p. 6. Though the author of this article exaggerated the situation in the British Protectorate, he may well have been very sincere about his dislike of additional Boer settlers in GEA.

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"The Boer, being a true 'amaeboid' makes the finest possible settler in a new country, but a 'metazoan' leaven is essential to rapid development."[42] A few months later the EAS reported that H. H. Johnston noted a great deal of similarity between the goals of the Boers and those of the Jews regarding the settlement and establishment of an autonomous state. He opposed both.[43] As was noted earlier, Hindlip also opposed Boer immigration as he opposed Jewish immigration.

The primary political organ of the settlers, the Colonists' Association, supported the Boers in their quest for land in the Protectorate. This organization was dominated by British South Africans. The association sent a resolution to the governor dated August 8, 1908, which urged him to make land available to these new immigrants. The governor's response was to assure the association that land was available for occupation by the Boers but that they had been unable to proceed to it because of lack of transportation.[44] Though the Colonists' Association did not represent all of the settler community, it would appear

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[42] LBEA, August 8, 1908, p. 6.

[43] EAS, October 31, 1908, p. 16.

[44] LBEA, August 22, 1908, p. 6.

that the majority of the settlers with little capital either approved of or were apathetic to this immigration.[45]

In conclusion, the reception which the Afrikaners received in BEA was mixed. Officials were fearful of the growth of a large, domineering Afrikaner settler community and discouraged immigration by the Afrikaners whenever possible. On the other hand officials did not wish to appear openly discriminatory and were therefore compelled to cooperate, though reluctantly. Those settlers and colonists with interest in BEA were divided on the merits of this new immigrant group. Lord Hindlip, H. H. Johnston, and as will be seen in the next chapter, Lord Cranworth opposed Afrikaner immigration. Grogan's enigmatic statement defies categorization. No reference was found to Lord Delamere's opinion on the matter. Though the EAS did not outrightly oppose Afrikaner immigration, it seemed to prefer capitalists from the homeland. The LBEA outspokenly supported the immigration of the Afrikaners as did the Colonists' Association. This mixed reaction to Afrikaner

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[45]This does not mean that there was no one who opposed the immigration of the Boers. Latent anti-Boer sentiments were present in the settler community and surfaced within a few years. See below, ch. III, pp. 75-83. What effect the relative positions of the Europeans vis-à-vis the Africans and Indians had on stifling the opposition is unmeasurable.

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immigration was the first symptom of the on-going distrust which existed between the Uasin Gishu settlers and those of the rest of the colony, between the Afrikaners and some British settlers and the Afrikaners and the administration.

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CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY PERSISTS: PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIPS ESTABLISHED: 1910-18

The first settlers on the Uasin Gishu found life difficult during the early years. Their greatest difficulties were those common to most settlement frontiers: virgin soil which needed considerable work before it became productive; no housing; few merchants (initially only Asian itinerant merchants); and no reliable transportation and communication with the outside world. Despite these problems there was much optimism in the community. They were satisfied with the climate and the soil. Water was adequate but not abundant. By mid-1909 most of the settlers had built thatched rondavels, though Van Rensburg was prepared to build a more substantial stone house. Illustrative of the community's efforts to tame this region, thirty-seven lions had been shot during the preceding ten months.[1] Though lions were a threat to domestic stock, the presence of other wild game prevented starvation from

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[1] LBEA, July 31, 1909, p. 7.

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visiting the homes of many of the Afrikaners during the first few years.[2] Meanwhile, domestic animals multiplied rapidly and were relatively disease-free. Oats, maize and wheat were immediately planted for personal consumption and all crops were satisfactory.[3]

As could be expected some immigrants were not satisfied and returned to South Africa. Usually the major complaint concerned the land regulations and the difficulty which one with little or no capital had of becoming a land owner. Those who had no capital were forced to become bywoners and some believed that it was better to be a bywoner in one's own Vaderland than in a foreign land. After hearing complaints from a few returnees, Ds. J. M. Louw pessimistically commented:

> It is to be deplored that our people, either well-off or poor, ever trekked to East Africa. Their prospects are not promising and meanwhile they are destitute of many privileges, especially in the religious, social, and educational areas.[4]

Another member of the Van Rensburg Trek wrote:

> If any one wants to farm here he must have money. For a poor man there is no chance whatsoever to get on. . . . Do not think to make money by hunting. To hunt costs too much money in licenses for guns, and cartridges, and then you are not allowed to sell or export a skin. This is only a country for Government

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[2]Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Van Rensburg Trek."

[3]Smit, "Die Voortrekkers," pp. 22-23.

[4]Louw, "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost-Afrika," part VI, De Vereeniging, Deel VIII, no. 11, November 26, 1908, pp. 172-73.

officials, missionaries, rich men . . . and for natives and coolies.[5]

In spite of the dissatisfaction of a few, a small but continuous flow of Afrikaner immigrants arrived in East Africa throughout the pre-World War I period. The largest group after 1908 was that led by C. J. Cloete, a prominent farmer from the Bethlehem district of the Orange Free State. Cloete had visited the Uasin Gishu prior to the organization of the trek and approved of the area.[6] Cloete leased the German ship, the "S. S. Skramstad," had it fitted with stalls for livestock, and was joined by sixty fellow Orange Free State emigrants. The party left Durban on March 1, 1911, with 120 Afrikander cattle, 80 horses (at least 34 of which were Cloete's), and 530 merino sheep.[7] They arrived

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[5]Letter by Nico Postma, LBEA, August 20, 1910, p. 3.

[6]The EAS reported that he had visited the Protectorate in 1910 but his son, Anacreon Cloete, who was in his late teens or early twenties when the trek occurred, claimed that Cloete had investigated the Plateau before the Van Rensburg party had arrived and had in fact met them at Molo on his return to South Africa. EAS, March 25, 1911, p. 5; interview with A. Cloete, August 16, 1969.

[7]This information was found in the private papers of C. J. Cloete, held by his son, A. Cloete, of Rosetta, Natal. The numbers of livestock were found in a document issued to Cloete by the Orange River Colony administration permitting him to export those numbers of livestock. The EAS gave these figures: 100 horses (one of which was a race horse), 120 cattle (of which there were 40 Afrikander cows and 4 bulls, one of championship class), and 800 sheep. The discrepancies may be due to erroneous reporting by the EAS, or the party may have taken more livestock than their permit stipulated, or the permit was issued for Cloete only and the other trekkers took additional stock. Whichever is the case, it is certain that this group of trekkers, and particularly Cloete, had a substantial amount of capital.

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on the Uasin Gishu in May of 1911 and within a month Cloete had purchased a farm for £4500.[8] Cloete was probably the most affluent of all the East African trekkers.

The immigrants began replicating Afrikaner institutions shortly after their arrival in BEA. Two clergymen, J. M. Louw and N. Thenunissen, were sent to visit the uitgewekene of East Africa in mid-1908 by the moderator of the Transvaal NGK. On August 29, 1908, on the farm of Frans Arnoldi, the Vergenoeg Church was established by Louw, the name vergenoeg having been taken from Louw's comment that the trekkers of the Afrikaner nation had now gone "far enough."[9] The first resident predikant in East Africa, M. P. Loubser, arrived in 1909. Sent by the Transvaal church, he was commissioned to serve the Afrikaner communities in both British and German East Africa. Loubser was to be associated with the East Africans until his

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[8] LBEA, May 27, 1911, p. 13; and June 10, 1911, p. 7.

[9] "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," pp. 22-23; Louw, "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost-Afrika," pp. 172-73; and N. Theunissen, "Britsch Oost-Afrika," De Vereeniging, Deel VIII, no. 4, August 20, 1908, p. 57. One account quoted Louw: "We have gone far enough in the things of the world and lived in them. Back to Christ now, search the things which are above, where Christ is." Nicolaas W. Smith, "Die Voortrekkers na Oos-Afrika," Oos Afrika, Deel II, no. 1, April, 1948, pp. 25-26.

death in the mid-thirties, though he did not serve them as pastor continuously.[10]

The first church building was built of bamboo on one of the Afrikaner's farms.[11] In 1913 a site was given to the church by the Britisher Ortlepp, across the Sosiani River from the newly selected administrative center of the Plateau.[12] The first permanent building was completed on this site in 1921. Though the other two Afrikaner churches were not as large as the NGK, they established themselves almost as quickly. The GK was organized on August 13, 1909, by a visiting predikant, J. J. R. du Plessis.[13] Their first building was not completed until 1930. The NHK was formed in late 1910 on the farm of Van Rensburg and was named after this leader, Rensburgrus. Though many Hervormers had joined the NGK earlier, there were over thirty charter members of

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[10]An unpublished biography of Loubser was written as a thesis at the University of Pretoria by Ernest Rex entitled "Die Werk van Ds. M. P. Loubser Veral in Brits-Oos Afrika (Kenia) en Duits-Oos Afrika (Tanzanie)," 1967. Also see ch. IV for further discussion of Loubser and his major publication, Onse Uitgewekene.

[11]"Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," pp. 23-24; F. J. Smit, "Die Voortrekkers," p. 19.

[12]KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1913. Also "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," p. 26.

[13]Letter from A. L. Aucamp, Die Kerkblad, December 20, 1933, p. 940.

of this new congregation. Their first building in Eldoret was dedicated in 1921.[14]

The persistence of these ecclesiastical divisions among the small group of Afrikaners in Kenya caused one DC to comment: "It is a cause of congratulation that the Dutch cannot agree in religion, anymore than in anything else."[15] As the DC hinted, the divisions within the community were more than ecclesiastical. Some claimed that the NHK was the haven for most of the roikops and that this was a reason for conflict between the churches.

Another example of divisiveness occurred with the death of C. J. Cloete. Not only wealthy, Cloete was also the most articulate spokesman for the Afrikaners during this early period. Prior to the Anglo-Boer War he had been a member of the Orange Free State Legislative Assembly. Shortly after his arrival in East Africa he was appointed to serve on the Land Board and selected as a delegate to the Convention of Associations.[16] At the one Land Board

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[14]C. J. Mans, "Vyftig Jaar Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk in Oos-Afrika," Hervormde Telogiese Studies, Jaargang 20, p. 183.

[15]KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1913.

[16]For a description of the founding and function of the Land Board see George Bennett, "Settlers and Politics in Kenya," found in History of East Africa, edited by Vincent Harlow, E. M. Chilver, and assisted by Alison Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. II, pp. 276-78 and 283; and George Bennett, Kenya, A Political History (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 22, 31-32.

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meeting which he attended on January 8, 1912, Cloete, as one of eight unofficials, made resolutions asking for more liberality in the transfer of rights to land, less stringent definitions of "improvements" demanded by the Lands Office, and lower rents on grazing areas.[17] Concerning the 99-year lease clause and the 33-year rental revisions of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, Cloete made this analogy:

> This law has too much of the principle of the Mosaic law in it. It is not just. However great a legislator Moses may have been, I do not think he is a suitable authority to copy from. If correctly reported he practiced witchcraft and made snakes, which is quite enough to cause me to suspect his good intentions.[18]

Cloete had carried the same message concerning land laws to the Convention of Associations meeting in August of the previous year and had supported the cause of the small land-holders over against those of the large land-holders.[19] In a letter to the LBEA only a few months after his arrival in the Protectorate, Cloete expressed satisfaction with the agricultural and pastoral potential of the land. He claimed to have discovered the carrier of a disease (probably East

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[17] LBEA, January 13, 1912, p. 7; and January 27, 1912, p. 8b; Minutes of Land Board of January 8, 1912, private papers, C. J. Cloete; EAS, August 5, 1911, pp. 6-10.

[18] LBEA, January 27, 1912, p. 8b.

[19] EAS, August 5, 1911, pp. 6-10; and LBEA, August 5, 1911, pp. 5-7. For discussions of this conflict between the large and small land-holders, see Bennett, "Settlers and Politics in Kenya," pp. 282-83; and Sorrenson, European Settlement, pp. 83-98.

Coast fever) which was plaguing the livestock owners of the Plateau. As for the administration and its policy towards the Africans, he sarcastically stated:

> Really, Sir, I do not see why one should complain; true there is a bit of sheep stealing going on. Some of my neighbours complain a good deal, but so far only five of my imported sheep are gone; but that is nothing, considering every advantage one enjoys here, such as the ideal and equitable climate and the primitive freedom, paradisaical social life one here enjoys, and primitive laws hitherto applied which reminds one of the Jehovic and Mosaic criminal laws. . . . The losses by theft seem to give still more freedom than the oldest Mosaic, or more properly speaking, Hamuramic laws, for they adjoin that if one steals sheep from his neighbour he will have to return two. Here the Elgeyo steals with evident impunity.[20]

Cloete's former position in the Orange Free State, his obvious erudition, and his wealth, earned him the respect of the administration. Very quickly he became the link between the administration and the Afrikaner community. His Afrikaner heritage was not denied but his rational, theosophical views and possibly less than ardent pro-Boer sentiments during the war placed him one cut above the ordinary Afrikaner in the eyes of the administration. However, Cloete died of malaria in mid-1912. The Uasin Gishu DC lamented that his death was "an incalculable loss to the government which he supported loyally and influentially against the anti-English faction. There is no body at present to take his place."[21] Both the newspapers

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[20] LBEA, October 21, 1911, p. 13.

[21] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1913.

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eulogized him, though the LBEA more eloquently. It called him a great farmer and reader.

> He was also a great expounder of Darwinism, theosophy, and Christian Science. Being a scientist of no small demeanor, the old exploded stories of the world being flat was naturally ridiculed [sic], and this was the cause of his being misjudged by some of his neighbours; some even thought him an atheist.[22]

Cloete was accepted within the British community without reservation, for he was "'quite English you know' though of a provincial-colonial type."[23]

Cloete's acceptance within the Afrikaner community was not equally unequivocal. His unorthodox religious beliefs, his advocacy of Afrikaner integration into the British community and his participation in British-dominated colonial organizations alienated him from his countrymen. This alienation was apparent in the comments made by another Afrikaner at his funeral. The LBEA reporter said of them:

> Great indignation was felt by all present at the way the man spoke. Instead of consoling the bereaved wife and family, he condemned them, saying that God was not known in the household; that there was no true religion in it; in fact he made himself their judge.[24]

The death of Cloete dealt a severe blow to advocates of integration with the English community. But Afrikaner

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[22] LBEA, July 27, 1912, p. 17. Also see EAS, July 13, 1912, p. 24.

[23] LBEA, July 13, 1912, p. 11.

[24] LBEA, July 27, 1912, p. 17.

xenophobia could not prevent British settlers from settling on the Plateau.[25] By March of 1911 there were 97 non-Afrikaner landholders who owned 121 surveyed farms and 62 Afrikaner landholders who owned 57 farms. This is not an accurate reflection of the relative size of the two communities since many Afrikaners did not own farms.[26] Thus, within a few years after the settlement of the Uasin Gishu, there was a British community on the Plateau which nearly equalled that of the Afrikaners. The census of 1911 reported 448 Europeans but the residents claimed that 700 would be a more realistic figure.[27] Considering the size of the Van Rensburg trek (250 to 300), the Cloete trek (about 60), the migrants from GEA, many of whom had moved to the Plateau by this date, and additional immigration of small groups, the Afrikaners must have numbered at least 400 in that district. The total number of Afrikaners in BEA including those who continued to live at Athi River and Thika and around Nakuru is estimated to have been between 500 and 600.[28]

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[25] KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "Settlers."

[26] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1910-11. Surnames were used to determine nationality.

[27] LBEA, October 21, 1911, p. 8.

[28] In 1914 there were reportedly 20 families in the Nairobi area. A. P. Burger, "Naar Oost Afrika," part II, De Kerkbode, Deel V, no. 33, p. 762.

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The total population of the Plateau grew very rapidly after 1911. The LBEA reported 900 residents in 1912,[29], 1,220 residents in 1913,[30] and a reduction to 1,177 in 1916.[31] Already in 1912 the LBEA reporter from the Plateau confidently declared: "I believe it is the most densely populated district in the Colony, for out of the 250 farms nearly every one is occupied, in fact many are now waiting . . . for the other part [the Trans-Nzoia district] to be surveyed."[32]

The integration of British and Afrikaner settlers was resisted by substantial elements in both communities. From her own experience, Elspeth Huxley described the relationship of these two national groups:

> The Afrikaners who came from South Africa to populate the Plateau were, in fact, almost as foreign to the English as Chinese, and between the two peoples there arose, as in the South, a peculiar relationship of mingled respect and contempt. The Afrikaners were clannish, many could speak little or no English and memories of the Boer War were fresh. The English felt that this was their colony, and that the Afrikaners were contributing little to it in the way of capital, skill and interest in public affairs. But the Dutch, in their hearts, believed that they were the only true colonists. They were the ones who could live on the country, in it and of it, as Africans do. To them the English,

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[29] LBEA, July 13, 1912, p. 10.

[30] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1913.

[31] Ibid., 1916.

[32] LBEA, March 30, 1912, p. 9.

> basically, were uitlanders, and upstarts who (in their view) knew nothing of Africa's harsh ways.[33]

Contempt for the other community was manifested in many forms throughout the colonial period in Kenya. Neither side respected the farming techniques of the other. One Boer letter to South Africa praised the Afrikaners' development on the Uasin Gishu and noted: "They are the only ones that go in for farming, the English here do not go in for anything but 'safariing,' as they call it."[34] In 1909 Lord Hindlip characterized the Boers as idle, destructive nomads:

> The influx from South Africa and German East Africa bodes ill to the game and no good to the colony. These people kill game, but they "toil not, neither do they spin" more than is absolutely necessary to keep body and soul together.[35]

Very aware of this kind of stereotyping of the Afrikaners, Jan Van Rensburg emphasized the ambitious work of the Plateau Boers to a reporter in 1909:

> Mr. Van Rensburg alluded to the prejudice still, unfortunately, held against the Boer, on the score that he does not work. He assures us that work, and plenty of it, of a reproductive character has been accomplished.[36]

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[33]Elspeth Huxley, No Easy Way (Nairobi: East African Standard Ltd., 1957), p. 57.

[34]Letter sent by W. J. Rait to the Cape Frontier Guardian and reprinted in the LBEA, December 4, 1909, p. 4.

[35]LBEA, March 20, 1909, p. 5.

[36]LBEA, July 31, 1909, p. 7.

The Afrikaner's negative image persisted however. One of the most damning comments came from Governor Belfield in a report of a Uasin Gishu visit in 1913. After expressing satisfaction with the progress of the agriculture of "the men of means, both English and South African," (referring to South African British) Belfield made these comments about the Boers:

> In consequence of communications from individual settlers, . . . I arrived in the district under the impression that most of the Boer community were living a "hand-to-mouth" existence in a condition of distressing indigence. The information given to me locally, both by the English settlers and by farmers of their own nationality, was however, sufficient to disabuse my mind once and for all of any such idea. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that when these people first arrived in the country they were all allotted farms on the plateau without concern as to whether they had or had not the means and intention to develop them.[37] But it soon became obvious that they had neither. The present position, however, is that the Boer arrived here in the role of a vagrant pauper, and is at this moment better off than his most optimistic anticipations could have led him to expect. For development of his land he cares nothing. Having rigged up a shanty, . . . and having scratched over a sufficiency of soil to supply mealies for the family consumption, his domestic exertions are ended. Thereafter the antelopes provide him with more meat than he can consume, their hides supply him with rugs, shoes, and harness material, and, having laid out what funds he possesses in a wagon and a team of oxen, he is equipped for a career of profit-making, entailing little or no further outlay. He does practically all the transport work between the plateau and other parts of the country. . . . When the rain commences, and transport becomes more difficult, he takes up ploughing contract work for the farming settlers. In consequence of the expansion of agriculture the demand for ploughing help is already in excess of the supply; . . . the rate

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[37]This is an oversimplification of the situation, if not quite inaccurate. See ch. II, pp. 54-56 for discussion of capital requirements.

> per acre for ploughing contract was already from two to three shillings higher than that prevailing in the previous season. The Boer on the plateau is on the way to amass money, but he will never do any good with the extensive areas of land which have been allotted to him, and I would put no obstacle in the way of his disposing of it to the "bona fide" farmer.[38]

Of course, this report to the Colonial Secretary was not made public. Two public manifestations of the differences between the British and Afrikaners did occur in 1912 and 1916. The first was precipitated by comments made by the British aristocrat, Lord Cranworth, in his new book, A Colony in the Making. He said that: "The Boer, as a Boer, is no more unacceptable in the Protectorate than in other parts of the Empire." But,

> In 1908 there was an influx of Boers, of whom it would not be too much to say that they left their country for their country's good. They arrived pretty well destitute. . . . They applied for farms. Now the land regulations say, and rightly so, that any applicant should be possessed of £400 at least before he be allotted a farm. This regulation would have cut out some 95 per cent of these applicants. . . . An innate sense of chivalry--and, might I add, a policy of laissez-faire?--caused their applications to be accepted and they were one and all granted farms. Even so, it might not have been a serious matter had they been scattered throughout the country, but, alas! they were all granted farms in one block in the newly opened Uasin Gishu Plateau. This plateau forms in some ways the keystone of the whole Protectorate. This is due not so much to its fertility and climate, though both are excellent, but to the fact that it is by far the largest tract of country at present opened which is not subdivided either naturally or artificially. . . . The great bulk of this splendid country was placed in the hands of a crowd of indigent Dutch, with two natural results. First, all development has been practically

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[38] CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 154, Governor to Secretary of State, April 10, 1913.

> at a standstill. . . . The bulk of the inhabitants have supported themselves by the unlicensed slaughter of the once numerous game. The second ill-effect is the formation in our midst of a solid mass of utterly disloyal colonists, speaking their own language and having their own Church and who now have the insolence to demand a Dutch education at Government expense. Next to our Indian friends they form the most difficult problem in the Protectorate. Apart from this one dark spot, the future of white colonization looks bright.[39]

The review of his book by the EAS emphasized this portion of the text. The reviewer reiterated Cranworth's charge of lack of development on the Plateau but refused to print the second charge, declaring it libellous.[40]

The Afrikaners were defended by one of their British compatriots from South Africa (and a seller of plots of land to Afrikaners near Eldoret), Mr. A. Ortlepp.[41] Ortlepp feared that Cranworth's book and the review would simply encourage the type of gossip going on in Nairobi about "a harmless little Dutch community in the Uasin Gishu." He contended that the Afrikaners did have the required amount of capital for the grants of land and that development had not occurred on the Plateau because of the lack of adequate

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[39]Lord Cranworth, A Colony in the Making or Sport and Profit in British East Africa (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912), pp. 81-83. Cranworth owned land in the Nyeri district.

[40]EAS, September 28, 1912, pp. 12-13.

[41]Ortlepp owned land directly across the Sosiani River from Farm 64 or Eldoret. After giving a lot for the site of the NGK, he expected to sell lots to Afrikaners who did not wish to pay the price or meet the requirements which the government had set for 64.

transportation. The British were no better off. As for the killing of game, it was necessary for the advancement of agriculture. He was convinced that the bad qualities of the Boers were the result of living in a demanding environment for so many years. Furthermore, he recalled that Hindlip had said on one occasion that all South Africans were undesirable settlers, "a view which is known to be held by officialdom in this country." He reasoned that South Africans had remained silent, hoping for a reduction of this unfounded prejudice, "based as far as I can ascertain on theories of 'Game Protection' and "Native Rights' faddists." He concluded with a challenge to Cranworth to bring on his "public school boys" to compete with all South Africans as frontier settlers.[42]

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[42] EAS, October 12, 1912, p. 9. There were those in the administration who disliked the British South Africans as much as the Afrikaners. One DC's annual report exemplifies these prejudices:

> The latent antagonism between Dutch and English, if anything, more pronounced ill feeling between Africanders (English South Africans) and English, are probably the most serious [sic].
>
> The former is now and will probably become increasingly so, the more or less straight forward political antagonism of 2 distinct races, and though one dislikes being swindled by a Dutchman as much as by anybody else, one knows what to expect in dealing with them and one's annoyance is to some degree tempered by their plausibility and good humour; the latter, the ill feeling between English Africanders and English is compounded of mutual contempt, accentuated on the English side by the demand of the Africanders for social equality--a demand which no true born British Snob can admit for a moment. There seems to be no contempt equal to that felt by an Englishman for men of his own race, who have according to his view "degenerated" and none

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Cranworth personally responded to Ortlepp's letter. He reiterated his contention that the great majority of the Afrikaners did not have the minimum capital required for grants of land, that few had satisfied development requirements by the end of 1910, and that those Boers who migrated to the Protectorate were not a fair sampling of the community in South Africa.[43] Ortlepp rejoined that it was "most regrettable that the hostility to them [Boers] is not confined to Lord Cranworth and his book, but exists in the minds of most of his fellow settlers, very few of whom have a good word to say for the 'D_____ Dutchmen,' who is credited with all kinds of vices, which he does not possess."[44]

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like that felt by the Colonial for the English "new chum" and his real or suspected airs of superiority.

Further English people think that the majority of the lower class Africanders have all the vices of the Dutch without any of their redeeming qualities.

KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1912-13. It should be mentioned that though there are no statistics delineating the South African English from those of the homeland, it was commonly accepted that those English on the Plateau were almost exclusively South African. The English faction was small and would be composed of the officials in the area.

[43] EAS, December 21, 1912, p. 12.

[44] EAS, January 25, 1913, p. 22. Ortlepp said that the Afrikaner's greatest virtue was that he was a white man with a white wife, "to whom the blame of being the author of hybrid progeny will never with justice be imputed. For this reason alone I consider him a most desirable settler. . . . He knows the negro character," and treated the negro accordingly. Two weeks after the publication of this letter, there was a short, cryptic rebuttal above the signature "Old Public School Boy" asking Ortlepp if he had forgotten the existence of and the origin of the Cape Boy. EAS, February 8, 1913, p. 23.

The second incident occurred in 1916 when settlers were agitating for greater participation in the administration of the Protectorate leading to self-rule.[45] In a letter to the LBEA, C. Percy Smuts, an Afrikaner settler on the Uasin Gishu, perceptively observed that settler self-government was impractical and unrealistic. He suggested that the Protectorate should join the Union of South Africa since the Union handled the colored question better than the Colonial administration. Smuts contended that such union would ensure a white voters' roll.

The first responder noted the presence of non-whites on the Cape voters' roll and objected to the Union Parliament's refusal to support financially the Imperial forces in Europe.[46]

A second letter signed "Este" was more vitriolically anti-Afrikaner. He stated that South Africa was the only

> self-governing dependency which has not generously responded to the scheme of settling soldiers on the land after the war. The reason is not far to find. Most of these settlers would be presumably English. And the present government never has, and never will respond to any scheme which would place onze Natie in a minority at the polls.

Este agreed that joining the Union would ensure a white voters' roll,

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[45]KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1912-13.

[46]LBEA, August 26, 1916, p. 10; LBEA, September 9, 1916, p. 17.

> but I very much doubt whether any coloured man would gravely get up and object to any measures being taken for locust destruction, "locusts being a plague sent by God and therefore not to be interfered with." Certainly no educated Indian would do so.

He believed it ridiculous for the Union government to print public notices "in Dutch as well as English, a language which the majority of the 'Afrikaans' speaking population do not understand!"[47] This money was wasted in efforts to bolster an "illiterate patois."

As for a South Africanized BEA, Este asked: "Are we to have all English teachers dismissed, say in the Uasin Gishu district, and their places supplied by half-educated and disloyal specimens of 'the older population' hailing from that hotbed of disloyalty Stellenbosch?" Este feared that union with South Africa would increase Afrikaner immigration and consequently the numbers of poor whites. "In this connection I may mention that there are quite a large number of Dutch children growing up on the Uasin Gishu with little more knowledge than how to drive a team of oxen or shoot a buck, accomplishments which any native will shortly be able to do as well or better." Most of all Afrikaner presence in East Africa threatened its English character. "The writer has left South Africa from a conviction that that part of the world is becoming less and

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[47]Until 1925, Dutch remained the official language of the Afrikaner community in South Africa. Because of the differences between Dutch and the Taal or Afrikaans, some had difficulty reading Dutch.

less a place for an Englishman with English ideals to live in--and he would be sorry to find the conditions which he has left follow him to British East."[48]

The editor of the LBEA deplored this kind of racial extremism and hoped "that as the younger generation grow up--despite the intriguing, disloyal predikant and the narrow-minded Englishman--the blending of the two divided halves will assuredly progress to one undivided national whole--Britishers all." He saw no immediate possibility of joining the Union but did not oppose close economic ties.[49] After publishing one additional letter from a South African Afrikaner soldier in which Este's criticisms were answered carefully and moderately, the editor declared that no more correspondence would be published on this matter "in view of our own desire, and that of the authorities, not to encourage the evil of racialism in this Protectorate. . . ."[50]

Indeed, there was integration of English and Afrikaner on the Plateau before World War I. In 1910 the Uasin Gishu Farmers' Association was formed with a mixed membership.[51] Of the total 78 officers (including board members)

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[48] LBEA, September 30, 1916, p. 20.

[49] LBEA, September 27, 1916, p. 13. The underline in the quote is the author's.

[50] LBEA, October 7, 1916, p. 16.

[51] LBEA, June 18, 1910, p. 5.

before the war, 25 were Afrikaner. All presidents and all but the first vice-president were British.[52] The number of Afrikaner office holders was nearly proportionate to the number of Afrikaner landholders in 1911.

Afrikaners participated in two Protectorate-wide Associations, the Landholders' Association and the Convention of Associations.[53] The former was composed of small farmers and included six Afrikaner members in 1912. During that year it was admitted into the Convention and soon after lost its independent influence.[54]

The Convention was the largest and most influential settler association in BEA.[55] At its first general meeting

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[52]LBEA, January 20, 1912, p. 8b; July 20, 1912, p. 14; October 12, 1912, p. 6; February 22, 1913, p. 8; May 3, 1913, p. 1; June 14, 1913, p. 20; September 6, 1913, p. 15; May 23, 1914, p. 16a.

[53]For a discussion of the founding and activities of these two organizations, see Dilley, British Policy, pp. 36-41; Bennett, "Settlers and Politics," pp. 283-88.

[54]Of the Convention, Dilley has said: "The Convention has been known as the 'Settlers' Parliament' and as the 'White Parliament,' and has exerted an influence far beyond any other unofficial organization. . . . And because of the effectiveness of their organization, they have wielded an influence far beyond that which their constitutional position or their numbers would lead one to expect. They have adhered to the policy of agitation accepted by the earliest colonist organization as the only method of accomplishing anything." Dilley, British Policy, p. 41.

[55]LBEA, June 3, 1911, p. 9; June 17, 1911, p. 3; August 5, 1911, p. 13; August 3, 1912, p. 7; and EAS, May 17, 1913, p. 17.

in February of 1911, the Uasin Gishu Farmers Association sent four delegates, three Britishers and one Afrikaner, A. F. Arnoldi.[56] At its second meeting in mid-year, the Uasin Gishu was granted two additional delegates, both of whom were Afrikaners, Cloete and van der Merwe. These Afrikaners were silent on such issues as a proposed land bank, elected Legislative Council members, adult suffrage and even the "Black Peril," but not on the issue of the administration's land policies. Cloete, van der Merwe, and Arnoldi were not concerned about greater liberality in the granting of land (even though many Afrikaners remained landless) but rather with the 99-year lease limitation in the 1902 Crown Lands Ordinance. Cloete and Arnoldi also led the discussion against a proposal to limit the size of individual landholdings. Cloete labelled such action "socialistic."[57]

The next year there were only two Afrikaners among the delegates. They sponsored two proposals: (1) that the Convention seek administration approval for the use of African squatter labor (laborers who would use portions of land rather than receive wages in exchange for labor), and (2) that the Convention encourage Sunday blue laws. The Convention supported the latter proposal in its mid-year

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[56] LBEA, February 4, 1911, pp. 3-6. There were a total of nineteen delegates at this first Convention.

[57] LBEA, August 5, 1911, pp. 5-7; EAS, August 5, 1911, pp. 6-10.

meeting but it opposed the former.[58] Through the Convention, the Uasin Gishu delegates asked for one representative on the Protectorate Education Board. The government approved the request and appointed Cloete to the position.[59] His appointment, Afrikaner participation in the Convention and Afrikaner involvement in the Uasin Gishu Farmers' Association might have anticipated complete assimilation of Afrikaners into settler politics. The deaths of Cloete in 1912 and Arnoldi in 1916 and continued ethnic xenophobia prevented such assimilation.

The Protectorate government was more remote from the Plateau settlers than from most of the BEA settlers. Administrative officers did join the Afrikaners on the Plateau shortly after their arrival[60] but higher officials visited the area infrequently. The visits of Governors Girouard in 1911 and Belfield in 1913 did not change the distinctive aura of the Uasin Gishu in Nairobi. After Belfield's visit the LBEA commented:

> In many respects, that area of the Protectorate is developing on lines peculiar to itself. Isolated as it is at present, and populated, in the main, by a

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[58] EAS August, 5, 1911, pp. 6-10.

[59] LBEA, January 20, 1912, p. 8b.

[60] KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "The Settlers."

> distinct type of settler, it seems destined to progress by methods that have found favor in the southern regions of Africa. . . .[61]

Because of their need for services, the settlers' estrangement from Nairobi was detrimental to their economic development. The Plateau residents contended that no development could occur until transportation facilities were improved between their area and the rest of the Protectorate. They wanted a rail line to their district[62] but while they waited for it, they pressured the administration to improve their road system. The only road to the Plateau, the Londiani road, was the source of constant discussion and complaint. It was neither properly constructed nor maintained, and could not handle heavy traffic, particularly during the rainy season. Since most of the transport riding was done by Afrikaners, certain points of the road received Afrikaans names: Bakoondraai (baking oven corner), Sweepstok-se-bos (sweeping broom forest), Rooisee (red sea; during the rains this was a morass of red mud), Arnoldi-se-brug (Arnoldi's hill), Suikervlei (sugar swamp; a spot where a load of sugar either turned over or sank into the mud) and others.[63] There were instances in which the

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[61] LBEA, March 8, 1913, p. 12.

[62] This issue will be discussed in ch. IV since the rail line to the Plateau was completed beyond the chronological scope of this chapter.

[63] "Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," p. 21.

riders needed six weeks to travel the sixty-four miles from the Londiani station to "Sixty-four" or Eldoret. Already in the 1909-1910 District Annual Report the first DC, Corbett, warned that "the Londiani Road and lack of postal facilities will probably constitute the staple of complaints."[64] Two years later the road had not been improved. The LBEA reporter sarcastically commented that the Public Works Department officials "are lounging about Nairobi with the other government departments; squandering their bloated salaries on bioscope entertainments and, as likely as not, revelling in rickshas and all the other vicious pleasures of city life."[65] The settlers complained to Girouard during his visit but received no action.[66] In 1912 and early 1913 new sections of the road were built but were so poorly constructed that travelers used some old sections by preference.[67] A visitor described the new road as so narrow that two wagons could not get by each other comfortably. There were two reasons for such a narrow road;

> the first is that ground is owned by a nobleman or two, and that these poor chaps cannot afford to give more land for a road. . . . Secondly that it is intended to

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[64]KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1909-10.

[65]LBEA, June 29, 1912, p. 13.

[66]Letter to the editor, LBEA, October 19, 1912, p. 8.

[67]LBEA, February 8, 1913, p. 1.

> keep these fellows [transport riders] from idling and sleeping their time away while travelling over this distance; the trenches being of such proportions that should they blunder into them a clean capsize will be the inevitable result.[68]

Belfield traversed the road on his tour of the Uasin Gishu and promised prompt action in improving it. In his letter to the Colonial Secretary, he estimated that £8,800 would be needed to make the necessary immediate repairs.[69] By June of 1913 no repairs had been made and a crisis occurred when supplies on the Plateau were running low and the warehouses in Londiani were overflowing. Twenty-six ox-wagons were stuck along the first seven miles of the road. The first automobile also reached the Plateau at this time but not under its own power. "It had to be hauled out of the 'red sea' and other well known mud holes on the road."[70] Very little was done to improve the road until after 1918.

Other objects of complaint by the settlers included postal services, Veterinary Department quarantines, lack of medical facilities, and strict game laws. The Plateau settlers believed that little consideration was given to local circumstances when Nairobi officials set policy. For example, there was a "rude abundance," as one settler put

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[68] LBEA, March 1, 1913, p. 1.

[69] LBEA, March 8, 1913, pp. 1-2; EAS, March 6, 1913, p. 5; CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 154, Governor to Secretary of State, April 19, 1913.

[70] LBEA, June 14, 1913, p. 3.

it, of zebra on the Plateau which interfered with agriculture. Nevertheless, the Plateau settlers were limited to 200 rounds of ammunition annually and a burdensome £3 license for killing game on one's own farm.[71] Even the local administrators were aggravated by the directives from Nairobi. One DC sarcastically explained that by "over-centralization" he "meant the fatuous attempt of Departments at Nairobi to manage the affairs of a district situated a great distance away. . . ."[72] Thus the estrangement between the Plateau settlers and the rest of the Europeans of the Protectorate was not limited to the Afrikaners but to all of the Plateau settlers.

Economic development on the Plateau was slow before 1918. Pastoralism and agriculture were the principle economic endeavors of the settlers, with transport riding assisting many Afrikaner families. The Afrikaners arrived on the Plateau with the intention of raising cattle. Most

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[71] LBEA, March 1, 1913, pp. 1-2; CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 317, Acting Governor to Secretary of State, September 11, 1913; enclosure from the Game Warden dated January 12, 1912.

[72] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1912-13. This report was found by P. G. Tait, the Uasin Gishu DC in 1961. He copied it and forwarded it to the Provincial Commissioner with this comment: "I came across some old Uasin Gishu Annual Reports the other day and in perusing them thought you would be interested in the attached extract which could almost have been written today." KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1961.

of the trekkers bought their stock in East Africa and raised their herds from the indigenous breeds.[73] Only Cloete imported substantial numbers of prize Afrikander cattle into East Africa. Within a few months after their arrival most were lost to rinderpest and East Coast fever.[74] The indigenous stock was more resistant to but not free of these diseases. During the mid-1912 Convention of Associations meeting the Uasin Gishu delegates complained of the lack of restrictions on the Somali traders and their disease-carrying cattle.[75] During the next year epidemics of rinderpest and East Coast fever swept across the Plateau and rapid innoculation by the undermanned Veterinary Department was not sufficiently able to prevent substantial losses.[76] On September 30, the Chief Veterinary Officer spoke at the Uasin Gishu Farmers' Association meeting and proposed a compulsory dipping program to exterminate the disease-carrying tick. His proposal was accepted by a 100 to 13 vote.[77] Dipping gave the farmers a temporary respite

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[73]The Van Rensburg trekkers purchased many of their cattle while they resided in the Nakuru area for nearly two months. See LBEA, August 22, 1908, p. 6.

[74]LBEA, June 10, 1911, p. 7; and August 5, 1911, p. 8a.

[75]LBEA, August 10, 1912, pp. 5-7.

[76]LBEA, August 23, 1913, pp. 17, 19.

[77]LBEA, October 18, 1913, p. 8. This speech was translated into Dutch at the meeting.

from the diseases[78] but they recurred again during the war because of the Veterinary Department's inability to curb the activities of the Somali "runners" who were buying in the Nandi district and selling on the Plateau.[79] The diseases and the promise of a railroad encouraged the settlers to turn to agriculture. Many completely abandoned stock-raising.

The first Afrikaner to follow the von Bredas to the Plateau, J. de Waal, reportedly planted the first wheat in the Protectorate.[80] He also experimented with castor and linseed plants.[81] By 1911 rustproof wheat, mealies, beans, potatoes, wattle and gum trees had been tried with some success.[82] These promising experiments fostered limitless faith in the agricultural potentialities of the district.[83] "The day is soon coming that every farmer and business man

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[78] LBEA, November 1, 1913, p. 4.

[79] LBEA, June 5, 1915, p. 11. These diseases remain a problem on the Plateau today.

[80] They Made It Their Home, presented by the East African Women's League, introduced by Elspeth Huxley (Nairobi: East African Standard Ltd., 1962).

[81] LBEA, February 24, 1912, p. 12; and April 27, 1912, p. 14. See the Governor's report, CO 879/111, No. 998. Serial no. 154, Governor to Secretary of State, April 10, 1913.

[82] LBEA, March 18, 1911, p. 12.

[83] See Belfields' report, CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 154, Governor to Secretary of State, April 10, 1913.

will want to live here, only give us the railway."[84] Bloated by this sense of importance the LBEA reporter complained of a dearth of stamps in the Eldoret post office and warned that it would be well for "officialdom, in all its branches, to awaken to the importance of the plateau."[85] However, until the railroad was completed, the Plateau's importance was just a hope of its residents.

The sale of land in the Trans-Nzoia District in May of 1913 marked the first expansion of the Plateau settlement northwards.[86] Six farms were sold to Afrikaners. At the same auction eight farms were sold on the Uasin Gishu, only one to an Afrikaner.[87] Many Afrikaners could not buy because they lacked capital. Others were reluctant because of the Belfield administration's antagonism towards Afrikaner landowners. A letter to the LBEA by P. S. Krieger declared that he and three other Dutch farmers wanted to buy land but were afraid that after they had purchased it

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[84] LBEA, January 5, 1918, p. 13.

[85] LBEA, September 20, 1913, p. 16.

[86] LBEA, May 10, 1913, p. 6; and May 24, 1913, p. 10. The auction sold land from all parts of the Highlands. A total of sixty-six farms were sold, fewer than the administration had hoped. Belfield asked the Colonial Office for permission to sell land for six weeks after July 1 at the upset price of 1/2R per acre and was given permission to do so. CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 173, Governor to Secretary of State, April 28, 1913; and serial no. 177, Secretary of State to Governor, May 27, 1913.

[87] LBEA, May 24, 1913, p. 10.

and made the necessary improvements, the government could not be trusted to evaluate the improvements fairly and perpetuate the ninety-nine year lease. He also hinted that the government refused to grant leases to some Afrikaners in spite of their high bids in the auction. He concluded: "We hear on every side that the Government is very slim."[88] For whatever reason their inability to monopolize the purchase of newly opened lands on the Uasin Gishu and in the Trans-Nzoia prevented the Afrikaners from establishing a geographically distinct Afrikaner community in the Protectorate.

The site for the administrative center for the Plateau was chosen in early 1910. It was centrally located along the Sosiani River on a farm marked "64" on the early survey maps. The farm had been purchased earlier but was returned to the government because of its infertile soil. A few temporary structures were built before 1913 including the post office, DC's house and office, a store and a clerk's house.[89] Two British businessmen, Smith and

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[88] LBEA, August 23, 1913, p. 13. Slim is translated as crafty, sly, or cunning. The LBEA editor reluctantly admitted to some truth in the charges.

[89] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1912-13.

Mundell, built a hotel and bar of wattle and daub.[90] The new settlement was called Eldoret, the Masai name of a river a few miles distant.[91]

In early 1912 the township was surveyed by the government and plots were sold on March 28, 1913. The sale of the plots was conditional, the construction of buildings of unspecified value being required within three years. For this reason only four large firms purchased land; Smith, Mundell & Company, Harris and Redmond, the Standard Bank, and the Sosiani Syndicate.[92] The farmer across the river, A. A. Ortlepp, took advantage of the three-year hiatus between the choice of the township site and the sale of plots and the vague development requirements, and plotted

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[90]The Standard Bank of South Africa began its operations on the Plateau in this building. The anonymous author of the history of the Uasin Gishu filed about 1930 in the District Office (and now in the Kenya National Archives), made this humorous comment of the "bank": "An amusing anecdote is told of this safe, how a boy emptying a bucket of water against that particular portion of the wall which supported the safe, washed away the 'daub' with the result that the entire Standard Bank of South Africa Eldoret (the safe) fell out into the veld. It is interesting to note that this wattle and daub Bank room was approved by Head Office at Cape Town 'provided iron bars were put in the windows.'" KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "European Occupation," pp. 4-5.

[91]The Eldore River for which the town was named empties into the Sosiani some distance above Eldoret.

[92]LBEA, April 12, 1913, p. 3. The Sosiani Syndicate was formed with the objective of building a hotel in Eldoret. Stock for this Syndicate was sold on the Plateau earlier. See LBEA, June 1, 1912, p. 11.

off part of his farm and held his own auction the day after that of the government. To promote his sale, he gave one plot to the NGK as a site for their church. Ortlepp admitted that he was attempting to sell his plots to a particular section of the Plateau population, the Afrikaners. He explained that the Boers in South Africa were accustomed to having erfs in their dorps, or small houses in their villages in which they would stay on weekends when attending religious services, particularly on nagmaal weeks. Since the Government had allocated only fifteen residential plots, he was furnishing others to serve as erfs for the Boers.[93] Understandably the DC called this a "politically regretable departure" since it tended to set up an Afrikaner counter-township. To avoid this eventuality, the administration agreed to incorporate "Ortleppville" into Eldoret.[94] This action and the subsequent building of the NHK structure on the "64" side of the river prevented the establishment of an Afrikaner township.

A new spurt of growth began shortly after the auctions and a bridge was built across the Sosiani.[95] By August there were three shops open for business.[96] Ortlepp

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[93] LBEA, May 17, 1913, p. 9.

[94] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1912-13.

[95] LBEA, June 21, 1913, p. 13.

[96] LBEA, August 30, 1913, p. 1. It should be noted that though the European accounts make few references to

opened the first hotel, the Pioneer, in late 1913.[97] The Sosiani, or later Eldoret Hotel, was started before the war but was not opened until 1926.[98] By 1916 there were four European shops, and five Indian and Goan shops in Eldoret. Ortleppville had three shops: Ortlepp's hotel, a carpenter shop, and a blacksmith shop. The ethnic composition of the township was as follows (excluding Africans):[99]

	Adults	Children
Europeans	27	55
Goans	10	6
Indians	31	3
Total	68	64

Thus Eldoret was well-established as the administrative and commercial center of the Plateau.

Education was a bone of contention between the Afrikaners and the government throughout the history of the colony. In the fall of 1909, a Professor Fraser from India

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the fact that there were a number of Asian-owned shops on the Plateau, it would seem that these shop-keepers did a creditable job of keeping the settlers well-supplied. For example, see the LBEA, February 24, 1912, p. 12, in which the reporter comments that the Asians carried more supplies at cheaper prices than the Europeans in Eldoret.

[97] LBEA, December 6, 1913, p. 10d.

[98] KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "European Occupation." p. 6.

[99] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1916.

was sent to the Plateau by the government to study educational needs and to make recommendations. After a brief visit he suggested that a central school be established. The Department of Education rejected the recommendation on the grounds that it did not have the funds to build a central school and that the Afrikaners, who would have almost exclusive use of it, could not agree on a location for it. The department did offer to pay half of the salaries of teachers in temporary small schools if the parents would pay the rest,[100] and did establish two small schools in early 1910. The subsidies for them were niggardly, however, and the department demanded that English be used exclusively. Further insuring Afrikaner non-attendance was the presence of a few Goan children.[101] By the end of 1910 the schools were closed and Arnoldi complained at the first Convention of Associations meeting that there was no school for the one hundred school-age children living on the Plateau.[102] In May of 1911 the Director of Education, Orr, called a meeting of the residents of the Uasin Gishu to discuss the problem. He insisted that all government schools must use English. The

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[100] Loubser, "Het Werk," pp. 267-68.

[101] Ibid., p. 267. As one can see from the population statistics immediately above, this could not have been a significant factor in 1910, since there were only six Goan children in 1916.

[102] LBEA, February 4, 1911, pp. 4-5.

Plateau reporter pessimistically surmised that all English-medium schools would fail: "Settlers hereabouts do not expect that many will attend, as the people in the neighborhood are all Dutch and wish their children to be taught in the same language, which is claimed to be but natural."[103]

In the estimates for 1911, £500 was allocated for the development of education of the Plateau. Six schools (called Government Farm Schools) were opened between the fall of 1911 and mid-1912 but the total £500 allocation was not used.[104] Obviously these schools were very temporary. Three were closed by 1915 though the farm school "system" persisted until 1939.

The language issue was not resolved until the last month of 1911. Official documents do not explain Government action but apparently Governor Girouard removed Orr's authority to resolve the language issue and permitted the Plateau residents to decide the matter in the forum of the Uasin Gishu Farmers' Association. At their December 9 meeting, C. J. Cloete proposed that Dutch be used in the schools through Standard II after which English would be compulsory. Loubser vehemently opposed this scheme,

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[103] LBEA, May 27, 1911, p. 13.

[104] CO 879/109, No. 983, serial no. 3, Governor to Secretary of State, November 30, 1911; Estimates for 1912-13. For the following year the Governor urged that the entry in the Estimates for 1911 for education on the Uasin Gishu be changed to "Contribution to buildings and staff of Provincial Schools."

demanding Dutch through all of the standards, and "heated arguments took place between himself and Mr. Cloete." Another Afrikaner, M. Scholtz, suggested that Dutch be carried through Standard IV, followed by a compromise proposal by the Britisher Stephenson that it be used through Standard III. Much of the discussion was led by Afrikaners, a minority of which sided with Cloete, opting for more English. Loubser led the majority in support of totally Dutch schools. With the help of the English settlers, Cloete's proposal received a majority vote and was adopted by the Education Department as its policy.

Not all of the English settlers opposed all-Dutch schools. The English reporter for the LBEA supported the Loubser position:

> It seems a great pity [not to have all-Dutch schools] as most of the farmers of the Uasin Gishu District would like to have their sons and daughters taught in their own language, and what every one thinks is no more than right [sic]. In the Cape Colony, O. R. Colony and Transvaal equal rights are given to both languages, and why not here?

However the editor of the LBEA strongly disagreed. He liked the "Afrikander" as a settler but he supported Cloete's position as the only sane position for BEA. The editor praised Cloete for his opposition to attempts "to import into this new and young British colony the ugly bilingual conflict of South Africa." The English had come to the Protectorate first, and, furthermore, most educated Boers spoke English, "so it is purely a matter of sentiment and racial exclusiveness." The South African can perpetuate

his tongue at home, "but this is a different matter from agitating at this late state for the equality of Dutch in another British colony other than South Africa."[105]

But this was only the beginning of the "ugly bi-lingual conflict" in Kenya. It would raise its hoary head many times in colonial Kenya during the next fifty years.[106] The champion of the all-Dutch position for the first twenty-five years, Ds. Loubser, initially demanded separate, government supported schools for "his" children. He reasoned:

> We must not go along with foreign customs, we must not set a price on our sacred language rights, we must . . . not forget the name and the veracity and the great history of our nation, but earnestly promote and protect them. Twenty years from now when most of our fathers and mothers will probably be dead, what will become of our children? It is not enough to leave land and cattle for them. Character is that which we must ensure to them. It is impossible to make our children great without giving them Christian character.[107]

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[105] LBEA, December 16, 1911, p. 2.

[106] Though neither ethnic group was prone to see humor in this matter, the LBEA reporter made the comment that the Plateau was apt to have a tri-lingual rather than a bi-lingual problem. "Not long ago a settler (recently arrived) was heard instructing his boy in the following remarkable language: "Lete lampe and hang 'im up dar.'" LBEA, June 15, 1912, p. 9.

[107] "Herdelike Brief van Wyle Ds. M. P. Loubser," Oos-Afrika, Deel I, no. 3, May, 1947, pp. 13-16.

A later pastor summed up Loubser's position: "He believed that if you wish to ensure the future of your Church and your Volk, you must begin with education."[108]

Loubser's position on the use of Dutch in the government schools may have been weakened by the fact that he had opened a private Afrikaans-medium school at Broederstroom (presently called Plateau Station), in August of 1911.[109] After failing to win the language issue, he began a second school at Sergoit in the north-eastern section of the Uasin Gishu. Two teachers were hired from South Africa, Pienaar and de Villiers. At Broederstroom Pienaar had more students than he could efficiently teach, over fifty, and "also at the school of de Villiers at Sergoit is there a growing number of students, no thanks to the competition of a government school."[110] In spite of their growth the financial position of these schools was not secure during these early years. Overtures were made to Belfield in 1913 to support these schools but language remained a stumbling block. Belfield said: "I . . . made it clear to them that as members of a community settled upon British territory, they are not entitled to make differentiation between themselves and

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[108]"Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," p. 32.

[109]LBEA, August 5, 1911, p. 8a.

[110]"Ds. du Plessis in Oos-Afrika," Part II, Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 4, July, 1946, pp. 10-12.

others residing under the same rule, and that no assistance of the nature requested would be given unless it is accepted that the English language shall be the basis of all teaching."[111] Thus there were two school systems on the Plateau by 1912, one supported by government and one not, but both were predominantly used by Afrikaners.[112]

In May of 1912 Director Orr promised the residents of the Plateau a "first rate boarding school" if they could find enough students to attend.[113] The farm schools were attended by day scholars. Most Afrikaners could not afford school boarding fees. During his visit a year later Belfield unconditionally promised a central school.[114] The new Central School was opened in February of 1915 with 27 students. After much settler agitation the Department appointed the first headmaster in June.[115]

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[111]CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 154, Governor to Secretary of State, April 10, 1913.

[112]In February of 1913 a local school committee was selected by the UG Farmers' Association for the government schools. Of the six men elected, five were Afrikaners. There can be little doubt that this roughly paralleled the ratio of students in the schools. LBEA, February 22, 1913, p. 8.

[113]LBEA, June 1, 1912, p. 11.

[114]LBEA, March 8, 1913, pp. 1-2; and CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 154, Governor to Secretary of State, April 10, 1913.

[115]LBEA, September 6, 1913, p. 8; February 6, 1915, p. 1; December 23, 1916, p. 17. Initially the Department refused to appoint an expensive headmaster rather than

The Central School grew very rapidly. By December of 1915 there were 31 students, by January of 1916, 41 students, by June of 1916, 50 students, and by December of that year, 48 students plus applications from 12 others. Part of this growth may have come from the closing of three of the six temporary farm schools established earlier.[116] Growth was hindered by the lack of boarding space. Some students were being boarded at private homes in Eldoret.[117]

During 1915 a crisis occurred over the policy decision of Orr to limit the number of standards to be taught in Eldoret. It was his intent to have the advanced grades (above Standard IV) centralized in Nairobi. The local school committee opposed the scheme on the grounds that (1) transportation would be too expensive; (2) the Londiani road was frequently impassable; and (3) Nairobi did not have enough room for all of the senior students. Nevertheless Orr moved ahead with his plan and in January of 1916 ordered all students at the Central School who were beyond Standard IV and all students who were older than fifteen or younger than eight to be turned out. This was

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female teachers. To this the LBEA reporter remarked: "If such is the case, why offer £250 per annum to the head teacher in the Uasin Gishu to teach niggers, while the master at the European school received £200 to teach the children of the white settler."

[116] J. W. Laurenz, "Duitsch Oost Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel VII, no. 15, April 13, 1916, p. 381.

[117] LBEA, December 23, 1916, p. 17.

particularly hard on the Afrikaners because many of the children suffered from a language handicap and had not matriculated from Standard IV by the age of fifteen. A petition from Afrikaner and British residents of the Uasin Gishu notwithstanding, the Department held to this position and fortified it by granting a generous allotment of £2400 to the Nairobi school for 150 students and £375 to Eldoret for 60 students. These extremely unequal allotments elicited a charge of "crass incapacity" from the LBEA.[118] By 1918 the Department had relented and began plans for the expansion of the Eldoret Central School to include the higher standards.

Direct statements of Education Department positions on the private Afrikaner schools during this period were not found. However, according to one of Loubser's letters from South Africa in 1916, the Department was trying to eliminate the schools. This did not surprise him since he recalled the words of Orr as he (Loubser) left East Africa for South Africa in 1912: "If it had been in my power I would have swept away your schools on the Uasin Gishu Plateau." Loubser urged his former parishoners to maintain the schools since the loss of private control of the schools would lessen the interest of the parents in the

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[118] Ibid. The editor commented: "If we can pay Provincial and District Commissioners to look after niggers we can surely provide for the education of our settlers' children!" p. 12.

education of their children and, more importantly, the government would not permit the teaching of onze taal en onze Godsdienst (our language and our religion) in Government schools. Should the schools close, all of his work there would have been in vain. He warned that the closing of the schools would mean that "we will maintain one Church there, but it will be powerless and colorless, one in name (with the Church in South Africa) but with no elevated, refined, reasonable, and sacred truth." In addition, Loubser promised his assistance with the procurement of other teachers, since the terms of Pienaar and de Villiers were nearly ended. If money was needed, he would try to collect some in South Africa.[120] Though Sergoit may not have remained open throughout this period, Broederstroom continued as a private school until 1925.

World War I presented a difficult dilemma for the Afrikaners in GEA.[121] Some harbored strong anti-British

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[119] LBEA, January 5, 1918, p. 13.

[120] Unpublished letter dated August 8, 1916, found in the NGK Archives of Pretoria.

[121] There were about 300 Boers in GEA at the beginning of the war, according to the editor of De Kerkbode, and 700 in BEA. "Onze Kerk in Oost-Afrika," Deel XII, no. 10, March 10, 1921, p. 274. The editor also stated that the population of the Meru church went up during the war and that of the Vergenoeg church went down. The only reasonable explanation is that the Meru church grew because

sentiments and were anxious to join the German forces under von Lettow-Vorbeck and strike back at their former tormentors. Others may have joined for adventure and profit. Two Afrikaners, von Rooyen and Nieuwenhuizen, were frequently very close to von Lettow-Vorbeck and in some instances may have acted as his confidants.[122] Nevertheless, the majority of the Afrikaner community in GEA maintained a neutral position throughout the war.

Their position was made difficult because of the reconnaissance missions of BEA Boers into GEA. The GEA Boers felt compelled to protect and assist these spies. For this reason many of the Boer families were ordered by the Germans to leave their farms and migrate to Ufiomi further south where they could not pass on information and where they would be relatively safe from attack. Many of the Afrikaners willingly moved since it removed them from the scene of battle. Furthermore, the Germans assisted them and paid them well for stock which was commandeered. Finally some of those who moved south were paid by the German Government to ride transport to the battle fields with supplies for the troops.[123]

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of the presence of troops and that the Vergenoeg church diminished because of the loss of young men to the armed forces.

[122]See Gen. Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, East African Campaigns (New York: Robert Speller & Sons Publishers, Inc., 1957), pp. 101, 116, 158, 178, 181-82, 184.

[123]One Afrikaner claimed that he had received £600 for services rendered to the Germans during the war. See

The pro-German element increased particularly when only they were permitted to ride transport. This caused friction within the Ufiomi camp between the new German citizens and the remaining neutrals who were British subjects. The split also seems to have followed religious division, the Hervormers (NHK) being pro-German and the neutrals coming from the other two churches.[124] The neutral Afrikaners had to withstand intense pressure both from the German Government and their pro-German compatriots to maintain their position.[125]

The Afrikaners in BEA were British subjects at the beginning of the war and were not faced with the dilemma of choosing to support the government under which they were living or the government whose citizenship papers they

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H. J. C. Pieterse, Baanbrekers in die Maalstrom: Dagboek van Mev. Abel Pienaar (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1942), p. 56n. This edited diary of Mrs. Pienaar is the source of most of this information. Mrs. Pienaar praised the Germans for their fair handling of the Afrikaners and described the difficulty which most of her people had in deciding to remain neutral in the first year of the war. The Beyers-de Wet rebellion in South Africa, the position of the Botha-Smuts Government, their British citizenship, and their great liking for the German settlers were conflicting factors which caused them to remain neutral. See pp. 35-61.

[124] Ibid., p. 61. Mrs. Pienaar sarcastically said on July 3, 1915: "The estrangement between the two Boer sections lessens, so much so that our Hervormer-friends on the other side of the hill now talk of themselves as 'our honourable' Boers, but if they talk of our group, they call it the 'English' Boers."

[125] Ibid., pp. 90-92.

held. Neither were the British Afrikaners forced to leave their homes because the front line was approaching them, yet there were rumours of anti-British sentiments among some of the community.

The war was not anticipated in the Protectorate by any of the settlers and little preparation was made for it. On the Plateau a Volunteer Reserve had been established in 1912 but its primary function was to protect the settlers against a "native" rebellion. There were indications that the settlers were dissatisfied with this defense force and there was talk of establishing a Legion of Frontiersmen with increased local control.[126] Nothing came of this proposal. The question of a defense force was raised at the mid-year Convention of Associations meeting in 1914 and the two Afrikaner representatives opposed a conscripted defense force, for, as Theunissen said, there were times when a farmer had to be home for his crops. A. F. Arnoldi announced that he was ready to take up arms voluntarily if needed, a promise which he subsequently kept. In spite of Afrikaner opposition, compulsory service was approved by the Convention but it was clearly thinking only of defense against Africans.[127]

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[126] LBEA, December 14, 1912, p. 4.

[127] LBEA, July 4, 1914, p. 7. As the LBEA editor later confessed, European affairs seemed distant and remote from East Africa. "Unfortunately as a people we gave little or no thought to the possibility of war with our German neighbours. The officials of Downing Street were

In spite of their lack of preparedness, many Afrikaners volunteered for service within the first few months of the war. With the rank of Captain, Arnoldi led a contingent of ninety Boers to the front in October. This display of loyalty did not alleviate the fears of Protectorate leaders of disloyalty among some Boers. Their concern appears to have been justified. Even Arnoldi felt it necessary to send an open letter to the Afrikaner community urging them to be loyal to the British. His stated reason for writing the letter was the rebellion of Col. Maritz in South Africa and his concern that similar anti-British sentiments existed among the East African Afrikaners. In part the letter reads:

> Now dear friends, it becomes us, firstly, to show our loyalty in word and deed to our King and the present Government; secondly, by such loyalty to support the hands of the Botha Government in South Africa in that we, as Boers, will and shall keep ourselves faithful and loyal to our present Government, and specially to approve of the upholding of Great Britain's prestige.
>
> You, my friends, who have before tasted the tyrannical German Government in the past, put in all your energy to enlighten our nation in South Africa, what we will get under such a putrid Government as the German Government. As most of you are aware, I have been resident in this country for ten years, and I must honestly and truly declare that I have always been treated with the greatest consideration, and now the day has arrived for us to show that we are worthy to be subjects of His Majesty King George the Fifth. As you are aware, we have here about 90 Boers at the front, and all and sundry of them approve of what I, as their

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equally lacking in foresight in not putting the Protectorate into a reasonable state of effective defense." LBEA, November 14, 1914, p. 15.

> leader, have written, and therefore I pray you all to make known amongst your friends and relations now in South Africa (notwithstanding the great crime of rebellion) what hardships they may expect if the Germans become victors in the bloody, murderous war initiated by them.[128]

Concern and uncertainty over the loyalty of the Afrikaners is reflected in the comments of the editor on the letter. He noted that Arnoldi "does not mince matters in his opinion of those who would favour 'Kaiser Bill' in preference to the good old, generous and liberal-dealing Union Jack." And a bit more nervously: "Capt. Arnoldi appeals to his fellow countrymen, and though we think that there is very small fear indeed of such men as Beyers and De Wet having anybody's sympathy here, in British East Africa, yet we are glad to see Mr. Arnoldi come out in the open and declare without equivocation his staunch loyalty to the flag."[129]

Afrikaner interviewees indicated that there was a small minority who refused to serve in the British forces. In mid-1917 seven Afrikaners were brought to trial for not reporting to duty. In their defense a father and son claimed that they were in the Congo when the war broke out and that they had both "joined up" there. After two years

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[128]This was published in both Dutch and English. LBEA, October 31, 1914, p. 11.

[129]LBEA, October 31, 1914, p. 11. Arnoldi was killed in battle a few months after this letter was written. LBEA, January 29, 1915.

the two returned to the Protectorate and the son was presented with a notice to report to duty which he ignored. He was sentenced to six months incarceration. Three others received nine and ten month sentences. In spite of two years of active duty another received five months. One was acquitted of all charges.[130] No evidence was found of any others who ignored conscription orders, although some transport riders were irritated by the commandeering of their wagons and oxen and refused to carry transport free of charge in support of the war cause.[131]

The majority of Afrikaners were very sensitive to charges of disloyalty. The LBEA received their criticism for entitling a report on the Beyers-De Wet rebellion. "Boer Disloyalty." The editor admitted that it was done "without a thought of the greater majority of real and genuinely loyal Boers." The apology went on to praise the Boers of South Africa for coming to the aid of the Union Jack,

> and the same in a measure may be said of our fellow settlers here of similar derivation. Men have come all the way from Uasin Gishu and other parts of East Africa to strike a blow for the flag against the Teuton. And these men were of the first to volunteer.[132]

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[130] LBEA, July 7, 1917, p. 3.

[131] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1915-16.

[132] LBEA, January 23, 1915, p. 13.

Obviously the LBEA did not wish to antagonize the large number of Afrikaners who supported the British cause.[133]

For the Afrikaners one of the consequences of the war was the delay of the building of the railroad to Eldoret. They also lost one of their leading spokesmen in Protectorate affairs, Major A. F. Arnoldi, as a war casualty. Arnoldi had been a delegate to the Convention of Associations for four years. The LBEA noted the significance of his death along with that of Cloete's earlier: "It is noteworthy that the two most prominent and most active and intellectual personages this colony has gained among the Dutch settlers should both now be lost to us--the late Mr. Cloete and now Major Arnoldi."[134] It was not until the World War II period that another Afrikaner received a position with Protectorate-wide responsibility and acclaim. The loss of these two spokesmen was one of the contributing factors to the withdrawal of the Afrikaners from active involvement in Protectorate affairs in the 1920s and 1930s.

The end of the war also marked the beginning of soldier-settlement schemes which would alter the composition and attitudes of the settler community and would open up

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[133]Mr. C. J. Roets, an octogenarian who accompanied the Van Rensburgs to BEA, claimed that 5 percent or less supported the German cause. Interviewed August 9, 1969. A few of those Afrikaners interviewed claimed that the anti-British members of the community were usually roikops, since this group lacked the courage to fight.

[134]LBEA, December 11, 1918, p. 6.

new areas of land for settlement. The first effect tended to lessen the influence of the Afrikaners and the latter permitted the community to expand into new areas of the Protectorate, particularly around the Aberdares. Though some immigration of Afrikaners from South Africa occurred in the 1920s, the predictions in 1916 of a British MP, Commander Wedgwood, that 20 percent of the South African regiments serving under General Brits and Van Deventer would remain in East Africa as settlers were certainly inaccurate.[135] The settlement in new areas of the Protectorate by Afrikaners was due primarily to natural population growth on the Plateau itself and to the migration of some of the settlers from what had by then become a British-ruled Tanganyika. A smaller number came from South Africa.

The Plateau was virtually unoccupied by Africans before Europeans began hunting and settling in the area. The anonymous author of the short history of the Plateau

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[135]Commander Wedgwood, M. P., D. S. O., "Land Settlement in East Africa," The Contemporary Review, September, 1916, pp. 315-24. Wedgwood looked favorably on this predicted settlement of Boers in the Protectorate, though his reasons seem somewhat limited and superficial. He said: "It would be impossible to get better material for colonists than these men who understand oxen." He contended that the poor could ride transport and would be very useful in the developing of the Laikipia district which was scheduled for opening soon. Oxen were necessary in opening this new district and "only the Dutch and the Cape boys are born understanding oxen," pp. 321-22.

found in the Kenya National Archives, indicated that the Plateau was used for hunting by the surrounding tribes, particularly the Nandi.[136] Thus conflict between Africans and settlers was avoided during the early years of settlement because of the non-essential use of the Plateau by the Africans. The earliest recorded incidence of violence was the murder of one of the von Breda brothers in the fall of 1911. This account was given by an employee of von Breda:

> I worked for Mr. W. T. von Breda and I got six days leave, I went to my reserve. On my return I did not find the Bwana, and evidence in the house shewed that he had left hurriedly and had been away some time. I searched around and found blood marks, and eventually discovered his body about 150 yards away from the house near the garden. The body was already putrid. He had evidently been trying to mount a slope leading up to his house after having been struck, and died in the attempt.
>
> I later learned that Arap Chemorua and Arap Saiwa were the culprits. The latter had gone to the Bwana's house and told him to come with him to extract some honey from a tree. Bwana Breda followed, and not far from the house Arap Chemorua was in hiding, and as the Bwana passed, speared him. I do not know why they did it, as this Bwana was a friend of the Elgeyo, he frequently shot game for them. They stole nothing from his house or stock after killing him.[137]

The two men fled to the Marakwet, the tribe which lived to the north of the Elgeyo. The settlers eventually prevailed upon the administration to send the King's African Rifles to find the two men.[138]

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[136] KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "Natives."

[137] Ibid.

[138] LBEA, September 30, 1911, pp. 2, 8; October 28, 1911, p. 13. In March of 1911 the LBEA reported that the

Though contact with Africans was limited in contrast to other settlement areas, the Europeans and administrators experienced a sense of insecurity. In early 1914 the DC asked for more police for the district. He noted that he had 1,500 square miles to patrol with 230 occupied farms with stock, "surrounded by natives whose national sport seems to be theft from white people."[139]

Acquiring labor was one of the first concerns of the settlers. As was true in many areas of Africa with white settlers, the Africans saw little value in working for these intruders. The Marakwet were asked to pay taxes first in 1910 by the visiting Acting DC from Baringo, but continuous administrative control was not established until after the KAR visited the area to apprehend the murderers of von Breda. The first DC for that district acknowledged that the Marakwet would not work for the settlers unless the hut tax was strictly enforced.[140] The Elgeyo remained

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KAR had apprehended the two murderers but the anonymous author of the short history of the Uasin Gishu indicated that only one of the culprits was caught at this time. The actual thrower of the spear, Arap Chemorua, was not caught until many years later. LBEA, March 30, 1912; and KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "Natives." It is possible that another man was erroneously arrested in 1912.

[139] KNA, DC/UG/1/1, UG District Annual Report, 1913.

[140] KNA, DC/UG/ELGM/1/1, Elgeyo Marakwet District Annual Report, 1912-13.

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free of administrative control for a few more years and were not a reliable source of labor.[141]

During 1912-13 a commission was sent to BEA to investigate the labor situation. The Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth, alleged that brutal treatment, animal conditions, and floggings by both settlers and some officials were the principle reasons for the shortage of labor.[142] Most settlers, both Afrikaner and British, agreed with the points which Delamere made to the commission. He (1) favored the establishment of locations outside the reserves where Africans desiring employment could go; (2) advocated the use of an identification rather than a pass card for Africans; (3) rejected the payment of higher wages; (4) demanded the retention of the highlands for whites only; (5) requested more cooperation from the administrative officers for the acquisition of labor; (6) was ambivalent on the size of the hut tax; and (7) implored that no labor be imported (presumably Asian).[143] The one point not made by Delamere and most Britishers but which the three Afrikaner witnesses supported was the use of squatters or resident laborers. One of the major complaints on the Uasin Gishu was the desertion of laborers before

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[141] KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, "Natives."

[142] LBEA, January 25, 1913, p. 4.

[143] LBEA, January 11, 1913, p. 3.

their contracts had expired. Squatters would be less capable of movement since they would have their families and cattle with them. In contrast to the British settlers, the Afrikaners strongly supported this type of labor. Their claim that desertion was a serious problem was upheld by their DC. His solution, however, was to suggest that flogging would be a good deterrent. Police Inspector Richardson maintained that ill treatment was the major cause for desertions.[144] Africans, on the other hand, asseverated that the Afrikaners or Kaburu, as the Africans called them, were notorious for not paying their laborers after their contracts had been fulfilled. If an African laborer was bold enough to ask for his just wage, he would be flogged with a hippo-hide whip and forced off the farm without his wages.[145] This practice was obviously not conducive to the retention of laborers for the full contract terms.

Though the labor shortage was not immediately removed by this commission's report,[146] the administrative

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[144] LBEA, January 25, 1913, p. 19.

[145] Interviews with David Mbuku, June 12, 1969; Chip Arap Korir, June 10, 1969. Mbuku claimed that all Afrikaners practiced this whereas all of the British were humane. It was commonly accepted among Africans from various parts of Kenya, even those rather distantly removed from the Afrikaner areas of settlement, that the Kaburu were hard persons to work for. This point was raised in casual conversation with many Africans.

[146] See letter to the Editor and editorial comment, LBEA, October 11, 1913, p. 5.

officers were more cooperative in acquiring labor for the settlers after 1912. During World War I no complaints were filed of a labor shortage. After the war the more reliable squatter laborers were customary on the Plateau.

The eight year period immediately preceding and including World War I saw the Afrikaners fulfilling many of their early objectives. Many families had their own farms. All three denominations had established gemeentes or congregations and most children were attending one of the three types of schools on the Plateau. Negatively, the administrative officers were not very sympathetic to the Afrikaners, no railroad served their settlement, and the government opposed the use of Afrikaans in its schools. The Afrikaners had also developed a reputation for ill-treatment of labor, making it more difficult for them to hire than the British.

Not until the very end of the colonial period would the Afrikaners experience as much influence and acceptance among their fellow settlers and the administration as they had in this early period. Before World War I Afrikaners enjoyed representation in such organizations as the Land Board and the Convention of Associations as well as in local Plateau organizations. The path was opened for Afrikaners to be integrated into the British settler community. On the other hand, there were those in both

communities who opposed or resisted such integration. The deaths of Cloete and Arnoldi irreparably weakened the forces of the integrationists and permitted the followers of Loubser and his separationist ideals to prevail among the Afrikaners.

CHAPTER IV

NADIR: POVERTY CONTINUED AND INFLUENCE DECLINED, 1918-40

During the inter-war period the Afrikaners' main concerns were economic. Most of the community were poor as the period began and many became destitute. Not until the last few years of this period did their circumstances improve.

The Uasin Gishu was the area of the small farmers or the "district of the small man," as the LBEA called it.[1] Profits from the export of agricultural products were slim, making intensive agriculture very difficult. There was little chance of improvement until better transportation facilities were completed to Mombasa for the export market or to Nairobi, the only major local market.

The extension of the railway to the Uasin Gishu attracted the attention of officials and unofficials alike after World War I. One railway official pointed to the economic need:

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[1] LBEA, November 26, 1921, p. 16.

> The early construction of the line is a matter of the greatest importance to the development of this large European settlement. . . . The cost of transport by road is prohibitive to competition with other parts of the country more favourably situated as regards railway communications.[2]

In 1920 a Nairobi businessman affirmed the economic need for the railroad since "the prosperity of Eldoret depends, as it has always done, on the question of transport facilities." He also referred to the stigma which the area had acquired because of its isolation. "Until the proposal to build the railway focused public attention upon the Plateau and reassured the general public as to the importance of the area, Trans-Nzoia and Uasin Gishu were more or less correctly regarded as the uncivilized virgin backblocks of Kenya." But circumstances had changed. A new type of settler, the soldier-settler, had moved into the Trans-Nzoia. "I was impressed by the type of settler we have there--a cultured colony of ex-soldiers and others who have put their money in the land and are energetically developing on scientific and business lines."[3] These new settlers had changed the image of the region and, as M. F. Hill has suggested in his history of the Uganda Railway, their

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[2]Cited in M. F. Hill, Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1961), p. 369.

[3]LBEA, November 6, 1920, p. 23.

presence made the completion of the line a matter of urgency.[4]

Proposals to build a spur of the railway north-eastward from Nakuru had been suggested as early as 1905. The lumbering firm of Lingham and Grogan (E. W. Grogan) offered to build a spur to their lumbering area, Timboroa, and on to the Uasin Gishu in exchange for grants of land on the Plateau. Agreement was not reached with the Colonial Office and the matter was dropped in 1906.[5] In 1913 two new, separate initiatives came from Grogan and the Uasin Gishu settlers. Grogan directed his initiative to the Colonial Office through a Member of Parliament.[6] The Plateau residents signed a petition asking for the railway and pledged to underwrite the project with a one penny per

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[4]Permanent Way, p. 410.

[5]There is much correspondence between this company and the Colonial Office during this two-year period. CO 879/87, No. 772, serial no. 149, Mr. C. S. Goldman to the Colonial Office, August 12, 1905; CO 879/97, No. 772, serial no. 192, Goldman to Colonial Office, September 30, 1905; for the Colonial Office's counter-offer, see CO 879/92, No. 844, serial no. 156, Colonial Office to Goldman, May 8, 1906; and two succeeding offers by Messrs. Lingham and Grogan, CO 879/92, No. 844, serial nos. 430 and 471, Lingham and Grogan to Colonial Office, November 2, 1906 and November 30, 1906. Rejection of the latter offer by the Colonial Office caused negotiations to cease. Generally the two parties were poles apart on this matter and eventual agreement appeared impossible almost from the start.

[6]CO 879/111, No. 998, serial no. 264, Mr. George Lloyd to Colonial Office, August 28, 1913.

acre levy to cover early losses.[7] These initiatives prompted the Colonial Office to begin work on the project but progress was slow because of its indecision over which route should be extended to Uganda, the Kisumu-Mumias-Uganda route or the Nakuru-Eldoret-Mumias-Uganda route. The latter was longer and more costly to build but offered far better gradients than the Nakuru-Kisumu line. A survey was made of the Nakuru-Eldoret-Mumias route in 1914 but the final choice of this route was not made until after the war. Until then the Uasin Gishu remained unserved.[8]

As the war approached its conclusion, the Plateau settlers were prepared to build their own trolley line to

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[7]LBEA, August 2, 1913, p. 16; EAS, September 6, 1913, p. 9. It should be noted that not all residents of the Plateau supported this pledge, nor the building of the railroad spur itself. The correspondent from the Uasin Gishu to the LBEA feared that the pledgers would regret their signatures. Pointing to the uneconomic operation of many spurs in South Africa, he predicted continuous losses on the spur. LBEA, November 1, 1913, pp. 4-5. The transport riders, nearly all of whom were Afrikaners, outrightly opposed the building of the railway. It is not possible to determine how many of the Afrikaans-speaking settlers were involved. However, there was probably more division among the Afrikaner settlers on this issue than there was among the British settlers. LBEA, November 15, 1913, p. 9.

[8]There are numerous entries on this topic in CO 879/111 and 879/115. For the approval of the survey see CO 879/115, No. 1016, serial no. 60, Secretary of State to Governor, February 27, 1914. Another factor to be considered in this decision was that the Mumias route would service the industrious Africans of Kavirondo while the Eldoret route would serve the white settlers. Also see Ross, Kenya from Within, p. 246; and Hill, Permanent Way, p. 361.

alleviate their transportation crisis. Ninety settlers pledged £300 per year for the first three years to guarantee its success. They went so far as to have discussions with a construction company which promised them the same construction costs as it had promised the government.[9] A Uasin Gishu Railway Committee was formed to pursue the matter. The next month Major Grogan again declared his support for a trolley from Uasin Gishu to the main line.[10] Concomitantly the settlers of Nakuru and Naivasha held a meeting in Nakuru and declared their support for a Nakuru-Eldoret spur rather than a trolley.[11] In response to these pressures, the government announced in late 1918 that it intended to build the main trunk line to Uganda through the Plateau.

Though this decision had been made, construction of the line waited another two years because of controversy over the point from which the spur would diverge from the older line. Ultimately the much longer and more expensive Nakuru route was chosen over the shorter Mau route.[12]

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[9] LBEA, September 14, 1918, p. 26 and September 21, 1918, p. 23.

[10] LBEA, October 5, 1918, p. 18.

[11] Ibid., p. 23. The trolley would have been lighter weight and less efficient.

[12] In a lengthy discourse on this choice of routes, Ross presented a good case in support of his claim that this route was chosen against the best interests of the colony and the settlers. The additional cost of the 43

Although the Uasin Gishu Railway Committee continued to function during this controversy and supported the Nakuru route, the Plateau settlers showed little interest in the controversy.[13] In fact the affirmative decision on the line and its eventual completion to Eldoret in 1925 removed this as the overriding political issue among the Plateau settlers. They turned full attention to their own personal economic situations.

Some of the early trekkers came to East Africa with the intention of engaging in pastoralism or mixed farming. Disease brought on disillusionment with animal husbandry shortly after World War I. In 1918 rinderpest plagued the Plateau and a year later pleuro-pneumonia swept the area. To stop the diseases the Veterinary Department destroyed all infected stock without compensation to the owners.[14] The heavy losses incurred by these diseases and the accompanying slaughter thoroughly discouraged stock-raising.

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miles of track from Nakuru to the point where the two proposed routes would converge was excessive and those funds could be used to build spurs to other settled areas. The difference in cost was approximately £600,000. Ross contended that pressure from Delamere, through whose land the Nakuru route would pass, prompted this impecunious decision. Ross, Kenya from Within, pp. 238-55.

[13] LBEA, December 20, 1919, p. 16 and December 27, 1919, p. 10.

[14] LBEA, November 9, 1918, p. 12, and November 8, 1919, p. 15.

Between the two world wars most Afrikaners counted income in bags of grain rather than heads of cattle.[15]

For a short time it appeared that flax and coffee were destined to become major crops.[16] It was predicted that coffee would make wealthy men of the Plateau and Trans-Nzoia land-owners but the prediction proved chimerical. Coffee grew but did not thrive in the Plateau's climate. Flax was grown for a couple of seasons and commanded high prices in the world market. The Plateau farmers built thirty-two mills for processing the grain and were prepared to export two hundred tons per year. Many farmers had invested heavily in machinery for this crop.[17] But the world demand for flax was over in late 1921 and their investments were lost. By 1923 the crop faded into obscurity as an income provider.[18] In spite of these

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[15]Interviews with C. J. Roets, August 9, 1969; H. C. De Wet, August 9, 1969; and P. L. Malan, August 9, 1969. By 1937 the Legislative Council's Settlement Committee Report referred to the lack of mixed farming in the colony as one of the reasons for its inability to contain more settlers and pointed to the Uasin Gishu as the area in which mixed farming was practiced the least. African squatters were permitted to graze their cattle on the farms thus preventing the pastoral side of mixed farming from being engaged in by the settlers. The Africans' cattle were the primary disease-carriers. CO, East African Series, Pamphlets, "Settlement Committee Report," 1937.

[16]LBEA, October 9, 1920, p. 34.

[17]LBEA, May 20, 1922, p. 5.

[18]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Agriculture. One report stated that the price had

conditions, the Director of Agriculture continued to encourage these farmers to grow the two crops because the two alternatives, maize and swine, could not be marketed for lack of transportation.[19]

Attesting to their low incomes, few farmers attended a meeting with their Member of Legislative Council in which an impending income tax was discussed.[20] Most had borrowed heavily to maintain their farms. In a neighboring African district, a handing-over report in 1923 gave this advice to the incoming DC regarding the hiring out of labor: "As practically all of the settlers on the Plateau are in the hands of the bank, you will be well advised to require certified cheques or cash in payment of registration expenses."[21]

No rapid modification of this economic malaise occurred in the 1920s, even after the completion of the railroad to Eldoret. The more glamorous crops were dropped

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fallen from £600 to £80 per ton. G. J. Van Zijl, "Oos-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XIII, no. 28, July 12, 1922, pp. 904-06.

[19]One report indicated that many farmers would fail in 1922 unless they were able to sell their current maize crop. LBEA, February 11, 1922, Supplement.

[20]LBEA, March 26, 1921, p. 14. Hereafter Member of Legislative Council will be referred to as MLC.

[21]KNA, DC/ELGM/2/1, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Handing-Over Report, July 28, 1923.

by the farmers of the region and the more stable but less remunerative crops of wheat and maize became standard.[22] Furthermore the completion of the railway was a mixed blessing for the Afrikaners. Although the railroad assisted in the marketing of crops for those with land and machinery to grow them, income supplementing transport riding became obsolete for those who did not.

Another income supplement had been the hunting of game. As late as 1924-25 one Afrikaner candidly admitted that his family had lived on game after their arrival on the Plateau.[23] In the mid-1920s large numbers of zebra had become a menace to the settlers' crops and the government supported their systematic removal and permitted hides to be sold. Zebra were shot by both government and individual parties and had disappeared by 1926.[24] The dependence of

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[22]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Agriculture.

[23]Interview with J. E. Kruger, June 16, 1969. Ironically, this prosperous farmer and Kenyan citizen hired game guards to protect game on his wheat farm from poor African poachers in 1969.

[24]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Game. This account did not indicate that the Afrikaners were primarily responsible for the extermination of the zebras but it did attribute the near extermination of the giraffes to the Boer transport riders who liked their hides for long ox-whips. Undoubtedly not all of the game was shot out of need either for meat or for crop protection by such intrepid hunters as the Afrikaners. A colony-wide black list of game offenders in 1926 listed sixteen Afrikaners out of a total of forty-nine. The official community believed that the "Dutch" were by character offenders of game laws, as this comment by the Elgeyo-Marakwet DC about

Afrikaners on hunting was more explicitly reported in a new area of Afrikaner settlement, Laikipia. In his 1924 annual report the DC disapprovingly noted that the "Dutch" supplemented their income by selling buffalo hides, and called it "a lucrative business."[25] Nevertheless in 1927 the DC reported:

> Zebra are still too numerous. Zebra skins are now a marketable commodity, and the animals are being slaughtered in large numbers by Dutch farmers and their Dutch squatters. A great deal of money is being made out of the sale of the hides. This market for zebra hide has been an undisguised blessing to the Dutch who, as far as the majority of their community in this district is concerned, have little else to live on.[26]

The next year the DC reported that most of the zebra were gone, due primarily to the "Dutch who carried it on for profit."[27] The same situation existed in Nanyuki until 1929, when a number of families left the district. The

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a fine indicates: "Mr. de Jager and his fellow Dutchmen have had a lesson which has probably cost considerably in lawyers' fees and inconvenience. . . ." KNA, DC/ELGM/4/1, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Confidential Correspondence. No other reference could be found to this case. The lesson, presumably a stiff fine, was not learned by all the Afrikaners however for the following year the DC for this same district reported: "The Kerio Valley is the haunt of elephant (two species), buffalo and rhino and as shooting of all these was a sound commercial proposition a most undesirable type of 'sportsman,' usually Dutch, was attracted thereto." KNA, DC/ELGM/1/1, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Annual Report, 1927.

[25]KNA/DC/LKA/1/1, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1924.

[26]*Ibid.*, 1927.

[27]KNA, DC/LKA/1/15, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1928.

teacher of their school reported that "most of the Dutch at Nanyuki earned their livelihood by the sale of zebra skins, but the Game Department has recently prohibited the shooting of these animals, so that the Dutchman has lost his means of subsistence."[28]

As a group, the Afrikaners were worse off, and in many instances poverty stricken, in contrast to their fellow British settlers. The pre-war trekkers had come with no more than minimal capital requirements and their isolated position on the Plateau prevented the accumulation of capital. The post-war trekkers, most of whom were "poor whites" in South Africa, came with even less capital in spite of the higher costs of land.[29] The same was true of those who came from Tanganyika during this period.[30] The few years between the completion of the railroad to Eldoret and the onset of the world depression were not long enough

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[28]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/527, European School, Nanyuki.

[29]Already in 1922 the Land Office in Nairobi had set £2000 as the minimum capital requirement and suggested at least £4000 to £5000 for incoming settlers. CO, East African Series, Pamphlets, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, "Land and Land Conditions in the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya" (Nairobi: Land Department, 1922). The same figure of £2000 was given in 1937 by the colony's Settlement Committee Report as the sum needed over and above the purchase of the land. CO, East African Series, Pamphlets, "Settlement Committee Report," 1937.

[30]The parents and family of Jack Boshof arrived in Kenya in 1928 from Tanganyika with few possessions. Interview with J. Boshof, June 2, 1969.

to permit escape from poverty. For these reasons many of the Afrikaners were "poor whites" in Kenya.[31]

The Afrikaners' response to this condition was three-fold: (1) migration occurred to new areas; (2) new occupations were pursued; and (3) pressure was put on the Government for better educational opportunities.[32]

Most of the trekking to new areas occurred within East Africa. However at least ten families trekked farther inland to the Belgian Congo, two migrating as far as the French Congo.[33] There is no evidence of trekking to other areas of Africa such as the Sudan or northern French Equatorial Africa.

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[31]The DC of Laikipia warned the Government in 1935 of the "poor white" problem. He urged the improvement of their inadequate education and emphasized the potential cost of this problem to the government. KNA, DC/LKA/1/16, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1935. All of the Afrikaners interviewed confirmed this evaluation of their economic condition during the inter-war period. Two sources, Mrs. S. Snyman, a teacher in Rumuruti in 1928 (confirmed by educational file, KNA, Education/Deposit 1/86), and Mr. Desmond Connor, one time Assistant Superintendent of Police in Eldoret, spoke of many cases of nudity among school-age children in Laikipia and Uasin Gishu respectively. Mrs. Snyman said that she had to find clothes for some of the children before they could attend school. Interviewed June 18, 1969 and June 11, 1969 respectively.

[32]Because of their importance the last two responses will be discussed separately in ch. V.

[33]Aucamp, "Die Trek," "Die Geskiedenis van die Familie Hans Du Toit"; Marie Abel, "Suid-Afrikaans Pioniers van Belgiese Kongo," Oos Afrika, Deel II, no. 4, September, 1949, pp. 7-9, and Part 2, Deel II, no. 5, December, 1949, pp. 15-17 and 52.

Also see reports by Ds. A. L. Aucamp published serially in Die Kerkblad, May 2, 1934, pp. 62-63; June 6,

Many of the Tanganyikan Afrikaners trekked after the war. They found it difficult to renew their herds and grain harvests were difficult to market.[34] The men who had joined the German cause were "repatriated" to Germany, causing further hardship for their families.[35] Before 1927 four families migrated a few hundred miles southward to the Iringa area where they had been temporarily "resettled" by the German regime during the war.[36] After three clerical visits during the next ten years, the group disappeared. Possibly they joined others from the Meru community who rushed south to the new Lupa gold fields in the mid-1930s.[37]

1934, pp. 120-21; June 20, 1934, pp. 140-41; December 18, 1935, pp. 420-21; January 15, 1936, pp. 442-43; February 5, 1936, pp. 465-66; and February 19, 1936, pp. 496-97.

[34] De Kerkbode, Deel XII, no. 10, March 10, 1921, p. 279.

[35] See reports of visiting clergymen in De Hervormer, July 15, 1922, p. 10 and April 15, 1923, p. 7. An NGK clergyman, H. C. de Wet confirmed that four families in Mwanga were husbandless because of this exportation of German supporters. "De Kerk," De Kerkbode, Deel XI, no. 16, April 15, 1920, p. 561. Another visiting clergyman, A. Oosthuizen, attributed the poverty of the Tanganyikan Afrikaners in some degree to the absence of many men of the community after World War I in Germany. Letter, Die Hervormer, February 28, 1927, pp. 230-32, and "Ons Gemeentes in Oos-Afrika," Part II, March 23, 1927, pp. 310-12.

[36] Also see Pieterse, Baanbrekers, pp. 58-88. The first report of these Iringa settlers was found in Die Kerkbode, Deel XX, no. 24, December 14, 1927, p. 713.

[37] Die Kerkbode, Deel XXXVIII, no. 23, December 2, 1936, p. 807; and De Hervormer, April 1, 1930, pp. 223-24. The NGK predikant also visited families in Dodoma. A. L. Aucamp reported many Afrikaners in the Lupa goldfields. Letter, Die Kerkblad, October 7, 1936, p. 21.

But most of the Tanganyikans trudged northwards into Kenya.[38] It is improbable that economic conditions in Kenya were significantly better than in Tanganyika but the substantially larger area of temperate highlands offered better prospects for their future. Furthermore those who had previously refused to live under British rule and continued to harbor anti-British sentiments saw little distinction between living under direct British colonial rule in Kenya or mandated British rule in Tanganyika.

There was also a small but continuous flow of immigrants from South Africa into Kenya during the inter-war period. Reliable statistics are not available since immigration and census statistics do not distinguish between Afrikaners and Britishers. Most Afrikaners entered Kenya as British subjects. The membership roll of the largest congregation, the Vergenoeg Gemeente, showed 221 membership transfers from South Africa during the 1920s and 1930s. If the inter-war immigrants divided their loyalties among the three churches in proportion to those already in Kenya, the total number of immigrants would have been

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[38]Interviews with J. Boshof, June 21, 1969; Jozua Joubert, June 25, 1969; P. L. Malan, August 9, 1969; and H. C. de Wet, August 9, 1969, confirm this migration. Boshof's family migrated to the Uasin Gishu in 1928. The others named many compatriots in Laikipia and Nyeri who came from Tanganyika.

approximately 300, an influential but not overpowering minority.[39]

As this period began, Afrikaners lived in six areas in Kenya; the Uasin Gishu Plateau, the Trans-Nzoia, Nakuru, a few around Nairobi and Thika, and a few in the Nyeri District around Nanyuki. With the inhabitation of the Uasin Gishu even before 1914, maturing children and land-coveting immigrants had to look to other areas of the colony for open land. Some had already gone to the Trans-Nzoia District before the war and others followed after. Most of the expanding community turned to the newly-opened districts north and west of the Aberdare Mountains. As was true of parts of the Trans-Nzoia, this area had been selected for the soldier-settlement scheme.[40] The scheme allocated 1,246 farms to veterans in these two districts but only 545 were actually occupied.[41] Much of the land,

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[39]Vergenoeg Gemeente Membership Roll, found in the home of J. E. Kruger, Sergoit. The membership rolls of the other two congregations of this period were not found. The completeness of the membership roll from which this figure was taken is not certain. Furthermore some residents in Kenya may not have transferred their memberships from South Africa immediately after their arrival. Some early migrants may have waited until this period to do so. Therefore the figure given can only be taken as a close approximation.

The 1930 proportions of NGK to GK and NHK memberships was three to one. See Appendix B.

[40]See ch. III, p. 114, n. 135.

[41]Ross, Kenya From Within, p. 85. Ross has pointed out that the beneficiaries of the scheme were the established landowners of Kenya who had the good land and could sell it at a profit to those settlers who retained some

particularly in the Rumuruti district, was unsuitable for intensive agriculture and many soldier-settlers abandoned their estates soon after their first glimpse of them.

Though no South African Afrikaner soldiers participated in this scheme, many Afrikaner settlers did follow the soldiers into Rumuruti. Some Afrikaners had settled near Nanyuki east of that district before the war and may have encouraged movement in an easterly direction from the Uasin Gishu.[42] A number also migrated here from Tanganyika. While the resident Masai were yet being moved from the district, the DC reported that eighteen farms had been occupied by Europeans, five of which were not given to veterans. According to one early Afrikaner resident, at least three of these non-veterans were Afrikaners, two from Tanganyika.[43] Additional Tanganyikans settled in the

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capital after the soldier-settlement scheme fiasco. Delamere had spent £60,000 for all of his land at the beginning of the century and had sold portions of it for £212,043 by 1926, yet he remained the largest land-holder in the colony.

[42]The Nyeri District Annual Report of 1915-16 listed 134 European residents. Among the British there were 24 men, 11 women, and 5 children; among the Italian missionaries there were 25 men and 28 women; 1 Swedish man; and among the Afrikaners or "Dutch" there were 8 men, 8 women, and 29 children. In contrast to the other nationalities, the Afrikaners went to the frontier districts as families, as was their custom in South Africa. This same report listed the occupations of the men: 6 officials, 3 merchants, 14 farmers, 26 missionaries, 1 surveyor, and curiously enough, 8 transport riders. It is probable that all 8 Afrikaners were transport riders. KNA, DC/NYI/1/2, Nyeri District Annual Report, 1915-16.

[43]KNA, DC/LKA/1/1, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1920-21. According to this report, many potential settlers,

Nanyuki or Rumuruti districts between 1921 and 1925, with Plateau residents following in 1925 and 1926.[44]

District reports from Laikipia in the late 1920s (not including Nanyuki or Northern Nyeri District) show the growing importance of the Afrikaners in the district. Until 1924 no specific mention was made of this faction of the settler community. The DC reported in 1923 that "Laikipia is occupied mainly by Soldier-Settlers who have had to face very difficult times which have as yet scarcely begun to improve."[45] The next year he noted the need of the "Dutch" to sell hides and "that the opening up of

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presumably soldier-settlers, had visited the area and were dissatisfied with the stony soil and the dry climate. Jozua Joubert, whose father and family moved to Laikipia in 1921, indicated that the two other Afrikaner families in the area before them, the Luies and the Van Zyls, were both from Tanganyika. Interviewed June 25, 1969.

[44]KNA, DC/LKA/1/1, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1920-21; and interview with Martinus Johannes Christoffel Fourie, June 13, 1969. Other families from Tanganyika were the Van Dyks, the Mullers, and the Vander Westhuizens. Among those from the Plateau were the de Wets, Malans, and Drys. A report of a visit by the Moderator of the Cape Synod of the NGK confirms the presence of these families in these areas and adds a few names. In Nyeri, Ben and Ernst van Biljon, and Barnard; in Nanyuki, Andries Bosman, Jan van der Westhuizen and Theunis de Bruijn; and in Laikipia, Daan, Albert and Koos Luies (former two may have been sons of Koos), Jan Joubert, and Piet van Dyk. Ds. M. P. Loubser, "Die Moderator in Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel XV, no. 48, December 2, 1925. This list does not claim to be complete for NGK members and certainly not for non-NGK members. A report of a visit by an NHK clergyman in 1923 indicated that many members of that denomination had scattered over the colony and could not be visited. A few had probably migrated to Laikipia. Letter from H. P. Wolmarans, De Hervormer, March 15, 1923, p. 13.

[45]KNA, DC/LKA/1/1, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1923.

Laikipia as an alienated area has up to date been an economic failure."[46] In 1925 the DC was concerned that the Afrikaners were not joining the two farmers' associations in the district.[47] One of the reasons may have been that many of these newcomers did not own land but rather lived as squatters or bywoners on the few Afrikaner-owned farms.[48] Nevertheless the DC's concern reflected their growing numerical importance.

Population statistics for all Europeans in Laikipia as given in DC annual reports are as follows:

	Men	Women	Children	Total
1922	98	46	22	166
1926	114	58	44	216
1928	120	70	61	251
1929	139	79	72	290
1932	165	90	112	367

Only the 1928 and 1929 reports distinguished between South African Dutch and British inhabitants of the district. In 1928 slightly more than one-fourth of the men and women were Afrikaners (32 men and 19 women), and over half of the children (33), or one-third of the total European population. Emigration from the district during the depression caused a decrease in 1929; 20 men, 12 women, and 27 children.[49] In 1930 the decrease continued, causing the

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[46]Ibid., 1924. [47]Ibid., 1925.

[48]Ibid., 1927.

[49]Ibid., 1922; KNA, DC/LKA/1/13, Laikipia District Annual Reports, 1926, 1928; KNA, DC/LKA/1/15, Laikipia

small farm school used exclusively by the Afrikaners to be closed.[50]

Population growth occurred again a few years later when better land was made available. The Rumuruti area had proved incapable of supporting large numbers of settlers. A much more fertile and higher rainfall area south of Thomson's Falls was opened up for settlement in the 1930s when the East African Syndicate relinquished control of it.[51] Very quickly Afrikaners converged on the area. In 1935 the Kenya Colony Official Gazette Supplement listed fifty-four male and thirty-nine female Afrikaner registrants in the Aberdares electoral district (including Rumuruti and the area south of Thomson's Falls), and immigration continued into this area after 1935. A few individual families migrated to other European areas of the colony but this number was insignificant.

District Annual Reports, 1929, 1932. It is difficult to corroborate these figures. The Kenya Colony Official Gazette Supplement of 1928 listed the names of 20 Afrikaners subject to jury duty in Laikipia out of a total of 97 names.

[50]M. P. Loubser, "Die Gemeente Vergenoeg, Kenya-Kolonie, Oos-Afrika," originally printed in Die Kerkbode, March 31, 1929. Reprinted in Oos-Africa, Deel II, no. 1, April, 1948, pp. 28-33. Also see KNA, DC/LKA/1/115, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1930. Four of these families were joined by more families from the Nanyuki region in a trek to Northern Rhodesia. KNA, Education/Deposit 1/527, European School, Nanyuki.

[51]See Ross, Kenya From Within, p. 73; Mungeam, British Rule, p. 113. Also Robert Remole discusses the acquisition of this land by the East African Syndicate in "White Settlers or the Foundation of European Agricultural Settlement in Kenya" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1959), pp. 151-57.

The Afrikaners' second response to this impoverished condition was to change occupations. British prejudice and the Afrikaners' lower educational achievement limited the range of this response.

In the early 1930s the opening of the gold fields near Kakamega in western Kenya drew many Afrikaners. Gold had been found in this area by missionaries as early as 1904 but was not mined systematically until Mr. Louis A. Johnson began panning in 1928. He formed the Eldoret Mining Syndicate in 1931 and began large scale mining. Other mining companies moved in shortly thereafter but the area remained open to small scale mining by individuals for the next few years.[52] One interviewee estimated that about 15 percent of the male Afrikaner population joined the rush to these gold fields. Though most found this an illusory escape from poverty a few did very well.[53] Another interviewee stated that he had acquired sufficient capital in the fields to permit him to buy a farm and equipment in the Thomson's Falls area.[54] However, the 1935 voters roll listed only two Afrikaner miners in the Nyanza District.[55]

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[52]CO, East African Series, Pamphlets, "Advance, Kenya," The Mining World and Engineering Record, August 5, 1933, pp. 153-59.

[53]Interview with C. J. Roets, August 9, 1969.

[54]Interview with Nicholas van Deventer, June 24, 1969.

[55]Kenya Colony Official Gazette Supplement, 1935.

These gold fields did not make a significant impact on the Afrikaner community.

Other occupations of the non-farmer Afrikaners were: four railroad workers (Nairobi and Uasin Gishu), two farm overseers (Nyanza and Trans-Nzoia), two farm assistants (Rift Valley and Uasing Gishu), two transport riders (Ukamba), one road foreman (Rift Valley), three mechanics (Aberdares and Uasin Gishu), one garage proprietor (Aberdares), two salesmen (Uasin Gishu), three teachers (Uasin Gishu), one dressmaker (Uasin Gishu), one clergyman (Uasin Gishu), and twenty with unknown occupations.[56] Thus the Afrikaners were only marginally integrated into the non-agricultural labor pool of the colony.

In the mid-1930s the economic conditions of the colony, and of the farmer-settlers in particular, began to improve. There were three causes for these improvements: (1) the establishment of the Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya in 1931, which could grant large loans to farmers for extended periods;[57] (2) higher prices for agricultural products, especially wheat, on the world market; and (3) the opening of the fertile area south of Thomson's Falls for settlement by small farmers. The Afrikaners benefitted

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[56] Ibid.

[57] See S. Thornton, "The Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya," East African Review, September, 1931, pp. 16-19 for an account of the founding of the bank. According to Thornton, the bank was directed to help the small farmer.

directly from all of these historical occurrences and by the end of this period few remained in an impoverished state.

The Afrikaners did not become more actively involved in settler politics as one of their responses to poverty. Rather the inter-war period was marked by political apathy. A prime example of this occurred with the first elections to the Legislative Council in 1920. Earlier a committee of the appointed Legislative Council had established electoral districts which were to parallel interest groups among the settlers. The Uasin Gishu was given two delegates, theoretically one for each ethnic group.[58] In the election, the supposedly Afrikaner district (Plateau South) was contested by a Britisher and an Afrikaner and the former won the election.[59]

It is improbable that this election signified a breakdown of ethnic xenophobia in this district or in the colony. It had been the colonial administration's intent to bring the right Afrikaners into the political processes of the colony as early as 1911 with Cloete's appointment to the Land Board. In 1918 the first Afrikaner was

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[58]Bennett, Kenya, pp. 37-40.

[59]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Legislative Council.

appointed to the Legislative Council, P. L. Uys. But the prospect of an elected Afrikaner who would be responsible to his constituents was abhorrent to the British settlers. They complained "that the Committee had gerrymandered the Uasin Gishu constituencies to the advantage of the Dutch."[60] Obviously many British settlers resented any Afrikaner influence on colony-wide affairs. But the 1920 election showed that their fears were unwarranted. The Afrikaners had lost interest in colony political matters. They even discontinued sending any of their nationality to the Convention of Associations after 1919 and supported efforts to disband it.[61]

Similarly Afrikaners withdrew from ethnically mixed organizations on the Plateau. The primary political forum before the war, the Uasin Gishu Farmers' Association, deteriorated to a very small group by late 1919 and disappeared for two years.[62] It was resurrected in 1921 with two branches, an "English Section" and a "South African Section."[63] This "South African Section" became a separate organization called the Uasin Gishu South African Farmers' Association, or the "Dutch branch" as the LBEA called it. This "branch" did send a representative to the December

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[60]LBEA, November 23, 1918, p. 20.

[61]LBEA, February 14, 1920, p. 5.

[62]LBEA, December 6, 1919, p. 6.

[63]LBEA, November 5, 1921, p. 19.

Convention of Associations meeting in 1921, but not one of their own nationality. Rather they sent T. J. O'Shea, an Irishman whose affinity to the Afrikaners rested on his strong Irish Nationalist and anti-British sentiments.[64] The Afrikaners had no one among themselves who could represent them in colony affairs.

In the early 1920s two local political units served as advisory agencies for the District Commissioner, the District Committee and the Municipal Committee. No lists of their members are available but after their revision into the District Council and the Municipal Board in 1929, the Municipal Board had no Afrikaners, either elected or nominated, and the District Council had only three of twelve members who were Afrikaners.[65] Their participation

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[64] Ibid.; and December 10, 1921, p. 26; KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Legislative Council. O'Shea was elected to the Legislative Council from the Plateau South in 1924 and served until he left the colony in 1930.

In a letter to the LBEA on April 11, O'Shea called for support for the Irish cause by raising the slogan, "Ireland for the Irish." An initialled response to his letter came from the Uasin Gishu and warned of the implications of O'Shea's slogan: "In his letter to you of the 11th instant Mr. O'Shea returns to his attempt to start an Irish Sinn Fein propaganda in this country. With all our troubles of our own that we are passing through, surely it is just a little too much to expect us to get excited about Irish recriminations. 'Ireland for the Irish,' says Mr. O'Shea; and, presumably, Africa for the Africans. What is Mr. O'Shea doing here?" Apparently O'Shea did not carry his political philosophy to such a logical conclusion. LBEA, April 23, 1921, p. 12.

[65] KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Government in Uasin Gishu. The District Council's primary responsibilities at this time were to build and maintain local roads, an activity at which the Afrikaners

in local affairs in other parts of the colony was also limited. In the Trans-Nzoia where their numbers were comparatively small, two Afrikaners (of twenty-two) were members of the District Committee and the Road Board in 1921.[66]

In Laikipia a concerted effort was made beginning in 1926 to persuade the Afrikaners to join the farmers' associations in the district. The DC reported: "To my mind the Dutch community's interests are not sufficiently represented owing to the difficulty some of their members experience in understanding and speaking English." He recommended that the associations be permitted to suggest names for advisory committees but that one seat should be reserved for a DC-nominated Dutchman.[67] The following year a new association called the Colonial Farmers' Association was formed and was exclusively Afrikaans. The DC unhappily reported that

> the association has served no useful purpose. Certain members have now taken the association in hand with a view to its management on constitutional lines. This is all to the good. An association which can adequately represent the Dutch point of view is an acquisition.

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had the reputation of excelling. This may explain the rather high proportion of Afrikaners on this council in contrast to other agencies on the Plateau.

[66] LBEA, December 31, 1921, Supplement.

[67] KNA, DC/LKA/1/13, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1926.

Nevertheless he hoped that it would amalgamate with the larger Laikipia Farmers' Association. During the year he did nominate one Afrikaner to the District Committee and later gave their Association three seats (out of eleven unofficial seats).[68] The following year the Colonial Farmers' Association disbanded when it was discovered that its secretary, W. S. Van der Walt, had absconded to South Africa with the organization's funds.[69] The organization again appeared in 1937 under the rubric of the New Colonial Farmers' Association. The administrative officer of the Laikipia District at that time did not look upon the revival of this organization with the same approval as was true in 1927. He said:

> Its aims are to get grants of land from Government for the young Colonists growing up in Kenya. It claims to extend to the Uasin Gishu but it appears to be almost confined to Laikipia. I think there has been a split in the party caused by a too Dutch element wanting all proceedings to be in Afrikans [sic]. Its activities should be watched to see it does not become subverted into a Pro-Dutch Propaganda Society.[70]

This change in attitude by the administrative officers may have been a quirk of the different personalities of the DC's but probably more influential were the new circumstances which existed in Laikipia in 1937. The new influx

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[68]KNA, DC/LKA/1/1, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1927.

[69]KNA, DC/LKA/1/13, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1928.

[70]KNA, DC/LKA/3/1, Laikipia District Handing-Over Report, 1937.

of Afrikaners threatened to become a powerful separatist faction within that district.

After the railway issue subsided, the Plateau Afrikaners were aroused by only two political issues, the currency crisis of 1920-21 and the Asian question. Their participation in the complicated political meanderings on the first issue was indirect.[71] The Plateau South MLC, Mr. A. C. Hoey, had blundered badly in trying to lead the elected members of the Council on this delicate issue. In March he was compelled to apologize publicly for his incompetent leadership and he resigned shortly after.[72] The following election sent E. W. Grogan to the Legislative Council from the Plateau South.[73]

The political crisis over the rights of Asians in Kenya Colony has been thoroughly discussed in other sources and need not be gone into here.[74] This issue did not leave

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[71]For a competent discussion of this crisis, see Ross, Kenya From Within, pp. 199-216. The wildly fluctuating value of the rupee, Kenya's currency, was responsible for the crisis.

[72]LBEA, March 26, 1921, p. 14.

[73]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Legislative Council. Grogan left the colony in early 1923 and was replaced by a provisional member. His continued absence twelve months later forced an election at which time O'Shea was elected.

[74]J. S. Mangat, A History of the Asians in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1969, especially pp. 115-27; L. W. Hollingsworth, The Asians of East Africa (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.), 1960, especially pp. 76-108; Ross, Kenya From Within, pp. 297-430; and Bennett, Kenya, pp. 41-52. Ross's account is the most detailed and gives much information on the attempted coup d' etat in 1923 by some settlers.

the European Plateau residents passive. In an article entitled "The Plateau Solid," the LBEA reported on two meetings on the Plateau. The meeting in Eldoret on September 2, 1921, had 135 residents in attendance to hear members of the executive of the Convention of Associations speak. Thirteen names of settlers present were listed of which two were Afrikaans, Ds. M. P. Loubser and Mr. Engelbrecht. The speakers placed the local Asian discontent in an international setting, claiming that the Kenyan Asians were merely the vanguards in Africa for the expansionist goals of Gandhi and his cohorts. The meeting was ended by a request from a Commander Cokes "that the White community might speak with one voice, and, if necessary, act as one." The speakers also asked the Dutch present to ask Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, for assistance. Loubser translated the request into Afrikaans and received unanimous support for a telegram to that effect. The following day at a similar meeting at Soy a request for funds for a "campaign" made it very clear to all that the settlers were considering rebellion if the Asian question went against them.[75] There is no other record of involvement by Afrikaners in the conspiratorially planned coup d'etat of 1923. More than likely distrust of the Nairobi-based leaders of the anti-government group overcame their distrust of the colonial government on the Asian issue.

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[75]LBEA, September 10, 1921, p. 10.

Etheridge, the editor of the small Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser, commented in mid-1923:

> Reuters learns from a trustworthy source that opinion is hardening that the solution of the Kenya difficulties will be found in a reversion to some form of Crown Colony Government. . . . This is the wisest solution we have yet seen on the Kenya situation. Representative Government granted to this colony has been a complete failure owing to the fact that the white population is far too small, that it offers no choice of representative men. The same names must be constantly flouted in the face of the electorate, who have no choice but to refrain from voting or to vote for men who do not carry their confidence. By reverting to Crown Colony Government confidence will be restored to the Indians and Natives and incidentally to a goodly number of Europeans.[76]

There was much distrust of settler leadership on the Plateau. Reason for this distrust and fear of British settlers on the part of the Afrikaners can be seen in an exchange of letters to the editor of the EAS in 1927. In an effort to remove the pejorative assignations which surrounded the term "Dutchman" in the colony, one who called himself "Ultra-South" stated that the Dutch were a proud

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[76]Cited in Ross, Kenya From Within, p. 382. Taken from Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser, July 28, 1923. Mrs. Desmond Cleeve Connor, daughter of Mr. John H. Etheridge, said her father had founded the Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser in 1916, changed its name to the Uasin Gishu Herald for a short time, and continued publishing it throughout the colonial period. It was still being published in 1969 as the Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser, an advertising publication for the local businessmen. It had changed ownership and was then operated by Asians. Mrs. Connor indicated that her father also ran it almost exclusively as an advertiser but on occasion made comments as the one noted above. Interviewed June 11, 1969.

The LBEA discontinued publication in mid-1922 and was purchased by the EAS. The EAS did not maintain a correspondent on the Plateau as the LBEA had done and regular published news of Plateau local events was not printed thereafter.

people and need not have a stigma attached to their name. The writer pointed to their Eighty-Years War, the Huguenots' struggle in France (many migrated to South Africa in the late seventeenth century and melded into the Dutch population already there), the Boers' heroic struggle in the Anglo-Boer War, and the Boers' maintenance of racial purity as manifestations of a proud people. He called those who came to Kenya "unrefined illiterates" but he deplored the shabby treatment which they received from some officials. "They are the victims of undeserved and unjust aspersions. All whites must stand together."[77] The following week another letter signed "South African Scot" praised the former letter and declared that the "Dutch" had one characteristic which was shared with the English; they never knew when they were beaten. He asserted that the ill-feeling towards the "Dutch" was caused by ignorance on the part of the English.[78]

The Afrikaners regularly employed Africans on their farms during this period. In the early 1920s most of their laborers were Elgeyo from the eastern edge of the Plateau and some Marakwet north of the Elgeyo.

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[77] EAS, June 18, 1927, p. 56.

[78] EAS, June 25, 1927, p. 17.

In 1919 a serious border incident occurred between the Elgeyo and the nearby European farmers. A fairly well organized and successful cattle raid was staged by the Elgeyo. The reasons for the raid are not clear. The anonymous historian of the Uasin Gishu thought a famine of 1918-19 and the district DC's continued pressure for the hut tax to be the major causes for the raid. The government also stopped these tribesmen from trespassing on the farms bordering their reserve to graze cattle (particularly the Afrikaner J. de Waal's farm).[79] The Elgeyo's "trespassing" on these farms was legitimized in their eyes because, as one of their DC's put it: "They were driven from the Escarpment [eastern Plateau] by enemies called the Kiptiori from the North East and before they could again emerge from the Escarpment back to their old grounds they found the land confiscated by European estates and concessions."[80] One elderly Elgeyo interviewee who had been working for Europeans by the end of World War I stated that the cause for the raid was the bad treatment which members of his tribe received when they hired out to Afrikaner transport riders on the Londiani road. He insisted that a number of Elgeyo never returned from these trips and that

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[79]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Africans.

[80]KNA, DC/ELGM/2/1, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Handing-Over Report, 1921.

this was the immediate cause.[81] In addition to those factors it is possible that the border farmers had trespassed on the Elgeyo reserve before the raid. In 1922 the Elgeyo's DC noted that with some border farmers "cattle running and poaching are not looked on as moral crimes."[82] The same would probably have been true three years earlier.

The raid occurred on February 16 and over 500 head of cattle and 600 sheep and goats were stolen. Five Elgeyo were killed by settlers as the latter defended their stock. Six days after the raid the police staged a counter raid, seized 551 head of cattle and 1,100 sheep and goats. The King's African Rifles followed a few days later and burned eight Elgeyo homes.[83] These retaliatory raids had a salutary effect for there is no record of similar raids after this incident.

The need for labor was frequently acute on the Uasin Gishu. The early annual reports of the Elgeyo-Marakwet district devoted much attention to the progress of encouraging both the Elgeyo and the Marakwet to hire themselves out to the farmers of the area. A five rupee hut tax encouraged the two tribes to leave their homes for

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[81]Interview with Kipto, June 12, 1969. Unfortunately no other clear-minded Elgeyo of Mr. Kipto's age was found who could verify this contention.

[82]KNA, DC/ELGM/2/1, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Handing-Over Report, 1921.

[83]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Africans.

employment on the farms before 1922. In 1920 their DC reported that 700 to 800 of a total of 15,853 Elgeyo had gone off to the Plateau to work and over 600 Marakwet.[84] When the construction of the railway began members of both tribes preferred working for these contractors rather than farmers.[85] The consequent shortage of labor on the Uasin Gishu caused farmers to turn increasingly to more stable squatter labor. This trend was facilitated by the switch from mixed farming to agriculture after 1918. Without much stock of their own the settlers did not fear the spread of disease by the squatter stock. By 1926 there were 840 Elgeyo squatters on European farms, most on the Uasin Gishu. The immediate effect was to relieve the overgrazing in the 412 square mile Elgeyo reserve. However, the relief was only short term as the DC remarked:

> The outlook for the future is however very bleak. . . . Practically no farmer can accommodate a herd of 50 cattle or more belonging to one resident native and so when the native's herd gets too big the farmer does not renew his contract but sends the native back to the Reserve with all the cattle he has accumulated. The farmer can easily get another native with but 10 head of cattle. The problem will become acute in under 5 years time.[86]

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[84]KNA, DC/ELGM/1/1, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Annual Report, 1919-20. There was a sub-station under an Assistant DC for a number of years in the 1920s in Marakwet. Separate reports were filed from this station on some years.

[85]Ibid., 1922, and Marakwet, 1923. The latter report indicated that a number of these workers died of influenza that year.

[86]Ibid., 1926.

In 1927 there were 1,000 Elgeyo squatters with 20,000 head of cattle and in 1929 there were 1,000 squatters who held one-third of the total cattle population of the Elgeyo on European farms.[87]

In addition to the Elgeyo the larger Nandi tribe southwest of the Plateau began occupying squatter positions during the 1920s. By 1930 some Nandi were replacing Elgeyo on the eastern side of the Plateau. In 1931 the DC of Elgeyo-Marakwet reported that many Elgeyo squatters were returning to the reserve with large numbers of cattle because of a job shortage.[88] As a consequence, the Elgeyo nearly staged a war on the Nandi for squatting on Elgeyo "farms." The confrontation was only avoided after the Chief Native Commissioner visited Tambach, arrested the instigators among the Elgeyo and threatened severe reprisals for those who persisted with these plans. These tribal tensions engendered insecurity among the local settlers.[89]

Though the Kaburu continued to treat their labor harshly during this period, they were more generous than the British settlers in permitting large squatter herds to

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[87]KNA, DC/ELGM/1/2, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Annual Reports, 1927 and 1929.

[88]Ibid., 1931.

[89]KNA, PC/RVP6A/1/15/4, Moiben Settlers Association, 1937; KNA, DC/ELGM/1/2, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Annual Report, 1932; and KNA, DC/ELGM/3/2, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Political Record File.

graze on their farms.[90] This practice may have prevented many complaints of harsh treatment or non-payment of wages from being filed against the Afrikaners.[91] Both the Nandi and the Elgeyo desperately needed grazing land beyond their reserve boundaries.

Other African ethnic groups also had labor representatives on the Plateau. Much of the casual labor came from the Abaluyia, the Jiluo, and the Wagishu from Uganda.[92] Since few of these were squatters, Afrikaners did not deal with them.

The inter-war period was marked by poverty among the Afrikaners in Kenya. The completion of the Uganda Railway to Eldoret in 1925 did not substantially alter their status. The Afrikaners responded to this condition by: (1) migrating to newly opened settlement areas within and outside the colony; (2) trying new occupations (with little success); and (3) emphasizing better educational

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[90]Interviews with David Mbuku, June 11, 1969; Kipto, June 12, 1969; Samson Jinga, June 16, 1969; Francis Kimauy Kurreie, June 16, 1969; and Kimayu Bundatech, June 16, 1969.

[91]Only one recorded case of non-payment of wages by Afrikaners was found during this period. These charges were made against two Afrikaner road contractors where no squatter herds were involved. KNA, DC/ELGM/1/2, Elgeyo-Marakwet District Annual Report, 1928.

[92]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Africans.

opportunities. Politically the community had no leaders who were acceptable in the broader colonial community, leaving them with very limited political power.

CHAPTER V

AFRIKANER FRONTIER: STRUGGLE TO RETAIN CULTURAL INTEGRITY, 1918-40

Before World War I a few Afrikaners were prepared to compromise their ethnic identity in order to become respected members of the entire settler community. With the deaths of Cloete and Arnoldi, these Afrikaners lost their most effective leaders. Thereafter throughout the entire inter-war period community leadership devolved on clergymen from South Africa, especially Ds. M. P. Loubser. These clergymen viewed the community as an extension of Afrikanerdom from South Africa and resisted all efforts towards its assimilation into the broader settler community. Loubser was the most vocal of these clergymen. His position was representative of this group and became the dominant approach of the Afrikaners towards the British of Kenya until World War II.[1]

Loubser considered all outside influence to be detrimental to the whole Afrikaner community. In an

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[1]Loubser published a number of articles in De Kerkbode. This account of his views is dependent on those articles.

article in 1922 entitled "Afkeer of Afweer" (horror of or defense against), he said: "The relationship of South Africa to the great outside world makes it difficult for her to hold onto all the good things and virtues which she loves, to remain free from the abundant evils which at the same time are being deposited on her clean soil against her will and desire." He acknowledged that South Africa could not practically isolate herself. Indians could be prevented from migrating to South Africa but not Bolsheviks, Atheists, non-Sabbath observers, etc. He decried the readily available, frivolous and sometimes scurrilous publications from England, such as The World's News, Lloyd's News, Daily Mirror, The Socialist Smart Set, and others. He contended that these were concerned with the baser aspects of human nature and distracted young people from reading their Bibles. It was impossible for the Church and Christian parents to isolate the youth fom these influences because of their omnipresence but proper training would teach them to defend themselves against such evils.[2] For Loubser the small East African Afrikaner community was a microcosm of all Afrikanerdom. In a pamphlet of essays published in the early 1920s, Loubser set fourth his thoughts regarding the place of the Afrikaners in East Africa. First he defended the East African trekkers

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[2]M. P. Loubser, "Afkeer of Afweer," De Kerkbode, Deel XIII, no. 20, July 19, 1922, pp. 940-43.

against criticisms in South Africa for their decision to leave the Vaderland. Loubser argued for a much broader view of Vaderland.

> What means the exclamation: "Africa for the Afrikaners?" I think it means that Africa is for us and we are for Africa. It does not mean "South Africa for the South Africans." . . . In the depths of my heart I feel that South Africa is for me and I for South Africa but this feeling becomes stronger and more inspiring in me if I can say: "Africa is for me and I for Africa. . . ." It Strikes me that a man cannot love his Fatherland by bits and pieces. You must have the whole thing. Not South Africa, but Africa. From top to bottom, from Cairo to Table Mountain must the old Wasteland, must the old mammoth lay heavy on my heart. . . . Africa is our birthright [or heritage]; the trekkers in the North behave just as nature has shown them. They take what has been bequeathed to them.[3]

Regarding the recent European "invasion" he said:

> Africa is our Fatherland, we have the first claim, and I would be nothing but a weak fatherlander if a European must beat me in the area of love and interest for Africa. . . . Africa is the land of the future and our expatriates are gradually securing that future. If we see how foreign nations expand over the sea to become masters over Africa, then do not grudge our own trekkers all the success which they can have to obtain mastery for ourselves.[4]

Rather than criticize, Loubser glorified them:

> They are still the forerunners of civilization, they are the vanguard for those who follow, they open new paths for business and trade. . . . Later our children will pluck the sweet fruit of the labour and persistence of the pioneers; later our children will also trek when the wild interior has been tamed.[5]

In his opinion, the East African trekkers were very much in the tradition of the earlier trekkers. They were

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[3]Onse Uitgewekene (Kaapstad: Die Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1923), pp. 28-31.

[4]Ibid., pp. 14-15. [5]Ibid., p. 5.

evidences of God's wish that the Afrikaners' should rule Africa. "If it were not so that our nation possessed the power to expand in the Bibical sense, then would we already have been doomed to bow our necks under the yoke of foreign domination."[6] He encouraged those who extolled the virtues of the long dead trekkers on national holidays to end their speeches by saying,

> People, there are just such trekker people today as your feelings compel you to honor and respect the memories of past heros and heroines now. Here is an open door for your sentiments and aspirations: look to the North and do not let your inspiration stop with that which is past; turn your face to the sun and permit your expression of your sacred sentiments which you now feel to be directed towards our contemporary trekkers who go to new areas and tame the desolate regions there above in our Fatherland.[7]

For Loubser trekking was an essential element for the preservation of Afrikanerdom:

> Each Trek is a newborn child of our people [volk], a new testimony of our power to expand, a joyous symbol of a new life. . . . If we stop and suppress the Treks, then we run the danger of shutting off the capacity of our people to produce, but since the Creator has placed so much power to expand in us, it can happen, if we wish to keep the people all in a pile, that presently something will burst there, for what is in your blood must come out.[8]

As was true of the early trekkers, so his contemporary trekkers needed the church to follow and support them in their predestined task. For that matter the future expansionism of the church was directly related to the expansion of the volk.

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[6] Ibid., p. 38.

[7] Ibid., p. 41.

[8] Ibid., p. 39.

> Because our people have the power to expand, therefore shall our Church have power to spread. If our Church must spread, it must do so through the medium of our people, not through the medium of the heathen; the more Holland Afrikaners will accept Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior, the more heathens will find the way of salvation. . . . He [the Lord] determined that our Church must play an important role in His Kingdom and He has united the power of our people to expand with the power of our Church to spread; the two powers together, the one just as important as the other.[9]

Since the future of the Church and Afrikanerdom were united Loubser exhorted the Mother Church to maintain ties with the trekkers and to care for their religious orthodoxy for

> he [the trekker] runs the danger of losing his feeling for his nation [volk]. . . . There is danger that an estrangement process is going on between the people in South Africa and the people of the interior. For that the Church must keep its eye trained. It cannot be expected that our Voortrekkers concern themselves with maintaining their nationality and with embracing their nation's culture. . . . They have a larger and more sacred task before them. Their first duty is to live.[10]

After the wilderness had been conquered, the expatriates could turn to the affairs of their nation. But during the interim

> the South and the North must not become disconnected, and the best connection is the warm brotherly hand which is stretched from the South and which is gratefully grasped and shaken by those up there. It is the mission of our clergy up there to keep alive this connection, to pull the bands of unity more tightly, to maintain national awareness and to halt the estrangement process.[11]

Thus Loubser saw his mission and that of the Church as one in which the expatriates would be constantly reminded of

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[9] Ibid., p. 38.

[10] Ibid., p. 7.

[11] Ibid., p. 8.

their past and of their unity with their brothers of the South. The Church through its clergy was the institution which would preserve the bonds of unity but the means was through education. Loubser urged South Africans to help the trekkers by contributing funds for the proper education of the trekker children.[12]

Just as Loubser would have preferred that South Africa, or more particularly, the Afrikaner community, should be isolated from the rest of the world, so he would have preferred that the East African Afrikaners should remain unaffected by their surroundings and would remain true to their volkstradisies. In each case Loubser manifested his absolute confidence in the meritorious and self-sufficient nature of Afrikaner culture. But Loubser and the trekkers found themselves in the anomalous position of being in a British-administered and British-dominated territory but not wishing to become British. They desired to have all of the benefits which other Europeans of the territory had without losing their own uniqueness, their own culture. To a remarkable degree the Afrikaners were able to accomplish both goals.

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[12] Ibid.

Permanent structures for the three Dutch Reformed churches were built during this period: Vergenoeg NGK in 1921, Rensburgrus NHK in 1922, and rebuilt in 1933, and Eldoret GK in 1930. All were built in and around Eldoret. A second structure was built by the Vergenoeg Gemeente for its members further south and east at Nakuru in 1931. No new congregation was ever formed in this building and it remained part of the Vergenoeg Gemeente until independence.

From the end of World War I, Vergenoeg was served almost continuously by clergymen. Rensburgrus received many visiting clergymen before 1936, with their first permanent pastor arriving that year. From 1940 to 1948 it was again vacant, after which it was served continuously until 1962. The GK received its first permanent clergyman in 1933, but was vacant again from 1937 to 1949.[13] This was sufficient clerical support to prevent defections to non-Dutch Reformed churches in the colony.

Animosities between the three churches, rather common in South Africa, were not forgotten in East Africa. Though Loubser was never accused of pursuing narrow sectarian interests, another clergyman who served Vergenoeg, G. J. van Zijl, was accused by a visiting NHK clergyman, L. E. Brandt, in 1922 of trying to eliminate the NHK on the Plateau. Brandt reported that he was the first NHK

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[13]See Appendix A for partial list of serving pastors.

clergyman to visit Kenya in eight years. During that interval many had left to join the NGK but were prepared to return now that the home church had reaffirmed their interest and support of Rensburgrus by sending him to visit. This is confirmed by the membership list of Vergenoeg which showed nearly a dozen members leaving that congregation to join Rensburgrus in 1921 and 1922. Whether this loss of membership prompted van Zijl to call for a meeting of himself, Brandt and a GK visiting clergyman, N. H. van der Walt is not clear, but Brandt reported that the meeting was called to discuss

> cooperation among the three churches and again it came out that the United Church (NGK) wants but only to swallow us up. I made it very clear to Ds. van Zijl that there could be no such talk, and that only when such thoughts were completely removed from his head and there was no more talk about it, could he expect the Hervormers to cooperate on educational and other national affairs in this territory.[14]

In actuality, Brandt had no grounds for fearing the demise of his congregation in East Africa. With the exception of the GK in the 1940s the membership transfers of Vergenoeg to and from the smaller churches were not significant, as the following figures show:[15]

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[14]Letter from Ds. Brandt, De Hervormer, May 15, 1922, p. 6.

[15]There is record of only two transfers before 1920, one transferring to the GK from the NGK and one the reverse. Many of the transfers can be explained by marriages. It was customary for the wife to join the church of the husband if he belonged to another Dutch Reformed Church. See Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 2, March, 1946, p. 9.

Members of Vergenoeg NGK Transferring to and From Rensburgrus NHK and Eldoret GK

	Transfer to:		Transfer from:	
	NHK	GK	NHK	GK
1920-29	13	4	2	3
1930-39	8	3	2	8
1940-49	11	4	15	25
1950-59	21	4	18	7
1960-69	1	2	5	3
Totals	54	17	42	46

Nevertheless, inter-denominational tensions persisted throughout this period.

The divisiveness in the community was not severe enough to force its members into British institutions. The number of transfers to English churches was minimal.[16] However, social clubs were more important to Plateau British settlers and few Afrikaners joined these. The Eldoret Sports Club founded before World War I had a mixed membership but receded in importance after the Eldoret Club was founded in 1919.[17] Though a few Afrikaner names

[16]Vergenoeg had three transfers to English churches during this period. Vergenoeg Gemeente Membership List. It is unlikely that the other two churches had more than three.

[17]KNA, DC/UG/2/1, UG District Political Record File--Social.

(as well as African) were on the membership list of the latter club in 1969, those Afrikaners interviewed indicated that few had been invited to join before World War II. Other Plateau clubs such as the Sergoit Club and the Kaptagat Club were also very British. British settlers showed little concern for integrating Afrikaners into their clubs and the Afrikaners remained loyal to their own institutions.

The colonial administration was concerned with this problem and expressed its concern through its educational policies. As has been noted the Uasin Gishu had three educational systems for Europeans by 1918: English government-supported farm schools; English Eldoret Central School; and Afrikaans private schools. These three systems operated concurrently until the 1930s. In all three systems Afrikaner children dominated; the private or parochial schools and the government-supported farm schools were exclusively Boer and the Eldoret Central School was about three-fourths Boer in 1919.[18]

The Education Department was conscious of its responsibility to educate the Plateau children and it attempted to do so efficiently with local support. The report of the 1919 Education Commission recommended the continuation of the farm schools as many Afrikaners wished

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[18]Evidence given by the Principal of the Eldoret Central School to the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919, pp. 43-45.

and advocated increasing the number of standards at both the Nakuru and Eldoret central schools beyond Standard IV to the Standard VI matriculation level. This would permit more Uasin Gishu students to receive higher levels of education near the influence of the Afrikaner community and their churches. The Commission frowned on the use of locally trained teachers and advocated using only British university trained personnel in the central schools. It condoned locally trained teachers who knew the Taal (Afrikaans) for farm schools. This was approved by the Afrikaners even though it meant that these teachers were inadequately trained.

Both the Education Commission and the Education Department were adamant on the use of English as the language medium. The Education Commission said: "In all European schools English should be the medium of education and we do not think there is any considerable body of opinion among the non-English inhabitants of the Protectorate that any other medium should be used."[19] However, the Education Commission saw no reason why opportunity for religious instruction should not be permitted in the schools and

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[19]CO East African Series--Pamphlets, found in the report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919. Report also found in LBEA, February 28, 1920, p. 23. The Education Department had insisted on the use of English in all government-supported schools since the opening of the farm schools in 1910.

> . . . in this connection the teaching of Dutch must be considered. . . . The Commission sees no objection to Dutch being taught as an optional additional subject in those schools on the Plateau where there are Dutch children. The teaching of Dutch will necessarily displace some other subjects for those who take it. That disadvantage is however we consider outbalanced by the advantage of giving Dutch children the opportunity of becoming well grounded in their faith.[20]

Insistence on the use of English was motivated more by cultural arrogance and institutional inertia than by a desire to bring about the integration of the two communities.

The Afrikaner clergymen recognized that Government insistence upon English schools would subvert Afrikaner culture in Kenya. To avoid that possibility Loubser had set up private Afrikaans schools shortly after his arrival in East Africa and continued to agitate for the use of Afrikaans in government schools. After the war he appeared to have accepted the fact that the Government would not

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[20] Ibid., Evidence of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919. The Commission's recommendations were more liberal towards the Afrikaner community than were the recommendations of one Afrikaner instructor at the Eldoret Central School, Miss Maria Elizabeth Cloete. Miss Cloete told the Commission: "If people want Dutch I should teach it. The minister wants it for religious purposes. If parents require it I should provide Dutch teaching for three hours a week. It could be taken after school hours. If parents are so very keen they might pay for the teaching. If it were given I think the parents would soon lose their keenness." Miss Cloete reported that the Boer children frequently needed to use the Taal their first few years in school but that they learned English very quickly. She also expressed concern over the quality of teachers which were being used in the farm schools and advocated acquiring teachers from South Africa or England for these schools. Miss Cloete was the daughter of C. J. Cloete.

support non-English schools and turned to South Africa for assistance for his private schools. With finality he declared: "Without education we have no future."[21] Other clergymen from South Africa also recognized the dangers of anglicization. Vergenoeg's pastor from 1918 to 1921, Ds. H. C. de Wet said: "Indeed, loss of the taal means loss of the Church, and loss of the Church goes hand in hand with the loss of morals [or customs]."[22] Similarly G. J. van Zijl, de Wet's successor, warned that foreign influence had to be stopped through the maintenance of the private Afrikaans schools.[23] In spite of these continuous exhortations the Afrikaner community could not maintain the Broederstroom school during the hard times of the 1920s. In 1921 the parents once again requested government assistance.[24] The LBEA praised the "Dutch" for establishing their own schools and urged the government to give them assistance. Three schools were mentioned, Broederstroom, Sergoit, and a new

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[21]M. P. Loubser, "De Boeren in de Kenia Kolonie," De Kerkbode, Deel XII, no. 44, November 3, 1921, pp. 310-11.

[22]H. C. de Wet, report to De Kerkbode, Deel XII, no. 26, June 30, 1921, p. 743.

[23]G. J. van Zijl, "Oos-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XIII, no. 28, July 12, 1922, pp. 905-06.

[24]This request for assistance did not mean that the Broederstroom parents were ready to acquiesce to the government on the language issue. They conditioned their request with the statement "that equal rights should be given to both English and Dutch or that Dutch should be an optional subject left to the decision of the school Committee." LBEA, November 12, 1921, p. 13.

school in the Trans-Nzoia.[25] By 1925 Broederstroom was receiving government aid but the cost was the loss of its independence. During that year a colony-wide Committee on Grants-in-Aid for Education had set up requirements for reception of aid. Two of the requirements were that the finances and academic needs of the school would be determined by the Director of Education and that English be the language medium in all but the early standards.[26] For these reasons, Broederstroom became a normal government farm school when it began receiving assistance. Not wishing to share the same fate, Sergoit continued sporadically as a private school until the mid-1930s when it collapsed from lack of support.[27] Thus the financially weakest system disappeared on the Plateau.

The government farm schools did not survive the private schools by many years. The Education Department had declared it their intent already in 1921 to "centralize" the schools.[28] At various times during the inter-war

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[25]LBEA, June 18, 1921, p. 18. The existence of this school in the Trans-Nzoia was confirmed by a letter to the editor of the LBEA later that year. LBEA, November 26, 1921, p. 24. Except for one reference to a graduate, no other references to this school were found. As a private school, its existence must have been short-lived.

[26]CO East African Series--Pamphlets. Report of the Committee on Grants-in-Aid for Education, 1925.

[27]Interview with P. I. L. Steenkamp, June 18, 1969. Mr. Steenkamp was one of the last teachers in that school.

[28]LBEA, October 22, 1921, p. 13. This intention to centralize was mentioned in a speech by MLC Coney from the North Plateau. It should be noted here that all of the

period ten government farm schools have been verified from inspection reports. Seven were located on the Plateau, one in the Trans-Nzoia (possibly the former private school) and two in Rumuruti.[29] The centralization process throughout the colony gradually eliminated the farm schools in the 1930s. The last two schools were closed in 1939.[30]

While they were in existence the farm schools seemed to satisfy the needs of both the Education Department and many of the Afrikaner community. The large number and widely dispersed system of farm schools permitted more students to be day scholars while attending school, thus keeping educational costs low. One member of the Eldoret School Committee and of the colony Board of Education admitted that the cost of educating students in the farm schools in 1921 was one-fourth that of the Central School.[31]

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documents regarding education in Kenya during the inter-war period were not available in the Kenya National Archives in 1969. Though the Kenyan Government has a liberal policy of releasing classified documents after thirty years, this does not mean that all documents are in fact given to the National Archives where they can be catalogued and made available to scholars. This was certainly the case with the Education Department.

[29]The inspection reports were found in numerous files in KNA, Education/Deposit 1. There may have been other schools in existence for short periods of time. A letter to the editor of the LBEA in 1921 gave the maximum number of farm schools on the Plateau up to that time as nine with five operating in 1921. LBEA, November 5, 1921, p. 8.

[30]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. Letter from Principal of Eldoret Central School to Director of Education, April 10, 1939.

[31]Letter from O. H. Knight, LBEA, December 17, 1921, p. 17.

Since fees were charged in all schools, these inexpensive farm schools satisfied poverty-stricken Afrikaner parents and a budget-conscious Education Department whose goal was to grant educational opportunities for all Europeans in the colony. Furthermore the Afrikaner parents were permitted to nominate their own teachers, who were then approved by the Education Department. All of the farm school teachers on the Plateau were Afrikaans-speaking throughout this period. Also Afrikaans was permitted as the language medium through Standard II.[32]

As late as 1935 there were 113 students enrolled in the farm schools in contrast to 122 in Eldoret Central School. In addition there were 80 students in 3 other schools on the Plateau: 1 Catholic, 1 private (non-Afrikaner), and Sergoit School, which had 12.[33] Thus the farm schools served approximately one-third of the children on the Plateau.

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[32]See ch. III, 100-01. Also see letter from W. J. Wentzel, LBEA, November 12, 1921, p. 13. From the Inspection reports by the representatives of the Education Department throughout this period, the students' knowledge of English in these schools was usually minimal, leading one to believe that the temptation to use Afrikaans beyond Standard II in these schools was not persistently resisted.

[33]Except for the Sergoit students, many of the others enrolled in the non-government schools would not necessarily be local Plateau students. The total number enrolled in government schools throughout the colony that year was 1,121; 663 were enrolled in non-government schools, of which 47 were enrolled in Afrikaans schools. KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/13, Education-General-European.

The quality of education in the farm schools was determined by the capabilities of the individual teachers. The practice of not requiring the same qualifications for the farm school teachers as for the other schools of the colony continued throughout this period. As late as 1938 the only qualification farm school teachers needed was the school-leaving certificate with the necessary passing of the Junior Cambridge Exams.[34] Though some teachers for these schools were imported from South Africa, a number were taken from the Eldoret Central School after their matriculation.[35] The practice of paying a lower than minimal salary for these less qualified teachers was also continued. As the Director of Education pointed out in 1927 when commenting on the minimum salary of £400 established by the government: "It is not reasonable for example, to place on this scale a teacher in charge of a Dutch Farm School on the Uasin Gishy [sic] Plateau and Government has at our suggestion brought in a lower scale for these teachers."[36] Undoubtedly the Director felt justified in this recommendation because of the inferior

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[34]F. E. Malan, "Op Reis na Kenya," Die Kerkblad, September 7, 1938, p. 19.

[35]The Central School Principal, F. W. Humphries proposed this policy to the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate in 1919. See the Commission Report, pp. 43-46.

[36]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1986, Central Committee of European Education, Letter from Director of Education Orr to Grannum, Chairman of Central Committee, July 30, 1927.

qualifications of these teachers but it is also possible that better qualified teachers were not available because of the inferior salaries.[37] In 1921 the teachers' salaries in the Central School ranged from £300 to £525 for the Headmaster.[38] Nine years later a farm school teacher, Miss Aletta Engelbrecht, received a salary of £180.[39] As late as 1938 a clergyman was asking for teachers from South Africa for the starting salary of £210.[40] These low salaries could only attract inferior teachers. When the last two farm schools were closed in 1939 only two of the five teachers involved were accepted in the Eldoret Central School.[41]

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[37]Miss Maria Elizabeth Cloete suggested this in her comments to the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate. See the Education Commission Report, 1919, p. 24.

[38]LBEA, October 29, 1921, p. 10.

[39]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/895, Miss Aletta Engelbrecht. Board was supposed to have been furnished by parents. This same teacher aroused some controversy in 1931 when she became a Catholic. The parents wished to have her removed but realized that her newly-accepted faith was not justifiable grounds for release. She finished that year, resigned and moved to South Africa. Also see KNA, Education/Deposit 1/979, Farm School 674, Burnt Forest.

[40]Malan, "Op Reis," p. 19.

[41]Of the three not taken on by the Central School, one was given his termination notice after he had been sued for unpaid debts in 1935, had been accused of drunkenness and "fondness for women" in 1939 and had lost the respect of the "Dutch" community. KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1554, F. P. S. Olivier, 1937-50. Another was persuaded by Hunter, the principal, to retire and the third would retire because he was "unsuitable for Eldoret." KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, Confidential Letter from Principal of Central School, Eldoret to Director of Education, April 10, 1939.

The farm school buildings were also inferior. The government accepted responsibility for instruction but insisted that the parents provide and maintain the buildings. The result was inferior buildings with little or no maintenance as the case of the Burnt Forest School (Farm School No. 674) illustrates. That school's teacher requested a special grant from the Education Department for a new roof or a new building in 1929. After much correspondence the Colonial Secretary finally agreed to pay £30 to a local farmer towards the construction of a new building in 1931. The resultant building was so poorly constructed that it was in shambles by 1934.[42] Inspection reports of other buildings describe similar conditions. Broederstroom was using discarded desks from Eldoret in 1932.[43] Their buildings were in such bad repair in 1937 that the Inspector saw no loss in abandoning them.[44]

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[42]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/979, Farm School 674, Burnt Forest.

[43]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1362, Broederstroom Mixed European Primary School, 1932-36.

[44]KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/17, Education-General-European; Broederstroom, Plateau. Inspection Report of H. L. Bradshaw, Acting Chief Inspector of Schools, July 29, 1937. Although the Inspector stated that the parents had turned the buildings over to the government, lack of government maintenance would refute this. Furthermore, the NGK used these same facilities for a mission in 1944 with no record of title changes. Thus the actual ownership of the buildings must never have been given to the government. This information was acquired from the Land Registry Files in the Kenyan Lands Office.

Reports of the quality of education in these schools were mixed. Most inspectors noted that the average age of the children in each standard was higher than the average in the colony. Frequently English was declared a weak part of the curriculum and enrollment and attendance was usually low. In one instance the students' health was commented on: they looked weak and anemic.[45] Late in this period Broederstroom's academic reports improved. In 1935 the new principal, Wolmarans, was credited for making what had been a "pathetic collection of miscellaneous children" before his arrival, into an organized school. Another report followed later that year which said that the students had a good command of English and that "the school has rather a literary flavour for a country school." In mid-1937 the inspector could state that the academic work in the school was creditable and that the recent graduates had done very well in the Prince of Wales School entrance exams.[46] But these last few years at Broederstroom were exceptional.

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[45]KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/18, Education-General-European, Farm School 674, Kipkabus; KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/19, Education-General-European, Primary Farm School 139, Eldoret; and KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/20, Education-General-European, Primary Farm School 140, Eldoret.

[46]KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/17, Education-General-European, Broederstroom, Plateau. Discussion of the relationship of the Prince of Wales School with the Afrikaner community will follow on pp. 192-93.

Generally the comparison of the farm schools and the Central School given by the 1921 Plateau representative on the colony Board of Education in answer to criticisms of the cost of the latter was accurate:

> By the same argument you might as well compare the cost of a cottage with the cost of Buckingham Palace, and then blame the King for being extravagant. A farm school is a farm school, with a small schoolroom and usually one teacher, equipped for educating twenty to thirty day scholars up to 4th Standard. The Central School is a Central Boarding School, and was planned for 200 children, with staff, boarding accommodation, class-rooms, playing grounds and other necessary equipment.[47]

Many of the farm schools were closed when enrollment dropped below the marginal level or when instructors could not be found. This was not true of Broederstroom and probably Kipkabus, both closed in 1939. Two factors facilitated the closing of these schools. First, many Afrikaners had come to realize the disadvantage of inferior farm school education as their children increasingly searched for non-agricultural employment. They did not oppose the farm school closings. Secondly, and more importantly, the cost differential of enrolling students in both Broederstroom and the Central School had virtually disappeared by 1937. Of 38 students in Broederstroom, 26 were boarders, and of these 26, the government was paying wholly or partially for the board of 23 students. The

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[47]Letter from O. H. Knight, LBEA, December 17, 1921, p. 17. Inspection reports by department officials generally confirmed these conclusions.

annual cost per student at Broederstroom had risen to £24 and 4sh., while at the Central School it was £25 and 7sh.[48] Broederstroom had become a boarding school because the farmers in its immediate vicinity refused to send their children to this school. Rather they sent them to Eldoret where most of them received free boarding. Since the farm school system no longer served day scholars, its raison d'etre no longer existed.

The Eldoret Central School, started in 1915, soon became the primary educational institution on the Plateau. With three-fourths of its students coming from Afrikaans-speaking homes, relations between the educational authorities and the Afrikaner community were important for the effectiveness of this school. As expected language was the primary issue over which the two sides disagreed.

Encouraged by the benign attitude of the 1919 Education Commission towards the teaching of High Dutch in the Central School, the Afrikaners gained the support of their MLC, Captain Coney. In a speech to the Legislative Council, Coney proposed that the Central School hire at least one Afrikaner instructor and that Dutch be taught one hour per day.[49] Reacting to Coney's proposal a "Member of the Board of Education" protested criticism of the

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[48]KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/17, Education-General-European, Broederstroom, Plateau. Report of H. L. Bradshaw, Acting Chief Inspector of Schools, July 29, 1937.

[49]LBEA, October 22, 1921, p. 13.

government's attitude toward the Dutch. He declared that there were twenty-eight Dutch children in the Central School, of which five were receiving aid for their board and two day scholars were receiving tuition aid.[50] No English students received such aid. There were seven teachers for the one hundred plus farm school students whose salaries were paid by the government, though board was furnished by the parents. He contended that it cost the government from £10 to £12 per student for these scholars each year. "No one will grudge this, because it is far more important to the future welfare of the Colony that ignorant Dutch children should be educated than that a few hundred pounds should be saved to the taxpayer, but it knocks the bottom out of Capt. Coney's plea that not enough is being done for them." As for the one hour per day devoted to the teaching of Dutch in the Central School, the writer protested that this practice was years behind the times. Furthermore, "if it is to be compulsory, why should English children be obliged to learn a language that has no literature of its own, that has no future, and that is admitted to be decadent?" After assuring the readers that school facilities had been offered to the Afrikaners to teach Dutch to their students on their own time and at their own expense, this board member concluded: "Nor, on

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[50]It is not known exactly when the government began assisting individual students with board and fees. It may have started in 1921.

general principles, is it advisable, unless there is a very insistent demand for it, to introduce at this stage of Kenya's history the bilingual system which has caused so much complication elsewhere."[51]

This attack of the Dutch language was answered by a South African teacher at Broederstroom, J. G. S. Van Jaarsveld. His defense was made difficult by the nebulous position of High Dutch and Afrikaans in South Africa at that time. Thus he defended both languages. Concerning Dutch he said: "The man who says that the Dutch language of Holland has no literature of its own must be either a fool or an ignoramus." He claimed that the history of the growth of Afrikaans in South Africa warranted its equality with English in that country. In spite of efforts by the British to squelch Afrikaans in the nineteenth century, it had emerged triumphant. "Does this prove that the language has no future, Mr. Editor?" Van Jaarsveld praised some recent Afrikaans literateurs and declared that they were more productive than their English counterparts in South Africa. Finally he maintained that the Dutch did not wish to force their language on the English children but they did want it for their own children. As he saw it, this was a natural right, a fundamental principle in true

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[51]LBEA, November 26, 1921, p. 24. It was later disclosed that the author of this letter was the Director of Education, Orr. See LBEA, December 24, 1921, p. 6.

education, and a basic right in a democracy. "The Dutch language is as inseparable from the Dutchman as English is from the Englishman."[52]

The last public word in the argument was had by the supporters of English. One Eldoret writer challenged Van Jaarsveld's right to claim both High Dutch and Afrikaans as part of the Afrikaners' literary tradition.[53] The most scathing attack came from a British clergyman and Eldoret representative on the colony Board of Education, O. H. Knight, who said: "There is no good blinking the fact that a good many of the Dutch are not as loyal to the British Empire as they should be here and feel that the tone of the Eldoret School makes for British Imperialism . . . and there is a danger of their children becoming good citizens of the British Empire."[54] This was truly the nub of the differences between the majority of the Afrikaans-speaking community and the government on education.

Though Dutch or Afrikaans may have been taught during after-school hours before 1929, there is no evidence that it was taught as a subject in the normal school

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[52]LBEA, December 10, 1921, p. 16c. There was also a negative reaction to this board member's suggestion that no school was needed in the Trans-Nzoia. Forty-five parents including twenty-five Afrikaners signed a petition requesting that a school be built in Kitale.

[53]LBEA, December 31, 1921, Supplement.

[54]LBEA, December 24, 1921, p. 6.

curriculum until that year.[55] In 1931 French became necessary as an entrance requirement for the new secondary school, the Prince of Wales School in Kabete, and was added to the curriculum, thus permitting English and Afrikaans students to study French rather than Afrikaans. Loubser deplored this and labeled it as a step backward and two years later attempted to have French removed from the curriculum. The new Principal, Hunter, commented in his report to the Director: "He [Loubser] spoke very disparagingly around this topic for a few minutes, in a most ill-tempered manner. . . . Mr. Loubser's object would appear to be to get French abolished altogether, and to concentrate on Afrikaans. . . ." Hunter preferred having both subjects removed from the curriculum, and replaced with Ki-Swahili but the director instructed him to continue with the past policy.[56]

The general policy governing this issue was established in 1930 when the Central Committee on European Education recommended (and the government approved) the following prescription:

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[55]"De Kerk, Vergenoeg," De Kerkbode, Deel XXIII, no. 11, March 13, 1929, p. 403. Mrs. Jack Boshof, sister of Miss Cloete, thought her sister had taught Afrikaans at Central School before this date. Interviewed June 6, 1969.

[56]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/2259, Curriculum, European Schools, 1929-45. Letter from Principal, Eldoret Central School to Director of Education, November 9, 1933. For Loubser's position on this matter see his "Die Gemeentes Vergenoeg en Meru, Oos-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XXVII, No. 10, March 11, 1931, pp. 460-61.

> (a) As a medium of instruction, the use of Afrikaans should be restricted to such pupils as are unable to profit by instruction in English and only until they are able to so profit [incoming students whose home language was Afrikaans].
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> (b) As a subject of instruction, the teaching of Afrikaans may be permitted where the department is able to provide for special instruction without additional expense.

This prescription governed the department's policy until the 1950s. The Afrikaners did make an attempt to circumvent this policy. Since Afrikaans was strictly forbidden as the language medium in the boarding houses of the Eldoret School, the community converted an old parsonage into an eating hall for the students. Their children were permitted to speak Afrikaans there as well as in their weekly extra-curricular religious classes.[57]

This small victory on the language issue did not satisfy the clergymen visiting or serving the community. Loubser acknowledged that a few Afrikaners had become anglicized and attributed their loss to insufficient instruction in Afrikaans and Afrikaner culture.[58] A. L. Aucamp of the GK insisted that the community must have more teachers from his own denomination as well as more South African Calvinists. He repeated Loubser's earlier theme:

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[57]M. P. Loubser, "Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel XL, no. 17, October 27, 1937, pp. 789-90. It is not known how long this hostel continued; no other references were found regarding it though a similar suggestion was again made in 1958. See ch. VI, pp. 230-32.

[58]Ibid.

"Here is the forepoint of the voortrekkers and we believe that later trekkers will come here also."[59] The language issue was the primary reason for the comments in Die Kerkbode to the effect that education for the Afrikaners in the government schools was "hopeless" and that the Afrikaners should have their own school system.[60]

Though he was the initiator of the private schools on the Plateau, Loubser's support of a private Afrikaans school system waned after 1920. He may have resolved that the financial limitations of these schools were insurmountable. He may have realized that the loyalty of the Afrikaans community to these schools could not be maintained. He may have observed that even government supported farm school graduates were hampered in their efforts to participate more rewardingly in the economy of the colony, both for educational and social reasons. Thus Loubser's attention turned increasingly towards the government schools and their role in educating the Afrikaners.

Loubser's first concern in the 1920s and 1930s was the "poor white" problem among the Afrikaners in East Africa. Except for some pleas for assistance from South Africa, most of Loubser's efforts were directed to gaining governmental assistance, primarily through education, for

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[59]Report by A. L. Aucamp, Die Kerkbald, December 20, 1933, pp. 940-41.

[60]"Die Kerk, Vergeneog," Die Kerkbode, Deel XXXVI, no. 22, November 27, 1935, p. 1043.

these poor. In a 1923 article whose title symbolically marked his change of emphasis, "A New Phase in the Work in East Africa," Loubser embarked on his new plan for the education of the Boereseuns (Boers' sons) and made his plan known to South Africans. As he saw it there were ample employment opportunities for the Afrikaner youth in East Africa but they were not prepared educationally to take advantage of them. He contended that the policy of the government had permitted the Indian and the Kaffer to pass ahead of the Afrikaners, a circumstance particularly loathsome to him.

The first agency to receive his attention was the Uganda Railway. He approached it with a plan to train young Afrikaners for skilled positions on the Railway. The Director of the Railway, C. N. L. Felling, was South African by birth and was sympathetic to Loubser's plan. After receiving Felling's support, Loubser metaphorically but graphically described the one remaining hurdle to his scheme:

> While we three [Mr. Felling, the Director of Transport and Loubser] sat by the table, I clearly saw how the devil had his claws on the handle of the door in order to close it in my face for at the end of our pleasant conversation these two men said: "But . . . you must care for the housing and the sustenance for these young men."

Loubser estimated that he could not do this for less than £1000 so he turned to the Afrikaners in South Africa for support.[61]

This first request for funds received little response so Loubser decided to return to South Africa to plead personally for funds. He went to a Synodical Committee of the Transvaal NGK but was not awarded a direct grant; rather he was told to try to raise the money privately from NGK members. So again he presented his case in De Kerkbode. He contended that young Boers in East Africa must become skilled workers for after they became "poor whites," three-fourths of them were unrecoverable. He appealed to race pride by contending that Malays and Coloureds in the Cape received higher wages than many whites in East Africa, "because they cannot handle a trowel. In East Africa we have a cleverer fellow than the Hottentot to contend with; we have the cunning and intelligent Indian." Furthermore, in South Africa the unskilled white can be taken care of by the many prosperous whites: East Africa had too few prosperous Afrikaners. After presenting a brief history of the Uganda Railway's "open door" for young Boers and the Synodical Committee's refusal of his request for funds for their housing, Loubser noted

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[61]M. P. Loubser, "'n Nuwe Fase in die Werk in Oost-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XIII, no. 39, September 26, 1923, pp. 1327-28.

that Britishers were rapidly filling the open training positions.[62] He begged South Africans to support this cause in East Africa.

This plea brought in the necessary funds and the following year a group of Afrikaner youths began the program. In 1927 ten Afrikaners were listed among the thirty-six trainees. One was training in the engineering department and the remainder in the workshop.[63] The program was successfully completed by this group in 1930, after which these Afrikaners were taken on by the railway.[64] In 1929 after the death of Felling, Loubser asked the new director for training positions for Afrikaners but was told that Indian and African workers could be gotten much cheaper and were good workers.[65] A few years later two young Afrikaners applied for vacant training positions but were told that their educational backgrounds were not good enough.[66]

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[62]M. P. Loubser, "Oos-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XIV, no. 31, July 30, 1924, pp. 987-88.

[63]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/986, Central Committee of European Education, 1927.

[64]M. P. Loubser, "Die Gemeentes Vergenoeg en Meru, Oos-Afrika," De Kerkbode, Deel XXVII, no. 10, March 11, 1931, p. 460.

[65]M. P. Loubser, "Die Gemeente Vergenoeg, Kenya-kolonie, Oos-Afrika," De Kerkbode, March 13, 1929. Found in Oos-Afrika, Deel II, no. 1, April, 1948, pp. 28-33.

[66]M. P. Loubser, "Kenia-Kolonie, Kerklike en Burgerlike Toestande," Part II, Die Kerkbode, Deel XXXII, no. 26, December 27, 1933, pp. 1194-96.

Loubser's concern for the welfare of his people was shared by other officials in the colony. In 1927 the Central Committee of European Education had the "poor white" problem thrust upon it by both Loubser and Felling. In May of that year this committee, which included no Afrikaners, received a letter from Loubser describing the dire conditions which some Afrikaner children were in because of inadequate or, in some instances, complete lack of, schooling. The committee resolved:

> That this Committee is deeply impressed by the evidence of increasing number of European children for whom no educational facilities exist other than the existing Government schools, but who by reason of neglect of moral training during childhood, vicious environmental and other disabilities, necessarily lower the educational standard or the morale of those schools. This Committee desires to impress upon the Government the urgent need for early consideration of the present and future problems arising from this state of affairs.

After one member of the committee cited specific examples of these conditions among the Dutch around Nakuru, the committee supported, and the government later approved, this resolution:

> That Government be asked to authorize the Director of Education to give a grant to Mr. Loubser as a temporary measure, to deal with immediate cases of neglected and destitute European children and further to consider the provision of a similar grant for a Dutch School at Nakuru.[67]

Felling alleged that economic pressures were forcing farmers off their land into the cities where they,

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[67]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/986, Central Committee of European Education, 1927.

as unskilled laborers, had to compete with non-white labor. South Africa was coping with a parallel "poor white" problem by employing 14,000 of these as laborers on the railways "at great cost, with the object of saving these people from complete demoralization and, perhaps, permanent inter-mixture with natives and coloured people." He insisted that this intermixture should never happen in Kenya and therefore education must be improved for this class of whites.[68]

Addressing himself to this problem Humphries, the Chief Inspector of Schools and the former Headmaster at Eldoret, urged the administration to concentrate its resources on the lower standards by making enrollment free of fees and by hiring better teachers. Additionally he urged that the proposed secondary school include training in technical fields in agriculture, industry and commerce.[69]

Humphries' opinions were shared by Orr, the Director of Education. In his comments to the Central Committee Orr explained why he disagreed with the government.

> We [the Department officials] do not believe that the Colony can afford a public school education. . . . The difficulty in finding funds has confirmed me that it is more than ever imperative that we must recast our ideas. . . . I therefore suggest the following principles for your consideration:

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[68] Ibid., letter from C. L. N. Felling to Central Committee of European Education, July 22, 1927.

[69] Ibid., report of the Education Department sent to the Central Committee of European Education, October 8, 1927.

> (a) State education must begin at the bottom and cater for the poorest population. In view of the poor white problem there should be no question of this.
> (b) You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear and we do not consider that Oxford and Cambridge graduates are so well qualified as the well trained teacher of the County Council type to deal with the children of the poor Dutch or of Artizans and many of the Shop Keepers.
> (c) The state Schools must be as efficient and economical as possible and should cater for those who are going to earn their living in the country.[70]

Orr also recommended that government schools should offer education up to the age of sixteen with "technical, commercial and agriculture training" provided. He shared Loubser's fear of competition from the other races in Kenya.

> It is not too much to say that the African of Kenya is getting a more suitable and a more useful education than the European boy. European boys at the age of 15 are working side by side with Africans in the garages of Nairobi, they will get no further education and may later on find themselves outstripped by the cheaper labour and possibly greater skill of the Africans.[71]

Loubser would not have liked to have Afrikaner children compared metaphorically with "a sow's ear," nevertheless Orr and Loubser were in agreement on the need for additional, inexpensive and technically-oriented education for European children.

Though the government followed a liberal policy of granting tuition and board to poor Afrikaner children, Loubser continued to criticize the quality and type of

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[70] Ibid. Letter from Director of Education to Chairman of the Central Committee of European Education, July 30, 1927.

[71] Ibid. Also see Orr's comments on Felling's letter in the same file.

education in the government schools. In 1934 he sent a letter to the Commissioner of South Africa, R. B. Turner, asking for support in his criticisms of the educational policies. Turner sent the written form of these criticisms, "quite unofficially," to the Director of Education, Scott. He assured Scott that he wished to hear his side of the issue. Scott responded:

> I am afraid life is too short to deal with Mr. Loubser's vituperations. . . . I suppose, by and large, what he really wants is to develop the system of free everything for the Dutch children who pay no fees and he declines to recognize that this colony must be run as a British colony and not as a South African colony.

Since they were not sent to him officially, Scott refused to answer the criticisms and the matter was dropped.[72]

Failure to get action from the commissioner prompted Loubser to make his case public. In mid-1934 he wrote a lengthy letter to the editor of the EAS. Loubser believed the establishment of a dual educational system, government and private (non-Afrikaner), caused tensions within the white community which former Director Orr may not have anticipated. Orr's policy had made the government schools available to the poorest children in the colony but in the process respect for the graduates of these schools had declined among employers. Thus Loubser could say:

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[72]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/962, Education for Europeans, 1929-37. Letter from Commissioner of South Africa to Director of Education, June 28, 1934; return letter, June 30, 1934. The original letter by Loubser was not found.

> On a recent visit to Nairobi I was told by the head of a certain department that the young people I was catering for [Afrikaners] were not sufficiently educated for the jobs I was in search of. Now where must these young people be educated but here in Kenya? Can you expect a young man to be loyal to a Government which provides him with an equipment [sic] for life that brands him as a misfit but which at the same time opens the door to Goanese, Indians and Natives?

As further evidence of the failure of the government schools and prejudice against the Afrikaner children, Loubser pointed to the policy of the three year old Prince of Wales Secondary School, which did not permit older students who had finished Standard VI to enter the school. He contended that this was unjust because untrained and uncertified teachers in the primary schools had caused these students to complete their primary work tardily. Referring to two specific cases Loubser said:

> These two boys have all the talents and capabilities that could make them brilliant D. C.s or lawyers or intelligent farmers, but with scores and scores of other boys and girls they are relegated to a position in life which is nothing but a sub-strata of inferiority, incapability, inefficiency and nothingness--all through no fault of their own or of their parents.[73]

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[73] EAS, January 31, 1934; found in KNA, Education/Deposit 1/962, Education of Europeans, 1929-37. Loubser's allegations regarding the age limit for enrollment in the Prince of Wales School is correct. The issue came up immediately after the school opened in 1931 when four Afrikaners of advanced age applied. In January of the following year the School Committee of the Prince of Wales School passed a resolution which established the policy of refusing to grant free education to older children except for extenuating circumstances such as good work and intelligence. In addition this committee specifically stated that no "up-country" (which usually meant the Uasin Gishu and the Trans-Nzoia) children should be accepted unless they had completed Standard VI. Ibid. Minutes of School Committee of the Prince of Wales School, January 22, 1932. Later the Central Advisory Committee for European Education reinforced

Loubser complained about the high cost of the Prince of Wales School which excluded most Afrikaners.[74] In 1936 and 1941 only three Afrikaners were enrolled.[75]

Finally Loubser asseverated that the position of whites in the colony could not be assured until education became compulsory for all white children. On this issue too Loubser was not alone. The Central Advisory Committee had passed a resolution favoring it as early as October of 1927.[76] The East African Women's League, which had no strong attachment to or following among the Afrikaners, had advocated compulsory education earlier in 1934 in order "to safeguard the Colony from having a community of 'poor

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this policy with a resolution stating "that the success of the Prince of Wales School should not be jeopardized by the admission of 'older backward children.'" KNA, Education/ Deposit 1/1882, Prince of Wales School, Kabete, 1931-41. Passed March 1, 1932.

[74]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/2259, Curriculum European Schools, 1929-45. Letter from Director of Education to Principal of the Prince of Wales School, March 1, 1932. Loubser also asked to have Afrikaans taught at the Prince of Wales School. The director asked the principal if this was possible without additional staff.

[75]On October 30, 1936 Ds. Aucamp (GK) asked to have the Afrikaner boys in the school excused early for the Christmas holidays in order that they could participate in the Dingaan's Day festivities. Three boys were involved. In 1941 certain "racial" incidences occurred between the English and one Afrikaner student. Implication was that there were only two other Afrikaner students in the school. Ibid. Letter from Principal of Prince of Wales School to Director of Education, February 25, 1941.

[76]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/986, Central Advisory Committee of European Education, 1927. Passed October 18, 1927.

whites.'"[77] Noting their statement, the new Director of Education Biss urged compulsory education on the government. He informed the Colonial Secretary that 357 children of school age, 242 of which were between the ages of seven and fourteen, were receiving no education at all.[78]

Biss publicly responded to Loubser's letter in a conciliatory but firm manner. Loubser's objectives were not challenged but his reasons for not achieving them certainly were. Biss insisted that Loubser's generalizations should not be attributed to all government schools but admitted that they did apply to the farm schools of the Dutch. He explained that the smallness and inefficiency of the latter were the causes for their unqualified teachers. The blame for the perpetuation of this system rested on the parents because they refused to give up the Afrikaans

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[77] EAS, March 14, 1934. Copy found in KNA, Education/Deposit 1/962, Education for Europeans, 1929-37.

[78] KNA, Education/Deposit 1/962, Education for Europeans, 1929-37. Letters of March 21, 1934 and June 23, 1934. These figures are not trustworthy since accompanying figures given for enrollment in the government schools and the private schools are considerably different than those given in a school-by-school listing of enrollment figures in 1935. This letter places the total number in government schools at 1,649 and in private schools at 236. The 1935 school-by-school list shows 1,121 in government schools and 673 in private schools. As Loubser pointed out in his letter to the EAS, the trend was towards the private schools but no reasonable explanation was found for such a rapid switch in enrollment. For this reason the figures given by the director are believed to be unreliable. Nevertheless a substantial number of children were not attending school.

character of these schools.[79] There was some truth in Biss's remarks, but, with the exception of Broderstroom, the farm schools were not inherited by the department as he claimed and their continuation was not first of all dependent on the wishes of the parents. So long as these schools could be operated at a substantially lower cost per student than the Central School, they were supported by the department.

Throughout this inter-war period education for Afrikaner children in other areas of the colony was piece-meal and inadequate. In Rumuruti children were tutored first at a private home in 1925.[80] Two years later a local sporting club, the Laikipia Gymkhana, offered its buildings for sale to the government for a school for thirty-five Dutch children in the district. The Governor toured the district during the year, inspected the buildings and approved the transaction.[81] The school was opened in July of 1928 with two English-speaking teachers and twenty-one students, nearly all of whom were Afrikaners. Half of the children in the district did not attend the school. The

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[79]EAS, August 7, 1934. Copy found in KNA, Education/Deposit 1/962, Education for Europeans, 1929-37.

[80]KNA, DC/LKA/1/1, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1925.

[81]Ibid., 1927.

School Committee was split, with three English-speaking and three Afrikaans-speaking members.[82] When the Afrikaners migrated from the area in 1929 and 1930, enrollment dropped to thirteen and the school was closed in October of 1930. The Education Department offered to board the remaining students at another school in the colony but the parents declined and again sent their children to a private home for tutoring under a Miss Van Dyk.[83] This was the beginning of a private school system in Laikipia which continued, at first sporadically, until the independence period.

The Van Dyk school lasted through 1931 and was joined for a short time by another school on the farm of Mr. Daniels.[84] In early 1932 excessive costs forced the closing of the Van Dyk school and a request was made to the Education Department for supportive funds. Biss agreed to support the school if the teachers were licensed and their appointments approved by his office.[85] The department agreed to pay Ƀ6 per child up to a total of Ƀ130 per annum

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[82]KNA, DC/LKA/1/15, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1928.

[83]Ibid., 1930.

[84]Ibid., 1931. The Daniels school was probably Afrikaans-speaking as was the Van Dyk school. There were Afrikaners in Kenya with the surname Daniels. No other references were found to the Daniels school.

[85]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1825, European School, Rumuruti, 1932-35. Director of Education to DC, Laikipia, March 7, 1932; and return March 16, 1932.

but the school was not immediately re-opened because, as their DC said, "the Dutch population in Laikipia are extremely poorly off and I know personally of several families who could not afford to pay anything towards their children's education."[86] Therefore Biss sought alternative facilities and suggested to the PC of the Rift Valley Province that these children should be given places and board in the Nakuru school. The PC responded favorably but the "Nakuru School Committee are averse to the admission of some of the children to Nakuru. . . ." He suggested either Nanyuki or Eldoret.[87] To get to Eldoret from Rumuruti, students would have to pass through Nakuru and travel nearly a hundred miles beyond. Nanyuki is slightly closer to Rumuruti than Nakuru but it had inadequate facilities.

Communication between Biss, the DC of Laikipia, Loubser, and an English farmer in the area, Captain Cotter, continued throughout the mid-year of 1932. In a report to the Colonial Secretary, Biss included Captain Cotter's evaluation of the gravity of the situation: "I may add that Captain Cotter is emphatic in his statement that the position in Rumuruti is becoming serious, not only owing to the number of Dutch children of school-growing age, but also owing to the number of English children in the District

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[86] Ibid. DC, Laikipia to Director of Education, April 25, 1932.

[87] Ibid. PC (RVP) to Director of Education, May 5, 1932. The letter from the Director to the PC was not found.

who are growing up without any education."[88] In August the government again informed Loubser that £130 had been allocated in the budget for the school. Taking this as a promise of £130, irrespective of total enrollment, Loubser and the Afrikaner parents re-opened a school.[89] But Biss insisted on the earlier £6 per annum allocation for each child. Since initial enrollment for the first of the three terms was twenty, the school would not receive its full one-third of the £130. Pressure from the parents, the PC of Rift Valley Province and the DC Laikipia could not sway Biss from his decision. Furthermore he promised the same policy for 1933. The DC recommended that the school again close, but it struggled on.[90]

In 1933 the department did offer additional boarding assistance and fourteen students received free board at the home of Mrs. Vander Merwe.[91] The new Director, Scott, inspected the boarding facilities in early 1934 and, on the basis of their inadequacy, threatened to close the school.[92]

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[88]Ibid. Director of Education to Colonial Secretary, June 11, 1932. Other related correspondence also in this file.

[89]Ibid. Director of Education to Loubser, July 1, 1932.

[90]Ibid. Attendance actually averaged twenty-four in the fall of 1932 but dropped to fifteen in early 1933.

[91]KNA, DC/LKA/1/15, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1933.

[92]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1825, European School, Rumuruti, 1932-35. Director of Education to DC (Laikipia), March 22, 1934.

After hearing of Scott's dissatisfaction, Captain Cotter, who was then the Chairman of the School Committee as well as the MLC for Laikipia, informed Scott that the parents simply did not wish to send their children to distant parts of the colony at an early age. He stressed that twenty-six of thirty-two school age children were attending the school and twenty to thirty more would be coming of school-age soon. At that time all of the students were Dutch but many English were in the under-school-age group and would desire a place in the school. As for the boarding facilities, he said: "I am quite aware that the buildings and dormitory facilities at this school are by no means ideal, but the children enjoy at this school the comforts and conditions similar to those they experience at their own homes."[93] A few days later Loubser too sent a letter to Scott begging him not to close the school.[94] Scott relented temporarily but later that year pursued the suggestion of another Englishman in the Nanyuki area who urged that Rumuruti be closed and all the children be sent to Nanyuki. Scott then

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[93]Ibid. Chairman of Rumuruti School Committee to Director of Education, March 21, 1934. None of these documents mentioned the nationality of the teacher. At least one teacher was Afrikaans-speaking, Mrs. N. M. Snyman, then Sasura du Plessis. Interviewed June 18, 1969. Though the use of Afrikaans may have been a reason why parents refused to send their children elsewhere, it was not mentioned by any of the participants in the discussion.

[94]Ibid. Loubser to the Director of Education, March 26, 1934.

asked the Colonial Secretary for funds for temporary boarding of students at Nanyuki.[95]

While the Director was searching for alternatives, the student enrollment grew to thirty-seven in 1934 and decreased to thirty-five in 1935. The increase included only Afrikaner children for in 1935 it was still a "Dutch school."[96] Department support for the school had risen to £400 per annum but this increase was used for the operation of the school rather than the improvement of the inadequate facilities.[97] Efforts by the parents to persuade the government to build new facilities were countered by their DC's report to the department that English children would not attend the school because of racial antagonisms and that the Dutch population was unstable.[98] Without the DC's support, the Afrikaners' failed to win government aid.

Before these discussions with the department on new facilities in Laikipia, the DC had already supported the department's proposal that all of the children of the district be sent to other schools in the colony at

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[95]Ibid. J. L. Theron Focks to Director of Education, April 4, 1934; return April 12, 1934; and Director of Education to Colonial Secretary, April 23, 1934.

[96]KNA, DC/LKA/1/16, Laikipia District Annual Reports, 1934 and 1935.

[97]Ibid., 1935.

[98]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1825, European School, Rumuruti, 1932-35. DC (Laikipia) to Director of Education, May 31, 1934.

government expense.[99] In pursuance of these plans the department began laying the groundwork for establishing a central school for the Nanyuki-Rumuruti-Thomson's Falls area in Nanyuki. Correspondence related to this matter further illuminates the difficulties which the department had with these Afrikaner settlers when it tried to send their children to boarding schools and with British settlers when it tried to integrate the two groups within a school.

The small Nanyuki school had been an unusual case since its beginning in 1927. Though the parents did not build the school as they did the Plateau farm schools, the department did demand a £200 guarantee before it would construct the building. A list of contributors shows that £85 was raised by the local Afrikaners. The school opened with an all-British governing Board and teacher,[100] but with twenty-five Afrikaners among the thirty-two students

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[99]In part the letter read: "I feel more heartened [by the department's plans]--except of course as a taxpayer. But short of the proposals you have made I can see no way in which the educational interests of the children of a particular class can be secured. As I see it at present, in this district, if the Dutch parents disagree with your policy their disapproval is displayed in a most unfair way by the removal of their children from the school. As these Dutch parents pay no educational fees, and in many cases no taxes, some coercive measure to make them toe the line on any policy which you lay down is to be welcomed and will be of general advantage to their children." Ibid. DC (Laikipia) to Director of Education, April 27, 1934.

[100]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/528, European School, Nanyuki, 1927.

in January of 1928.[101] With this overwhelming majority the Afrikaner parents resented the department's appointment of an English principal, Miss MacDonald. The ubiquitous Loubser despatched a letter to the Director in early 1929 objecting to the appointment. Five days later another letter complained that Miss MacDonald could not handle the bigger boys in the school.[102] In a subsequent meeting with Scott, the parents asked for an Afrikaner principal and a bi-lingual teacher for the lower grades. Scott approved the latter request (though such a teacher was never hired) but refused to dismiss Miss MacDonald.[103] In March an English resident of the area, J. L. Theron Focks, sent a letter to Scott on behalf of the Afrikaners. He professed to be opposed to bi-lingualism in the Colony, but "I can see no reason why the children of Dutch extraction should

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[101]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/530, European School, Nanyuki, 1928. Inspection in January of 1928. Also included in this file was a letter from the first teacher in the school, Miss Brown, asking "whether it is part of the work of the School to improve the cleanliness of the children in attendance." The director answered in the affirmative but urged gradual and tactful measures. Though usually not stated this explicitly, there was an undertone in many of the English sources which would indicate that they believed that the "Dutch" as a group were dirty people. Even in 1969 this attitude was present in some long-time British residents of Kenya. This may have been one of the reasons why the English-speaking settlers resisted integration with the Afrikaners.

[102]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/527, European School, Nanyuki, 1929-(no closing date on this file). Loubser to Director of Education, January 9, 1929 and January 14, 1929.

[103]Ibid. Extracted from the Times of East Africa, February 9, 1929.

not learn their Mother tongue." Scott refused to be moved and Miss MacDonald stayed on.[104]

The issue faded in importance in mid-March when five of the eight or nine Afrikaner families left for Northern Rhodesia and at least two more families were to follow.[105] By September the enrollment had dropped to eleven but rose again to eighteen in November when Afrikaner and British families moved into the area. Some of the Rhodesian trekkers returned to Nanyuki in early 1930[106] and enrollment climbed to twenty-two in June with eleven Afrikaners. In August of 1933 seven of the eleven families sending their children to the school were Afrikaans-speaking.[107] This ratio was sufficient for further agitation by Loubser and the parents for the hiring of a bilingual instructor, the teaching of Afrikaans rather than French as a foreign language, and the use of Afrikaans rather than English on the playground.[108] Again the department firmly turned down the requests.[109] Thus the

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[104] Ibid. J. L. Theron Focks to the Director of Education, March 1, 1929; and return, March 5, 1929.

[105] Ibid. Miss MacDonald to the Director of Education, March 12, 1929.

[106] Ibid. November 9, 1929.

[107] Ibid. Inspection Report, August 3, 1933.

[108] Ibid. Report of a meeting of the parents in mid-1933.

[109] Ibid. Inspection Report, August 3, 1933.

English character and the English-Afrikaner integration at this school was established when the central school was proposed in 1934.[110]

This tradition was critical in the department's consideration of Nanyuki for the central school. But Nanyuki had no boarding facilities for the large number of Rumuruti children. In 1931 it had been suggested that boarding facilities be found for indigent children near the Nanyuki school, a particular case of a family "of low Dutch type" with eight children being mentioned. The Acting Director believed this preferable to granting full board to such students in Nairobi, since "there must be other children in the Colony more able to make full use of the superior social advantages of boarding schools such as Nakuru and Nairobi."[111] However, no permanent boarding facilities had been built and in April of 1934 the department agreed to pay for the boarding of students in inadequate private facilities offered by an Afrikaner. In May four Afrikaner families with eight children and two

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[110]Though no figures were given during the mid-thirties, the student population must have become increasingly Afrikaans-speaking, for in 1936 the Central Advisory Committee, while discussing the weaknesses of the system, indicated that the two schools presently operating in the area, Rumuruti and Nanyuki, were almost exclusively Dutch. KNA, Education/Deposit 1/962, Education for Europeans, 1929-37. Minutes of a meeting of the Central Advisory Committee on European Education, October 21, 1936.

[111]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/527, European School, Nanyuki, 1929-?. Acting Director of Education to Colonial Secretary, September 16, 1931.

English families with six children took advantage of these arrangements.[112]

Most English children living in the Thomson's Falls-Nanyuki-Nyeri area did not attend this school. The proprietor of the famous Outspan Hotel in Nyeri, Captain Sherbrooke-Walker, had attempted to start a select "public" school in Nyeri as early as 1928 with grants-in-aid from the department. His request was turned down.[113] In 1932 he and his supporters again asked for a government school and included a list of families in need of such facilities. All the names were British, as the Chief Inspector of Schools observed, and the department insisted that no Europeans be arbitrarily excluded from a departmentally-assisted school. The Chief Inspector recognized that under these circumstances many children "would remain under governesses in private houses," and that

> . . . difficulties connected with class, religion, and perhaps race would be sure as on former occasions, to present themselves and to limit the co-operation of parents. . . . It appears to me that a school at Nyeri run by private enterprise would have several advantages over a Government school, e. g. . . . children whom the majority of parents thought undesirable for any reason could be excluded.[114]

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[112] Ibid. Inspection Report, May 12, 1934.

[113] KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1908, Proposed European School, Nyeri, 1928.

[114] KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1907, Proposed European School, Nyeri, 1935-36. Chief Inspector of School to Mr. Sherbrooke-Walker, June 21, 1932.

To the Colonial Secretary, Director Morris advocated the new school in Nanyuki rather than Nyeri. Referring to Sherbrooke-Walker's request he noted: "The British settlers dislike the idea of sending their children to the existing schools at Nanyuki and Rumuruti as they would be obliged to mix with Dutch children and the standard of accommodation is much below that of other Government schools." But "the claim for separate schools for British and Dutch children cannot be considered for financial reasons quite apart from its undesirability from other aspects."[115] Although some English settlers sent their children to this "mixed" school there were many who refused. Their opposition and the high cost of new buildings delayed and eventually prevented the founding of this Central school.

Nevertheless the school in Rumuruti was closed in 1937 and all of the 122 children of the district were forced onto the Nakuru School.[116] Afrikaner dissatisfaction with this arrangement brought on the development of their strongest private school in succeeding years.

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[115]KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/13, Education-General-European, 1933-37, Director of Education to Colonial Secretary, September 23, 1935.

[116]KNA, DC/LKA/1/16, Laikipia District Annual Reports, 1937 and 1939; and KNA, DC/LKA/3/1, Publications and Records, Laikipia District Handing-Over Report, November 29, 1937.

No departmentally prepared statement of goals for the education of Afrikaners was found but Director Morris forwarded to the Colonial Secretary a statement from Commissioner Turner of South Africa describing the Afrikaner community's position in East Africa and the educational needs of their children. Though the letter was prompted by an Afrikaner request for assistance on the Nanyuki central school issue, Turner evaluated the general conditions of Afrikaner education.[117] He warned that the younger generation

> . . . comprise a menace that will become more and more difficult to handle as the years go by unless, in my opinion, some fairly active steps are taken in the very near future to divert the constantly growing stream from its present course. Various suggestions have been made . . . to deal with this stream such as: Repatriation to the Union of South Africa, sterilization of adults etc., but I am afraid neither of these really practical politics [sic].

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[117]Turner had been involved in educational matters before this. When Nanyuki's enrollment was declining in 1929, he had acted as a mediator between Loubser and Director Scott on the issue of cutting the number of teachers at Nanyuki to one and closing a small Thika farm school. Scott agreed that the eight children from Thika would get free board elsewhere. KNA, Education/Deposit 1/527, European School, Nanyuki, 1929-?. Commissioner of South Africa to Director of Education, April 15, 1929. Mention has been made of correspondence in 1934. See p. 191. Turner did not always support the Afrikaners. In the mid-1930s Turner had told a group of Afrikaners that they would be better off studying Ki-swahili rather than Afrikaans, a suggestion which horrified Loubser. M. P. Loubser, "Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel XL, no. 17, October 27, 1939, pp. 789-90. Loubser also spoke of continuous contact with Turner's office during his stay in Kenya. Turner was well informed on the problems of education for the Afrikaners.

Speaking more practically, he divided the community into two groups, the adults and the present and future children.

> Regarding the former I have no suggestion to make as I am of opinion that it is quite hopeless attempting to make them other than what they are.
>
> Regarding the latter I believe a great deal can be done to save them from following in their parents' footsteps--(1) by taking them out of their existing "Home" atmosphere for as long periods as possible; (2) by providing a "Home" atmosphere for them at Government controlled and staffed Boarding Schools, where they will be taught not only the three Rs but also to think for themselves and their future by Teachers and Matrons drawn from communities other than their own and capable of building up some real character in the children.

He realized that financial limitations prevented universal compulsory education, though he believed that such expenditure was justified to resolve the poor white problem. He knew that few Afrikaner parents could presently pay the modest fees for board and tuition in government schools and those that could tried everything to avoid them. Therefore he suggested:

> There are very few [parents], if any, in the areas I have just been visiting [Nanyuki-Rumuruti] who will be able to resist the opportunity of getting their children housed and fed for nothing for the greater part of each year, and Free Boarding is, I believe, as great an incentive, to the majority of these people, as can be devised and is actually acting as a better and more acceptable "draw" than "compulsion" would be.

Finally he posed this question:

> "Supposing these children are given greater opportunities for better and more advanced education than what they are at present receiving, where are they going to find outlets when they reach the age of 15 or 16?" My answer to this question is, "If these children are not given improved educational facilities there is only one future for them--a poor white and a future liability to the Government of this country. If they are brought up in a better atmosphere than their own

> homes provide, and are given thereby some individual character and the power to think for themselves, there is anyhow a chance for some of them."[118]

Director Morris unqualifiedly concurred with Turner's analysis and solution, thereby confirming that the department's goal was to anglicize the Afrikaner children and to permit their eventual integration into the British settler population.[119]

Both the government and the Afrikaners' spokesman, Ds. M. P. Loubser, believed that education would lift Afrikaners from their "poor white" status during the inter-war period. The Education Department sought to improve the training of Afrikaner children by homogenizing their education in English central schools. For pragmatic reasons Loubser acquiesced even though he feared that the loss of Afrikaans in the schools would mean eventual loss of identity for the Afrikaners. But Afrikanerdom displayed remarkable tenacity and resiliency during its last twenty years in Kenya, aided in no small degree by zenophobic attitudes among the British residents of the area.

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[118]KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/13, Education-General-European, 1933-37. Commissioner for South Africa to Director of Education, July 22, 1935. Underlines are in the original.

[119]Ibid. Director of Education to Colonial Secretary, September 23, 1935.

CHAPTER VI

SUCCESS: PERIOD OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND CULTURAL DILEMMA: 1940-60

The beginning of World War II marked a twenty-year period of prosperity for the Afrikaners in Kenya. During the late 1930s higher grain prices (especially wheat), wide-spread use of fertilizers, pyrethrum-production in the Nakuru-Naivasha-Thomson's Falls area and the purchase of modern farm machinery with liberal credit from the government caused a surge in agricultural production.[1] The

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[1]Interviews with Jozua Joubert, June 25, 1969; C. J. Roets, August 9, 1969; N. van Deventer, June 24, 1969; R. P. De Wet, August 9, 1969; J. Boshof, June 2, 1969; A. and V. Cloete, August 17, 1969. The last two settlers were interviewed together and added a few more reasons: rust-proof wheat, development of better dipping methods for cattle, and better markets (to some extent attributed to greater African participation in the market). Reports sent to South Africa by clergymen in the district verify the much improved economic condition of the Afrikaners. See J. J. S. Venter, "'n Besoek aan Kenia," part V, Die Kerkblad, April 6, 1945, pp. 9-11; H. J. Venter, "Besoek aan die Gereformeerde Gemeente, Eldoret Kenia," Die Kerkblad, June 18, 1948, pp. 13-15; and Chris. Murray, "Eerste Indrukke in Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXVIII, no. 19, November 7, 1951, pp. 916-17 and 920. Also see the Almanak van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika, 1969 (Krugersdorp: NHW-Pers 1969); J. A. Retief, "Vergenoeg: Die Mees Noordelike Gemeente van Ons Kerk," Die

Afrikaners' economic status had changed so markedly in the early 1940s that no further references were made to a "poor white" problem in the colony. Though individual cases of poverty existed among the Afrikaners, they were viewed as individual aberrations from the norm rather than examples of general economic malaise.[2]

The new economic security of this period permitted the Afrikaners greater freedom of choice in cultural affairs. As the period progressed the more respectably affluent Boers found their fellow British settlers more receptive to those who wished to enter the broader community.[3] From 1939 to 1948 the Plateau was represented in

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Kerkbode, Deel LXXI, no. 20, May 21, 1953, p. 725; and C. B. Brink, "Ons Oos-Afrikaanse Gemeentes," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXIX, no. 23, June 10, 1952, pp. 1118-19. One of the more explicit statements on this matter is found in C. J. Mans's (NHK clergyman) manuscript found in file G-26 of the NHK Archives, written about 1960.

[2]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. In December of 1942 the case of the Eksteens was brought to the attention of the Principal who contacted certain Afrikaners in the community for help for the family.

Some Afrikaners were concerned that the only path to economic success was through agriculture. After remarking that most civil service, skilled labor and retail business positions were controlled by non-whites, one clergyman concluded: "Unless a change comes in the administration and legislature of the land, there is no future for the white child, and particularly the Afrikaner, except in agriculture." J. J. S. Venter, "'Besoek aan Kenia," part VI, Die Kerkblad, April 20, 1945, p. 12. In spite of this limitation a slow but continuous stream of immigrants came from South Africa until the late 1950s. The Vergenoeg congregation membership list noted 125 new members from South Africa and the new Loubser congregation 54.

[3]Another factor which may have caused the British settlers to look more favorably on Afrikaner participation

the Legislative Council by the colony's only elected Afrikaner MLC, Mr. W. A. C. Bouwer. His election victory came with some ethnic cross-over balloting in the evenly divided Plateau electoral district.[4] The election of 1948 also had

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in the broader community was the service which some rendered to the British in the war cause. One of the interviewees, A. F. Cloete, served in the Royal Air Force during the war. Later in the 1950s he was elected to the Uasin Gishu District Council and became a member of the Eldoret Club. Though most Kenyan Afrikaners supported the Allied cause a few supported the Germans. One interviewee (who did not wish to be quoted on this) stated that a member of the Thomson's Falls community received congratulatory birthday greetings from the Fuehrer on the wireless. Also not all Britishers trusted the Afrikaner community. One Britisher sent this vitriolic letter to the Education Department:

"Dear Sirs

May I express my views please, re the Eldoret Central School. First there are lack of energy on the teachers side. Second you have in your Eldoret school two teachers which should not be there at all. They are the acid of Hitlerism. Why have our children educated by Fifth Colomist like Mrs. A Smith [Smit] and Mrs. W. Steenkamp. We loyal Brittish subjects wants our children educated by pure democratic teachers. Third you should allow no day ckollars. There you have this bad drop in the Prilim. which ruins the name of our school. Day schollars go home after school hours dont do their prep. walk about in town and dont learn their lessons. The children have not disipline. I have no children in the Eldoret school, but my brother had. These learned teachers hates the Brittish, but they like his money very well. The Principal is out standing the ideal man for his job. We want all English teachers. Thank you.

[Signed] The Ghost Voice

(over page) We want more unity in the school. More love for our king, the foundations laid properly in the hearts of our little ones. We want a new nation, Hitler and his followers dead and doomed."

KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. Letter was undated but was found among entries of January, 1944.

[4]The Voters' Roll for this district in the late 1940s enrolled 119 Afrikaners of 230 registered voters. Found in the private files of J. Boshof. There was no date on the list, but Mr. and Mrs. Boshof estimated it to have been compiled during the period mentioned.

a number of cross-overs, especially Afrikaners who voted for his British opponent.[5] Bouwer gained the employment of an Afrikaner instructor at the Prince of Wales School but his term as MLC was not marked by any other significant gain for the Afrikaner community. He was not the dynamic leader who could unite the Afrikaners. Thus one clergyman could remark during Bouwer's tenure in office: "Unfortunately they [the Afrikaners] lack leaders who are qualified and ready to lead and organize the community, to make the Boer company a powerful and formidable element who must be constantly reckoned with."[6] Nor did such a leader arise after Bouwer.

Locally the Afrikaners were better represented in political bodies than during the previous period. In 1942-43 four of eleven unofficials in the Uasin Gishu District Council were Afrikaners; in 1946-47, five of twelve; in 1950, four of twelve; and in 1957, eight of thirteen. The most controversial issue dealt with by this Council was the African resident labor or squatter issue. Because of better dipping methods, mixed farming (agriculture and pastoralism) became economically attractive to many settlers and opposition arose to the presence of squatter

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[5]J. Boshof supported Bouwer's opponent and organized opposition among the Afrikaners during this election. Interviewed June 2, 1969 and confirmed by his private papers including a letter from the British candidate.

[6]J. J. S. Venter, "'n Besoek aan Kenia," part VI, Die Kerkblad, April 20, 1945, p. 12.

stock. Customarily this stock moved back and forth between the African areas and the European farms and was usually not dipped. In order to prevent the spread of disease in the new settler herds this stock had to be removed from the European farms. In early 1947 the District Council decided to eliminate squatter stock gradually. Immediately there was opposition from those wards with large numbers of Afrikaner wheat farmers, particularly Sergoit in which 80 percent of the farmers signed a petition opposing the policy.[7] These farmers contended that they needed to keep certain "key" men whom they had trained. They linked this issue to the Dini ya Msambwa unrest around Mt. Elgon and the spread of Communism and "Europeanophobia" generally in the Protectorate. The Afrikaners alleged that they would have a salutary effect on these movements through their influence on the squatters.[8] In January of 1949 a meeting was held in this district to discuss a petition asking for the removal of the Sergoit ward from the new regulations on resident laborers. "At the end of the meeting 44 farmers voted for the petition and about 24 against. The former

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[7]KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57. UG District Monthly INtelligence Reports, June 1947; November, 1947; September, 1948; October, 1948.

[8]For a description see Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. and John Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau"; Nationalism in Kenya (Stanford, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1966), pp. 328-30.

were really all Afrikaans and the latter British."[9] The District Council compromised by approving a gradual five year (20 percent per year) district-wide elimination program.[10]

The Afrikaner farmers' concern over the elimination of squatter labor was warranted. The DC noted in 1949 that the amount of indebtedness among the Plateau farmers had risen substantially that year because of the purchase of machinery. Many farmers were operating on a very narrow margin.[11] In 1950 the Uasin Gishu Labour Officer acknowledged that there was a severe shortage of labor due to the new policy. He contended that farmers must learn to pay good wages to draw labor but many could not because of their indebtedness.[12] The labor shortage was so severe that the Turbo-Kipkarren ward (primarily British and formerly supporters of the removal of squatters) supported the retention of "key" men as squatters in January of 1951.[13] In November of 1952 the District Council voted to

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[9]KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57. Uasin Gishu District Monthly Intelligence Report, January, 1949.

[10]Ibid., 1950.

[11]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1949.

[12]KNA, DC/UG/4/1, Uasin Gishu District Labour Reports, 1949-52, Annual Report of Labour Officer, Eldoret, 1950.

[13]KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57, UG District Monthly Intelligence Report, January, 1951.

permit the retention of a maximum of eight resident laborers per farm with five head of cattle each.[14] This stock had to be fenced and dipped and, to prevent interbreeding, no bulls were permitted.[15] Though the District Council had legal jurisdiction over this issue,[16] the Agricultural Department opposed this delay and threatened to cut off government credit channeled through its subagent, the European Agricultural Settlement Board.[17] By 1954 this pressure from Nairobi and a new supply of labor caused the Turbo-Kipkarren ward to ask again for total elimination of squatter stock. The District Council voted against local option by the wards (Sergoit-Moiben proposal) and approved the total elimination of all squatter stock either within six months after the end of the Emergency or by December 31, 1956.[18] As the 1956 deadline approached, the District Council again vacillated and removed all

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[14] Ibid., November, 1952.

[15] KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1953.

[16] KNA, DC/UG/2/9, UG District Handing-Over Report, January 29, 1949.

[17] For Government's position see KNA, DC/NDI/5/3, Return of Squatter Stock, 1954-57. Report of a meeting of officials in the UG District Commissioner's Office, June 7, 1954.

[18] KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57. UG District Monthly Intelligence Reports, July, 1954 and September, 1954; KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1954.

deadlines.[19] However continued governmental encouragement of mixed farming had changed farming patterns on the Plateau. By 1957 agricultural officials, with settler assistance in most cases, had removed 12,000 cattle and 14,000 sheep from the Uasin Gishu and returned them to the reserves.[20] Excess squatter stock remained a factor in a few areas (such as Lessos) through 1959, but the attitudes of the farmers had changed.[21] One Resident Labour Inspector remarked in 1960 that most farmers, and particularly Afrikaners, now asked him to remove illegal stock.[22] So the government succeeded in making the Uasin Gishu a mixed farming area before independence but only after the Afrikaners saw the value of this type of farming.

Though they were active in the Uasin Gishu District Council, the Afrikaners (and all of the Plateau settlers) were apathetic towards most colony-wide political organizations. An Electors Union meeting in 1950 to discuss the nearby Dini ya Msambwa threat drew a number of participants[23] but meetings during the next two years drew very few settlers in spite of the government's demand that all

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[19]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1956.

[20]Ibid., 1957. [21]Ibid., 1959.

[22]KNA, DC/UG/4/2, UG District Labour Reports, 1960-62, Resident Labour Inspector's Monthly Report, October, 1960.

[23]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1950.

Europeans be finger-printed and registered in 1951[24] and the beginning of the Emergency in 1952.[25] In 1954 the Electors' Union, the Federal Independence Party and the United Country Party, all failed to gain a following on the Plateau. Only in 1956 was there a flurry of activity by young Afrikaners in support of the successful Federal Independence Party's candidate for the Legislative Council, Mrs. Hughes.[26] But when this party attempted to consolidate its support during the following year, few would attend its meetings.[27] This political torpor persisted until independence was assured at the Lancaster House conference.

Afrikaner non-participation in settler politics can in part be explained by their continued orientation towards South Africa. This interest was officially reciprocated after the Nationalist Party victory in 1948. The next year the new government's Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, visited the community and spoke at a large gathering

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[24]See Bennett, Kenya, pp. 122-24. Registration occurred in 1951 and the DC's Annual Report of that year reported on the smoothness of the registration in the UG. KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1951.

[25]It should be noted that no incidents of African guerilla activity were reported on the UG. KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Reports, 1952, 1953, 1954.

[26]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1956.

[27]Ibid., 1957.

at the meeting hall built at Plateau near Broederstroom called the Gedenksaal (Memorial Hall) or Dingaansfeesaal (Dingaan Festival Hall).[28] In 1955 the Commissioner for South Africa, Mr. H. H. Woodward, gave the end of the term speech at the predominantly Afrikaner Highlands School and remained on the Plateau for eight days until December 16 "when he spoke at celebrations held by the Afrikaans community at Plateau [Gedenksaal] to commemorate the Battle of Blood River."[29] These visits were symbolic of Nationalist unity with these uitgewekene.

Concomitantly the South African churches displayed more concern for the East African Afrikaners. In 1949 the Lydenburg Ring (subdivision of denomination) of the NGK held its meeting in Kenya. This brought fifteen delegates,

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[28]Ibid., 1949. This hall was built in 1938 for the purpose of uniting the community for the December 16 South African holiday. This symbol of unity became the cause of disunity in the mid-1940s when the Hervormde people retired from the genootskap or society which sponsored the hall. According to the editor of Vergenoeg, the controversy concerned the use of the hall at times other than the December 16 celebrations. He contended that the building should not remain a "white elephant" throughout most of the year but should be used for both religious and social events including sports activities. Editorial in Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 2, March, 1946, pp. 3-4. The Hervormde people wished to maintain the hall exclusively for the December 16 celebrations. Other issues also entered into the disagreement. Wine had been used at a wedding in the hall, a practice which the Hervormde disapproved of, and one candidate for the presidency of the genootskap was publicly denounced as the son of a roikop. Interviews with A. F. Cloete, June 16, 1969, and J. E. Kruger, June 16, 1969. The NHK opposes the drinking of alocholic beverages though the other two churches condone it.

[29]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1955.

mostly clergymen, from the Transvaal to Eldoret.[30] These delegates as well as other clergymen visiting or serving in East Africa were favorably impressed by the economic development of the community and the retention of Afrikaner culture or ons beskawing (our civilization).[31] Concerning the latter one clergyman prophetically observed that these baanbrekers would have little difficulty returning to South Africa and feeling perfectly at home.[32]

The retention of Afrikaner language and culture tended to reinforce these clergymen's faith in the efficacy of Afrikanerdom and encouraged them to use much energy and ink in their efforts to preserve and support the community. First they related their information to South Africa through their ecclesiastical publications: Die Kerkbode, Die Hervormer, and Die Kerkblad. Second, a local quasi-journal was published on a quarterly basis out of Eldoret between 1945 and 1949. It was initially called Vergenoeg but was soon changed to Oos-Afrika. It was the brainchild of Ds. P. L. Olivier, the pastor of the Vergenoeg congregation. It included articles of a theological nature,

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[30]See A. A. Louw, "Die Ringsitting in Oost-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXIV, no. 12, September 21, 1949, pp. 612-13.

[31]For example, see Lieb J. Loots, "Noodoproep uit Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXXII, no. 2, July 8, 1953, p. 60.

[32]C. B. Brink, "Ons Oos-Afrikaanse Gemeentes," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXIX, no. 23, June 10, 1952, pp. 1118-19.

notes and news from the NGK churches in East Africa, a question and answer column, and, of much value for this paper, articles on the history of the community. It ceased when Olivier left his charge.

Third and most important was their concern for the education of Afrikaner children. By 1940 all education in the colony was thoroughly English. Private schools were financially impossible and the Department of Education had used its financial control to make all of the Afrikaner-attended schools English in character. But the closing of the farm schools did cause more pressure to be placed on the other colony schools to include courses in Afrikaans in their curriculum. Though Afrikaans was being taught as a foreign language in the Eldoret School, the issue was raised colony-wide after a needless confrontation occurred between Principal Hunter of Eldoret and a vocal Afrikaner housewife, Mrs. J. Boshof, over the advanced placement of one of her nieces. When Hunter refused to comply with her wishes, Mrs. Boshof and her husband circulated a petition asking the DC as head of the School Committee to evaluate the school and its principal. He refused. The Boshofs then asked MLC Bouwer to intervene. At a meeting of Afrikaner parents on Bouwer's farm, a letter directed to the Education Department enumerated the complaints of these parents and reflected their frustrations.[33] They complained

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[33]Unfortunately all of this information came from a letter of response from the Principal, Mr. Hunter. KNA,

that the Afrikaans instruction in Eldoret was inadequate for practical use in Afrikaans universities of South Africa. Hunter defended his school's instruction in this subject:

> My own view is that the Afrikaans they get in Eldoret is sufficient for their needs down South. In any case it's as much as can be permitted if their English, bad enough as it is, is not to be allowed to deteriorate to the standard of the low-grade farm schools.

But the letter also complained of the inadequacy of the English instruction. Hunter firmly believed that emphasis on one language could only come at the expense of the other. Furthermore,

> if more Afrikaans is to be taught here, fewer English children than ever will be sent to this school. In this connexion, you will be interested to know that quite a number of English parents I have met have expressed surprise on being told that this is an English-medium-school--they had always they said been under the impression that it was all, purely Afrikaans. Nevertheless many parents who know better refuse to send their children to this School through fear of their acquiring what they call a "Dutch accent," and I

Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. Letter from Principal to Acting Director of Education, August 7, 1944. The original letter from Bouwer was not in the files and Mr. Bouwer destroyed all of his papers before leaving for South Africa during the independence period. The Boshofs were primary sources for much information about the community and Mrs. Boshof confirmed the major points of this incident. She stated that she had been motivated by her concern for the niece over which she was guardian and because of the failure of the students from Eldoret to compete successfully with students from other schools for jobs in the colony. As Mr. Hunter pointed out, Mrs. Boshof may also have been motivated by the fact that another of her sisters had been removed from a teaching position at this school the year before. Earlier Mrs. Boshof and a fourth sister had taught at the school. All were the daughters of C. J. Cloete, the leader of the second largest trek. Interview with Mrs. J. Boshof, June 6, 1969.

> don't see that this position will be improved in any way by the teaching of yet more Afrikaans, which I believe Mr. Bouwer and possibly a few others would like to see.[34]

The parents also complained of the lack of Afrikaans instruction in the Prince of Wales School and requested that an Afrikaans Instructor be hired.[35] The Director agreed to give an appointment to an Afrikaner but found that most of his staff disapproved. To prevent a serious crisis, he composed a short history of the teaching

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[34]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. Letter from Principal to Acting Director of Education, August 7, 1944. The other points of criticism included suggestions that the children spend less time in substandards, time which Hunter considered necessary because of the children's deficiency in English when they began school; that a parents' organization be formed (all right with Hunter if the Cloetes did not run it); that the School Committee be elected rather than appointed by the DC; that younger teachers be brought into the school; that the boarding houses have better direction; and that the overall discipline in the school be improved.

[35]See ch. V, pp. 192-93 for a discussion of Afrikaner participation in this school in the 1930s.

Earlier in 1941 a situation arose in the Prince of Wales School during which one of the three Afrikaner boys in the school was taken out by his father. According to the Headmaster this was the consequence of the boy having been called a "damned dirty Dutchman" by a British student. KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1882, Prince of Wales School-Kabete, 1931-41. Headmaster, Prince of Wales School to Director of Education, February 25, 1941. The situation elicited a request by the Director of Education from the Principal of the Eldoret School for a report on the racial situation in that school. Hunter responded by indicating that he had observed no racial animosity in the school, but of course, few children in the school were not Afrikaners. KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49, Director of Education to Principal of Eldoret Central School, April 3, 1941 and response April 8, 1941. The Director's concern over this small incident was undoubtedly strengthened by the presence of the war in North Africa.

of Afrikaans in the colony and sent it as a confidential memo to all department officials and principals. Quoting the 1930 declaration of the Central Committee on European Education, the Director pointed out that "as a subject of instruction, the teaching of Afrikaans may be permitted where the department is able to provide for special instruction without additional expense." In 1938 the Committee amplified this by declaring that "qualified Masters or Mistresses should be available at Kenya Government Schools, where the number of pupils justify it, for the teaching of Afrikaans as one of the language subjects in the curriculum." In 1942 the committee again reaffirmed "the policy of teaching a second language, wherever there exists a sufficient demand." The Director concluded: "It will be seen from these quotations that the Department's policy has practically unaltered, and that the prescription laid down in 1930 still holds good to-day, although the attitude of the department is perhaps a little more positive."[36] The Director's memo had the desired effect and the following year Mr. H. P. K. van Eeden was hired.[37]

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[36]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School 1939-49. Memo from Director of Education to all principals and department officials, no date but placed in early August of 1944 from its position in the file.

[37]Ibid. Memo from the Headmaster of the Prince of Wales School, September 25, 1946; and J. H. Louw, "Suid-Afrikaners in Oos-Afrika," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 1, October, 1946, pp. 18-19. Louw indicated that van Eeden would not only teach the language but also teach self-respect to Afrikaner youth.

In Eldoret in 1944 there were two female Afrikaner teachers but in late 1946 the School Committee requested that a male Afrikaans-speaking teacher be hired. Hunter confessed that

> there is some logic in their request, their argument being that since there are 96 per cent Afrikaans-speaking pupils in the School, there should also be an Afrikaans male teacher. I rather think, too, that the day is not far distant when the Committee will be asking for an Afrikaans-speaking Principal here, probably to take my place when I retire.[38]

The School Committee's request was not honored. In 1948 Hunter was without any teacher who spoke Afrikaans and had but one non-teaching Afrikaner staff-member.[39] Obviously no Afrikaner teacher meant no instruction in Afrikaans. Requests by the School Committee for Afrikaans library books as poor substitutes were flatly rejected by Hunter who contended that such material would "split the school into two camps." The Director agreed with Hunter but urged the purchase of a few books to placate the School Committee.[40]

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[38]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. Principal to Director of Education, December 2, 1946.

[39]Ibid. Letters to the Director and Acting Director of Education, March 4, 1948 and November 11, 1948. The Highlands School was previously the Central School and was so named when the British-oriented Hill School was started in Eldoret.

[40]Ibid. Letter from Principal to Director of Education, June 8, 1949. It would hardly seem that much of a division could occur within the Highlands School since most of the children were Afrikaner. On the other hand various interviewees reported that "sort outs" did occur between some of the Afrikaner and English students of the two schools in Eldoret.

Although the enrollment of the Eldoret Central School was modest at less than 200 students in 1944 and its curriculum and instruction was becoming completely English another government school, the Hill School, was started in the buildings of a former Royal Air Force base. Evidence indicates that the school was begun in order to cater to the "racial" prejudices of both British and Afrikaner in East Africa. The Ugandan administrators desired a school for their children within a reasonable distance. According to one non-Afrikaner resident of the Uasin Gishu, the Ugandan parents had refused to send their children to the Eldoret Central School because of its Afrikaner student body.[41] The small number of British students in this School from the Uasin Gishu is evidence that the Kenyan British were no less reluctant to send their children there but they had alternative schools within a reasonable distance. However, facilities at Eldoret could conveniently serve students from both territories because of its central location. Thus the disadvantage of establishing a new European school in a community which already had one was offset by the ability of Eldoret to serve children from both colonies.[42]

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[41]Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Desmond Connor, June 11, 1969. The quote of Hunter on pp. 222-23 would seem to confirm that these attitudes existed though he does not attribute them specifically to the Ugandans.

[42]Much of this information was not verified by written documentary evidence. None of the files related to this development were in the Kenya National Archives in

Within a few years after the founding of the Hill School the Education Department began pressuring the two schools to amalgamate. The founding of a separate English school was contrary to a long-standing departmental policy and the department intended to rectify this departure from their policy. In November of 1951 the Director informed a joint session of the two School Committees that he intended to remove the racial distinction between the schools. The DC pessimistically predicted: "It will have no appreciable result, for Afrikaans speaking parents will still choose the Highlands School, and English speaking ones the Hill School."[43] In 1953 when Hunter retired as Principal of the Highlands (formerly Central) School, most of the students in this school were still Afrikaners. Though both committees objected to the department's amalgamation policy the

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1969 and the Ministry of Education had no files available. Most of this information was gathered from the Connors (n. 41) and bits and pieces from other interviewees.

The Afrikaners interviewed seemed unconcerned about the motives for founding the Hill School.

[43]KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57. UG District Monthly Intelligence Report, November, 1951. Concerning this the DC also reported: "There is nothing new about the policy." Since the Hill School was only six years old by this time, it is possible that the department had this policy in mind when the Hill School began. From a September, 1951 students' roll of the Highlands School the author was able to determine by surname that definitely 39 of 214 students were not Afrikaner and possibly 10 more. Of the 39, 32 were day scholars, or immediate residents of the Eldoret area.

DC's Annual Report for that year indicated that it was the Ugandan parents who objected most vehemently.[44]

The following year the department hit upon a solution which seemed to satisfy everybody. The Highlands

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[44]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1953. The DC noted that one of the reasons for the Ugandan parents' objection to the amalgamation was that they controlled 80 percent of the boarding facilities at the Hill School, thereby implying that the Ugandan parents disliked having their children live with the Afrikaner children. Enrollment at the two schools divided into ethnic groups is shown in the following:

	From Kenya				
	Italian	Greek	English	Afrikaans	Total
Hill	1	1	73	36	
Highlands			52	204	
	From Uganda				
	Italian	English	Afrikaans		
Hill	2	107			220
Highlands			3		259

Taken from KNA, Education/P/1/10/1, Vol. III, The Hill School, Eldoret-General, 1954-69. Since 141 of 183 Afrikaners in the Highlands School in 1953 were boarders, it is apparent that an amalgamated school would have nearly equal numbers of boarders from both ethnic groups. See KNA, Education/Deposit 1/2402, Highlands School-Eldoret, 1954. Annual Report, 1954. Many Britishers did not wish to have their children live with Afrikaner children, probably because some of them considered these fellow settlers "damned dirty Dutchmen." See n. 35.

In the Nakuru School to which children from the Thomson's Falls area had to go if they wished to attend a government school, the Afrikaners were definitely in a minority position and reacted accordingly. Two former students of that school, one Afrikaner and another British, informed the author that the Afrikaners formed a cohesive group within the school, were easily offended and ready to act physically when offended. The Afrikaners had a reputation of being tough. The Britisher stated that those British chaps who wished to present an air of toughness would frequently affect the "Dutch" accent in their speech. This was probably one kind of influence which the Ugandan parents wished to avoid. Interview with W. Hopcraft, July 9, 1969 and daughter of Jozua Joubert, June 25, 1969.

School was to be converted into an all girls' school and the Hill School was to be expanded in order to accommodate the former student bodies of both schools.[45] The amalgamation proceeded smoothly in January of 1956. The Hill School would accommodate 500 students, 350 of which could be boarders.[46]

During the next five years ethnic tensions were minimal in this school. One problem was the new guidelines for the remission of fees to needy families. Earlier the department had granted these remissions liberally as a means of luring Afrikaner families to the Central School. During and after World War II the economic condition of many of these families had improved but the practice had not been discontinued. For example, of the 48 Afrikaner families represented in the Highlands School in 1948, 9 were remitted full fees, 35 part fees, and 4 none.[47] The

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[45]KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57, UG Monthly Intelligence Reports, April, May, and July, 1954. It is not clear why this solution received the support, or at least acquiescence of everyone. Possibly the presence of the girls' school as an alternative school for their girls erased the greatest objection of the Ugandans to the mixing of the two groups of students. The Afrikaner community appeared to have lost its will to oppose the Education Department.

[46]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1955.

[47]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/3228, Eldoret Highlands School, 1939-49. Meeting of School Committee, April 13, 1948. No comparable statistics were available for the Hill School, but in 1953 it was reported that the number of remissions given by both School Committees was considerable, "particularly by the Highlands School Committee." KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57. UG District Monthly Intelligence Report, May, 1953.

colony's Auditor drew the attention of the Director to the excessiveness of this practice and the Director admitted: "I am painfully aware of the large proportion at Eldoret . . . who are receiving education free or at reduced rates." But "no such children are accepted without the specific recommendation of the School Area Committee which is my statutory advisory body in such matters."[48] The Afrikaner-dominated Highlands School Committee was obviously very generous in its recommendations for the remission of fees.

The position of the Afrikaners on the new Hill School Committee was considerably weakened and their ability to remit fees reduced. By 1958 most fee remissions had been stopped and some Afrikaners retaliated by refusing to pay their fees.[49] The issue faded into irrelevancy as independence became a certainty.

In 1958 another attempt was made to renew the teaching of Afrikaans. Ds. C. J. Mans of the NHK and a Mr. Kruger visited the Acting Director of Education with two requests: (1) that Ds. Mans be given facility to teach the Afrikaans language to students from his church as well as giving them religious instruction, and (2) that a hostel be built for the Afrikaner children in Eldoret in which only Afrikaans would be used as the medium. In his account

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[48]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/1721, European Education. Letter From Director of Education to the Auditor, May 5, 1955.

[49]KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1958.

of this conversation sent to Highland's Headmaster Brindley, the Acting Director noted that he had assured them that he had no desire to impede the cultural, social and religious advances of any group of people, and certainly not their home language, but,

> this is an English-speaking Colony and to impede the learning of English would not be in the social and economic interest of any person. School and public examinations are written in English and any child whose other interests prevented him from obtaining a mastery of the language would be placed under a severe handicap.

As for the hostel proposal he pointed out:

> (a) that the distinction between English and Afrikaans speaking pupils which the establishment of your school has almost completely eliminated would be re-established; (b) that a difference of loyalties would arise between the hostel and the Afrikaans and English children at your school; (c) that the hostel children would have a more emphatic accent than all others, would have less facility in the use of English and would be placed under marked disadvantages in normal school work and in examinations.

Regarding the tone of the interview itself, the Acting Director commented:

> I found Rev. Mans and Mr. Kruger in every way understanding and reasonable and I hope that you will be able to convince them that whatever you are able to do is all you can do, whatever your desire to do more may be.[50]

Before receiving this report, Brindley received a visit from Mans and Kruger. Brindley informed the Acting Director that he knew both men well and that

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[50]KNA, Education/P/1/10/1, Vol. III, The Hill School--Eldoret--General, 1954-69. Acting Director of Education to Headmaster, August 12, 1958. The Van Riebeeck School will be discussed below.

> they are both decent, middle-of-the-road chaps and this district must rely more and more on young men like Kruger, who have a relatively wide outlook and are quite at home in Afrikaans and English speaking communities. The goodwill of such people is an invaluable asset to the success of this experiment where an equal number of children of both communities are in School together, yet where the bias is as far over towards the English side as I can possible make it.

Emphasizing "officialdom at its worst" Brindley was able to dissuade the two men of the hostel proposal. As for the teaching of Afrikaans by Ds. Mans after school, Brindley gave permission for him to hold one class per week which students from his church could attend in place of the British and Foreign Bible Society meetings. These classes would also be called Bible classes. He anticipated that the other two churches would ask for the same privileges. "This might mean a complete breakaway of the Afrikaans children from the British and Foreign Bible Society classes, which would not be 'a good thing' as the more mixed groups we have in this School, the better it is for all concerned."[51]

The deportment of these two men and the moderation of their request (they did not demand an Afrikaans instructor and the teaching of Afrikaans in the normal school curriculum) was a significant departure from the earlier complains of Mrs. Boshof and Ds. Loubser. Mans' temperateness was not the consequence of a lukewarm attitude towards

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[51] Ibid. Headmaster to Acting Director of Education, August 14, 1958.

Afrikaner nationalism but rather because as he said, "our people live here in a foreign land under a multi-racial government which does not have much sympathy with the ideals of the Afrikaner."[52] Mans had lower expectations than his predecessors in trying to convert East Africa, or a portion of it, into a "little" South Africa. In a letter to the principal of an Afrikaans school in Brits, South Africa, asking the latter to admit two children from his church to the school, Mans explained:

> In Brits there are several children from Kenya and Tanganyika where our Afrikaners find themselves in a peculiar position with reference to education. The multi-racial political opinions of the government are a serious threat to the existence of the Afrikaner here. To maintain their identity it is necessary that more and more of the children's higher schooling and university education be received in South Africa.[53]

Affluence and better transportation permitted the alternative of sending their children to South Africa for their schooling. This alternative for the more nationally-minded Afrikaners of Kenya removed some of the urgency for

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[52]C. J. Mans, "Rensburgrus," Almanak van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (Krugersdorp: NHW-Pers, 1960), pp. 77-78.

[53]C. J. Mans to Die Hoof, Landbouskool, Brits, September 16, 1958. Found in File G-26, Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerkargief, Pretoria. Though Mans does not seem to have been very forceful in his requests for the teaching of Afrikaans and other concessions, he does indicate in another letter that the teaching of Afrikaans under the rubric of Scripture classes was the beginning of what he hoped would be a number of additional concessions. C. J. Mans to Die Administrateur, Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika, August 22, 1959, File G-26. A subsequent letter that year (no date) reported that the Afrikaans classes were in progress. C. J. Mans to J. G. M. Dryer, Editor of Die Hervormer, File G-26.

Afrikaans-oriented education at Eldoret. Thus fifty years of constant pressure by the Education Department had succeeded in bringing about the assimilation of the British and Afrikaners in the educational system of the Uasin Gishu.

The same did not occur in Thomson's Falls. The general economic boom in the colony had benefitted this area even more than the Uasin Gishu enabling it to grow independently of Eldoret. Early in the 1940s it began celebrating the December 16 South African holiday separately and built a small feesaal for that purpose in Ol Joro Orok south of Thomson's Falls in 1944. The next year the NGK residents separated from Vergenoeg and formed the Loubser congregation under the pastorship of Ds. J. H. Louw. The new church of 300 members met in the small feesaal[54] and decided in February of 1946 to erect a new sanctuary in Thomson's Falls. They were immediately able to raise £2000 to commission an architect.[55] Seven years later the structure was completed. The GK residents formed the Skeurvallei (Rift Valley) congregation in the early 1950s

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[54]The new congregation was also responsible for Nairobi. By 1946 this Nairobi wyk was meeting in the old St. Andrews Presbyterian Church on the corners of what is now Uhuru Highway and Government Road. Though a building fund of nearly £1000 was available in 1946 for a new structure in Nairobi, none was ever built.

[55]"Gemeentenuus uit Loubser," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 1, October, 1946, pp. 8-12.

(meeting in the feesaal) but the NHK residents remained with Eldoret Rensburgrus.

The first concern of many Afrikaners in this community was the establishment of an Afrikaans school. Before the war the government had failed to establish a central school at Thomson's Falls and had convinced the residents to send their children to Nakuru with a liberal fee remission policy. Growing prosperity in the district caused the local administration to question the need for these remissions. In 1942 the DC announced that he would tighten up on the remission of fees the following year and predicted: "This is certain to raise an outcry. It is unfortunate that in this area parents receiving assistance are all Dutch, and they tend to regard the question from a racial aspect."[56] Whether just or not, this change in policy caused the Afrikaners to feel that the Board of Education was not serving their area properly by not furnishing either a local school or remitting fees at Nakuru. British residents were similarly disturbed and built a large private school during this period.[57] In his 1945 Annual Report the DC noted that a new private Afrikaans

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[56]KNA, DC/LKA/1/16, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1942.

[57]Ibid., 1943, 1945. The British private school persisted at least until 1949 when a Dr. Holland and Mr. Bullen ran it. KNA, DC/LKA/2/1, Laikipia District Handing-Over Report, 1949.

school was being proposed somewhere south of Thomson's Falls.

This school opened in January of 1947 at Ol Joro Orok with forty-five children, a headmaster from the Transvaal and a local woman teacher.[58] During that year a formal constitution for the school was written forming a ruling committee of nine members: five chosen by the Kerkraad (church council) of the Loubser congregation, three by a parents association and one by the staff. The new school committee immediately asked the government for land in Thomson's Falls for the purpose of building a new school.[59] In 1949 a 50-acre plot was granted.[60]

The building of the new school presented financial problems for its proponents. Though prosperous, the people of this area and particularly of the Loubser congregation were not prepared to handle such a large undertaking without assistance. Contemporaneous with these developments came the ringsitting or Circle meeting of the Lydenburg Ring. The delegates from the South were sympathetic towards the planned school and decided to grant £15,000

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[58]J. H. Louw, "'n Nuwe Afrikaanse Skool," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 3, May, 1947, p. 10.

[59]"Op die Akker," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 4, August, 1947, p. 17. Shortly before this the Government had again objected to a proposed school in Thomson's Falls, a fact which the committee noted in its request.

[60]KNA, DC/LKA/2/1, Laikipia District Handing-Over Report, 1949.

for the project during the next three years.[61] Such a substantial gift reflected a strong commitment by these South African clergymen to this voorpunt of Afrikanerdom.

The Board also decided to request aid from the Department of Education in spite of the latter's history of opposition to Afrikaans schools. On March 14, 1949, Louw directed a letter to the Director setting forth his people's case. He gave a brief history of the school at Ol Joro Orok and carefully described its present governing body. He informed the Director that soon the school would move to Thomson's Falls, would have a hundred boarders, and would be open to all European children who wished to attend. It would be a primary school in which "the children coming from Afrikaans-speaking homes will be started off in Afrikaans, and Afrikaans will also be taught in all the higher standards, but English will gradually be introduced not only as a subject, but also as medium of instruction for all examination subjects." To make the school more attractive to the department Louw mentioned that it could act as an adaptive agent for new Afrikaner settlers, that it could furnish adult education and that it could act as an orphanage for the Afrikaners.[62]

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[61] P. L. Olivier, "Ringsitting in Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXIV, no. 25, December 21, 1949, pp. 1130-32.

[62] KNA, CCEA/Deposit 1/293, Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, J. H. Louw to Director of Education, March 14, 1949. CCEA refers to the Christian Council of East Africa, the former name for the Christian Council of Kenya.

The Director of Education turned to Secretary Dickson of the Christian Council of Kenya (hereafter CCK), an interdenominational body which had acquired responsibility for mission schools in the colony, for advice and requested that it act as the liaison between the department and supporters of the school. Dickson wrote Louw expressing puzzlement over the grant-in-aid request.

> This is a British Colony with British Connections and Government so far as I can gather is not prepared to back schools which are not English speaking at least in so far as whites are concerned. They take, if my impressions are correct, the same attitude as the United States of America, "We will provide education in English. If you want it in any other language then that is your affair."
>
> The South Africans who come up to Kenya presumably come up to settle and become Kenyans. If so is it not better that their children should mix with the others from the start and while not forgetting South Africa any more than I forget that I am a Scot get accustomed to their new country.

He also pointed out that should a grant be awarded a similar request would come from the other private school in Thomson's Falls. Unaware of the history of Afrikaner education, Dickson queried, "Is it wise to create another racial group in Kenya?"[63]

In spite of his reservations Dickson met with Louw and greatly modified his opinion of the government's role in this scheme.

In a lengthy communiqué Dickson reported to the Director that the community was substantial and growing.

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[63] Ibid. Secretary of CCK to J. H. Louw, August 15, 1949.

In his view the Afrikaners had retained their distinctiveness and were not being absorbed; and, those "who have left it [the community] to join the wider one outside have failed to make good." Those who advanced to higher education usually attended the Afrikaans universities of South Africa, "and thus lack of fluency in Africans [sic] is a handicap." His evaluation concluded:

> --It is certain that whatever Government does a school will be started at Thomson's Falls.
> --There is some doubt as to the motives of those who want this school. Some are privately inspired by an anti-English feeling, some are inspired by a desire to preserve their own traditions. Some feel that the demand for the school is such that they cannot resist it, but would if they could.
> --There seems to be a feeling that Government has not been as active in the matter of recruiting Africans [sic] speaking teachers as it might have been.
> --The Educational problem would be the easier of solution if there was no political problem.[64]

Convinced of community-wide support for the school,[65] Dickson could only have concluded that the assimilation process had failed and that the best policy for the government to follow was one which would ameliorate the "political problem." Accordingly Dickson turned to the

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[64] Ibid. Secretary of CCK to Director of Education, October 10, 1949.

[65] In the same communiqué Dickson wrote: "My sympathies are with Mr. Louw who is in my opinion trying to make the best of a situation for which he is in no way responsible, and who to that extent deserves what help he can be given." Ibid. Louw's reports of progress at the school in Oos Afrika, interviewees' comments and his brother's subsequent takeover as principal of the school in 1960, would indicate that Dickson was deceived about Louw's true position.

government's relations with the Kenya Independent Schools as an exemplary precedent. "These schools have a political origin, but government has agreed to offer aid on the usual conditions because the receiving of aid does involve rather more in the way of control than is usually recognized or admitted."[66] Dickson recommended:

> (a) Since the school will certainly be built and is unlikely to be efficient without Government help it would pay Government to give that help to make it efficient.
>
> (b) Since too, help will involve some measure of control it is better to give the help and secure the control.
>
> (c) To refuse help may be construed as expressing contempt for the Dutch people, but to give it may create a better feeling between the races.
>
> (d) Stipulation should be made with regard to the teaching of languages and above all with regard to the level to which the school may advance. While Government might with some justification aid a Primary School, there will be no case for a Secondary School for years to come.[67]

He concluded:

> I am well aware that on political grounds some will say, "Do not aid this school." If I were convinced that the refusal would in any way contribute to the absorption of the Dutch element into Kenya's white population, then I would agree. I do not think that it will. I think it is likely to strengthen the anti-English element.[68]

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[66]For a discussion of the Kenya Independent Schools, see Rosberg and Nottingham, Myth of "Mau Mau," pp. 126-31. This source does not refer to government support of these schools.

[67]KNA, CCEA/Deposit 1/293, Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, Secretary of the CCK to Director of Education, October 10, 1949.

[68]Ibid.

This historical study does not confirm Dickson's conclusion. On the Uasin Gishu the barriers to assimilation, both attitudinally and concretely, were slowly being lowered by 1949. Many Plateau Afrikaners were beginning to accept Kenya as their homeland and as parents had come to realize the desirability of fluency in English if their children were to compete successfully in colony affairs. Admittedly the Thomson's Falls community had not progressed as far as the Uasin Gishu in this process, a factor which may have led Dickson to his erroneous generalizations.

The department's answer to the request of the Thomson's Falls community was positive. No figures are available for the first two years of its operation (1952 and 1953) but the school received £1600 annually in 1954 and 1955. This amount was slightly greater than one-seventh of the total cost of the operation of the school.[69] By 1959 the department was giving £10 per child to the school.[70]

In return for this support the department did receive minority representation on the six-member School Committee: two members each chosen by the parents, the

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[69]Found in an anonymously written, undated pamphlet entitled "Die Van Riebeeck-Skool in Kenia, Oos Afrika," Probable date, 1956, p. 5.

[70]P. A. M. Brink, "Die Van Riebeeck-Skool in Kenia," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXXXIII, no. 7, February 18, 1959, pp. 264-65.

department, and the subordinate Board of Governors. Additionally the department received enrollment lists from the school, and demanded that English be the medium of instruction beyond the first four primary grades.[71]

Students attending the Van Riebeeck School, as it was named, were almost exclusively Afrikaans. Enrollment lists show the surnames of but two English students who attended during the school's second term and they left the following year as the Education Department observed.[72]

By no means did all of the Afrikaners in Kenya support the school. In one of its publications the School Board acknowledged that only 146 of a possible 600 Afrikaner children in the colony attended. Undoubtedly distance (135 miles from Eldoret) and fees prevented many families from enrolling their children, but there were other reasons for non-enrollment. Of the thirteen-member

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[71]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/2264, Dutch Reformed School, Thomson's Falls. Only the rolls for the terms of 1952 were present in this file. The totals for the first term were as follows: 105 primary students, 7 of which were day scholars and the rest boarders; 17 secondary students of which 2 were day scholars; total--122 students. The second term 46 additional students enrolled while 7 families removed their children from the school after this term. The school did not grow during the next four years, for in 1956 there were just 146 students enrolled.

The secondary division received no financial aid, therefore half of its courses were taught in Afrikaans. "Die Van Riebeeck-Skool," p. 7.

[72]KNA, Education/Deposit 1/2264, Dutch Reformed School, Thomson's Falls. It should be noted that the last Principal of the school, Mr. A. A. Louw showed the author a letter of praise from one satisfied English parent whose child attended in the early 1960s.

Board of Governors, seven were from the NGK and at least four more could be. Also the school property was owned by the Loubser church. This definite NGK character of the school caused one visiting clergyman of one of the other churches to comment that this school "is not the school of the Afrikaans 'community' of Kenya as we [South Africans] have thought, but it is a Nederduitse Gereformeerde 'church-school.'"[73] Thus, the non-NGK parents and the NGK parents who desired an English education[74] sent eighty-six children, mostly from the Thomson's Falls area, to the Nakuru school in 1956.[75]

Some non-ecclesiastical support for the school came from South Africa. About 1949 a pamphlet was published and distributed in South Africa which pleaded for individual

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[73]Joh. Dreyer, "Ons Gemeentes in Oos-Afrika," Die Hervormer, October, 1958, found in File G-26. The Board of Governors was chosen in this fashion: seven by the NGK churches of East Africa (Vergenoeg, Loubser, and Meru of Tanganyika), three chosen by parents (regardless of church affiliation), one each by the GK and NHK, and the Principal as ex officio member.

[74]Many of those Afrikaners still living in Kenya in 1969, both on the Uasin Gishu and around Thomson's Falls gave this as their major reason for not supporting the Van Riebeeck School. However this group was not a fair sampling of the community before 1960. Interviews with J. E. Kruger, June 16, 1969; Mr. and Mrs. N. M. Snyman, June 18, 1969; Mr. and Mrs. J. Boshof, June 6, 1969; Mr. and Mrs. Jozua Joubert, June 25, 1969; and Mr. and Mrs. Nicolaas Van Deventer, June 24, 1969.

[75]KNA, Education/P/1/10/1, Vol. III, The Hill School, Eldoret--General, 1954-69. Director of Education to W. E. Crosshill, MLC, October 10, 1956.

contributions. The pamphlet first assured the South Africans of the stability and permanency of the community. "There is no talk of retreating [literally, 'rear-exiting'] or repatriation; on the contrary, such a proposal would be just as far-fetched a presumption as a proposal that the South Africans in the Union would have to be repatriated to Europe." Second it noted that the Afrikaners had retained their culture even though many lived in mixed neighborhoods where life revolved around social clubs.[76] It is not known how much support was gained with this pamphlet but continued pleas for South African assistance throughout the next decade would seem to show some success. Usually the pleas were accompanied by references to the frontier (voorpos) character of the East African community and its role as the aggressive front line of Afrikaner culture.[77] The writers of a later pamphlet were less stridently confident of their future in East Africa. But they asked the South Africans: "And how will you have them if they return?

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[76]"Kerklike Skool in Oos-Afrika" (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerspers, Bpk., no date). Found in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Argief.

[77]One writer appealed; "Help given them on a matter such as this also indirectly furthers the cause of the struggle for the preservation of our religion and our people in Africa." Brink, "Die Van Riebeeck-Skool." Also see Loots, "Noodoproep."

Certainly not people who have been alienated from our people and our church and our culture?"[78]

At least one Afrikaner nationalist organization, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur-verenigings (FAK), which was closely associated with the secretive Broederbond, supported the Van Riebeeck School. In 1950 it had acted as the agent through which South African donors could channel funds to the school.[79] The following year this organization assisted a group of Van Riebeeck school children on a fund-raising concert tour in South Africa.[80] The FAK continued its support throughout the 1950s.[81]

The school continued in operation until 1962. Early that year it was closed because of the sharp drop in enrollment. In 1964 the buildings were sold to the American sponsored African Inland Mission.[82]

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[78]"Die Van Riebeeck-Skool," p. 12. Also see Brink, "Ons Oos-Afrikaanse."

[79]Editorial, Die Kerkbode, Deel LXVI, no. 18, November 1, 1950, p. 836.

[80]"Die Van Riebeeck-Skool," p. 4. For descriptions of this organization and its ties to the Broederbond, see William Henry Vatcher, White Laager: The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), pp. 76-88.

[81]"Die Van Riebeeck-Skool," p. 14.

[82]Records shown to the author by Mr. Hofmeyr Retief of Thomson's Falls. Mr. Retief handled much of the arrangements in the selling of the buildings.

The significant innovation in Afrikaner-African relations during this period was the establishment of a mission, the Bwana Loubser Sending, in 1944. It was begun and supported by the Vergenoeg Church of Eldoret with some assistance from the other two NGK congregations, Loubser and Meru. Previously a small grass-roofed structure had been built by three Afrikaner farmers for use by their laborers as a place of worship. Other than this minimal effort to christianize their employees, nothing had been done by the Dutch Reformed Churches in Kenya to fulfil their "historic" mission of bringing the light of Christianity to this "heathen land."

B. B. Eybers arrived in 1944 to carry on the work of the mission. The Vergenoeg Church converted the old Broederstroom School buildings into the central missionary station and headquarters. A medical clinic was also built on the site.[83]

The attempt to christianize the Africans did not proceed without some opposition and criticism within the Afrikaner community. The criticisms, probably from one or both of the other two Dutch Reformed Churches, suggested

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[83]"Lig Oor Afrika," Jubilee Issue on the occasion of the ten year existence of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Mission in East Africa, Bwana Loubser-Sendingstasie, 1944-54.

that these activities would foster the principle of equalization or egalitarianism between white and black. Olivier, the editor of Vergenoeg, denied that his church's missionary activities "equalized" the Africans. He assured his readers that his church did not believe in pressing the Africans down since they did have a soul: Christ had died for them also. Rather, the Afrikaners should uplift the Africans, especially their souls. He emphatically declared that his church did not believe in egalitarianism. On the other hand he defended this policy against Britishers who called it unchristian.

> Our church believes that God has allowed distinctions to exist between races and that for each race a higher development is possible within its own boundaries. Not that we cannot learn from each other. But promiscuous interlacing and intermixing has no one any desire for. This is then one of the marks of our church's mission: that the race-apartheid and race-respect will be preserved for the promotion and building of all groups.[84]

At first the work of the mission expanded rapidly. By late 1946 there were five Sunday Schools (one at Broederstroom and four on various farms) and seven locations for public worship. Eighty persons customarily attended the services at Broederstroom and 160 at the other six posts.

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[84] P. L. Olivier, "Gelykstelling," Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 3, May, 1946, pp. 3-4.

Three African evangelists served the outpost locations.[85] These evangelists were not native to the Uasin Gishu but had previously served a German mission in Tanganyika. They became aware of Eybers' need for evangelists through a Tanganyikan who had read the Scriptures in Swahili for Eybers at a meeting. This man had returned home with a Swahili catechism which Eybers had had published and had shown it to the evangelists.[86] Since their own

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[85]"Uittreksel uit Jaarrapport van die Sendingwerkkring, N. G. Sending, Vergenoeg, Eldoret," Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 3, August, 1946, pp. 13-15.

[86]Apparently Eybers wrote the catechism and hired someone to translate it for him. The first edition came out in 1945 and a second in 1950. It was entitled Katichisima and was shown to the author by the Netherlands missionary linguist in East Africa in 1969, Mr. Henrik Van't Veld.

The introduction to the work by Eybers was written for his European constituency rather than for African converts. It read:

> "We Europeans in East Africa, are too much inclined to show to the outside world the more favourable side of our circumstances. We rather think of the degree of development our society has attained, and of the rapid progress made in these extensive parts with a view to the material. With just pride we would let the world know that we too, belong to civilization. Indignation fills us when we are identified with 'dark Africa.'
>
> And yet, we have only to leave our macadamised roads and our immediate vicinity, to come into direct contact with a 'dark Africa.' Thousands upon thousands of pagans to whom the light of Christianity has never yet come.
>
> Thirty years ago the late Professor J. du Plessis characterized his remarkable journey, which included East Africa, as: 'Thrice through the dark continent.' Thirty years have certainly added many forces to those called to bring the light to the darkness, but with the tremendous powers of evil to cope with, the darkness could easily yet overwhelm the light.
>
> Therefore the Christian forces of this country welcome each sound and positive contribution to the

mission's support had stopped, the evangelists walked from their homes south of Lake Victoria to the Uasin Gishu to offer their services to Eybers. By 1954 two of these men had become ordained clergymen in the NGK and the third was ordained shortly after.[87]

After the initial establishment of the various Sunday Schools and outposts progress was slow. Eybers attempted to establish mission schools but found opposition both from officials and possibly other missionaries. In 1951-52 Eybers asked permission to begin a school in the Turkana District but received a negative response from the administration. These officials argued that the one government school already in the district was sufficient and that they feared for the security of the personnel of the proposed school. Furthermore Eybers did not have qualified teachers for the school. Though the school was rejected, the mission was given permission to have a seventeen year old African who had received one year of training at the main mission station to hold prayer services "under a shady tree."[88]

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evangelization of 'pagan Africa.' And for that reason this work is most humbly devoted to the service of the Master."

[87]"Lig Oor Afrika." These facts were confirmed with no substantial variation by an interview with one of the Tanganyikan clergymen, the Reverend J. Tibangi, June 11, 1969.

[88]KNA, PC/NK/Deposit 2/895, Education--Missions in Turkana, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, 1951-52.

A few schools were permitted on the Uasin Gishu.[89] Until 1955 they were run entirely independently of state support and state control. In October of 1955 the District Educational Board met to consider a request from Eybers that his schools receive government grants-in-aid. The board declared that the quality of the schools was inferior but agreed to aid the schools if Eybers accepted government-trained teachers (instead of teachers graduated from his own schools) and permitted inspections by a group of missionaries of a Protestant Supervisory Team. Eybers agreed.[90] Yet two years later the outgoing DC urged his successor to give

> sympathetic consideration . . . to the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, who are struggling in their rather ineffective way to get proper primary schools, and later on intermediate school, established. Last year they agreed to accept Government trained teachers in their aided schools, but they have not yet made much progress, possibly due to the reluctance on the part of the Rev. Eybers to accept Government trained teachers instead of Mission trained ones.[91]

The last few years of the mission are not well documents. Eybers left his post some time during the late

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[89] No reliable information was found establishing the exact number of schools run by the mission.

[90] KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57, UG District Monthly Intelligence Report, October, 1955; and KNA, DC/UG/1/2, UG District Annual Report, 1955. The latter report indicated that graduates of the schools of this mission could not pass the entrance exams for the Government Intermediate Schools.

[91] KNA, DC/UG/2/9, UG District Handing-Over Report, March, 1957.

1950s.[92] Though he was a firm believer in the apartheid ideal, particularly in ecclesiastical matters,[93] he was a friend and supporter of his African parishioners. On some occasions he went so far as to reprimand Boer farmers who treated their labor poorly, especially when they required Sunday labor.[94] By 1959 there were 308 members of the mission, three ordained Africans and fourteen evangelists.[95]

Shortly after the Lancaster House Conference in early 1960 the Vergenoeg Church began negotiations with their Netherlands "Mother" Hervormde Church to turn over the mission to them. The mission was transferred in July of 1963. The Netherlands church immediately formed an

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[92]Van't Veld informed this author that he believed that Eybers left because of conflict with the elders (ruling body) of the Vergenoeg congregation. Interviewed June 18, 1969. This could not be confirmed in other interviews. The Reverend Tibangi said his departure was the consequence of the lingering effects of an automobile accident. Interviewed June 11, 1969.

[93]See his speech entitled "Die Toekomstige N. G. Bantoekerk op die Ewenaar," Oos Afrika, Deel II, no. 3, July, 1949, pp. 23-26.

[94]The Reverend Tibangi offered this information. Interviewed June 11, 1969. Tibangi had only respect and admiration for Eybers. Van't Veld told this author that he had received the same impression of Eybers from the members of the mission after the Netherlands church took charge. Interviewed June 18, 1969.

[95]Letter to the Editor by the Reverend Joz. P. Theron, Die Kerkbode, Deel XCI, no. 3, January 19, 1963, pp. 100-01.

independent Reformed Church of East Africa.[96] So ended the missionary efforts of the Afrikaners in East Africa.

Certainly some of the barriers to the full assimilation of Afrikaners into the broader settler community were being broken down during the 1940-1960 period and, as one contemporary clergyman described it, "the little sheep run together a bit here and there."[97] Nevertheless most Afrikaners valued and preserved their distinctiveness. In Eldoret where assimilation was farther advanced, the DC noted in 1961 that differences between the two groups continued in the integrated Hill School.

> One of Mr. Brindley's main aims at the School was the fusion of the Afrikaans and the English speaking children. He has been successful to a very great extent, but I somehow feel that, whilst the proportion of Afrikaans speaking children in the lower streams of the school persists [those who speak Afrikaans in their homes], complete fusion will not be possible.[98]

One could speculate that time would have brought about the eventual demise of the Afrikaans language and

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[96]File found in the office of the National Christian Council of Kenya entitled "Reformed Church of East Africa"; and interview with Hendrik Van't Veld, June 18, 1969.

[97]J. A. Retief, "Vergenoeg: die Mees Noordelike Gemeente van Ons Kerk," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXXI, no. 20, May 21, 1953, p. 725.

[98]KNA, Education/P/1/10/1, Vol. III, The Hill School, Eldoret--General, 1954-69. Annual Report, 1961.

Afrikanerdom in East Africa but the rise of African nationalism makes such speculation irrelevant.

CHAPTER VII

FAILURE: EMIGRATION FROM KENYA: 1960-69

As the 1960s began most Afrikaners were psychologically unprepared for the political developments of that decade. The Lancaster House Conference and the Congo crisis of 1960 thrust the impending reality of African rule upon them. They reacted viscerally and most decided to leave the colony as soon as possible.

Before 1960 there were few who recognized the precariousness of their position in Kenya. In an editorial in Oos-Afrika entitled "Wit, Geel en Swart" ("White, Yellow and Black"), J. H. Louw of the Loubser congregation surveyed the status of his people. He noted the proportion of whites to Asians and Africans (1 to 12 and 1 to 985), and observed that

> the numbers today are against us and also to a great extent the feelings of the masses who are in the majority. . . . If we wish to stay here--as nearly everyone wishes to do--then we must sort out matters and must decide if we believe that there is a place for us in the composition of the people of East Africa. . . . If we wish to remain in East Africa in the years ahead, then we must take care that we are always

> prepared to adapt ourselves and are able to fulfill a profitable role.

What role were the Afrikaners to play in the changing situation in Kenya? Some said it was to govern and rule but Louw feared that the Afrikaners and Europeans generally would then become like the Romans who were eventually overthrown by their subjects. Fifty years earlier the Africans had bows and arrows, picks and pounding blocks, but now there were many well-educated Africans. "On the otherhand there are here today whites who do not value their heritage . . . and, while we see that the black man is climbing higher, we see how far the white man can also sink." Still Louw believed that the place of the white man was to guide and lead in Kenya. This could be done only if their heritage, their educational superiority, and their spiritual purity were maintained. In conclusion Louw urged the Afrikaners to face this issue frontally if they wished to remain in Kenya. If this were done, "there shall always be an Afrikaner community here and congregations of our churches will persist.[1]

This warning was not heeded and the Afrikaners did not prepare for African rule. In fact the picture of the future of the community was painted most unreally when it attempted to acquire assistance from the South in the

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[1]J. H. Louw, "Wit, Geel en Swart," Oos-Afrika, Deel II, no. 3, July, 1949, pp. 2-4.

building of the Van Riebeeck School.[2] Neither did the period of uncertainty during the Emergency cause much concern among the Afrikaners. Between 1950 and 1959 only thirty-four membership transfers were recorded from the Vergenoeg congregation to South Africa.[3] Articles sent to the three ecclesiastical publications did not reflect anxiety for their future. The Kenyan Afrikaners would not believe that the British government could turn over the rule of this colony to Africans. This state of euphoria was rudely shaken by the assurance of rapid devolution of colonial rule at the Lancaster House Conference. As one DC put it: "I would say our Europeans are in a stunned and semi-anaesthetised state."[4]

The reaction of the Afrikaners to Lancaster House might have been less severe had the Congo crisis not erupted shortly after. A large number of European refugees from this area passed through the Uasin Gishu via the

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[2]See ch. VI, pp. 243-44.

[3]Vergenoeg Congregation Membership Roll shown to this author by J. E. Kruger. Most of those who transferred did so at the very end of this period. However the transfer of memberships could post-date the actual move of members. In 1969 there were a number of names of persons on the membership roll who had not resided in Kenya for many years. In contrast there were ten transfers to South Africa in the 1940s. During the 1950s there were thirty-three transfers into the congregation from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

[4]KNA, DC/TN/2/1, Trans-Nzoia District Handing-Over Report, 1960.

Uganda Railway and their accounts of the atrocities in that newly independent country placed Lancaster House in a new perspective.[5] Many members of the community panicked and made immediate plans to migrate to South Africa. Only their investments in their farms held them back.

Initially the planned exodus was led by a large Afrikaner landowner from the Ol Kalou area, J. M. Kruger. It was Kruger's intention to force the British Administration to pay a good price for farms or be faced with immediate wholesale emigration resulting in economic and political chaos.[6] There were at least four public meetings in which the threatened exodus was discussed.[7] The first

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[5]Interviews with J. Boshof, June 6, 1969; P. S. A. Steenkamp, August 9, 1969; and J. E. Kruger, June 16, 1969. In the Trans-Nzoia the settlers (not particularly Afrikaners) were also frightened by the Congo refugees and began to form security forces in mid-1960. KNA, DC/TN/2/1, Trans-Nzoia Handing-Over Report, 1960. By the end of the year fourteen farmers had left the district and the private armies had decreased in importance. KNA, DC/TN/1/1, Trans-Nzoia District Annual Report, 1960. However in 1963 when the first African DC came to the district, there still was a Committee of Eager's Private Army under the direction of retired RAF officer, K. R. W. Eager. KNA, DC/TN/2/1, Trans-Nzoia District Handing-Over Report, 1963.

[6]Unfortunately there is little in official documents presently available which could assist in the narration of the events of this period. Much of the material here presented was given orally by members of the community and for this reason exact dates could not be determined. There is no question, however, that these events did occur.

[7]Four interviewees dated these events from mid-1961 to early 1963. The one written document which refers to "the anticipated exodus of South Africans" is dated June 29, 1961. Since none of the interviewees could date the events exactly, the author believes that the above quote refers

was held in the Soy Club near Eldoret and included only those Afrikaner farmers who wished to cooperate in the exodus. The group decided to send a delegation to the Governor to present their case and state their terms. The Governor did meet with the delegates but delayed his response to their ultimatum. The delegates reported back to their supporting farmers at two meetings in the Eldoret Sports Club and at Broederstroom.[8] Later the government called a meeting of all Afrikaners with the Commissioner of Police, a representative of the Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya (which held many of the loans on the farms) and local administrative officials in Eldoret. It quickly became apparent that many Afrikaners either had never supported the mass exodus scheme or had overcome their initial panic and no longer supported Kruger. Two members of the District's Agricultural Board, Gert Barnard and J. E. Kruger, led the opposition. This meeting broke the back of any unified Afrikaner response to the government's

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to this movement and can thus be dated to mid-1961. Reference found in a report of the UG District Board of Agriculture Meeting, June 29, 1961, located in the office of the UG District Agriculture Officer, Confidential/General/1.

[8]This information was received from Valerius Cloete, a leader from the UG in this movement. Interviewed August 17, 1969. Though the order of meetings was not the same, Mr. and Mrs. J. Boshof confirmed the general order of events. The latter interviewees did not participate. Interviewed June 4, 1969.

new policy and the unified exodus of a group of Afrikaners did not occur.[9]

Subsequently the Afrikaners were forced to deal individually with their situations. In 1961 the Uasin Gishu District Agricultural Board reported the position of the farmers concisely:

> Probably 50 percent of mixed farmers would leave the country if they could do it with sufficient cash to make a fresh start somewhere else. But the great majority have now realized that there is no possibility of doing so because (a) they cannot sell their farms; (b) even if they did sell they would have insufficient capital left intact after repaying the capital they borrowed to start farming in Kenya and meeting their other commitments.[10]

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[9]In addition to the interviews with V. Cloete and the Boshofs, interviews with A. F. Cloete, June 16, 1969, and J. E. Kruger, June 16, 1969, supported this general outline of the events surrounding this incident. These interviewees referred to a claim by J. M. Kruger that he had been given a letter by the South African High Commissioner in Nairobi stating that the South African Government had offered to subsidize the purchase of the Afrikaner farms. No one had seen the letter, however, and all thought it to have been a fabrication on the part of Kruger.

Though J. M. Kruger left the colony early in the 1960s and though his land (at least 4,262 acres) was located in the Ol Kalou salient of the million acre settlement scheme, his farms were among the last to be purchased in that area and Kruger received £3.24 per acre, about £5 less than the average which his Afrikaner neighbors received. Land Registry Files, Kenya Land Office.

One organization was formed in 1961, first as a "Welfare Society" and later as the Southern Africa League. It attempted to assist the white settlers, British and Afrikaner, with information and acquire assistance from South Africa for the emigrants from Kenya. This organization received mixed support from the South African Government even after its main offices were moved from Kenya to South Africa in 1963. See B. P. Roberts, "The History of the Southern Africa League, 1961-1969" (unpublished).

[10]Office of the UG District Agricultural Officer, Confidential/General/1, Report of District Board of Agriculture, June 29, 1961.

It was the Board's conclusion that the farmers of the District would have nothing to gain financially by leaving the area.

Within a few months Barnard, the Chairman of the Board, recognized that many farmers believed that they had little to gain by staying. Many of the Afrikaners had decided not to live under an African government, "come what may." A leading member of the Dutch Reformed Church had told him that there were fifty families who were going to leave before the end of the year, presumably from the Uasin Gishu alone.[11] This estimate was not exaggerated for the Hill School in Eldoret registered a drop in enrollment of 168 students between January of 1961 and January of 1962.[12]

Most of these early émigrés left without selling their land. Frequently they either returned temporarily a year or more later to sell their farms or had representatives complete the transactions.[13] When they left some may have harbored hopes of returning permanently, still not persuaded that independence was a certainty. Actually

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[11] Ibid. Chairman of the UG District Agricultural Board to Chairman of the Central Agricultural Board, August 25, 1961.

[12] KNA, Education/P/1/10/1, Vol. III, The Hill School, Eldoret, Annual Report, 1962. These figures include non-Afrikaners in the Hill School.

[13] Mr. E. Carruthers, a barrister in Eldoret, indicated that he had handled many of these transactions for absentee Afrikaners. Interviewed June 30, 1969.

Afrikaner holdings increased in both 1960 and 1961; 13,000 acres and 5,400 acres respectively.[14] During 1962 only 15,000 net acres were sold (32,038 sold and 17,431 bought). Not until independence was formally granted in 1963 were large acreages sold: 126,000 acres. The following years these acreages were sold; 90,000 acres in 1964, 61,000 acres in 1965, 34,500 acres in 1966 and less than 10,000 acres each of the last three years of the decade. Thus over 458,000 acres were sold by the Afrikaners between 1960 and mid-1969.[15]

As late as 1969 most Kenyan Britishers believed that Afrikaners had not settled their accounts in Kenya either before or after they had left the colony. In most

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[14]These figures on land sales in the 1960s can be found in table form in Appendix C.

[15]Since some acreage was still owned by Afrikaners in 1969, their total acreage approached one-half million or one-fourteenth of the white Highlands of Kenya.

The value of the land sold did not change substantially during this period. Excluding the acreage taken over by the government either for non-payment of loans or for settlement schemes, and pastoral acreage in Laikipia and Nanyuki, land prices fell below £5 per acre only in 1961 and 1962. After 1962 the average price received was consistently above the £5 per acre figure. Only in 1967 did the average rise above £6 to nearly £7 per acre and that for the low volume sales of slightly over 7,000 acres. Thus the average price which the Afrikaners received for their land when sold on the open market was over £5 per acre throughout the 1960s. Average price for grazing land sold in Laikipia and Nanyuki (all sold during 1963 and 1964 to Europeans or European firms) was £1.11 per acre. The average price of the land turned over to the government agencies either for non-payment of loans or for settlement schemes was £7.5 per acre, considerably more than the market value of the land. See Appendix C.

cases this belief was inaccurate. There were only eleven instances of foreclosure on Afrikaner loans by their primary lending institution, the Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya, involving 12,686 acres. It is possible that a few other foreclosures were averted by the acquisition of farms by the agencies buying land for the settlement schemes but before 1966 these lands were purchased only in areas contiguous to African reserves. If foreclosures were imminent on these properties, it was coincidental.[16]

The Kenyan Farmers' Association, through whom the government channeled loans to farmers for up to 80 percent of an expected harvest, was very concerned about abandoned farms and debts. Partial lists of abandoned farms found in their files do not indicate a greater propensity by Afrikaners to abandon their farms and renege on their loans than

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[16]Thus most of the land was disposed of either through the open market or through governmental agencies who desired the land for settlement of Africans. For a discussion of the settlement schemes, see C. P. R. Nottidge and J. R. Goldsack, The Million Acre Settlement Scheme; 1962-1966 (Nairobi: Department of Settlement, 1966); and R. S. Odingo, "Post-Independence Agricultural Changes in the Kenya Highlands" (unpublished, University College, Nairobi, 1969). There were 130,000 acres purchased as "compassionate farms" by the scheme even though they were not contiguous to African areas. These farms were supposedly chosen in cases in which the owners were of retirement age and found that they could not dispose of their land at a reasonable price. A number of Afrikaners complained of discrimination in this program but no evidence was found to confirm this.

Another scheme (£1,000,000 or Stamp Scheme as proposed by the British Stamp Commission) followed the million-acre scheme after 1966 and was to have added 400,000 acres to the total acreage purchased by the government agencies. Since most Afrikaners had sold out by this time, this scheme had little or no relevance to them.

the British. In 1961 thirteen of twenty-eight abandoned farms on the Uasin Gishu were owned by Afrikaners; in 1962, two of thirty-two in Nakuru; and in 1963 only one of thirty-five in the Trans-Nzoia.[17]

The Uasin Gishu District Labour Officer was similarly concerned about the possibility of farmers in his district leaving the colony without proper compensation given to their labor. In January of 1961 he could report that all labor had been remunerated up to that point but he was concerned about the future. Succeeding reports for 1962 counted only two Afrikaner farmers who left without paying.[18]

On their part, a number of Afrikaners in interviews made the claim that the government engaged in discriminatory practices by excluding them from the "One Million Acre Settlement Scheme." A careful survey of the land transfers from Afrikaners to the Land Development and Settlement Board, the Agricultural Settlement Fund and the Central Land Board, the purchasing agents for the settlement schemes,[19] shows that more than 116,000 acres of Afrikaner farm land was purchased for settlement. Since the Afrikaners owned about one-fourteenth of the Highlands area and

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[17]The title of the general file was "Absconders."

[18]KNA, DC/UG/4/2, UG District Monthly Labour Reports, 1960-62. No reports were available after 1962.

[19]Nottidge and Goldsack, The Million Acre, pp. 4-5.

more than one-tenth of the million acres purchased by the scheme was land owned by Afrikaners, the government can hardly be accused of treating the Afrikaners as a group unjustly in the administration of this program.[20]

Though many Afrikaners were reluctant to exchange their temperate equatorial paradise for the more urbanized and competitive South Africa, only two farmers stayed in Kenya as citizens of the new nation, Mr. J. E. Kruger and Mr. Hofmeyr Retief. In an interview the latter declared himself to be an ardent Afrikaner Nationalist but did not consider this to be incompatible with his citizenship in Kenya. His position was clarified in an article in Die Kerkbode in 1963 in which he chided the Republic for its attitudes towards the developing African nations and placed the blame for bad relations on South Africa itself. He said: "If you wish something else [than hate] and wish to make friends, you must have respect for them and trust them, for these matters are reciprocal." He contended that those whites in Kenya who treated Africans with respect were receiving similar treatment from the Africans and their Government. But there was still much hate for South Africa, a factor which he considered to be the major cause for the

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[20]It is true that the purchases were not distributed evenly in the various areas occupied by the Afrikaners. The Ol Kalou area which was predominantly Afrikaner became the Ol Kalou salient of the scheme. Of the total acreage purchased from Afrikaners, 67,067 acres came from this area.

Afrikaners' emigration from the country. Mr. Retief urged the South African Government as well as the Afrikaner settlers to look at Kenya as the microcosm of Africa, implying that compatibility and cooperation should be striven for in this outpost of Afrikanerdom.[21] Obviously the rest of the Afrikaner community in Kenya did not share Mr. Retief's views.[22]

Within the first five years of the 1960s the work of fifty years of settlement in Kenya was done away with by the incompatibility of Afrikaner and African nationalism. The most northerly extension of the Afrikaner frontier was withdrawn and the tide of Afrikaner expansion by settlement was reversed, perhaps permanently. Possibly Loubser's dream of an Afrikaner-dominated Africa was premature for Afrikaner nationalism before 1948, but the withdrawal of their outpost in Kenya dealt a stunning blow to the Afrikaners' current and future aspirations on the continent. Current efforts by the nationalists to gain influence north

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[21]Hoffie Retief, "Oos-Afrika Vandag," Die Kerkbode, Deel XCII, no. 7, August 14, 1963, pp. 210-13. Earlier Mr. Retief had written a short article entitled "Vlug Uit Kenya?" Die Kerkbode, Deel LXXXIV, no. 18, May 4, 1960, pp. 646-48.

[22]In an interview Mr. Retief indicated that a number of Afrikaners considered him to be traitorous to the South African cause in Africa by living under and supporting an African government.

of the Zambezi River must depend on means other than settlement of their own people.

On the other hand, if Kenya is a microcosm of the rest of the African continent, Afrikaner-dominated South Africa must learn a bitter lesson from Kenya. During much of the fifty years of the community's existence in Kenya its primary concern was the maintenance of its cultural integrity in the face of British domination. Ultimately this struggle proved irrelevant and almost ridiculous in the face of the stronger movement by the majority people of the country. Failure of the Afrikaners to recognize and adapt to this new reality forced them to abandon their carefully nurtured community without leaving any significant impact on the country or the people. The futility of their efforts is caught symbolically in the words of one clergyman as he reported the demise of his church in Kenya: "It remains for us a painful matter that Christians who had a church in a land for 45 years, left only a building when they left the country."[23]

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[23]P. J. Opperman, "Kenia--Die Laaste Keer," Almanak van die Gereformeerde Kerk, 1965, p. 180.

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I. Primary Sources

The primary sources used in preparation of this paper can be divided into eight categories.

A. Great Britain Colonial Office documents

B. British East African Protectorate, Kenya Colony and Republic of Kenya documents

C. Files found in various governmental and institutional offices in Kenya

D. Articles published in four journals of the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa

E. Newspapers

F. Contemporary articles, pamphlets and books (published and unpublished)

G. Interviews with knowledgeable persons

H. Miscellaneous

A. Great Britain Colonial Office documents

These materials were found in microfilm form in the library of Michigan State University. They include confidential letters and official reports between top administrative officials in the Protectorate and colony and the officials of the Colonial Office in London. These documents were most useful in determining the attitude of officials towards the Afrikaners in Kenya.

Since the files do not have titles and may include documents on a variety of matters, they are listed below according to their numerical listings.

CO 879/87, No. 771

CO 879/87, No. 772

CO 879/92, No. 844

CO 879/95, No. 869

CO 879/99, No. 914

CO 879/101, No. 914

CO 879/101, No. 921

CO 879/109, No. 983

CO 879/111, No. 998

B. British East Africa Protectorate, Kenya Colony and Republic of Kenya documents

These documents were found in the Kenya National Archives (KNA). Primarily they include correspondence between various officials in Kenya and the central administrative offices in Nairobi. The list below does not include

all of the files which are relevant to the Afrikaners in Kenya but it does include those from which pertinent information was derived. The Kenya National Archives do not yet have all of the files which still exist in Kenya; for that reason additional information should be available in the future. This is particularly true of documents on education. The Ministry of Education still holds numerous files on the last fifty years which would have been useful for this study. Unfortunately their complete state of disarray in the department's storage rooms made them useless for this paper.

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KNA, DC/UG/1/2, Uasin Gishu District Annual Reports, 1949-59.

KNA, DC/UG/2/1, Political Record File, 1927-30.

KNA, DC/UG/2/4, Publications, 1946-57.

KNA, DC/UG/2/9, Uasin Gishu District Handing-Over Reports, 1941-65.

KNA, DC/UG/4/1, Uasin Gishu District Monthly Labour Reports, 1949-52.

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KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/18, Education-General-European, Farm School 674, Kipkabus, 1934.

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KNA, PC/RVP6A/12/20, Education-General-European, Primary Farm School 140, Eldoret, 1934.

C. Files found in various governmental and institutional offices in Kenya

There were not many documents of this nature found in Kenya and those which were found usually post-dated independence. Many of the administrative offices were cleaned of files when the transition from colonial to independent rule occurred. The one exception of significance was the Ministry of Education but their files were unavailable for reasons stated earlier.

Kenya Farmers Association, Nakuru Office, file entitled "Absconders."

Kenya Lands Office Land Registry files.

National Christian Council of Kenya, file entitled, "Reformed Church of East Africa."

Uasin Gishu District Agricultural Office, Confidential/General/1.

D. Articles published in four journals of the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa

Much information was derived from these usually short but numerous articles. Their content varied from descriptions of geography to descriptions of social and economic conditions and discussions of philosophical and theological questions. Only those articles with some pertinent information are listed.

1. Die Hervormer (earlier De Hervormer)

Berg, Jac. P. Van den, Letter to Editor, May 31, 1933, p. 5.

Brandt, L. E., Letter to Editor, November 24, 1921, pp. 7-9.

Brandt, Ds., Letter to Editor, May 15, 1922, p. 6.

"Brieven van Ds. Brandt," June 15, 1922, pp. 6-8.

"Brieven van Ds. Brandt," July 15, 1922, pp. 8-10.

Dreyer, Joh., "Ons Gemeentes in Oos-Afrika," October, 1958, copy found in File G-26, Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk Archives.

Grobler, M. M., Letter to Editor, April 1, 1930, pp. 223-24.

Kühn, J. J., Letter to Editor, December 15, 1910, pp. 4-5.

Oosthuizen A., "Ons Gemeentes in Oos-Afrika," February 8, 1927, pp. 186-88.

Oosthuizen, A., Letter to Editor, February 28, 1927, pp. 230-32.

Oosthuizen, A., "Ons Gemeentes in Oos-Afrika," March 23, 1927, pp. 310-12.

Wolmarans, H. P., Letter to Editor, February 15, 1923, pp. 18-19.

Wolmarans, H. P., Letter to Editor, March 15, 1923, p. 12.

Wolmarans, H. P., Letter to Editor, April 15, 1923, pp. 7-8.

2. Die Kerkblad

Aucamp, A. L., Reports on East Africa, November 15, 1933, pp. 892-93; December 20, 1933, pp. 940-41; May 2, 1934, pp. 62-63; June 6, 1934, pp. 120-21; June 20, 1934, pp. 140-41; December 18, 1935, pp. 420-21; January 15, 1936, pp. 442-43; February 5, 1936, pp. 465-66; and February 19, 1936, pp. 496-97.

Aucamp, A. L., Letter to Editor, October 7, 1936, pp. 21-22.

Malan, F. E., "Op Reis na Kenya," September 7, 1938, p. 19.

Venter, H. J., "Besoek aan die Gereformeerde Gemeente, Eldoret, Kenia," June 18, 1948, pp. 13-15.

Venter, J. J. S., "'n Besoek aan Kenia," November 17, 1944, pp. 11-12; December 8, 1944, pp. 13-14; February 9, 1945, pp. 11-12; February 23, 1945, pp. 10-12; April 6, 1945, pp. 9-11; April 20, 1945, pp. 11-13.

3. Die Kerkbode (earlier De Kerkbode)

Anderssen, E. C., "Ontvangs van Ds. Dednam to Eldoret, Oos Afrika," Deel XXXVI, no. 11, September 11, 1935, p. 525.

Berg, C. J. van den, "Verwelkoming in Oos-Afrika," Deel LXV, no. 5, February 1, 1950, pp. 196-97.

Brink, C. B., "Kerklike en Rasse-Aangeleenthede in Oos-Afrika," Deel LXX, no. 8, August 20, 1952, pp. 346-47.

Brink, C. B., "Ons Oos-Afrikaanse Gemeentes," Deel LXIX, no. 23, June 10, 1952, pp. 1118-19.

Brink, P. A. M., "Die Van Riebeeck-Skool in Kenia," Deel LXXXIII, no. 7, February 18, 1959, pp. 264-65.

Burger, A. P., "Naar Oost Afrika," Deel V, no. 32, August 6, 1914, pp. 744-45; Deel V, no. 33, August 13, 1914, pp. 762-64.

Burger, A. P., "Onze Uitgewekenen in Oost-Afrika," Deel XXII, no. 52, December 28, 1905, pp. 654-55.

Burger, A. P., "Naar Oost Afrika," Deel V, no. 32, August 6, 1914, pp. 744-45.

Conradie, Jac., Letter to Editor, Deel XX, no. 24, December 14, 1927, p. 713.

"De Kerk, Britsch Oost Afrika," Deel II, no. 3, January 19, 1911, p. 38.

"De Kerk, Duitsch Oost-Afrika," Deel III, no. 33, August 15, 1912, p. 645.

"De Kerk, Duitsch Oost-Afrika," Deel VIII, no. 19, May 9, 1919, p. 366.

"De Kerk, Oos-Afrika," Deel XXXVIII, no. 23, December 2, 1936, p. 807.

"De Kerk, Vergenoeg," Deel XXIII, no. 11, March 13, 1929, p. 403.

"De Kerk, Vergenoeg," Deel XXXVI, no. 22, November 27, 1935, p. 1043.

Editorial, Deel LXVI, no. 18, November 1, 1950, p. 836.

Editorial, Deel LXXVIII, no. 21, November 21, 1956, p. 949.

Editorial, Deel LXXVIII, no. 23, December 5, 1956, p. 1063.

"Hulp vir Oos-Afrika," Die Kerkbode, Deel LXXII, no. 3, July 15, 1953, pp. 84-85.

Laurenz, J. W., "Duitsch Oost Afrika," Deel VII, no. 15, April 13, 1916, pp. 381 and 413.

Loots, Lieb J., "Noodorproep uit Oos-Afrika," Deel LXXII, no. 2, July 8, 1953, p. 60.

Loubser, M. P., "Afkeer of Afweer," Deel XIII, no. 20, July 19, 1922, pp. 940-43.

Loubser, M. P., "Brits Oost-Afrika of Kenya-Kolonie," Deel XVII, no. 20, May 19, 1926, p. 681.

Loubser, M. P., "De Boeren in de Kenia Kolonie," Deel XII, no. 44, November 3, 1921, pp. 310-11.

Loubser, M. P., "De Kerk," Deel V, no. 16, April 16, 1914, pp. 339-40.

Loubser, M. P., "Die Moderator in Oos-Afrika," Deel XV, no. 48, December 2, 1925, pp. 1606-08.

Loubser, M. P., "Duitsch Oost Afrika: Rapport aan den Ring van Lijdenburg," Deel I, no. 15, October 13, 1910, pp. 239-40; no. 16, October 20, 1910, pp. 257-58; and no. 17, October 27, 1910, pp. 277-79.

Loubser, M. P., "Die Gemeentes Vergenoeg en Meru, Oos-Afrika," Deel XXVII, no. 10, March 11, 1931, pp. 460-61.

Loubser, M. P., "Die Gemeente Vergenoeg, Kenya-Kolonie, Oos-Afrika," March 13, 1929; reprinted in Oos-Afrika, Deel II, no. 1, April, 1948, pp. 28-33.

Loubser, M. P., "Het Wek in Britsch Oost Afrika," Deel XXVII, no. 10, March 10, 1910, pp. 113-17; also found in De Vereeniging, Deel IX, no. 17, February 10, 1910, pp. 266-69; and no. 7, February 17, 1910, pp. 78-79.

Loubser, M. P., "Kenia-Kolonie Kerklike en Burgerlike Toestande," Deel XXXII, no. 26, December 27, 1933, pp. 1194-96.

Loubser, M. P., "'n Nuwe Fase in die Werk in Oost-Afrika," Deel XIII, no. 39, September 26, 1923, pp. 1327-28.

Loubser, M. P., "Oos-Afrika," Deel XIV, no. 31, July 30, 1924, pp. 987-88.

Loubser, M. P., "Oos-Afrika," Deel XL, no. 17, October 27, 1939, pp. 789-90.

Louw, A. A., "Die Ringsitting in Oos-Afrika," Deel LXIV, no. 12, September 21, 1949, pp. 612-13.

Louw, J. H., "Ons Kerk en die Krisis in Kenya," Deel LXXXV, no. 19, May 11, 1960, pp. 695-97.

Mijnhardt, Ds., "Naar Oost-Afrika," Deel V, no. 36, September 3, 1914, pp. 832-34.

Murray, Chris., "Eerste Indrukke in Oos-Afrika," Deel LXVIII, no. 19, November 7, 1951, pp. 916-17 and 920.

Murray, Chris., "Ons Kerk in Oos-Afrika," Deel LXXIV, no. 15, November 3, 1954, pp. 564-65.

Olivier, Phil., "Kenia," Deel LXIII, no. 5, February 2, 1949, pp. 288-91; and no. 6, February 9, 1949, pp. 359-62.

Olivier, P. L., "Ringsitting in Oos-Afrika," Deel LXIV, no. 25, December 21, 1949, pp. 1130-32.

"Onze Kerk in Oost-Afrika," Deel XII, no. 10, March 10, 1921, p. 274.

Retief, Hoffie, "Oos-Afrika Vandag," Deel XCII, no. 7, August 14, 1963, pp. 210, 213.

Retief, Hoffie, "Vlug Uit Kenya?" Deel LXXXIV, no. 18, May 4, 1960, pp. 646-48.

Retief, J. A., "Vergenoeg: die Mees Noordelike Gemeente van Ons Kerk," Deel LXXI, no. 20, May 21, 1953, p. 725.

Rousseau, D. J., "Oost Afrika," Deel XVI, no. 2, July 11, 1923, p. 31.

Theron, Joz. P., "Gedenknaald te Eldoret," Deel LXXXIV, no. 19, November 11, 1959, p. 751.

Theron, Joz. P., Letter to Editor, Deel XCI, no. 3, January 19, 1963, pp. 100-01.

Wentzel, W. J., "Uit Brits Oost-Afrika," Deel XIII, no. 9, March 2, 1922, pp. 273-74.

Wet, C. S. de, "Deputasie van Transvaalse Kerk na Tanganyika en Kenia," Deel LVII, no. 14, April 3, 1946, pp. 356-57.

Wet, H. C. de, "De Kerk," Deel XI, no. 16, April 15, 1920, p. 561.

Wet, H. C. de, "De Kerk," Deel XII, no. 26, June 30, 1921, pp. 742-43.

Zijl, C. J. Van, "Oos-Afrika," Deel XIII, no. 28, July 12, 1922, pp. 904-06.

4. De Vereeniging (discontinued publication in 1910)

Botha, J. P., Letter to A. P. Burger, Deel VI, no. 2, June 28, 1906, p. 5.

Botha, J. P., Letter to Editor, Deel VIII, no. 9, October 29, 1908, pp. 137-38.

Burger, A. P., "De Trek naar D. O. Afrika," Deel IV, no. 25, June 15, 1905, p. 5.

Burger, A. P., "Mijne Reis naar D. O. Afrika," Deel V, no. 7, October 5, 1905, pp. 6-7; no. 8, October 19, 1905, pp. 3-4; no. 10, November 16, 1905, pp. 7-8; and no. 11, November 30, 1905, pp. 8-9.

Burger, A. P., "Verslag," Deel V, no. 6, February 8, 1906, pp. 6-7; and no. 17, February 22, 1906, pp. 7-8.

Loubser, M. P., "Onze Kerk in Britsch Oost Afrika," Deel IX, no. 4, December 8, 1909, pp. 60-61.

Louw, J. M., "Naar Duitsch en Britsch Oost-Afrika," Deel VIII, no. 5, September 3, 1908, p. 73; no. 9, October 29, 1908, pp. 137-38; no. 10, November 12, 1908, pp. 151-52; and no. 11, November 26, 1908, pp. 172-73.

Theunissen, N. H., Letter to Editor, Deel VI, no. 12, December 13, 1906, p. 7.

Theunissen, N. H., "Britsch Oost-Afrika," Deel VIII, no. 4, August 20, 1908, p. 57.

E. Newspapers

Four newspapers were consulted. The newspaper which proved the most useful was the Leader of British East Africa which regularly published information on the Uasin Gishu Plateau. It began publication in 1908 and was absorbed by the East African Standard in 1921. The EAS

began publication in 1904 as the African Standard out of Mombasa, became the East African Standard in 1906 and moved its offices to Nairobi before World War I. Even after it absorbed the Leader it published little information of the Uasin Gishu and Thomson's Falls areas; consequently it was only consulted for reports of specific events.

In South Africa De Volkstem was perused for information during the early migration period. It published a number of reports on settlers in East Africa and prospective migrants to the area.

F. Contemporary articles, pamphlets and books (published and unpublished)

1. Afrikaans material

These materials include numerous articles in the one Afrikaans journal published in East Africa and called Vergenoeg and later Oos Afrika, as well as pamphlets on a variety of topics. Also listed are unpublished materials, found primarily in the archives of the three churches (Potchefstroom University Library for the Gereformeerde Kerk, and the Pretoria Archives of the other two churches.

Aucamp, A. L., "Die Trek van die Afrikaners na Kenia," unpublished narratives of trekkers, found in Potchefstroom University Library, no date.

Aucamp, A. L., Editor, "Ds. J. M. Kruger Vertel van Sy Besoek aan Kenia," found in Potchefstroom University Library, no date.

Conradie, Jac., "Boustouwe I. V. M. Geskiedenis van die Afrikaners van Oos-Afrika," found in Archives of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, dated April 4, 1967.

"Dagboek van Ds. A. L. Aucamp," unpublished, found in Potchefstroom University Library.

"Ds. du Plessis in Oos-Afrika," Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 4, July, 1946, pp. 10-12; and Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 1, October, 1946, pp. 19-21.

Editorial, Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 2, March, 1946, pp. 3-4 and 9.

Editorial, Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 1, October, 1946, pp. 3-4.

Eustace, T. H., South African High Commissioner to East Africa, "Aan My Mede-Afrikaners," Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 1, December, 1945, pp. 6-7.

Eybers, B. B., "Die Toekstige N. G. Bantoekerk op die Ewenaar," Oos Afrika, Deel II, no. 3, July, 1949, pp. 23-26.

"Gemeentenuus uit Loubser," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 1, October, 1946, pp. 8-12.

"Herinnering Aan Wyle Ds. Loubser," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 4, August, 1947, pp. 29-33.

"Herdelike Brief van Wyle Ds. M. P. Loubser," Oos-Afrika, Deel I, no. 3, May, 1947, pp. 13-16.

"Kerklike Skool in Oos-Afrika," Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, Bpk., circa 1949.

Katichisima, by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Sending, Bwana Loubser Sending-stasie, Eldoret, 1950.

"Lig Oor Afrika," Jubilee Issue on the occasion of the ten year existence of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Mission in East Africa, Bwana Loubser Sending-stasie, 1944-54.

Loubser, M. P., Onse Uitgewekene, Kaapstad: Die Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1923.

Loubser, M. P., Oost Afrika, Ons Kerk Album van Hollandsche Kerken en Leeraren, 1916, pp. 274-75.

Louw, J. H., "'n Nuwe Afrikaanse Skool," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 4, August, 1947, p. 17.

Louw, J. H., "Wet, Geel en Swart," Oos Afrika, Deel II, no. 3, July, 1949, pp. 2-4.

Mans, C. J., "Rensburgrus," Almanak van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika, Krugersdorp: NHW Pers, 1960, pp. 74-78.

Mans, C. J., Untitled manuscript, circa 1960, File G-26, Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk Archives, Pretoria.

"Na die Kongo," Almanak van die Gereformeerde Kerk, 1934, Potchefstroom, pp. 141-43.

Olivier, P. L., "Gelykstelling," Vergenoeg, Deel I, no. 3, May, 1946, pp. 3-4.

"Op die Akker. . . .," Oos Afrika, Deel I, no. 4, August, 1947, p. 17.

Opperman, P. J., "Kenia--die Laaste Keer," Almanak van die Gereformeerde Kerk, 1965, pp. 179-82.

"Uittreksel uit Jaarrapport van die Sendingwerkkring, N. G. Sending," Deel I, no. 3, August, 1946, pp. 13-15.

"Die Van Riebeeck-Skool in Kenia," circa 1956.

"Die Skool by Ol' Joro Orok," Oos Afrika, Deel II, no. 2, December 10, 1949, pp. 13-14.

"Vergenoeg Gemeente Feesbrojure," published for the 50 year celebration of the founding of the Vergenoeg Gemeente, 1958.

"Die Voorligter," Special publication of Die Kerkbode, December, 1961.

2. CO, East African Series, Pamphlets

These pamphlets were read in microfilm form at the library of Michigan State University. The articles were written on diverse topics and only those which were

directly relevant to Afrikaners or the areas in which they settled are included.

"Advance, Kenya," The Mining World and Engineering Record, August 5, 1933.

Agricultural Department, "British East Africa, Settler's Prospects," Nairobi: Uganda Railway Press, 1905.

Bailey, John C., T. C. Hinds, and F. R. N. Findlay, "Report on the Pastoral and Agricultural Capabilities of the East African Protectorate," Johannesburg: E. H. Adlington & Co., Printers, 1904.

Delamere, Lord, "The Grant of Land to the Zionist Congress and Land Settlement in British East Africa," London: Harrison and Sons, 1903.

Evidence given to the Education Commission, 1919.

Hewitt, Gordon, "A Profitable Post-War Settlement Scheme Combined with Training for Young Officers and Old Public School Boys in the Highlands of British East Africa," no date.

Holm, Alex, "Short Review of Agriculture in Kenya," London: H. M. Eastern African Dependencies, Trade & Information Office, no date.

Report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate, 1919.

Report of the Committee on Grants-in-Aid for Education, 1925.

"Settlement Committee Report, 1937."

Wedgwood, Commander M. P., "Land Settlement in East Africa," The Contemporary Review, September, 1916, pp. 315-24.

G. Interviews with knowledgeable persons

These interviews with various persons who were part of or inter-related with the Afrikaners in Kenya offered many leads to new information. In addition a number of

questions were answered which could not be answered from written documents.

Boshof, Mr. and Mrs. J.: Afrikaner farmer and teacher; left Kenya in 1970. June 2, 1969, June 6, 1969, and June 21, 1969.

Bundatech, Kimayo: Farm laborer on Uasin Gishu; June 16, 1969.

Carruthers, E.: Eldoret barrister; June 30, 1969.

Cloete, A.: Retired Afrikaner farmer in the Uasin Gishu Plateau; part of Cloete trek; resident in Natal; August 17, 1969.

Cloete, A. F.: Afrikaner farmer on the Uasin Gishu; June 16, 1969.

Cloete, V.: Former Afrikaner farmer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; resident in Natal; August 17, 1969.

Connor, Mr. and Mrs. Desmond: Former member of Kenya Police and Mrs. Connor's father was owner and editor of the Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser; June 11, 1969.

Deventer, Nicholas van: Afrikaner farmer near Thomson's Falls; June 24, 1969.

Fourie, Johannes Christoffel: Afrikaner farmer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; June 13, 1969.

Hopcroft, W.: Son of British farmer in Nakuru, lecturer at University College, Nairobi; July 9, 1969.

Jinga, Samson: Former skilled worker on the Uasin Gishu Plateau and duka (shop) owner; June 16, 1969.

Joubert, Jozua: Afrikaner farmer near Thomson's Falls; June 25, 1969.

Kipto: Farm laborer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau since early 1920s; June 12, 1969.

Korir, Chip Arap: Farm laborer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; June 10, 1969.

Kruger, J. E.: Afrikaner farmer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; Kenyan citizen; June 16, 1969.

Kurreie, Francis Kimayu: Farm laborer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; June 16, 1969.

Malan, P. L.: Ninety-five year old Afrikaner; to East Africa in 1906 and returned to South Africa in mid-1960s; August 9, 1969.

Mbuku, David: Skilled worker on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; June 11, 1969.

Retief, Hofmeyr: Afrikaner farmer near Thomson's Falls; Kenyan citizen; June 24, 1969.

Roets, C. J.: Former Afrikaner farmer; member of Van Rensburg trek; retired in the Transvaal, August 9, 1969.

Snyman, Mr. and Mrs. N.: Afrikaner farmer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; Mrs. Snyman was farm school teacher; June 18, 1969.

Steenkamp, P. I. L.: Afrikaner farmer leasing land near Eldoret; June 18, 1969.

Steenkamp, P. S. A.: Retired Afrikaner farmer on the Uasin Gishu Plateau; resident in the Transvaal; August 9, 1969.

Tibangi, The Reverend: African clergyman of the Reformed Church of East Africa; June 11, 1969.

Veld, Hendrik Van't: Missionary linguist of the Reformed Church of East Africa; June 18, 1969.

Wambani, P.: Assistant Executive Officer, Kenya Central Agricultural Board; May 28, 1969.

Wet, R. P. De: Retired Afrikaner farmer from Thomson's Falls, now resident in the Transvaal; August 9, 1969.

Winston-Smith, A.: Finance executive, Kenya Farmers Association; June 24, 1969.

H. Miscellaneous

Private papers and official publications including statistics are listed here. Many of the statistics in the appendices were derived from the latter serial publications.

Almanak van die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika.

Almanak van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika. Krugersdorp: NHK-Pers.

Boshof, J.: Private papers.

Cloete, C. J.: Private papers, held by his son, Anacreon Cloete, Natal.

Jaarboek van die Gefedereerde Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke. Kaapstad: N. G. Kerk-Uitgewer.

Kenya Colony Official Gazette Supplement, 1927, 1928, and 1935.

Vergenoeg Gemeente Membership List. Found in the home of J. E. Kruger, Eldoret.

II. Secondary Materials

A. Books and unpublished works

This paper's concern with the selected list of books and works below include two general topics of African history: the history of the Afrikaners and the history of Kenya Colony. From the books on the first topic this paper has tried to point out the expansionist drive of the Afrikaners and some of the causes for it. The books on the second topic have presented the milieux into which the Afrikaners came and in which they lived in Kenya. Only Pieterse's books and one chapter of Huxley's <u>No Easy Way</u>

deal specifically with the topic of the Afrikaners in East Africa.

Bennett, George. Kenya, A Political History. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Blixen, Karen. Out of Africa. London: Penguin Books, 1954.

Blundell, Michael. So Rough a Wind. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

Brode, Heinrich. British and German East Africa. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911.

Cawood, Lesley. The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964.

Cranworth, Lord. A Colony in the Making, or Sport and Profit in British East Africa. London: Macmillan, 1939.

Cranworth, Lord. Kenya Chronicles. London: Macmillan, 1939.

Creswitch, Louis. South Africa and the Transvaal War. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1900.

Day, John R. Railways of Northern Africa. London: Arthur Barker Limited, 1964.

Delf, George. Asians in East Africa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Dilley, Ruth. British Policy in Kenya Colony. London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1966.

East African Women's League. They Made It Their Home. Introduced by Elspeth Huxley. Nairobi: East African Standard Limited, 1962.

Eliot, George. The East African Protectorate. London: Edward Arnold, 1905.

Farson, Negley. Last Chance in Africa. London: Victor Gollancz, 1951.

Foran, W. R. The Kenya Police, 1887-1960. London: R. Hale, 1962.

Green, Lawrence G. Great North Road. Capetown: Howard Timmins, 1961.

Hill, M. P. Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway. Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1961.

Hollingsworth, L. W. The Asians of East Africa. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1960.

Huxley, Elspeth. No Easy Way: A History of the Kenya Farmers' Association and the UNGA Limited. Nairobi: East African Standard, no date.

Huxley, Elspeth. Settlers of Kenya. Nairobi: Highway Press, 1948.

Huxley, Elspeth. White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya. 2 vols. London: Chatto and Windus, 1935.

Johnston, H. H. The Uganda Protectorate. 2 vols. New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1904.

LeMay, G. H. L. British Supremacy in South Africa; 1899-1907. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Leys, Norman. The Colour Bar in East Africa. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970.

Leys, Norman. Kenya. London: The Hogarth Press, 1924.

Lipscomb, J. F. We Built a Country. London: Faber and Faber, 1955.

Lipscomb, J. F. White Africans. London: Faber and Faber, 1956.

Lugard, F. D. The Rise of Our East African Empire. London: Frank Cass, 1968.

Maie, Bana. Voortrekkerslewe in Donker Africa. Second edition. Pretoria: J. H. de Bussy, Beperk, 1928.

Mangat, J. S. A History of the Asians in East Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Meinertzhagen, Colonel R. Kenya Diary: 1902-1906. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957.

Merwe, P. J. v. d. Trek: Studies oor die Mobiliteit van die Pioniers-bevolking aan die Kaap. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1945.

Mitchell, Philip E. African Afterthoughts. London: Hutchinson, 1954.

Muller, C. F. J., ed. Five Hundred Years; A History of South Africa. Pretoria: Academica, 1969.

Mungeam, G. H. British Rule in Kenya. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Nottidge, L. P. R., and J. R. Goldsack. The Million Acre Settlement Scheme: 1962-1966. Nairobi: Department of Settlement, 1966.

Patterson, Sheila. The Last Trek. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957.

Pieterse, H. J. C. Baanbrekers in die Maalstroom. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1942.

Pieterse, H. J. C. Volksaltare of 'n Veteraan van die Eerste Vryheidsoorlog. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers Beperk, 1948.

Portal, G. H. The British Mission to Uganda in 1893, ed. by Rennell Rodd. Westport, Connecticut: Negro University Press, 1970.

Ranger, J. O. Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-7. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1967.

Reitz, Deneys. Afrikander. New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1933.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Partial lists of pastors from the three churches who visited or served in Kenya. The list for the GK is not complete into the 1960s.

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk

A. P. Burger, 1905
L. M. Louw, 1908
N. H. Theunissen, 1908
M. P. Loubser, 1909-14 & 1925-35
C. F. Mijnhardt, 1916-17
H. C. de Wet, 1918-21
G. J. van Zijl, 1921-24
Jac. D. Conradie, 1927-29
A. M. Murray, 1930
B. J. K. Anderssen, 1932-35
J. W. Dednam, 1935-37
J. J. Booysen, 1937-39
P. Olivier, 1944-49
A. Hugo Malan, 1945 & 1948
J. H. Louw, 1945-49
Chris Murray, 1951-57
C. B. Brink, 1950-52
Lieb J. Loots, 1951-55
P. A. M. Brink, 1955-60
Joz. P. Theron, 1960-62

Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk

J. J. Kühn, 1910, 1912, & 1914
L. E. Brandt, 1921 & 1925
H. P. Wolmarans, 1922
H. C. M. Fourie, 1923-24
A. J. G. Oosthuizen, 1926-27
J. J. Prinsloo, 1928 & 1947
P. S. Grobler, 1928-29
M. M. Grobler, 1928
J. P. van den Berg, 1933 & 1934
A. Brandt, 1936-40, 1942, & 1961
D. J. Van Staden, 1948-55
C. L. van den Berg, 1954-57
H. R. Visser, 1957-59
C. J. Mans, 1955-59, & 1961
J. G. M. Dreyer, 1958
J. Breytenbach, 1959-62

Gereformeerde Kerk

N. H. van der Walt, 1921 & 1928
H. J. R. du Plessis, 1922 & 1927
C. W. M. du Toit, 1924
W. J. de Klerk, 1929
D. Rumpff, 1930
J. V. Coetzee, 1932
A. L. Aucamp, 1933-37
C. E. Malan, 1938
A. Postma, 1939
J. J. S. Venter, 1944
H. J. Venter, 1948
C. L. Buys, 1949-52
P. S. A. Grobler, 1952

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Membership statistics of the Dutch Reformed congregations in Kenya. These statistics were found in the following serial publications: Jaarboek van die Gefedereede Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke, Almanak van die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika, and Almanak van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika. These figures are not absolutely reliable and reflect a tendency to exaggerate total membership numbers. For example the 1949 Kenya Colony census listed 1,400 communicants of the Dutch Reformed Churches, over 250 less than either the 1945 or 1950 figures given here. Allowing for some errors in the census and for a few members of the churches not residing in Kenya, it would still seem that the membership figures given here are a bit high. Vergenoeg's statistics for 1940 are undoubtedly too high. In spite of these inaccuracies, these figures do give an impression of the growth and size of the community.

Year	Vergenoeg NGK	Loubser NGK	Rensburgrus NHK	Eldoret GK	Skeurvallei GK	Total
1910	415		75[a]	119[b]		609
1915	400[c]		. .	150		. .
1920	400[c]		. .	167		. .
1925	940		78	156		1,174
1930	1,030		164	171		1,365
1935	1,210		215	192		1,617
1940	1,550		210	193		1,953
1945	1,189	500[d]	250	214		1,653[e]
1950	650	560	250	218		1,678
1955	1,021	750	320	195	34[f]	2,320
1960	1,231	465	345	200	69	2,310
1965	126	81[g]	. .	12	. .	219

[a]First figures were given in 1913.

[b]First figures were given in 1912.

[c]These were estimates.

[d]First figures were given in 1947.

[e]Since most of the charter members of Loubser came from Vergenoeg, Loubser's 1947 statistics are not included in this total.

[f]First figures were given in 1956.

[g]These are the figures of 1966 rather than 1965. The 1965 figures were not available.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Acreage sold by the Afrikaners, 1960-69. Prices are in pounds.

Year	To Afrikaners			To Other Europeans			To Governmental Agencies			To Africans			To Asians			Totals		
	Acres	Price	Cost per acre	Acres	Price	Cost per acre	Acres	Price	Cost per acre	Acres	Price	Cost per acre	Acres	Price	Cost per acre	Acres	Price	Cost per acre
1960	20,330	112,531	5.54	11,819	74,215	6.28	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	32,149	186,746	5.81
1961	12,786	40,779	3.19	10,103	59,689	5.90	2,196	24,727	11.26	661	2,800	4.24	107	1,000	9.35	25,853	128,990	4.99 4.41@
1962	3,520	14,250	4.05	6,052	21,604	3.57	18,879	141,241	7.48	3,487	16,025	4.60	100	2,250	22.50	32,038	195,370	6.10 4.11@
1963	15,066	59,630	3.96	15,250 51,848*	69,841 59,566	4.58 1.15	44,105	403,999	9.16	17,600	112,743	6.41	16,926	95,285	5.63	160,795	801,064	4.98 5.20@
1964	6,553	24,870	3.80	15,566 22,505*	117,742 23,250	7.56 1.03	29,683	238,775	8.04	32,530	172,417	5.30	7,402	35,550	4.80	114,239	612,604	5.36 5.65@
1965	. .	. .	. .	3,137	13,720	4.37	31,742	192,218	6.06	24,010	132,479	5.52	2,489	19,300	7.75	61,378	357,712	5.83 5.58@
1966	1,170	4,375	3.74	394	1,260	3.20	12,836	51,253	3.99	19,490	96,900	4.97	1,838	13,190	7.18	35,728	166,978	4.67 5.06@
1967	800	6,400	8.00	3,566	23,300	6.53	2,170	11,137	5.13	2,684	19,000	7.08	. .	. .	. .	9,220	59,837	6.49 6.99@
1968	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2,204	30,457	13.82	3,497	19,188	5.49	. .	. .	. .	5,701	49,645	8.71 5.49@
1969	. .	. .	. .	1,588	9,000	5.67	. .	. .	. .	1,267	8,000	6.31	. .	. .	. .	2,855	17,000	5.95

*Grazing land in the Laikipia and Nakuru Districts are listed separately.

@Average cost per acre excluding purchases by Governmental agencies and grazing lands.

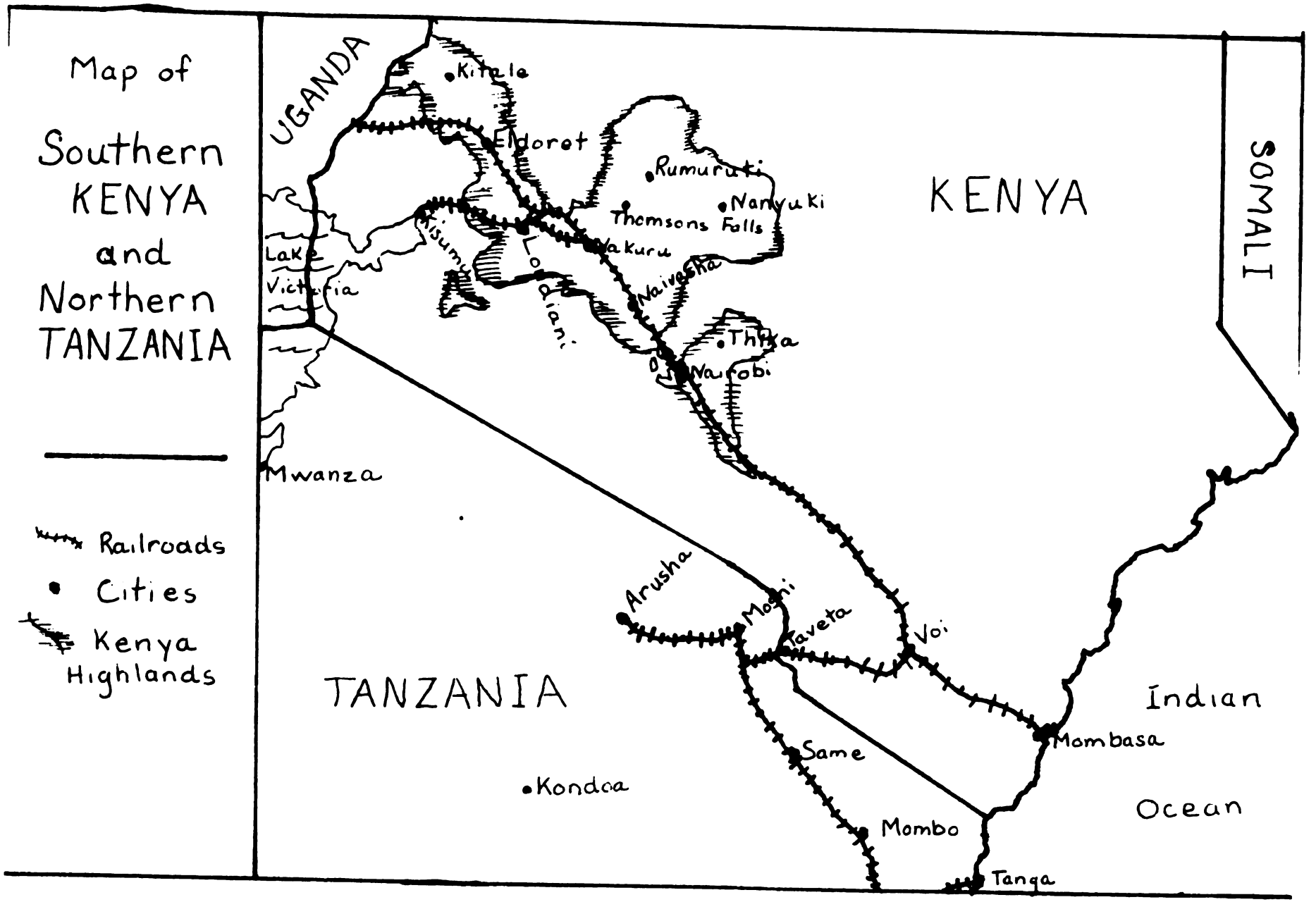
Note: Small sales of urban acreage were not included in these statistics.
Also, land sales for only half of 1969 were included.

Acreage purchased by the Afrikaners, 1960-69. These statistics do not include acreage purchased from fellow Afrikaners. Prices are in pounds.

Year	Acres	Price	Cost per acre
1960	24,807	103,031	4.15
1961	18,430	52,861	2.87
1962	13,911	33,795	2.43
1963	11,215	22,653	2.02
1964	17,637	27,577	1.56
1965	. .	. .	. .
1966	. .	. .	. .
1967	. .	. .	. .
1968	. .	. .	. .
1969	. .	. .	. .

Note: Purchases of urban acreage are not included. Also, only the land transfers for the first half of 1969 were available.

Information gathered from Land Registry Files, Kenya Land Office, Nairobi.


Map of
Southern
KENYA
and
Northern
TANZANIA
Railroads
Cities
Kenya
Highlands
UGANDA
Kitale
Eldoret
Rumuruti
Nanyuki
Thomsons Falls
Nakuru
Naivasha
Thika
Nairobi
Kisumu
Lake Victoria
Mwanza
KENYA
SOMALI
Arusha
Moshi
Taveta
Voi
TANZANIA
Indian
Ocean
Mombasa
Same
Kondoa
Mombo
Tanga