



NYANZA PROVINCE

A SHORT HISTORY OF NYANZA

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTORY

Nyanza Province takes its name from Lake Victoria (Victoria Nyanza), and includes, roughly, all that part of Kenya from which the drainage flows into the lake. It is bounded on the north by Mount Elgon, on the east by the Nandi Hills, and on the west by the lake. On the south there is no natural frontier; the boundary between Kenya and Tanganyika was fixed in 1885 by an agreement between Britain and Germany. At that time no one in Europe knew much of the geography of East Africa, and the border between the two countries was made by drawing a line on the map.

Almost all of the people of Nyanza consist of two tribes. The Joluo live in the low-lying country around the lake, and the Abaluyia live in the higher land inland. The Abagusii and related tribes in the south are connected by language and customs with the Abaluyia. They belong to the Bantu race and are connected more or less distantly with the Baganda, Agikuyu, Akamba, Waswahili, and many other Bantu peoples of Africa. The Joluo, on the other hand, are of the Nilotic race, which is so called because most of its peoples are connected with the river Nile. Their nearest related peoples are the Acholi, Alur, Jopadola, Jopaluo, and other tribes who live in Northern and Eastern Uganda and Southern Sudan.

These tribes have mostly been peaceful farmers and stock breeders, and, until European control was established, they were all frequently raided by the more warlike peoples living in the hills to the east. These peoples, who are closely related to one another, are the Nandi, living opposite to North Nyanza; the Kipsigis, living opposite to South Nyanza; and the Masai of the Uasin Gishu district where Eldoret now stands, living opposite to Elgon Nyanza. They not only raided everywhere but also settled in some places. In the country of the Abaluyia their settlements are represented by a number of place-names in the Nandi

language, such as Kakamega, Kakalelwa, and Kaimosi. Of these places, Kaimosi is practically on the border of Nandi country, but Kakamega and Kakalelwa are more than twenty miles away.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ABALUYIA

The Abaluyia are divided into a great number of subtribes, and while some of these have only moved into the province within the last hundred years or so, others were almost certainly among the first of the present Nyanza peoples to live in the province. Nearly all the tribes claim to be descended from an ancestor after whom the tribe was named. For instance, the Avalogoli, Abanyole and Abagusii are said to be descended from three brothers named Mulogoli, Munyole and Mugusii. The stories about how they came to Nyanza differ slightly, but are roughly as follows. The family came across the lake from Uganda in boats which were separated by a storm. Mugusii and Mulogoli landed somewhere near Kendu Bay and moved inland; Munyole landed by Kisumu and settled in the Maseno area near where his people still live. Mugusii and Mulogoli quarrelled; Mugusii stayed where he was in the country which is still inhabited by his descendants, the Abagusii. Mulogoli re-crossed the lake (that is, the Kavironde Gulf) and lived firstly in what is now Seme Location of Central Nyanza and later in the Maseno area in land adjacent to that occupied by the Abanyole. Then his people went on to the area which is still called Maragoli after him. We can tell roughly when this happened by counting the number of names in lists of people's ancestors from Mulogoli to the present day. A person who is living now is usually the 23rd or 24th name in such a list. Now it has been reckoned that on the average a father is about 30 years older than his son; so that we can say that Mulogoli and his brothers arrived in Nyanza about 23 or 24 times 30 years ago — say, 700 years, or about A.D. 1250.

The people of Tiriki probably also came in quite early. Their

story of how they came to their location is so similar to the Maragoli-Kisii story that it may possibly be derived from a common original legend. The Avatiriki are said to have crossed the lake from Uganda and then to have spent some little time in South Nyanza. Later they re-crossed the Kavirondo Gulf under the leadership of Lulitsi and his wife Aliowa, and settled at Maseno. There Lulitsi died; his son Kisiyenya built himself a village in Eastern Bunyore and lived there for some time with Wanga. Then they separated; Kisiyenya moved east to the present Tiriki location, and Wanga moved north to become the founder of the Abashitsetse, who are the ruling clan of the Abawanga at the present day. This last movement probably took place in the seventeenth century — Chief Mumia, who died in 1949, aged about ninety years or more, was the son of Shiundu, son of Amukoya, son of Osundwa, son of Nedia, son of Musui, son of Wavalla, son of Wanga — seven generations, counting from the birth of Mumia shortly before 1860 : $1860 - 7 \times 30 = 1650$, i.e., roughly about the middle of the seventeenth century. Wanga found the district which now bears his name inhabited by a tribe called Abamanga, and he seems to have gained control of them by deceiving their chief in some way. This was the beginning of the later Wanga empire.

The people living in the northern part of North Nyanza, and in what is now called Elgon Nyanza, seem to have come in much more recently. Whereas most of the earlier immigrants are said to have come in boats across the lake, the later arrivals mostly came overland. They followed roughly the lines of the present roads which lead through Tororo into Bukusuland and through Busia into Sarnia, Marach, Bukhayo, etc. Until the eighteenth century at least, the country now inhabited by the Babukusu contained only a few small tribes, who were more or less closely related to the Nandi. One of these, the Elkony, has survived

as an independent tribe in Elgon location and has the distinction of having given its name to Mount Elgon. Others, such as the Balago (Bok), and the Bang'oma (Bang'omek), are now living among the Babukusu. The Balago, however, were an entirely independent tribe having their own chief until about sixty years ago; the Bang'oma have, of course, given their name to the town of Bungoma. It is perhaps worth noting that, in spite of these racial mixtures in Elgon Nyanza, the Lubukusu language is thought to be one of the nearest in form to the presumed original, ancestral Bantu language; it is, for instance, one of the few present-day Bantu languages to preserve double prefixes.

Other tribes, living in the northern part of Nyanza — the Abasamia, Abakhayo, Abamarach, Abanyala, etc. — have only recently come to their present homes. The Abanyala moved into their present location only a few years before the Europeans came? about 1870 or thereabouts, and the movement of the Abamarach to where they now live took place about the same time. Even more recent was the movement of the Abakisa to their present home; their crossing of the River Yala from north to south was recorded in the District Commissioner's monthly report for October, 1901. The Abakisa are themselves of very mixed origin : of its clans, the Abashisa are said to have been founded by two brothers, Nasaye and Mbandu, who came from Idakho; the Abasamia came from Sarnia; and the Abachero came from Alego. It is not known how long they had lived in Alego before moving eastwards, and it is possible that they should be reckoned among the very early immigrants who had come across the lake. Alego is in a position easily accessible from Uganda by the lake, but a long and difficult journey overland.

Other examples of mixed peoples of comparatively recent origin are the people of Sarnia and of Kabras. The Abasamia are said to have come from the Lake Albert region of Uganda, not more than one or two hundred years ago. Some of them have remained in Uganda, others have settled in the lake area of Tanganyika. One clan, the Abakhangala, is said to have migrated only recently from Bukusuland.

The people of Kabras were living iri Butso until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of their clans are said to be of Nandi origin; it is possible that in this district a peaceful arrangement was made between a rather thin population of Nandi and a group of Abaluyia immigrants, neither of whom was strong enough to drive the other out. They continued to move eastwards until quite recent times; as recently as 1912, and later, action has been taken by the Administration to remove Kabras people who had settled on the Nandi Hills. Small migrations like this were constantly happening; for example, it was reported in June, 1911, that some Kakamega natives (i.e. Abisukha and Abidakho) were moving to Kabras and Butso. It is probable that in the old days the whole of Nyanza was very thinly populated, and that there was thus plenty of room for tribal movements.

Most of the tribal histories say that the tribes were founded by very small groups of men. The "standard" tribal history is that an original ancestor — Mulogoli, Mubukusu, Mugusii, etc. — came with his family; in many cases the founder's three or four sons became the ancestors of different clans within the tribe. No doubt the invading parties consisted of more than half-a-dozen people; with the man and his sons there would be some women, some other members of the family such as brothers, nephews, etc., and perhaps some slaves or servants. It is also very likely that when a piece of land was conquered or occupied, not all the people living in it were killed. Some remained, like the Abamanga, and in time became mixed with their conquerors. Even if we reckon, however, that each invading party contained some hundreds of people, the country must still have been very thinly populated in the old days. Tribal wars were continuous and very wasteful of manpower. In the nineteenth century these wars were encouraged by the Arab slave traders, who sold guns to the chiefs and others. Even in 1905 many Somalis and Waswahlli living at Mumia's were arrested for selling guns to the Babukusu. The British administration in its early days made many attempts to collect these guns, not always successfully; as late as

1907 it was reported that eighty-two guns had been seized! during the first half of the year in North Nyanza alone. (At that time

“North Nyanza” included what is now Elgon Nyanza, but excluded Maragoli, Bunyore, and Tiriki, which were in Central Nyanza.) Chiefs, in particular, would pay well in slaves, ivory or cattle for guns. They were obviously useful in tribal wars, and at the least it made a chief feel more important if he could have an armed guard properly turned out in European fashion. The Arabs encouraged the tribal wars for two reasons : the numbers of men killed weakened some tribes, so that they were less able to interfere with the trading caravans; the prisoners taken were available for sale as slaves.

The population was reduced not only by these wars, but also by epidemic disease. The slave traders, moreover, did a certain amount of raiding on their own account. When Mr. Jackson passed through Bukusuland at the end of 1889 he saw the burned remains of many villages which had been destroyed by a slave trader named Sudi of Pangani a year or two before; hundreds of people had been taken to the Coast as slaves. At a previous stage in his journey he had seen neither people, nor any sign of habitation, from the Yala River to Mumia’s — a distance of about twenty-one miles. The country was mostly covered with elephant grass, higher than a man’s head. A little later people started moving into the remoter areas to avoid contact with European administration and the necessity of paying taxes. In 1905 it was reported that about ten years previously, many people had gone to Chief Mahaso’s in North Bukusu for this reason; very few people were to be seen for about twenty miles north of Mumia’s. About this time similar reports were being made by district commissioners and district officers all over Nyanza. Of course it is possible, even likely, that in those cases the country was not really de-populated. The people had merely gone a mile or so into the bush from their homes when a Government representative was reported to be near.

CHAPTER THREE
THE JOLUO

All the early stories about the Abaluyia immigrants state, or use words which suggest, that they went quickly inland when they landed on the shores of the lake. The Abagusii and connected tribes in the south, Abakuria and Abasuba, and the Avalogoli, Abanyole and Avatiriki in the north, all appear to have settled on the escarpment 1500 feet or more above the lake. Thus they must have left the low-lying, malarious country of the lake shores and the Nyando Valley practically uninhabited. These districts were filled up by invaders from Uganda, the Joluo, who seem to have arrived at some time around A.D. 1500.

The Joluo came originally from South Sudan. It is not clear why their movement began, but they may have been attacked by the Ethiopians. The Ethiopians have certainly conquered various parts of the Sudan at different times. In the fourth century A.D. they conquered an ancient and civilized kingdom which had its capital at Meroe near Khartoum. In recent times, in 1888 King John of Ethiopia was killed leading his army in an invasion of the Sudan, and in 1901 a raiding party of Ethiopians was reported to have come as far south as Karamoja.

The Joluo and related peoples belong to a racial group known as Lwo, from which southward migrations began perhaps as much as 700 or 800 years ago. In the course of these migrations, the Lwo split up into various tribal groups. The Acholi remained in Northern Uganda; the Alur moved westward, into the present West Nile District of Uganda and the Belgian Congo; the Jopaluo settled in North Bunyoro; the Jopadhola went south-east as far as Tororo; and the Joluo crossed the lake. Some of them landed around Kisumu and settled in the Nyando Valley and the area along the lake shore from opposite to Kisii as far as the Uganda border; others settled in Tanganyika near where the town of Musoma now is.

It is likely that the various Abaluyia immigrations were more or less directly connected with the movements of the Joluo and related peoples. Thus, the Avalogoli, who probably settled in Nyanza in the thirteenth century, say that their ancestors came first from the Congo. It is thus very likely that, living in the more interior parts of Uganda, they were among the first to be affected by the Nilotic movements. On the other hand, some of the more recent Abaluyia immigrants came from the nearer parts of Uganda which have only indirectly, and recently, been affected by the Nilotic migrations. The Abakhayo and Abamarach, for instance, were originally sub-tribes or clans of the Abasoga, and the Babukusu are said to have lived at Tororo for a long time.

Many of the Uganda peoples had a better organized system of government than the Abaluyia or other peoples had. Some of their ideas of government may well have been derived from the Ethiopians. In Uganda most of the tribes have had for a long time a hereditary kingship and the kings have had councils of advisers. Both the kings and the councils have individual titles, peculiar to themselves, e.g., kings — Omukama of Bunyoro, Kabaka of Buganda; councils — Lukiko of Buganda, Rukurato of Toro, etc. Some of the kings' advisers also have individual titles, e.g. Katikiro (Chief Minister) of Buganda. The governments are elaborately organized into provinces and districts. This practice has been imitated among the Abaluyia, whose language contains no one word for "king but certain kings have or had individual titles, e.g., Nabongo of Wanga, Omwami Woluyali of Maragoli; in Maragoli there are other specific titles for the holders of certain offices. Many of these kings, unlike ordinary chiefs, are regarded as priests having religious as well as administrative authority over their people.

The Joluo have penetrated some distance inland on to the higher ground away from the lake in some places. A few of them live in Nyang'ori; further to the west the boundary between the Joluo and the Abaluyia, which roughly follows the line of the present Yala - Maseno road,

is well up on top of the escarpment. Movements like those of the Abachero and some of the Abamarama from Alego were probably caused by the Luo advance, for Alego is now a considerable distance inside Luo country. From quite early times it seems that individual Joluo have settled in the country of the Abaluyia; in 1948, for instance, 23% of the population of South Wanga were Joluo, 16% of Marama, 12% of Marach, 4% of North Wanga, 3% of Bukhayo. Probably as a result of mixed marriages, some of the Abaluyia in various locations have Luo names, such as Onyango, Othieno, etc.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NANDI AND OTHER RAIDERS

We have said that all the peoples of Nyanza were more or less constantly raided by the Nandi, Kipsigis, Masai and other peoples living on the hills to the east. There were a few exceptions to this general rule. In North Nyanza the Abawanga built up for themselves a large empire, which stretched from the Yala River to Itesio in one direction and from Bukhayo to Kakamega in the other. The kings of this empire could get from their various territories a large enough army to deal with the raiders. At one time King Shiundu, who died about 1882, and his son Mumia, employed a regiment of the Uasin Gishu Masai to fight for them. These Masai were hired by contract for their food and whatever they could capture in war; altogether at least 10,000 of them were employed, not all at one time.

Further to the south the Joluo also enjoyed a comparative freedom from raids. About the beginning of the nineteenth century the Nandi had come under the control of a clan called Laibons, who were chiefs and witch-doctors combined, and had been expelled from the

Masai some time before. The Laibons organized the Nandi in a great raid upon the Joluo, but the Nandi suffered one of the worst defeats ever recorded in stories of African tribal wars. Eight hundred and fifty men are said to have been killed in this battle. From this time the Joluo were very seldom raided.

In Elgon Nyanza the Babukusu probably borrowed some idea of military organization from the Nandi and related peoples whom they found in the area when they moved in. They developed a system of fortified villages into which cattle and moveable property were taken for protection in time of raids. In this region, indeed, the raiding was often done in the reverse direction; in 1903, for instance, the British administration sent an expedition to punish Chief Busolo of South Bukusu, who had stolen cattle from the Masai.

The districts worse affected by the cattle-raids were what is now South Nyanza and the southern part of North Nyanza. In those areas the people were badly organized; their jealousy and distrust of each, other preventing them from uniting against the raiders. The Avalogoli and the Avatiriki were particularly hard hit, since the Nyang'ori living to their south are related to the Nandi.

These raids and the depredations of the slave traders had a great effect on the way in which the Europeans were received when they first came to Nyanza. They were well received and looked after in Wanga, where the Nabongo was strong and had nothing to fear from them. But the peoples to the south had been so often raided, firstly by the Nandi and then by the Arab slave traders, that they feared all strangers and it was difficult to make friends with them. The Babukusu had suffered recently from the devastations committed by Sudi of Pangani and they were also unfriendly. They, and some of the Abanyala, were the only people in Nyanza who had to be conquered by a military expedition before they would submit to European government.

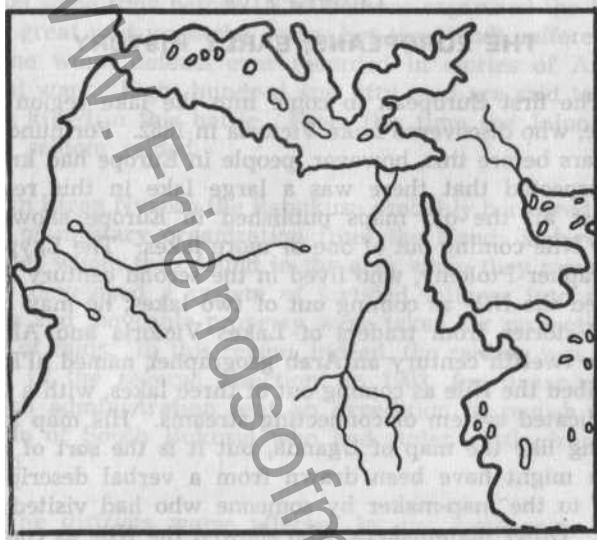
CHAPTER FIVE

THE EUROPEANS; EARLY HISTORY

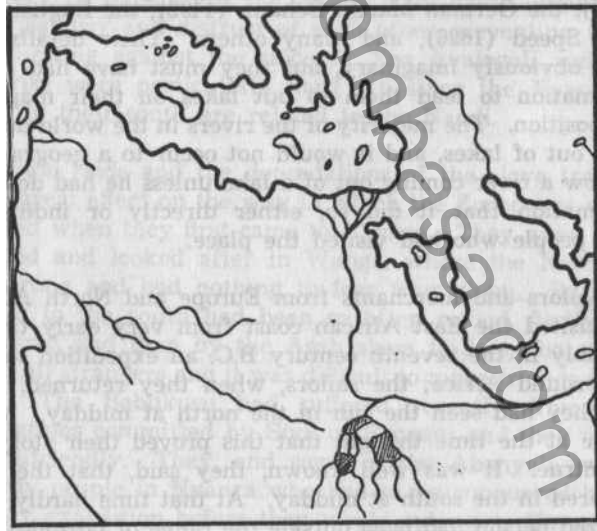
The first European to come into the lake region was Speke, who discovered Lake Victoria in 1862. For hundreds of years before this, however, people in Europe had known or suspected that there was a large lake in this region. Almost all the old maps published in Europe show the River Nile coming out of one or more lakes. The Egyptian geographer Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A.D., showed the Nile as coming out of two lakes; he may have heard stories from traders of Lakes Victoria and Albert.

In the twelfth century an Arab geographer named al'Idrisi described the Nile as coming out of three lakes, with a very complicated system of connecting streams. His map looks nothing like the map of Uganda, but it is the sort of map which might have been drawn from a verbal description given to the map-maker by someone who had visited the place. Other map-makers, who showed the Nile as coming out of one or more lakes, were the Italian Fra Mauro (1459), the German Martin Behaim (1492), the Englishman John Speed (1626), and many others. Their details are often obviously imaginary, but they must have had some information to lead them to put lakes on their maps in this position. The majority of the rivers in the world do not come out of lakes, and it would not occur to a geographer to show a river coming out of a lake unless he had definite information that it did so, either directly or indirectly from people who had visited the place.

Sailors and merchants from Europe and North Africa had visited the East African coast from very early times. Probably in the seventh century B.C. an expedition sailed right round Africa; the sailors, when they returned, said that they had seen the sun in the north at midday. Most people at the time thought that this proved their story to be untrue. It was well known, they said, that the sun appeared in the south at midday. At that time hardly any civilized person had been outside the range of latitudes 25° and 45° north, where of course the sun does appear to be



PTOLEMY'S MAP, *about* 150 A.D.



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in the south at midday; and it was thought that the sun would be seen in the same position everywhere. In fact the claim by the sailors to have seen the sun in the north at midday was the one thing which proved that, whether they had been round Africa or not, they had at least been a good distance south of the equator. Ptolemy's description shows a fairly correct knowledge of the coastline of East Africa as far down as a little south of Zanzibar. It is very likely that even two or three thousand years ago, sailors visiting the Coast heard stories of the great inland lakes from traders who had been up-country. Similar stories may have come through the Sudan; at least the northern part of the Sudan was in contact with the ancient Egyptian civilization for many hundreds of years. At any rate, when the Europeans came to Nyanza in the nineteenth century, they were not exploring a completely unknown country to see what they could find. They were looking for something definite, which they had heard about — the source of the river Nile.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGULAR ADMINISTRATION

The first European traveller to come to Nyanza was Joseph Thomson. He spent some time at Mumia's in 1833. By this time, however, European influence had been active in Uganda for some time. While Speke was making his discovery, another attempt was being made to discover the source of the Nile by travelling down the river. In 1861 Mr. (later Sir) Samuel Baker left Cairo, and on March 14, 1864, he discovered Lake Albert. In 1869 he led another expedition, and in 1872 the northern part of what is now called Uganda was annexed to Egypt. It was called the Province of Equatoria, and Emin Pasha was its governor from 1878 onwards. In 1884 the country was cut off from communication with Egypt by the rebellion of the Mahdi in Sudan; Emin had eventually to be rescued by a relief expedition led by the famous explorer Sir H. M. Stanley.

In 1875 Stanley had visited the Kabaka Mtesa at Kampala; the Kabaka said that he was willing to receive missionaries, and Stanley had a message to that effect published in England. As a result of the answer to this invitation, by 1879 both C.M.S. and Roman Catholic missionaries were working in Buganda. In 1884 James Hannington was appointed Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa in charge of the C.M.S. missions, and he came through Mumia's on his way to Uganda.

It must be remembered that the easiest communications between Nyanza and the outside world in the old days were through Uganda. The way from Nyanza to the coast lies through difficult country, much of which was inhabited by hostile tribes or by dangerous animals. The way to Uganda, on the other hand, was an easy journey through thickly-populated territory. Moreover, most of the Nyanza tribes are related to tribes in Uganda; in some cases they are so closely related that they can speak to each other in their own languages with very little difficulty. Mumia was therefore able to get reliable news about the happenings in Uganda. He knew that the Kabaka Mtesa had recently died, and that his successor Mwanga was a much less pleasant man who was likely to be hostile. He warned Hannington of this, and advised him to go no further. However, when Hannington insisted on going on, Mumia lent him about a hundred men as an escort. The murder of the bishop at Luba's in Busoga on 29 October, 1885, proved how correct Mumia's information was.

In 1889 there was famine in Busoga. The local witchdoctors thought that this was caused by the presence of the bishop's remains in the country : they were believed to be bringers of bad luck to the people. Accordingly the remains were wrapped up and placed in a basket. They were then given to a small Muluyia boy, who was one of the few survivors of the bishop's party, to take back to Mumia's.

While all this was going on, at the end of 1889 Mr. (later Sir) Frederick Jackson arrived at Mumia's as the representative of the British East Africa Company. He

stayed a little while- at Mumia's and then went on an expedition to Mount Elgon, noticing on his way the destruction that had been done recently in Bukusuland by Sudi of Pangani. While Mr: Jackson was away, a German, Dr. Karl Peters, arrived in the district. He stayed with Chief Sakwa, who was chief of Wanga Mukulu and a cousin of Mumia, at his centre about eight miles east of Mumia's. He hoisted the German flag and made a treaty by which the chief agreed to place his country under German protection; the chief was quite illiterate and did not understand a word of the treaty. Peters also visited Mumia's; he found there, and read, some letters addressed to Jackson. The C.M.S. missionaries had heard of Jackson's arrival at Mumia's and had written to him there, telling him news of what was happening in Uganda. There had been, a serious quarrel between the C.M.S. and Roman Catholic missionaries. The Kabaka Mwanga supported the latter and was, for the time being, a Roman Catholic himself.

Now the Roman Catholic missionaries in Uganda at that time were sponsored by the French government, which was hostile to British development in Uganda; and they were therefore against the introduction of British government. Peters realized that if the Kabaka was a Roman Catholic, he would in these circumstances most likely also- be anti-British, and that this was a good opportunity to gain control of Uganda for Germany. He therefore went quickly on his way. Early in the new year, 1890, Mr. Jackson returned to Mumia's from his Elgon expedition. He found his letters opened, realized what had happened, and went to Kampala with all speed. However, any further trouble was brought to an end by the signing of the Anglo- German Agreement of 1890. Among other things, the German Government agreed to give up any claims it had in Uganda, while Britain gave to Germany the island of Heligoland off the German coast. Nyanza became the Eastern Province of Uganda, and a temporary administrative- headquarters was established at Mumia's under the control of Mr. Spire. It is worth remembering that in those early days the boundary between East Africa and Uganda was-

by Naivasha; it is not true to say, for instance, (as some writers have) that the Uganda Railway never reached Uganda. In 1901 Kisumu was many miles inside Uganda.

In March, 1890, just before Jackson left Mumia's for Kampala, the boy arrived who had been sent from Busoga with Bishop Hannington's remains. The basket proved to contain an odd collection of things. There was the bishop's skull, from which the lower jaw was missing; another skull, obviously not that of an African — it was thought to be that of the bishop's Goan cook; the soles of the bishop's boots; a rubber hot-water bottle; and the lid of an army mess-tin. These remains were packed in a strong box and buried inside a hut at Mumia's, where they could easily be found if required later. In 1891 at Mombasa Mr. Jackson met the new bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, Alfred Tucker, and gave him a map which enabled him to locate the remains at Mumia's and dig them up. They were taken to Uganda and buried on 31 December, 1892, in the cemetery where Namirembe Cathedral now stands. It was then proved that the Catholicism of Kabaka Mwanga had been a matter of political convenience only. By 1892 he had become an Anglican, and he attended as a mourner at the burial of the bishop's remains. In 1894 permanent administration was set up in Nyanza, with Mr. C. W. Hopley as the first Provincial Commissioner.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE WANGA EMPIRE

At that time Mumia's was by far the most important place in Nyanza. The main route from Uganda to the coast went through it, and it was the capital of an important native kingdom. In the 1890's the Wanga empire extended from the Yala River in the south to South Bukusu in the north and from Sarnia in the west to Kakamega in the east. In the early days its authority and prestige were maintained

by the British administration. The Wanga chiefs were, however, not liked, and there was constant trouble due to the defiance of chiefs' authority by the peoples of whom they were put in charge. It seems likely, in fact, that the Wanga empire was already in the 1880's in danger of breaking up. Mumia's constant support of British authority was probably caused by a hope that the British Government would maintain his own position in exchange. In fact, for twenty years or more, only Wanga chiefs were appointed within the area indicated. The Wanga influence was even extended. In the opening years of this century there was much trouble in Idakho, where caravans going between Kisumu and Mumia's were liable to be ambushed; in 1904 Murunga, brother of Mumia, was made chief of Kakamega, that is, Isukha and Idakho. Among Mumia's other brothers, Kitechi and Kadima were successively chiefs of Buholo (1895 onwards); Mulama became chief of Marama in 1910. Mumia's cousin Sakwa, chief of Wanga Mukulu, died shortly after 1890 and was succeeded by his son Tomia. Among his other sons, Shiundu was appointed chief of Kabras in 1909 and Wambani chief of Butso in 1910. On 15 November 1909, Mumia himself was given the formal appointment of Paramount Chief of the Abaluyia, or Bantu Kavirondo as they were then called. These few examples show how widespread the Wanga influence was. Even in South Bukusu there was a Wangachief, Maherobyn name, for some years about 1900, and in the 1920's Murunga was still ruling in Kimilili and Itesio. In some locations Wanga headmen were appointed to serve under native chiefs; the effect was that the headmen could wear the leopard-skin cloak of a priestly chieftainship, while the chief himself could not, and enjoyed a good deal less prestige than that of his headmen.

Later the Wanga power was maintained only with great difficulty. There were many cases reported of disobedience to Wanga chiefs by native headmen in various locations, and there was an increasing demand for native chiefs to be appointed. In 1910 this was done in Isukha and Idakho. Later, opportunities were taken either to

remove the Wanga chiefs on the ground that they were incapable of exercising proper authority, or to replace them with natives of the area when they retired or died. In 1926 Mumia himself, who was then about seventy years of age, retired from active work, and no new paramount chief was appointed. Mumia lived to the age of about ninety-two years, dying on 24 April 1949; by that time his family's empire was only an old man's memory.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EARLY MILITARY OPERATIONS

When Mr. Hobley established provincial headquarters at Mumia's in 1894, the first thing he had to deal with was a full-scale war in Bukusuland. It had always been customary for some of the porters who accompanied expeditions to desert at Mumia's. They usually took with them a rifle and some cartridges, as this would ensure them a good welcome from chiefs whom they visited. About 1893 the number of these desertions began to increase; they were encouraged in particular by the chiefs of the Babukusu, who paid in cattle for every rifle. Mr. Spire, the temporary administrator left in charge by Mr. Jackson, insisted that all the rifles be surrendered. After some attempts at negotiation had failed, he sent a party of twenty-five Sudanese soldiers to Chief Namajanja's Village in South Bukusu to demand the rifles. Fighting started, probably by accident in the first place, and all twenty-five were killed. It seemed likely that the Babukusu would attack Mumia's itself next, and a message was sent to Uganda, asking for an expeditionary force to conquer the tribe.

Mr. William Grant, the district commissioner of Busoga, was sent with a company of Sudanese soldiers; to help him the Kabaka supplied about 1,000 armed Baganda, com-

manded by Kakunguru, a high official of -the Buganda Government; and he also had some of Mumia's spearmen and about 200 Uasin Gishu Masai — altogether a force of about 2,000 men. By the time this force had been organized, it was into the year 1895. The Babukusu fought stubbornly in strongly defended and fortified villages, which usually had to be properly besieged. The village of Chetambe near Broderick Falls, where the hardest fighting took place, had a wall nine feet high, enclosing a space about 250 yards square. It was further defended by a ditch, six feet deep, going round the outside of the walls. The fighting there lasted all day, and there were many casualties. Shortly after this there was much fighting in Bunyala, and several more, smaller, expeditions had to be sent into Bukusuland before the people there would submit to peaceful administration.

CHAPTER NINE

ADMINISTRATION ESTABLISHED IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH NYANZA

The first plans for the railway were for it to come through Kabras and Mumia's to Port Victoria on the lake shore in Ugenya. In 1895 and 1896 arrangements were made for the building of a port there, and a stone pier was constructed. Then the plans were changed. It had always been intended to have provincial headquarters at a place which was on the railway; in 1900 Mr. Hobley was ordered to move his offices to a point on the lake shore, roughly where Kisumu Airport now stands. It was intended to bring the railway there, but the place proved to be very unhealthy. Within a few months the plans were again changed. Kisumu itself was selected as the railhead and as provincial capital, because there is a hill there which provided the only reasonably healthy position, with good drainage, near enough to the lake. The railway was completed to Kisumu

in 1901, and the presence of this important centre of communications gave to Central Nyanza an importance which it had not had before. The completion of the railway had another important effect. Thousands of Indian labourers had been employed on its construction. In 1901 most of these were discharged, and the majority set themselves up as traders in the province. Before 1910 the Indian trading communities at Mumia's, Yala, Kisumu, Kisii and many other places were well established. A few of the Indian railway workers preferred to be settled as farmers in the Miwani-Kibos area, where an important sugar-producing industry grew up. The Indian community included a number of Sikhs, some of whom had been soldiers; many of them became skilled craftsmen, such as carpenters and engineers.

South Nyanza was not considered of much importance to the government at first. It did not lie on any particular trade route and was infrequently visited, although Stanley had passed through the area in 1875 and had given it the name "Ugeya" after one of the local clans. It was not, therefore, until 1903 that the first district commissioner was appointed with his headquarters at Karungu. This was Mr. E. M. Boughton Knight; shortly afterwards he died of blackwater fever. In his memory the Anglican Church at Kisumu was erected by his parents; it was consecrated by Bishop Tucker on Whit Sunday, 1907. Karungu station proved to be very unhealthy, and in that same year 1907 a new district headquarters was started at Kisii, although the old station at Karungu was not finally abandoned until May, 1908. While this move was being arranged there was trouble caused by an old witch-doctor who preached that the British should be driven out of the country. Mr. Northcote, the District Commissioner, and a number of policemen were injured by spears. A force of the King's African Rifles and armed police commanded by Colonel MacKay, accompanied by Mr. Ainsworth the then Provincial Commissioner, was sent to Kisii and succeeded in imposing terms which included a fine upon the tribe of several thousand head of cattle.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that during this period Nyanza received its first Royal visitor. In 1906 the Duke of Connaught, brother to King Edward VII, visited Kisumu; Connaught Parade was named in honour of the occasion.

Chapter Ten

THE 1914-18 WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

South Nyanza district bordered upon German East Africa; indeed, one reason why proper administration had been established there in 1903 was to prevent any attempt by Germans to settle on the British side of the frontier. This frontier had never been properly surveyed since it was fixed in 1885. When war broke out between Britain and

Germany in 1914, it was obvious that the Germans might try to advance through Kisii to Kisumu or some point near it, to gain control of the railway and thus cut communications between British East Africa and Uganda. The only armed forces in Kisii were the local police, about forty Africans under a European officer, and no other police or soldiers could be spared from elsewhere. The District

Commissioner, Mr. C. E. Spencer, was therefore told that if the district was invaded he was to abandon Kisii station and move to Kisumu. The hut tax was just being collected at the time, and there was about 20,000 rupees of Government money in the office. On 9 September, 1914, news was received that a large force of Germans was approaching the station. The money was packed up, and Mr. Spencer and his staff set out for Kisumu. It happened at that moment

that two companies of the 4th Battalion, King's African Rifles, commanded by Major Thornicroft, arrived at Kisumu on their way from Turkana to Nairobi. They were diverted to Kisii, meeting Mr. Spencer's party on the way, and arrived there on 11 September to find the Germans in occupation of the station. The

Germans seem to have thought that as the station had been evacuated, no attempt

would be made to defend the area. They did not post sentries on the hills around the town, and were completely surprised. Fighting went on all day, in the course of which the British commander was killed; the next day both sides withdrew, leaving the station unoccupied. A large number of Africans took the opportunity to steal everything moveable. On 14 September the Germans retreated, and normal administration was resumed. One of the first things which Mr. Spencer did was to impose a fine of several thousand head of cattle upon the Abagusii as a punishment for the looting of the station. Early in 1915 the Germans were still in occupation of Karungu, which was eventually taken by naval action. Guns were mounted on an ordinary lake steamer for the purpose.

During the war very large numbers of Nyanza tribesmen were recruited both as soldiers and as porters for the armies in German East Africa. Mr. John Ainsworth, who was Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza, from 1907 to 1917, and then Military Commissioner for Labour in charge of all recruitment of African labour, estimated that altogether 162,000 men served the Army as porters or labourers; 24,000 of them died on service. A large proportion of them were Nyanza men, who had a very good reputation among officers all over German East Africa. Before the war it had been reported that the people were beginning to adopt the use of European clothing, and Mr. Ainsworth as Provincial Commissioner had encouraged African farmers to earn money by providing them with good quality maize seed which was brought from European farms for the purpose. Simsim seed was brought from Uganda, and in 1911 the planting of cotton was begun in Alego. The result of this policy was seen during the war. . In 1915 a fund was raised to provide extra food and comforts for Africans in hospital, and grants of money to those who had to leave the Government service because of illness or injuries. Ninety thousand rupees were collected, nearly all in small sums from African peasants. As we have already seen, the hut tax in Kisii alone in 1914 amounted to twenty thousand rupees in cash. This was in an area where only about ten years before, hut tax had been paid in sheep, goats, jembes or work because there was no money available.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL CHANGES

In the beginning Uganda was a prosperous agricultural country and the development of Kenya was largely accidental. Towns like Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu were intended, in the first place, only as stopping-places for the railway; almost the whole of the railway traffic came through from Uganda. In some districts the only reason for the establishment of regular administration was to ensure peaceful conditions for the operation of the railway. For instance, the Nandi Wars were mainly caused by the persistent thefts of constructional material from the railway; the Nandi made spears from lengths of rail and bracelets from telegraph wire. It was only afterwards realized that Kenya was something more than, an area of useless land which had to be crossed on the way to Uganda. Lord Delamere was the first to appreciate the value of much of Kenya for agriculture, and from 1903 onwards European settlers began to arrive in increasing numbers. They were mostly settled on empty land, or on land which was in dispute between tribes. The settled area near to and west of Nairobi was thus placed between the Agikuyu and the Masai. In Nyanza the same policy was followed a little later. The European farms of Kaimosi were placed between the Nandi and the Abaluyia; those of Sotik between the Kipsigis, the Masai, and the Abagusii. The first settlers arrived about 1910. Their presence had the effect of keeping quarrelsome tribes apart. They also created a demand for labour, which meant that many Africans could earn wages for the first time. They set an example of good farming; it was realized that if Europeans could get good crops from the land, Africans could do so too. Between 1908 and 1914 the exports of African agricultural produce increased so largely that whereas in 1908 there was no traffic from Nyanza at all, by 1914 the volume of goods which came to and from Nyanza exceeded that which went through to Uganda. The amount of this traffic was so great that about 1912 it was proposed to extend the railway from.

Kisumu to Mumia's, and perhaps beyond. The outbreak of war held up the plans, and it was not until 1928 that this railway was finally constructed as far as Butere. By that time the transport problems of Nyanza were being further eased by the construction of the Nakuru - Kampala railway, which crosses Elgon Nyanza, the principal stations on this section being Broderick Falls and Bungoma.

The administrative station at Mumia's had been unsatisfactory for a long time. It was unhealthy, malarious, and liable to frequent thunderstorms. As early as 1899 the district commissioner, Mr. Malloch, died there of blackwater fever. Constant attempts were made to overcome the unhealthiness of the station. A new district commissioner's house, built in 1903, was mosquito-proofed, and extensive drainage schemes were put into operation. In spite of this, bad health continued among the staff. In 1912 complaints became so serious that the Provincial Commissioner caused the Director of Medical Services and the Director of Public Works to report on the advisability of moving the station. They reported that the place was quite habitable, and nothing more was done until 1919. Then the deaths occurred within one month of the district commissioner, Mr. Hemmant, and a district officer, Captain Fraser, of blackwater fever. The old station was then condemned and it was proposed to establish a new administrative centre at Kavujai in Bukusuland, five miles north of Bungoma. Building was started there, when it was discovered that the local water supply was bad; in February, 1920, a fresh start was made on the building of a station at Kakamega.

Kakamega was already becoming a place of some importance. A police post called Fort Maxsted had been built there in 1903 and the first Indian shop had been opened in the same year. In 1909 more Indian shops were opened, and in 1910 Kakamega was officially recognized as a Trading Centre. After it became the administrative capital its progress was still very slow; no permanent houses were built until 1927, but in 1931 the discovery of gold brought greatly increased prosperity to the place. Other circumstances caused a speeding-up of the development of

Kakamega about the same time. A large hospital and Government school were opened, — the latter being the first of its kind in Nyanza for several years. As a result of these happenings the European community increased within a couple of years from less than a dozen to some hundreds; the golf club and other amenities were provided at this time. Kakamega has the advantage of being away from the domination of any particular tribe; in the old days many chiefs felt that Mumja derived an unfair advantage from having the administrative centre at his own capital. Kakamega is in Isukha Location, but within a few hundred yards of the border of Butso, so that neither tribe can really claim it as its own. There are other examples in Nyanza of important trading and mission centres which have grown up on tribal borders. Perhaps the best-known are Maseno, Luanda and Yala, all within a short distance of the border between the country of the Joluo and that of the Abaluyia; and Busia on the border between Kenya and Uganda. People are often willing to go to the tribal boundary to do business in the presence of members of other tribes; they would be unwilling, however, to enter the territory of hostile tribes.

CHAPTER TWELVE

MISSIONS

There was a C.M.S. mission in Elgon, under the charge of Mr. Crabtree, already in 1894; further to the south the principal missions were established a little later than this. The Friends Africa Mission came to Nyanza in 1902, the Mill Hill Mission in 1904, and the C.M.S. in 1906. The Church of God Mission in Bunyore also dates from 1906.

The first Roman Catholic fathers to begin regular work in Nyanza arrived in Kisumu in 1901, in the first place to minister to some of their people from Uganda who had

settled there. Their first full-scale mission was opened at Mumia's in 1904, followed by the Kakamega mission in 1906.

The C.M.S. began work at Vihiga on a small scale in 1905; the first missionaries at Maseno, a Mr. and Mrs. Savile, took up residence there on January 14, 1906. The first teaching there was done in a hut under a fig-tree, the stump of which still stands outside the church. The present church at Maseno was built in 1908.

The missions worked well together from the beginning, and there was little, if any, of that quarrelling which had interfered with Christian work in Uganda in the 'eighties and 'nineties. In 1905 the C.M.S. and the Friends agreed that the Friends would confine their work mostly to the Abaluyia, while the C.M.S. worked among the Joluo. Following this agreement, the first four pupils at Maseno School were small Joluo boys transferred there from Kaimosi. Orange trees, which were planted when Maseno station were being laid out, were sent there from the Church of God mission at Kima. All missions agreed to establish no new stations within a ten-mile radius of each other, so that there would not be too much overlapping of their work. Thus when Chief Mulama gave land at Butere for the establishment of the C.M.S. station there in 1912, it was accepted because it lay just outside a ten-mile radius from the existing Roman Catholic mission at Mumia's. After the 1914 -18 War many more missions were established in the province: these include the Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists and Pentecostal Assembly. A great many new " churches " have arisen in different places and at different times. Nearly all of these new churches have begun by breakaways from the established missions or churches. Most of them try to combine parts of the teaching of Christianity and heathenism in whatever way seems most convenient to their members. For instance, some teach the Gospel, or parts of it, while allowing polygamy. Some preach the religion of the Old Testament, or emphasize certain parts -of the Bible while ignoring others.

In various parts of Nyanza there are also a good many Moslems. The Somali and Swahili communities in all the larger townships and trading centres have influenced some people towards Islam. Others became converted when they served in the army or as porters in Moslem areas of Tanganyika during the First World War. Certain accidental similarities between the native custom of some districts and Moslem teaching in such matters as circumcision have enabled Moslem preachers to convince many people that Islam is the right religion for them. The Moslem religion is strong among the native population in Wanga, where Swahili influence was felt from very early times; and in Maragoli, where the number of Moslems was already enough to justify the building of a mosque at Mbale about twenty years ago.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ROAD COMMUNICATIONS

When the Europeans first came to Nyanza there were no roads; places were connected only by paths through the bush. The first proper road through the province was made about 1895 and went from Uasin Gishu through Kabras to Sakwa's, then along the line of the present main road to Mumia's. Other roads were built in various ways, some by the Administration, some by missionaries and others. Most trouble was spent on the road from Mumia's to Yala, which was re-made in 1901 and again in 1904. The work was mostly done by Africans who were obliged to do a certain amount of work in place of the payment of hut tax. The roads were not good, and rivers were mostly spanned only by wooden bridges suitable for pedestrians. The bridge over the river Lusumu a few miles south of Mumia's, which was built in 1904, collapsed in 1907; in 1906 all the bridges over the Nzoia and Ruiru rivers were destroyed by the Babukusu to hinder the visit of the tax collector.

A stone bridge was built over the Lusumu to replace the collapsed one, and the Yala Suspension Bridge was built in 1910; this made for the first time a road suitable for heavy traffic from Kisumu to Mumia's. The road from Kisumu to Maseno was made in 1906 - 07 by Mr. Savile of the C.M.S. mission so that he could have a means of bringing up the heavy carts with building materials for the mission. The road from Maseno to Vihiga was also made by Mr. Savile.

The roads which were made fifty years ago were still, by modern standards, nothing better than rough tracks. The first motor-car journey from Kisumu to Mumia's was made by Mr. Ainsworth in 1915, and an Indian did the same journey in 1916. The roads were still so bad, however, that special permission had to be obtained from District Commissioners to bring a motor vehicle over them. In 1919 the first lorry came to Mumia's, but its Indian owner was imprisoned and fined for bringing it over the roads without permission.

In South Nyanza the development of a reasonably good road system was later than in North Nyanza, as the development of the area in other respects was. As late as 1914 the simplest way from Kisumu to Kisii was by lake steamer to Kendu Bay, then overland; Sotik was reached through Lumbwa and Kericho.

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