

# Examination of the Mutual Impact of Colonization and Peasantization in Trans-Nzoia, Kenya, Between 1920 And 1970

ANDREW WANJALA KHISA<sup>1</sup>, EZEKIEL OMBASO OTWERE<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup> School of Social Sciences, Department of Humanities, Mount Kenya University

*Abstract- In the examination of the mutual impact between colonization and peasantization in Trans Nzoia between 1920 and 1970, Peasants were engaged in forced labour and low wages that were heavily taxed. Furthermore, while the colonizers possessed large tracks of land that supported plantation farming, the peasants owned nothing in Trans Nzoia in a span of 50 years. Due to these factors, the study did an examination on the mutual impact of colonization and peasantization in Trans-Nzoia between 1920 and 1970 with a view of making recommendations to remedy the same. The study covers a period of fifty years from 1920 when settlers arrived in Trans Nzoia to 1970 when the Colonial Labour System ended. The study is confined to the discussion of the colonial economic system that was responsible for peasantization in Trans Nzoia. The Theoretical Framework draws findings from the Marxist Theory contained in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 that analyses human antagonism which informs social stratification of the rich and the poor as exemplified by the settlers and peasants in Trans Nzoia. The research was conducted in Trans Nzoia County which has five sub counties of Trans Nzoia East, Trans Nzoia West, Kwanza, Kiminini and Endebess. The Research Design was based on the historical method, analytical method and interview method that were collectively used to source information on colonization and peasantization in Trans Nzoia through examination of primary sources including archival manuscripts, letters, diaries, memoirs, charters, files, memoranda and registers which were complimented by oral submissions and secondary sources including books, journal articles, research works, reports, newspaper articles, magazines and periodicals. Sampling Techniques used were purposive and snowball. Data was collected from respondents, Trans Nzoia Land Office Records and*

*the National Archives. The study themes were paraded and analyzed in a chronological sequence from 1920 to 1970. Since the research is qualitative in nature, data analysis is descriptive and therefore, prosaically presented.*

*Indexed Terms- Colonization and Peasantization*

## I. INTRODUCTION

British Economy in Africa: In the same breath, British nationalism showed itself in a determination to maintain her leading commercial and imperial position in the world and to protect her wide spread interests from foreign competition. By possessing Egypt, Britain controlled the Suez Canal and easily protected her economic empire in India. In total, Britain had 4800 square miles of land in Africa that was agriculturally viable. Most of this land lay in the British colonies which included Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Sierra Leone and Botswana. In all these colonies, forced labour, low wages and taxation were common practices. The British used direct rule in Kenya, Zimbabwe, part of South Africa and Southern Nigeria. The system was also used by Belgians in Congo, Germans in Tanganyika and Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola. The British system of administration consisted of the Governor, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Provincial Commissioner, District Commissioner and District Officer. All these administrators were Europeans. Africans held lowest positions of Chief and Village headman. British Supremacy was felt by other European powers in the Northern, Western, Central, Southern and Eastern Africa as well as Asia. Having colonies and being a sea power significantly contributed to British nationalism and imperialism which promoted their

colonial capitalism in the world including African (Robinson & Gallagher, 1961).

Table 1: British Administrative Structure

All colonies	Federations
British overseas colonial officer	In charge of colonies (stayed in Britain)
British East African Colony	Governor (European)
Provinces	Provincial Officer (European)
District	District Commissioner (European)
Division	Divisional Officer (European)
Location	Chief (African)
Sub-Location	Sub-Chief (African)
Village	Headman (African)

Two racial factors were responsible for the scramble. Firstly, industrialization gave rise to the theory of superiority of the White man. Europeans advanced the theory that because Africa had not yet industrialized, Africans must be inferior to Whites who in turn were commissioned by history and God to dominate them, “it must be said openly,” asserted Jules Ferry, again to the French chamber, “that the superior (Whites) race in effect has a right vis-a-vis the inferior (black) race.” Secondly, explorers and missionaries’ tale of the relatively backward condition of Africa made “humanitarians” feel and hear the voice of providence summoning them to serve the black man. Even David Livingstone could not disguise his extremely paternalistic attitude towards Africans. To him, Africans were “merely grown up children... a race that would only attain the maturity of other men after they have been persuaded to stop worshipping hills, wood, rivers and malignant spirits of their own dead.” His countrymen responded by arriving to do the “persuading” and subsequently invited or encouraged their home governments to put under its protection the “dark lands” occupied by human beings so much in need of European “light”. Due to economic, political and religious reasons, European nations began to intensify their efforts for acquisition of colonies in Africa. Other Europeans felt it necessary to acquire colonies in order to compete with Britain.

### 1.2 Methodology

The study relied on three research methods including the historical method, the analytical method and the interview method. While the historical method was significant in tracing a history of colonialism and how its capitalistic practices created a peasant class of African workers on settler farms in Trans-Nzoia between 1920 and 1970, the analytical method was vital for analyzing data drawn from primary sources including archival manuscripts, letters, diaries, memoirs, charters, files, memoranda and registers which were complimented by secondary sources including books, journal articles, research works, reports, newspaper articles, magazines and periodicals. The interview method, on the other hand, examined oral submissions from respondents who lived and worked on settler farms to facilitate agricultural productivity in Trans-Nzoia between 1920 and 1970. The sampling techniques used were both purposive and snowball sampling. While purposive sampling targeted former colonial administrators with knowledge and experience of the colonial labour system within a span of fifty years under review, snowball sampling was applied to select the workers who provided labour to the colonialists.

## II. FINDINGS AND RESULTS

- Expansion of a Peasant Class in Trans Nzoia, 1940-1959

By 1940, the third phase of settler agriculture begun and ran up to 1945. The British Empire was at war. European farmers were urged to “Dig for the Empire.” At the same time, settlers mechanized their farming by buying tractors and fertilizers with loans from the United States. More loans were also provided by the Colonial Government to help them produce more for the Empires. The Government fixed prices for crops. The settlers were assured of the means of production, the sale of their produce and profit after sales. Between 5,000 and 6,000 acres of flax were cultivated in Trans-Nzoia. More African labourers were recruited on flax farms and factories that enhance production of pedigree seed and fibre. In 1940 therefore, conditions during the war conspired to increase political power that translated into economic power which prompted the British government to call for more effective agricultural

production and market control. This move weakened the colonial office control over the colonies. Governor Moore admitted, "There has never been a time in Kenya when unofficial opinion has so much influenced policy or been so intimately involved in the counsel of government." The settler determination to secure effective control over the executive government of Kenya became more realistic in 1940. When World War II broke out all constitutional guarantees were suspended and the Colonial States used its new land reinforced cohesive powers to mobilize and recruit labour for the army and other enterprises. The measures undertaken by the government ensured that settlers in Trans Nzoia and elsewhere in the White Highlands received sufficient African manpower to boost intensified agriculture for the benefit of the Empire (KNA, 1940).

In 1941 there arose a great demand for meat by the military authorities; these motivated settlers to move into mixed farming in a large scale. Livestock business became lucrative so much so that most of the maize grown in Trans Nzoia was used for animal feeds. Due to large export cargo, bulky goods like maize lacked shipping space and therefore, became uneconomical (Clayton & Savage, 1974). The segregationist approach was applied to the maize market where European maize was sold at Sh.9.00 per bag while African maize of the same quantity went at Sh.4.90 per bag of 200lb. Europeans argued that African production cost was lower than European production cost hence variation in prices. The government resorted to Anglo-American Land-Lease Agreement to purchase farm machinery for serious farm mechanization by settlers. The state subsidized fertilizers for European farmers and expanded storage facilities as well as credit provision to enable them produce more for the empire. They also got funding from the District Committees and Marketing Association thereby delinking them from borrowing commercial and merchant bank loans to finance their agriculture. Bulk buying and selling were introduced. African agriculture was discouraged due to lack of government support and European negative argument that African agriculture would result into overproduction and degradation of soil fertility in the reserves. Just like maize, beef was also priced differently. For instance, European beef that

weighed 100lb was sold at Sh.34 while African beef of the same quantity and weight went for Sh.26.

Europeans bought African cattle which they used as work oxen for a while before selling it as first grade European cattle at high prices. On realizing this exploitation, Africans were hesitant to sell their cattle to Europeans. In retaliation, Europeans applied forceful destocking in the reserves to increase their livestock for sell. Increased African labour was needed both in the army and essential services including extension of airfields, roads, harbors and military training camps (Sunday Post, 15th June, 1941). The East African Military Labour Service recruited 20,000 African soldiers while African auxiliary Pioneer Corps engaged 16,000. Some of these were from Trans Nzoia. As the need for additional personnel increased some regions in Kenya including Trans Nzoia became hunting grounds for service men. This created fear among Africans and generated more hostility towards Europeans than before. In total, 9,800 Kenyans were forced into the army in Africa and abroad including Burma in Asia. The Trans Nzoia District Council drafted regulation for reduction of squatter cattle in the District despite settlers' opposition. After approval of these regulations, subsistence farming was only keeping ten heads of cattle and five sheep. Labour was renewed annually and Africans worked for 240 days in a year. They were also compelled to renew their working contract after every 3 years. The East Africa Production and supply council was established to promote both European production and equitable distribution of goods to them.

1942 saw the approval of the confiscation of African cattle if they exceeded ten. This was a result of the 1941 squatter cattle reduction policy. African livestock also grazed in designated areas for fear of spreading diseases to European cattle. There was the education council on European education that approved proposals for the development of European Vocational Training where a sub-committee was appointed to inquire into and report on vocational training for European girls. Africans were still being regarded by Europeans as weak and evil human beings. Racial discrimination was at its peak and Europeans still justified their claims that their coming to "primitive Africa" was inevitable. They were

determined to do all within their human power to exercise economic manipulation, social disruption and political control of the black race. They claim that the humanity they shared with Africans urged them against Europeans and prohibited them from growing to full stature as political men as long as they were cramped under the alien domination. They viewed Africans as a people who were supposed to show gratitude to the colonial regime for continued provision of missionary and government services to them. They propelled euro-centralism that African status was a limitation of what European could do because Africans lacked political unity and maturity for self-governance". This negative perception against African inspired Europeans to hunt for native conscripts from the White Highlands including Trans Nzoia to reinforce their military numerical strength and power (Huxley, 1942).

In 1942, maize yields in Trans Nzoia and UasinGishu averaged between 8.5 and 5.3 bags per acre. Wheat yields averaged 4.1 bags per acre in Trans-Nzoia and 2.5 bags per acre in UasinGishu. There also existed Native and Settler Maize Growers. As a World war II measure the government decided to introduce the control of Maize where both native and settler maize was bought by the government for a fixed price and sold to consumers. However, native maize was priced lower than settler maize. The difference in price, according to Europeans was determined by the fact that European maize was bought already packed, graded and delivered at the railway stations including Kitale, while native maize was unpacked and graded at the markets in the interior. The settlers protested against this scheme which they termed as dishonest and unfair to African farmers. They stuck out for an equal price for the same article regardless of producers' race. The press also made outspoken protest that was in tandem with attacks from representatives of the settlers and natives in the Legco. The protest forced Europeans and native maize producers to meet in Nairobi where they passed a unanimous resolution urging the government to withdraw the discrimination against native maize. Though the government defended its action for sometimes, the injustice was withdrawn several months later. A new Fair Scheme that was introduced equalized the price of native maize to European maize.

In 1943, crops that had at first done well grew poorly. Unsuspected plants pests had appeared. Pastures that seemed rich failed to nourish stock. Cattle died from unknown diseases, game broke down fences and trampled crops, Droughts and locusts spread devastation. African labour proved unreliable and slipshod. Market fluctuated and slumped. Severe famine occurred and many Africans died. The government appointed Lord Moyne Joint Commission of Enquiry to investigate causes of food shortage and possible solutions to these problems. The Commission collected views from Europeans and Africans to enable it consolidate a report. Europeans blamed food shortage on drought and presence of locust that had picked crops bear as well as African laxity in rendering labour, financial constants that hampered the hiring of sufficient manpower, theft on settler farms by Africans, competition for food by human beings and animals, lack of machinery and spare parts and failure of short and long rains of 1942 (Broomfield, 1943). Africans on the other hand were unhappy with continued racial discrimination and segregationist development. They blamed food shortage on congested reserves without adequate land for food production, drought and locust, migration of people to settler farms, lack of government subsidy to enhance African agriculture whose produce had drastically dropped lack of manpower due to military conscriptions low prices for African grown maize and increased cash crop production at the expense of food production. Despite these had condition, the settlers in the Western part of the White Highlands employed a total of 48550 Luyia labourers on the farms. This followed the January 1943 measure that saw 1641 African cattle bought by the supply board at an average price of Sh.40 per head. In addition the government bought cassava, millet and dried bananas which were supplied to the neediest families.

The Lord Moyne Commission further observed that the native were heavily taxed to develop European areas. Instead the Joint Committee suggested that non-natives should be taxed higher since they received the best social services, education and health care. In his summary Lord Moyne said "I have formed the opinion that in the development of the undivided or colonial services in Kenya, the prevailing bias has been toward the convenience of a

civilization in which the native so far shares little of the direct advantages the African is bearing a heavier individual sacrifices than that at present imposed upon the non-native population, and I speak of his helplessness in regard to the imposition of taxes. “Which favour European development (SKMIR, 1943).

Lord Moyne cited that natives were forbidden from growing coffee and most of the money was directed towards European coffee industry and research. He expressed his disappointment on inequality of treatment between natives and non-natives with regard to agricultural services and recommended a division of revenue where part of it would be directed to the Native Betterment Fund because there was urgent need and temporary guarantee that the more backward community should get a fair share from Central funds during the present period of unequal racial needs and political representation. The imperial government however rejected this expert report. No plans were made by the government to expand African agriculture and animal husbandry in the reserves.

1943 also saw the emergence of a traditional religion known as DiniyaMusambwa by Elijah MasindeWaNameme. He was born in Bungoma in 1910 and become a follower of the Friends African Mission (American Quakers) which was the Largest in North Nyanza. When he was 25 years he married another wife. Since missionaries had categorized polygamy as lust, he was expelled from the church. He started DiniyaMusambwa which was a religious, political and nationalist movement that incited the Bukusu people of Bungoma and Trans Nzoia as well as the Suk in West Suk into resistance against White domination (Shimanyula, 1978). Other denominations in Western Kenya were The Roman Catholic, The Salvation Army, The Pentecostal Assemblies of East Africa (Canadian), The Church of God (American), The Church Mission Society (Church of England) and The Seventh Day Adventist (Largely American).

Masinde was delighted with his marriage because polygamy in any African setting was prestigious, a sign of wealth and high social status. Economically African women did most of the agricultural chores.

Two or more wives meant more agricultural production and wealth accumulation. After his expulsion by the church, Masinde worked as a guard in an African court. He increasingly became anti-missionary and anti-Whites in Bungoma and Trans Nzoia. The colonial authorities however, fired him for refusing to stand up and salute visiting European officials. He used to say, “Why should I stand up and salute them? They should stand up and salute me. I am the man who owns this country. They are just strangers.”Masinde became a frequent reader of the Old Testament. Like the Kikuyu rebels he found the Old Testament accounts of battles, sacrifices and plural marriages much to his liking because these parallels were also rooted in the Traditional African Religion of the Bukusu people. DiniyaMusambwa was his own religious sect which offered a rich blend of customs. The Bible and the Protestant Hymn book were used. The cross was given great significance as in the Roman Catholic Missions. DiniyaMusambwa followers imitated the Salvation Army by matching up and down singing songs and pounding on drums. Some had long beards and wore turbans like Muslim African converts around the Lake Victoria region. Masinde was not alone in the separatist movement. North Nyanza also had several other sects formed as a result of rebellion against White domination in Kenya. These included: DiniyaRoho (Religion of Spirits), Diniya Israel (Religion of Israel), The African Divine Church, and the African Interior church which was thought to have had some connection with the Kikuyu Independent Church Movements (Wiper , 1977) .After being fired from court guard, Masinde went unnoticed for some time.

1944 saw a tremendous improvement in the agricultural activities in the White Highland. Production of crops per acre greatly went up as compared to 1931 as shown below:

Table 2: Yields per acre in the White Highlands, 1931, 1944

crop	1931	1944
maize	600lb	2400lb
millet	700lb	933lb
potatoes	1.5tons	2.66tons
beans	500lb	800lb
wattle bark	6.6cwt	15.2cwt
bananas	400bunches	426bunches

This improvement was attributed to sufficient rainfall, continued government subsidy to White settlers, loans to European farmers by the Land and Agricultural Bank and increased African manpower on settler farms that enabled Europeans to purchase machinery, spare parts and fertilizers (KNA, 1944). Smallholder agriculture undertaken by African farmers in the reserves and by squatters on European farms was also boosted by sufficient rains and conducive climatic conditions (Thurston, 1987). The political arena witnessed Europeans apply every tactic to weaken African political opposition. For instance, K.T.W.A. had lost most of its political form because many of the top leaders of the association had already been co-opted into the colonial administration: Jonathan Okwiri was promoted to the position of Chief. Again, Benjamin Owour, Simeon Nyende and Jonathan Okwiri were also made members of the LNC in Central Nyanza. Such rewards meant that the leaders could not contradict the wishes of colonial administration (Zaleza, 1982). Eventually, K.T.W.A. became extinct in 1944. On 5 October, after consulting with leaders of African opinion, the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, appointed E.W. Mathu as the first African member of the Kenya Legco. Though unofficial member, his appointment was a significant step towards African petitions in the political affairs of Kenya (Rockler, 1976). Africans in the White Highlands and the reserves alike were delighted at being represented by a fellow African in the Legco. At least, African voices and grievances could be articulated more effectively to the Colonial Government. In November 1944, K.A.S.U. was formed. Its aims were to study African problems and instruct them on public affairs. At a meeting with the Chief Native Commissioner, K.A.S.U. complained about the poor distribution of food to Africans and the conscription of labour in the White Highlands and demanded employment of educated Africans in the government and the railways.

The government embarked on a campaign to eradicate a certain noxious weed in Bungoma District. A European agricultural officer led the drive and was believed to twist the ears of those who wouldn't uproot the weed. Some Bukusu who were found with the weeds on their farms were fined. Masinde refused to allow this agricultural inspector

onto his land to look for the said weed and he urged others to do the same. The Agricultural officer's home was burnt down at night. Arson was the traditional Bukusu way of airing jealousies and grievances. After much resistance, the weed campaign was dropped. Masinde went ahead and urged the people to resist recruitment of labourers and conscriptions in Bungoma and Trans Nzoia. He incited others against being recruited by Europeans to serve in any other capacity. "It's a European war," he said, "Why should Africans fight in it?". The Bungoma D.C. told him that if the British lost in World War II the harsh Germans would come back to Tanganyika and probably to Kenya as well. Masinde said, "No...God will stop them from coming here". When summons were served on Masinde, he refused to receive them and drove the servers away. He was then arrested, tried and ordered to sign a sh. 500 bond, without sureties, to keep the peace for one year. Masinde refused to sign the bond and in February 1945, he was sent to prison for one year or until he signed. In prison; he made life miserable for his African warders. His action made him certified as an insane and was sent to Mathare Mental Hospital in the outskirts of Nairobi.

In 1945, many Africans had acquired Western Education and therefore, through K.A.S.U., they demanded the removal of the Kipande System, restoration of African land, increased African representation in the Kenya Legco, better living condition, and to forced labour and taxation. While European enjoyed political supremacy and economic prosperity, Africans suffered many disadvantages including insufficient marketing of their crops in the reserves, a measure that made them depend on wage labour in towns and European farms in the White Highlands to meet the tax demands (Land and Agricultural Bank, 1945). European settlement in Trans Nzoia increased and led to an expanded African labour force which resulted into reduction of squatter farms. European brutality was expressed in words like: "The African by and large is still savage and a child...he only understands and responds to firmness". To put their claim in practice, some squatters were evicted before they harvested their crops. Forced seizure of squatter stock became a common practice. Aged squatters were removed from the land on which they lived all their lives and forced

back to the reserves which were strange to them (Amsden, 1971). Following the enactment of the increased Production of Crops Ordinance, 204,000 Pounds had been advanced to European farmers at an interest rate of only 4%. African farmers, on the other hand, were neglected and therefore, left without any financial or technical support. By the end of the war, local European farmers were unwilling to compromise over race relationship. They still regarded themselves as masters and Africans as servants. Maize production in Trans Nzoia and UasinGishu came down to 7.1 and 5.6 bags per acre while wheat yield were 5.2 and 4.5bags per acre respectively. These atrocities increased African quest for decolonization. When people had been pushed to the wall and seemed to have no way for escape, they turned to religion. In 1945 however, activities of DiniyaMusambwa submerged after the imprisonment of their leader, Masinde. Any Bukusu who sought wage labour on European farms in Trans Nzoia was interrogated by the settlers to establish their affiliation with DiniyaMusambwa and only those who denounced it were recruited. Sometimes, suspects were rounded up, whipped by the colonial administration and forced to publicly denounce DiniyaMusambwa and Elijah Masinde, its founder (Were, 1972). Mama LoiceNasikeKhisia, interviewed on 21 October 2018 in her home at Mito Mbili farm of Trans Nzoia East Sub-County, recalled some of Masinde's teachings that predicted the disintegration of the Colonial System in Trans Nzoia. Masinde's followers prayed to their god to break the bridge across River Nzoia at Hoeybridge so as to prevent Europeans from entering Trans Nzoia. To them, Trans -Nzoia meant all land that lay to the North of River Nzoia and could only be accessed through Hoeybridge. He encouraged his followers that their independence would surely come and land would be distributed freely to everyone. He argued that it would make no sense for people to buy their own land in their country after the White man's departure. He taught his followers that those who violated his teachings would never see the three sacred tables on Mount Sayoni (Elgon) which were ever new awaiting the obedient in the after-life. He was believed to have miraculously escaped from European custody on several occasions without their notice since he possessed some divine powers which the Whites did not have. His followers regarded him as a prophet of

Were Khakaba (God the Provider). On 31 December 1945, the Colonial Government stopped recruiting conscriptions because World War II had ended. The ex-soldiers came back and prevailed upon the Colonial Government to fulfill its promises to them including land, jobs, good wages, better education for their children and better living conditions.

In 1946, the Agricultural Settlement Board was established and charged with the responsibility of running European Settlement Schemes. The Board bought all the remaining Crown Lands and any uncultivated land that the existing settlers wished to sell and sold it to the new arrivals (Secretary Agricultural Production, 1946). Increased European Settlement simply meant that many African squatters lost the land they had hitherto occupied for cultivation and grazing purposes. It was in fact the premise of the Settlement Schemes Committee that "any talk of close European settlement is facial unless the squatter system is abolished very quickly". Elaborate plans were drawn by the government for reduction of squatter stock on settler farms. Other District Councils adopted similar destocking measures including the Forestry Department. Stock reduction went hand in hand with measures to reduce land given to squatters for cultivation and grazing purposes. Despite continued official biases in favour of settler corporate agriculture, after the war the Colonial State, for the first time, embarked on a plan and long term assistance program for African agriculture. The Worthington Plan was drawn up, providing 11M pounds to be spent over a period of ten years on agriculture. Half of this amount was allocated to the African Land Development Program which included African agriculture, mainly for the prevention of soil erosion. The adoption of a policy favourable to African agriculture was determined by three main factors: Firstly, the government wanted to prevent the recurrence of the disastrous wartime food shortage and the problem of rural poverty from worsening. It was viewed that unless African agriculture was capitalized, sufficient production in the reserves would fall. Secondly, it became imperative to encourage African agriculture which would increase overall production and help to maximize profit and enable the country to feed itself and also satisfy British export needs. Thirdly, the Colonial State could no longer ignore the growing

numbers of increasingly vociferous African capitalist farmers who had risen despite economic challenges (KNA, 1946). The Colonial Government at this time held a negative attitude towards African farmers. Some officials like Governor Mitchell still believed that the African land was to be owned communally and therefore opposed any attempts of introducing economic individualism among Africans in the pretext that this system would generate many problems in the reserves. It was evident that apart from obvious increases in the overall number of workers, there were significant changes in the distribution of the labour force. Though minimum wages for African workers were increased, the policy was not implemented since minimum wage rates were based on inadequately calculated cost of living indexes and the needs of a single worker and not those of his family.

Early in 1946, the K.A.S.U. leaders decided that they would go back to the original name of the union. “We have studied enough”, they said and renamed themselves K.A.U. The new K.A.U. was launched on 6 February 1946. Khamisi ran its head office in I.B.E.A. building on government road (later renamed Moi Avenue), with the voluntary help of Tom Mbotela, Cege Kibachia and W.W.W. Awuori. They produced Sautiya Mwafrika Newspaper and maintained correspondence with branches at Embu, Nyeri, Machakos, Kitui, Forthall, Mombasa, Tave ta, Voi, Naivasha, Nakuru, Subukia, Thomson Falls, Molo, Kitale, Nandi and West Suk. K.A.U. took part in discussions with the Colonial Government about Kenya’s political future. It wanted to be recognized as the voice of the African people. Gichuru as president and Awuori as treasurer toured the country to mobilize support. K.A.U. engaged in discussions with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Nairobi in July and August 1946. The issues discussed represented the African grievances of the time: Education, land, African representation, trade opportunities, the kipande, and European immigration. K.A.U. tried to gain recognition from the Colonial Government but had not been very successful. Its geographical spread was still limited to the Central Province although it established fledgling branches in the Coast, Rift Valley and Western Provinces. It had practically no success in Luo Nyanza, the heartland and home of K.T.W.A. K.A.U.

leadership was indecisive. Even Mathu distanced himself from the Union. KAU was determined to mobilize African elites in government employment, establish links with various ethnic associations and affiliate with diverse nationalist leaders, but these efforts remained fruitless. K.A.U. became unpopular with squatters especially when it urged them to sign the restrictive new labour force contracts that were part of the Forced Labour System that applied on settler farms and government development projects. 1947 was dominated by a myriad of social, political and economic activities that revolved around European supremacy. Doctors released Elijah Masinde from Mathare Mental Hospital despite government protest. Back in Bukusu land, he was like a sharpened iron, a character that portrayed itself in an aggressive and insightful nature that characterized his negative attitude toward European domination of Bungoma, Trans Nzoia, West Suk and Kenya in general. He convened a meeting where he was seen addressing a large crowd saying, “Why should the Europeans own land in Kenya? Why should they interfere with our religion?” He proclaimed that Trans Nzoia had been taken from the Bukusu by force. “The tribe is not strong enough to take it that way... the best way to do is to pray to God to send the White man away. God will send his power through his angels and they will appear on Mount Sayoni...” (Simiyu, 1997) Diniya Musambwa disturbance caused the Colonial Government to appoint a Commission to look into subsequent disruptions in West Suk. In its report, the Commission said for a month or two, Masinde had been quiet. In July 1947, however, he was seen addressing a crowd of about four hundred Bukusu followers at Kimalewa telling them that Europeans must be turned out and an African King appointed. In August, he was seen instructing the Bukusu to make guns and drive away Europeans from farm around Kimilili and in Trans Nzoia. In September, he led a crowd of 500 Bukusu men to an old fort near Lugulu where Hobley 1 fought his final battle with the Bukusu. His object seemed to have been exorcising the ghost of the men killed in the battle. A sheep was sacrificed and a small piece was given to every man. Elijah addressed the crowd telling them he was going to ask God to show him how to get rid of Europeans. The authorities were out to arrest him but he kept eluding them (Reed, 1954).



Europeans, on the other hand, formed the CDC with a capital loan of 100,000,000m pounds from the treasury and the right to borrow an additional 50,000,000m pounds from private sources, and later its borrowing powers were increased by 30,000,000m pounds. The corporation concentrated on commercial production in the fields of mining, manufacturing, fisheries and plantations. In order to enhance its functions, the Colonial Government under the British Empire was encouraged to form public corporations which would establish close working relations with the CDC. The second corporation was the OFC also established in 1947 with a capital of 50,000,000m pounds including the 25,000,000m pounds originally advanced to the UAC, some of whose operations were rolled out by the OFC. The brief of the OFC was to organize large scale plantations and food growing projects in the colonies. However, the EAGS which was originally started by the UAC went into huge economic losses. The OFC was finally dissolved in 1954. The 1947 Colony's Annual Report stated that the dollar crisis and its repercussions on the colony's economy were closely being examined by the United Kingdom with a view to reducing expenditure of hard currencies and the expansion of production activities. This was a call to increased agricultural production and accelerated imports to substitute industrialization. The Kipande System was abolished and replaced with the Identity Card System. Employers were encouraged to submit applications for entry permits for immigrant workers. In 1947 alone, 10,000 new immigrants entered the Kenya Colony from India and Britain in equal proportions. Working and living conditions were insignificantly improved. The wage policy was still guided by low wages. The wage structure reflected the racial divisions within the society where European workers earned about 24 times as much as African workers, and Asians workers 10 times as much. The EASC argued falsely that the time had not yet come for introducing a common salary scale for all races. This recommendation was fully endorsed by the government (KNA, 1947).

On February 7 1948, about one hundred DiniyaMusambwa members demonstrated outside a Roman Catholic Mission saying they would burn it down if the priest did not leave. One of the Priests fired several shots in the air and the crowd dispersed.

It is worth of note that Christian Missionaries condemned African Traditional Religion. For Instance, they hated to see a shrine called the Namwima near each Bukusu hut. Food, beer and blood of slaughtered animals were placed at the entrance of the Namwima as an offering to the ancestral spirit. In times of stress, the Bukusu would offer prayers and the blood of a sacrificed animal at the Namwima. If a child was sick, the Bukusu might pray to Wele (God) saying, "take the blood of this animal and not the blood of the child". A traditional Bukusu man was surrounded by powerful forces of good and evil and he desperately needed any comfort and security he could find. It was this ancestral worship that missionaries undermined, thereby falling into conflict with the Bukusu. On 8 February 1948, a crowd of about 500 Bukusu men gathered in another area, stripped themselves naked and rolled on the ground in frenzy. Police and tribal elders however dispersed them peacefully. On 10 February, a huge crowd gathered in front of the Malakisi Police Station where three DiniyaMusambwa followers were being held. A European police officer ordered them to disperse but he was struck on the head with a rod by a Bukusu man, he fell and a woman jumped over his prostrate form as the crowd cheered. The policeman ordered African guards to open fire. 11 persons in the crowd were killed, 16 were known to have been wounded, and the crowd fled. Masinde was not in the crowd. In the next few days, DiniyaMusambwa members were rounded up by police but Masinde was not found. On 15 February, a large meeting was held on a European farm in Trans-Nzoia presided over by Masinde. Hymns were sung and prayers were said while facing Mount Sayoni. Masinde said he was being haunted by the government and that Africans must unite and get rid of Europeans and all things European. On 16 February, the police finally caught up with Masinde and deported him to the Northern Frontier Province. DiniyaMusambwa spread up to Bugishu land before it was proscribed in Kenya and Uganda. For some months, there was a lull in DiniyaMusambwa. However, towards the end of 1948, it flared up among labourers in Trans Nzoia where frequent religious ceremonies were secretly held and the main agenda was to drive out the Europeans. The reality of capitalist agriculture in African areas had come to be accepted since it had been realized that buying and selling of land in many

African areas had already gone too far to be reversed. The expansion of capitalist agriculture in African reserves combined with the expansion of settler and corporate farming violently limited the viability of the squatter system and the choices open to squatters in Trans Nzoia. As squatters were being marginalized, there was another movement taking place at the same time almost imperceptibly, but whose eventual effect was to erode the economic hegemony of the settler farmers themselves. That was industrialization. Large scale industrial development was seen to bring new stability in the colony's economic condition. Industrial development was seen as a solution to the problems which the agricultural sector of the country including Trans Nzoia had hitherto created. In 1948 alone, 23, 000,000 pounds was invested in Private and public companies and probably nine-tenths of this money went into industry (George, 1963). Items produced by the new industries included Pharmaceuticals, leather and shoes, beer and light drinks, fertilizers, cement, boats and yachts, building materials, furniture and household requisites. There was relative decline in the amount of capital attributed to settler agriculture. However, more capital was directed into industry and other non-settler farming sectors. Industrialization called for more African labourers who joined the work force from the reserves. Industrial work was risky because there was no medical cover for African workers. Those who got injured while on duty were not compensated since European attitude was only geared towards production of quality goods that would meet the international standards. Africans worked for long hours with low wages, poor housing and pathetic living conditions. The labour laws favoured the Europeans who made them. Africans were subjected to unfair labour practices that promoted injustice because they were classified as the lowest race in the Kenya Colony and Protectorate. The Colonial Government at this time was conscious of the strength of the trade union movements. Indeed, the government realized the need for such movements but discouraged certain types of Trade Unions, especially those that were supported by the unskilled and casual labourers. Europeans argued that since casual labourers were the majority on settler farms and in factories, they could cause a lot of problems to the government if allowed to engage in Trade Unions (Bennett & Smith, 1976). The

government was aware that some of the casuals were advocating militancy and violence as a means of achieving their goals. African political affairs therefore, were restricted to avoid any possible incitement of labourers because this would slow down agricultural and industrial production hence, negatively affect colonial profitability (Good, 1976). In 1949, there were sixteen cases of arson by DiniyaMusambwa followers involving schools, churches and European farm buildings in Trans Nzoia. When one settler was disturbed by the presence of a strange Bukusu man on his farm and ordered him out, he was struck on the head with a panga. The police went into action and scores of Bukusu men were sent to prison for being members of an illegal society. The sect continued to smolder below the surface and DiniyaMusambwa die-hearts refused to have anything in relation with articles of European origin: they still ate from wooden plates, wore animal skins, grew long beards and periodically involved in arson against the settlers. Over the years, African labourers had worked under difficult conditions. Significantly, the Bukusu Squatters experienced a marked economic decline under colonialism that led to initial signs of overt political organization among them. The implementation of a post war European settlement scheme along the Kamukuywa River was bitterly resented by the Bukusu. Under the auspices of the Bukusu union, they continued to lay claim to alienated land adjoining the Bukusu reserve. DiniyaMusambwa drew many followers from among Africans who had experienced the weight of settler domination in Trans Nzoia District. Masinde assaulted women who worked in bars and dressed indecently. He spent about 30 years in prison for diverse offences including opposition of the White regime. Trans Nzoia again witnessed the emergence of the 'Forty Group' that was formed by the Agikuyu people in Central Kenya and spread widely in the White Highlands. Its major achievements included opposing the European government in any possible ways. They persuaded people to disobey District Officers and oppose White farmers. Eventually, the Forty Group grew into the Land and Freedom Army which raided Military Posts and Police Stations for guns and ammunition. It forced thousands of people in the White Highlands to take an oath in support of its course. In essence Trans Nzoia settlers were facing

opposition from DiniyaMusambwa followers, the forty group and some Trade Unions such as AWF and EATUC. The African labour force continued to grow due to several factors: Firstly, 10,000 ex-servicemen had returned and received gratuities from the Colonial Government. Generally, however, they were disappointed because the government did not fulfill its promises to them yet they were expecting good jobs with better pay, land, housing and better education for their children as well as good health care for themselves and their families (Gutto, 1981). In Trans Nzoia, the Colonial Government had constructed present day Kitale Union Primary School in 1947 to educate children of the ex-servicemen though the type of education offered was far below the expected standard. Some became extravagant with their gratuity though a few made an unfortunate entry into trade and business. The fortunate few joined the ranks of the growing African petty bourgeoisie class and became successful traders, farmers, teachers and civil servants. Some were lucky to get training in centers run by the Labour Department. 4% of the ex-servicemen secured white collar jobs while 96% became rural peasants or joined the ranks of under-paid casual, disinterested workers who became prone to militancy against White domination. Secondly, rural to urban migration increased as Africans sought employment in towns including Kitale. Thirdly, settler agriculture flourished due to adequate manpower which facilitated maximum production of agricultural goods that served as industrial raw materials for processing into high quality products to suit the local and international markets. Fourthly, there was the introduction of research on tea by the Brook Bond through their company known as African Tea Holding Limited. The number of female casual labourers continued to thrive on maize, tea and coffee farms as well as in factories. Apart from weeding and harvesting maize, they picked tea and harvested coffee berries. MarisianaNekesa, interviewed on 22 October 2018 at Lukhokhwe Village of Bungoma North sub-county, narrated much about Trans Nzoia settlers of the 1940s. Apart from growing maize, tea, coffee, pyrethrum and flax, Mr. Emmer grew sugarcane and had a small sugar mill on his farm. Some settlers had small portions of beans while others had large sisal farms with many labourers. The sisal processing factory was on the outskirts of

Hoeybridge. The settlers who bordered the Bungoma Reserve grew cassava, millet and sorghum for their workers especially during the 1943 famine. When white men beat Africans, they sometimes fought back in self-defense. Sometimes, white men loosed their dogs to bite Africans as a punishment. With homemade guns, some Africans practiced poaching against the will of certain settlers. Some settlers did not allow squatters on their farms. In such cases, workers became thieves and stole maize for additional food. When goods like ox ploughs, chains and barbed wire reached Kitale by railway, African porters carried them on their heads through thick forests to settler farms in the interior due to scarcity of vehicle transport. At 5pm, a porter would put down his luggage, climb a tall tree and remain there until morning. These were scaring moments since nocturnal beasts roared under such a tree the whole night. Such a porter would only come down after the departure of the beasts at sun rise. Nekesa got her last injection in 1942 and relied on herbs the rest of her life. She remembered how Mr. Hoey supervised the building of bridges by Italians in Cherangani from 1947 onwards. She made us understand why those bridges had the initials POW. Apart from saturated milk and posho, settlers slaughtered bulls for workers on Christmas Day. Teachers received bigger portions of meat than ordinary labourers. Some settlers gave their workers blankets and clothes. Being a follower of DiniyaMusambwa, Elijah Masinde taught them to oppose colonial rule. Twice a year, they footed to the foot of Bukusu Hill in Uganda and once a year to Sayoni (Elgon) for religious rituals that were occasioned with singing, dancing, praying, sacrificing and taking traditional brew. She finished by saying that white men knew how to care for people.

In 1950, African radicals were becoming impatient at the slow progress of constitutional change. It was obvious that the settlers had something to do with this. A prominent settler announced 'we are here to stay and the other races must accept that fact with all that it implies'. But African nationalist were not prepared to accept it. The violence aroused the fears of settlers who called for government protection. A cooperative that had been formed by OgingaOdinga, LUTATCO, had 1,185 shareholders consisting of Kenyans and the Baganda. 1950 also witnessed a great influx of

Africans to towns including Kitale, though they considered this move as a temporary adventure since they returned to the reserves whenever town life became unbearable. They formed many clan and ethnic welfare associations that assisted new relatives with places to stay and finding them jobs, met sickness and funeral costs, paid fees for members' children and even raised fare for those who lost jobs and could no longer remain in towns. They also functioned as social clubs. Big ethnic associations like the Luo Union and the Abaluyia Union also emerged and formed branches in East Africa. They organized tea, welfare parties and traditional dances to promote culture and enhance unity. Jobless women engaged in prostitution and venereal diseases became rampant. The associations therefore, repatriated prostitutes to the reserves and encouraged members in towns to undertake education, trade and cooperative ownership of Tea-rooms and hotels. The Colonial Government appointed the Vassey Committee to look into African housing which was pathetic. The Committee was liberal, and in its report recommended a better housing policy for Africans in townships and trading centers'. On realizing the significance of their role in the development of the reserves, Urban dwellers began to actively participate in the progress of their areas back home (Vassey, 1950).

Mixed settler farming had been intensified in Trans Nzoia whose rainfall was 45 inches with good drainage especially to the East of Mount Elgon and West of Cherangani Hills. Some settler farms were highly mechanized while other settlers still depended on the ox-plough and manual labour. Settlers with sufficient financial muscle possessed machinery and equipment which included tractors, iron ploughs, harrows for refining ploughed land before planting, planters that dropped seeds and fertilizers in rows, scrap metal that was connected to the tractor for weeding maize, Combine Harvesters for harvesting wheat and tractor-trailers for transportation of yields from the farms to the stores. Mechanized farms produced more yields than those that entirely relied on traditional methods (Brown, 1978). Some settlers in Trans Nzoia alternated maize-growing with wheat and each of these crops was planted in a span of four consecutive years. The temperate conditions experienced in Trans Nzoia also suited oats and

barley that were farmed with wheat; pyrethrum, maize, coffee, sunflower and flax for production of fibre. Oats and barley were vital for animal feeds and brewing. KBL and EABL were the chief buyers of barley for brewing alcoholic drinks that had been widely marketed in East Africa since 1922.

Livestock keeping in Trans Nzoia consisted of large numbers of poultry, pigs, sheep and cattle. Unfarmed land supported both natural forests with hard woods and exotic forests with soft woods which included cypress, wattle and eucalyptus that majorly provided poles for fencing and construction of stores. Trans Nzoia also had open grasslands that were suitable for grazing. Squatters did their own paddocking and grew maize for their families' (Matheson & Bovill, 1950). Mama Loice Nasike Khisa remembered during an interview on 21 October 2018 that any African who was found with white maize and commercial fertilizers was sued because those farm inputs were preserved strictly for settlers. She added that there was a European judge who heard cases on every Thursday in a small courtroom at Kachibora Police Station.

European agriculture and industrialization were accelerated as an economic remedy to losses incurred during World War II. These necessitated the formation of corporations which included KIMB, IDC and ICDC that led to establishment of industries such as Lamuria Cheese Factory at Naromoru, the Uplands Bacon Factory near Limuru, the KCC at Naivasha and KMC at Athi River where livestock was sold for production of canned meat mostly for export since its establishment in 1950 (Bates, 2005). The Colonial Government encouraged enterprising Europeans to engage in the manufacturing and processing industry for production of goods mainly for export. Aforementioned agricultural goods and livestock products like butter, bacon, cheese, pork, mutton and wool were produced in plenty. These livestock products alone contributed 10% of Kenya's GDP. There also occurred many establishments for the repair of machinery and equipment by mid 1950. Some settlers at this time practiced both land cultivation and ranching as exemplified by Mr. Alexander George Francis Drogo Montagu nicknamed Mendy by natives. He was born on 2 October 1902 and served in the Royal Navy as

Commander until his resignation in 1930. He moved to Kenya in 1946 and became His Grace the Tenth Duke of Manchester in 1947. In Britain, Mr. Montagu belonged to a high political class known as the Peerage of Great Britain and was classified in the, OBE, status. In Kenya, The Duke of Manchester acquired an estate of 10,000 acres that stretched up to the top of Cherangani Hills where his magnificent mansion was built. Montagu possessed this estate under the British Immigration Scheme established after World War 1. He died on 23 Nov. 1977 and in Britain; he was still recognized as the owner of Kapsirowa Farm in Trans Nzoia Kenya (Manchester Tenth Duke, 1989).

George Wanjala Simiyu, recalled in an interview held at Mito Mbili Farm on 18 Sept, 2018, that Mr. Montagu had a permanent smile on his face. He sometimes used a horse to patrol his Farm. While picking mushrooms with his sister in a bush near their home, Mr. Montagu appeared. He packed his horse walked over to them greeted them with a smile, took them a snap with mushrooms in their feeble hands and left. His former labourers talked well of him. Years later, when Mr. Simiyu was an adult, he visited his uncle who worked on Mr. Montagu's compound as a grounds man. When he looked around, Mr. Simiyu admired the entire display and decorations that befitted the Duke's home: To the left side of the main gate, were stalls for horses which caretakers brushed with water and soap once a week. There was a bell that controlled both labourers and horses. The horses were well trained to respond to the bell as in Ivan Pavlov's classical conditioning theory where trained dogs responded to the bell and salivated for meat. He saw beautiful flowers of all kinds and four ponds with fish under caretakers. The house was big with a shiny wooden floor. There were many rooms, each with its own wall colour. There was a well maintained garden with a wide range of fruits including avocado and oranges among others. A beautiful vegetable garden consisted of onions, carrots, cabbages and many more, including a species that looked purple. Labourers in every department worked under a foreman. He came into direct contact with workers when greeting or taking them snaps. He was a friendly man who upheld dignity for himself and others. The whole estate was under a European fulltime manager because the Duke

was accustomed to staying in Kenya for 6 months and in Manchester for another 6 months in a year. The farm had sufficient machinery and manpower. The compound was supplied with water, pumped from Chepkaitit River and a generator for lighting.

Mr. Montagu was interested in the education of the African children; he therefore donated land and brick buildings that became Kapsirowa Primary School in 1958. It was the second school in the area after St. Marys Kibuswa that was began by the Roman Catholic Fathers for squatter children in 1932. The long distance that children were covering from Montagu's farm to St. Marys Kibuswa Primary School was greatly reduced. His labourers were happy with him. Unfortunately Montagu lost his voice during his last years and only communicated in whispers and gestures. In the 1980s, His Excellency President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi made former Montagu's houses a State Lodge.

1952 marked the widest rift between peasants and the colonial regime. Under the ALDEV program, soil conservation methods were still practiced. Land terracing was compulsory. Peasants were forced to work six days in every three months on communal schemes and soil conservation projects. Policemen were deployed to enforce these measures since 1946 under the Agriculture Department which became unpopular and failed in 1952. The Nationalist Movements converged into a powerful force against the Colonial State. The intervention of the Imperial State resulted into gradual erosion of settler powers because settlers were unable to suppress peasant militancy that was ravaging European economy. The Imperial State equally faced difficulty since Agriculture, which was the backbone of the economy, drew labour from peasants who were unwilling to fully commit themselves into forced labour of the oppressors. While Europeans were protecting themselves against another economic decline, peasants were consolidating their numerical strength to continue fighting for freedom (Kaggia, 1975).

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the examination of the mutual impact between colonization and peasantization in Trans Nzoia

between 1920 and 1970, Peasants were engaged in forced labour and low wages that were heavily taxed. Furthermore, while the colonizers possessed large tracks of land that supported plantation farming, the peasants owned nothing in Trans Nzoia in a span of 50 years. In fact, the colonizers exploited African man power with an aim of generating maximum returns from their agricultural investments. In essence the settlers replaced the African Economy of Affection with their economic policies which increased wealth generation for themselves as owners of Factors of Production. The mutual impact that exhibited itself during this period drew a distinct boundary between colonizers as one economically Powerful Group that oppressed the less fortunate Africans in Trans Nzoia for five decades

The recommendations proposed by the study revolved around Kenya's political class which formulates national policies that facilitate development. Peasants in Trans Nzoia need material and technological aid from the national and county Government. Material needs such as subsidized farm inputs and tools building materials and infrastructure will raise their standards of living. Small and Medium Level Enterprises can be initiated to guarantee desirable returns to the peasants. Social systems such as learning institutions, Hospitals, Corporate and financial institutions will help in equating them with other middle level citizens. Linkages and partnerships will be enhanced through technology that will enable peasants to access both social and mass media which in turn, will promote knowledge and skills necessary for trade, education, hygiene and environmental care (United Nations publication, (2005).

#### REFERENCES

- [1] Amsden, A.H. (1971). *International firms and labour in Kenya, 1945-1970*. London: Routledge and Taylor Francis Group.
- [2] Bates, R.H. (2005). *The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya*. London: University of California.
- [3] Broomfield, G.W. (1943). *Colour conflict: Race Relation in Africa, p15*. London: Faber and Faber Limited 24 Russell Square.
- [4] Clayton, A. & Savage, D.C. (1974). *Government and labour in Kenya 1894-1963*. London: Franc Cass and Company LTD.
- [5] Good, K. (1976). *Settler colonialism: Economic development and class formation*. (Journal of Modern African Studies) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [6] Huxley, E. & Perham, M. (1942). *Race and Politics in Kenya*. London: Faber and Faber LTD 24 Russell Square.
- [7] KNA: Annual Report of the Land and Agricultural Bank, 1944.
- [8] KNA: Director of Agriculture to Chief Secretary, 1940.
- [9] Labour Department of Kenya, 1950
- [10] Manchester Tenth Duke of, in *Who Was Who 1971-1980*. London: A&C Black Publisher, 1989 reprint.
- [11] Matheson, J.K. & Bovill, E.W. (1950). *East African Agriculture*. London: Oxford University Press
- [12] Robinson, R. Gallagher, J.A. (1961). *Africa and the Victorians: the official mind of imperialism*. London: Macmillan.
- [13] Rockler, J. R. (1976). *Mathu of Kenya: Political Study*. Michigan: Hoover Institution Press.
- [14] Simiyu, V.G. (1997). *Elijah Masinde*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- [15] SKMIR January 1943 in correspondence with KNA: PC/NZA/3/1/446.
- [16] Sunday Post, 15th June, 1941.
- [17] United Nations publication, (2005). Report of the International Meeting to Review the Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, Port Louis, Mauritius, 10-14 (Sales No. E.05.II.A.4 and corrigendum), chap. I, resolution 1, annex II.
- [18] Vassey, E.A. (1950). Report on African Housing in townships and Trading Centers.
- [19] Wiper, A. (1977). *Rural Rebels (A Study of Two Protest Movements in Kenya)*: PP 171,224,229.
- [20] (Secretary Agricultural Production, 1946)