

THE RELOCATION OF THE LEUASO DOROBO OF KENYA:  
**REPORT AND CORRESPONDENCE**

**INTRODUCTION**

Amanda Hill, 15 April 1999  
Archivist,  
Rhodes House,  
S. Parks Road,  
Oxford OX1 3RG

Dear Ms Hill,

Report and correspondence on the Leuaso Dorobo of N. Kenya

Further to our telephone conversation last week, I enclose the above document which you may find suitable for your collection.

As I mentioned, I undertook this survey during my period of research among the Samburu (1957-60) at the request of the District Commissioner Samburu. I kept what correspondence I had on this matter, but after submitting the report, the whole issue passed on to other hands and I lost sight of it, although I was told that the report had led the administration to rescind an earlier decision to relocate the Leuaso.

In 1995, Lee Cronk (Dept of Anthropology, Texas A & M University) wrote to me, saying that he had found documents relating to this problem, but the report itself and some earlier correspondence was missing. I therefore sent him a copy of my file and he responded by sending me a copy of his. Thus, at last Lee and I have a more or less comprehensive collection on this topic that does not appear to be housed anywhere else, including the Nairobi archives. It is a copy of this that I enclose.

My apologies for the state of the report. My finances were such that I had to reuse carbon paper beyond its useful life, and fire had reduced my typewriter to a working ruin (I had to resolder the letters back in position and used an iron cow bell at the end of a strand of giraffe tail as a substitute for the carriage spring). I miss all that now.

With Best wishes,

(Professor) Paul Spencer

## **THE BRIEFING**

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER  
SAMBURU DISTRICT  
P.O. MARALAL (via RUMURUTI)

LND. 16/1/Vol II/29 23rd November, 1959

Paul Spencer Esq ,  
WAMBA.

Dear Paul,

I write to ask if you would kindly undertake for us a small task which is entirely up your street,

2. There are in Mukogodo a number of Nderobo of the II Uaso section. The P.O. Central Province maintains that this section originated from Samburu District and should properly be returned here. We maintain that (although we have, of course, II Uaso of our own) the section along the Uaso on both sides of the river, at least as much in Laikipia and in Mukogodo as here; and there is no reason why, on historical grounds, we should be saddled with them.

3. The P.O. Rift Valley Province would be very grateful if you could, before Christmas, spend a couple of weeks in Mukogodo and report on the origin of these people; and also on whether or not the various sections inhabiting Mukogodo are, in fact, so intermingled that the II Uaso can no longer reasonably be regarded as a separate entity.

4. If you can undertake this, you should call on the D.C. Nanyuki to get this brief cleared before entering Mukogodo.

Yours

Charles Chenevix Trench  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER,  
MARALAL

Copy to:- Provincial Commissioner,  
Rift Valley Province,  
NAKURU

CPCT/AMC

DISTRICT

OFFICER-IN-CHARGE,  
DISTRICT OFFICER-IN-CHARGE,  
MUKOGODO  
OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER  
P.O. Box 11,  
MUK/ADM/12/23 NANYUKI, KENYA

18th December, 1959

P. Spencer Esq ,  
c/o District Officer,  
MUKOGODO

#### ILE UASO

Reference your request for information.

The Ile Uaso should return to Samburu on the following grounds:

#### A. HISTORICAL.

Ile Uaso were originally Rumuruti (R.V. ) inhabitants near Narok removed to Samburu on white settlement, or squatting in farms instead of going.

Their infiltration to the Ndigiri bank is relatively recent - 11 years. Formerly removed to Samburu 1935.

#### B. ETHNIC

Their connexion with Laikipiak Masai above developed so that they became mainly Masai in custom. There is relatively very little in intermarriage with the Ndorobo of this area. They have always been regarded by locals as a separate community. They are reputedly closely connected with Leroghi Dorobo. They are reputed to have migrated to Mukogodo illegally when grazing control began in Leroghi and did so to avoid the new measures, (e.g. Lesarara, ex-Court Elder then headman in Samburu came in 1951.)

#### C. RELATIONS WITH NDIGIRI

1. Owing to their character the Ile Uaso have never settled down to discipline in Central Province. They are situated ideally to:

(a) Raid Farms in Rumuruti.

(b) Raid Farms in Nanyuki generally west of the Uaso.

(c) Infiltrate through Kirimun and Rumuruti farms to increase illegally moved stock from Samburu. Recently 400 stock were turned back in route by Samburu authorities

2. (a) Some 15 moran are now reputed to be in gaol for stock theft (not

censured plus two on remand at least).

(b) The section now owes some 12,000/- fines in the last 12 months to be collected. 1957 - 8 fines remain to be calculated.

(c) Because they call themselves Ndorobo the other septes get a bad name when Uaso are caught thieving or trespassing.

(d) The Ndigiri have asked for their removal of all Uaso lock, stock and barrel.

(e) The stock now is equal to or outnumbers Ndigiri herds and at the present rate of increase would overwhelm them.

(f) They are at present confined to two uncontrolled grazing blocks which are therefore precluded for Ndigiri controlled grazing and enjoyment. These blocks deteriorate rapidly on such a scale of grazing. This tends to drive the Ile Uaso over the river to trespass in Rumuruti on settler's grass.

(g) Useless elders do not control anarchic moran. In parenthesis, of all liars in the area (everybody) I find the Uaso the least plausible in or out of court. Now even the tolerant Ndigiri etc are fed up with them.

#### D. THEFTS.

In 1958-9 most Ndorobo thieves were identified as Uaso. No other Ndorobo section certainly has been accused of theft in Rumuruti and de Batard's Police areas.

In certain cases the Uaso were staging posts for Leroghi Dorobo or Pisigishu to pass through. In two cases Uaso elders swore the thieves (Uaso) had been in Lerogi for the last year including the time of theft (see above g. ).

The Uaso do NOT seem to involve themselves in thefts v. Ndigiri etc , and specialise on easy prey in European farms. As some of these never report loss it is thought that they contain relatives giving 'may leaves' to thieves. Nordo they care to get involved against belligerent Somalis next door.

E. THERE IS A STEADY TRAFFIC from Leroghi to the Uaso: though no census figures are guaranteed 1392 cattle in 1958 became 3678 in 1959 (see C.c. above). This route, to avoid Somalis, is invariably through quarantines in Rumuruti.

The Kirimun incident Sept. 1959 (700 cattle trespassing). The return of 400 later from Edwards and other incidents suggest that the Uaso still regard Uaso (left) bank as their better home and they do not necessarily believe their Ndigiri sojourn to be permanent. This had been made clear to them by Mr Worthy and myself.

F. It has been agreed with the Ministry of African Affairs that the Uaso must move back to Samburu. The destocking of the section would probably be prior to the move in the 1960 long rains should there be no quarantine. This decision, I hope, is irrevocable, but the mechanics of destocking are under investigation (Operation THOTH).

J. Rowlands

JSSR/STW.  
MUKOGODO

DISTRICT OFFICER,

c.c. The District Commissioner,  
P.O. Box 11,  
NANYUKI.

The Assistant Superintendent Of Police,  
P.O. Box 33,  
NANYUKI.

## THE REPORT [copy of the barely legible original]

### THE DOROBO OF NORTHERN KENYA

#### Part One: Ethnography.

From the time that the first Europeans visited the area to the present, observers have noted that the Dorobo tribes have social relations with certain neighbouring pastoral and agricultural ones. Thomson (visiting the area in 1883) writes that they are 'a small race of people scattered over Masai-land' who 'always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting eager to exchange vegetable food for game.' 'They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai,' 'They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require' (by buying it from the Kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai - probably for goats). There is also evidence in the early literature of social mobility between tribes, especially between the Dorobo and others (e.g. Chanler pp 281, 374; Neumann pp246, 267, 291; Stigand p 78). This literature and my own field data suggests that this state of affairs has continued for an indefinitely long period. It is a familiar topic both in tribal myth and in current events.

Without stock or agriculture the Dorobo had virtually no possessions and were driven to take whatever chances presented themselves for subsistence. VonHohnel writes 'The word Dorobbo means in Masai language poor folk without cattle or other possessions.' ( vol i, p 260) and Donaldson Smith writes 'I use the Masai term "wandorobbo" to designate the poor of any tribe, who live by hunting and fishing.' (p 303).

Since the time of these earliest visitors it has often been assumed that the Masai and other tribes were originally pure blooded and only started to intermarry quite recently i.e. at the time that these first observers saw it happening. I do not wish to deny that there are certain tribes which appear to be of different stock (e.g. some of those people still living in the Matthews Range and the Ndotos) or who have a different language and culture altogether (e.g , until recently the Elmolo and the Mukogodo). It does, however, seem false to assume that the pastoral tribes only recently formed symbiotic relations with hunting hordes or that either sort are or ever have been pure blooded.

Map 1 shows the approximate distribution of the major tribes (in faint red) and the Dorobo hordes in 1900. Just before this time two events are important. The first is the utter defeat of the Laikipiak (Masai speaking) tribe by the Purko Masai, and the second is the rinderpest epidemic that practically annihilated the Samburu cattle. I believe both of these to have occurred in the 1880's: the very oldest men alive just remember them to have happened when they were small children.

In the notes that follow, certain hordes are described as Laikipiak Dorobo, Samburu Dorobo etc. This is their own description of themselves and refers to

the tribe (e.g. the Laikipiak, the Samburu, etc) with which they maintain they once formed a symbiotic relationship, exchanging skins, honey, horns, and ivory for goats. Such ties would be useful to pastoralists if epidemic or defeat resulted in the total loss of stock and the survivors had to turn to some other means of livelihood, and on occasion a Dorobo would be able to ally himself to a group of pastoralists and become a pastoralist himself.

Dorobo Hordes about 1900. ( Refer to Map 1).

Loliin - also known as Coliin. Laikipiak Dorobo. Had bee-hives at Olpiroi and Ilbukoi. These are probably the Dorobo that Neumann and Chanler met in the 1890s.

Qlkerenye - closely associated with Loliin and sometimes also referred to as Loliin. Had bee-hives in the Karissia Hills and are also known as Lekerisia.

Eremoto - Laikipiak Dorobo. Mainly found to west of Leroghi. Had bee-hives on the Tinga river.

Lorkoti - Laikipiak Dorobo. Did not cultivate bees to any extent, would alternate between Ngelesha and Amaya

Lemarmar - Laikipiak Dorobo. Lived at Marmanet and Siron. No bees. Badly defeated by the Purko. Chief Leratia is a Lemarmar.

Dondoli. Laikipiak Dorobo. Lived other side of Solai. Had no bees. Associated closely with Purko after defeat of Laikipiak,

Lesupukia. Lived close to Dondoli and associated with them. Had no bees. Associated closely with Purko. Informants are generally vague as to the exact territories of Dondoli and Lesupukia. No actual members of these have been met.

Leuaso - Laikipiak Dorobo. Had beehives along the Uaso Ngiro from Kirimun to Lase Rumuru. The centre of their territory was the fork of the Uaso Ngiro and the Uaso Narok. Mainly inhabited the east bank.

Lngwesi - Since before historical record they associated closely with the Meru on the northern slopes of Mount Kenya. They were probably the Dorobo that Neumann refers to at Katheri. They maintain that previously they associated with the Laikipiak and only formed ties with the Meru recently. They believe they have always spoken Maasai. Had no bees. Since advent of Europeans have moved from and to and again from Meru reserve, and have thus retained close ties with Meru.

There is a vague tradition that the Lngwesi Dorobo (also called Lemwesi) and the Lngwesi (section) of the Samburu had a common origin among the Laikipiak and that long ago a part split off and became Samburu. A number of informants believe that the tradition sprang up simply because of the similarity in names;

this is very likely..

Ndigiri - call themselves Laikipiak Dorobo and believe they have always spoken Masai. They did, however closely associate with the Kikuyu at Nyeri and later the Purko Masai. A part of them may even be the middlemen to which Thomson refers. Had no bees, and when ousted from their original territory by Europeans had to hunt far and wide for game. Seem to have confirmed any previously existing links with Masai during this period.

Lana t - Laikipiak Dorobo. Had no bees, except possibly on Lolokwi where Chanler met them and Laishamunye. Also hunted over a wide area - probably the Dorobo met by Donaldson Smith at Laisamis. After the defeat of the Laikipiak in the 1880s they associated closely with the Samburu and became fully incorporated as a clan of Lpisikishu section.

Suiei - Laikipiak Dorobo of the Matthews Range. Partly because of their inaccessibility they did not associate with the Samburu after the defeat of the Laikipiak and have only recently adopted such items of Samburu culture as their age-set system (about 1920).

Of these original Laikipiak Dorobo, Dondoli and Lesupukia subsequently associated with the Purko, Lngwesi with the Meru, and Ndigiri with the Kikuyu and Purko, and Lanat and ultimately Suiei with the Samburu. These hordes were only Laikipiak by tradition, but there is no reason to doubt the basic truth in this. Informants point to certain families (notably Loibursikireshi , chief Lepuiapui's family, now in Suiei) and clearly state that these immigrated from cattle-owning Laikipiak clans while others had been Dorobo before this time.

Lengjro - Samburu Dorobo. According to legend the core of these were originally Boran Dorobo living on Mount Ngiro and having bee-hives there. When the Samburu invaded the area from the south, the Boran fled and the Dorobo remained. They now have become fully incorporated into Samburu - Lmasula section. It is worth noting that at Ngiro there are some distinctly un-Samburu artefacts (jars and stools) still in use which may, in fact, be of Boran origin. No-one today speaks Boran or knows how to make these, but they maintain that their grandfathers and some fathers did both. Judging from legend and assuming age-sets to have had an average period of 14 years, this invasion could have taken place about 1840. The Lmasula of Ngiro are still thought to have superior knowledge on a number of ritual matters (esp. Lesepe) and are consulted frequently. This knowledge is thought to derive from the Boran.

Lkerna – Samburu Dorobo. A branch of Lorogushu section who lost their stock from rinderpest and became bee-keeping Dorobo who also hunted. Associated closely with the Lmasula of Ngiro. Today, although ritually and jurally still members of Lorogushu section, they are socially closer to Lmasula. They inhabited the Ndotos.

Werkile - Samburu Dorobo. A group of Loimusi section who also became Dorobo on the Ndotos, but did not cultivate bees extensively. They have not

associated closely with Lmasula.

Laidotok – General name for the Dorobo of the Ndotos, including Lkerna and Werkile and also a few others who may be one of the famous 'aboriginal races', but are fast becoming incorporated into Samburu society.

Mukogodo – A Dorobo horde originally inhabiting the Mukogodo Mountains and cultivating bees. Until recently they had a language of their own which does not seem to be related to any known tongue of northern Kenya. Since beginning of the century the Mukogodo have associated closely with the Mumonyot - a defeated Laikipiak clan or a tribe closely associated with the Laikipiak. This association appears to have taken place in two stages. 1. The Mumonyot were stockless after their defeat and had to resort to hunting and gathering where they first came into close contact with the Mukogodo. 2. Perhaps about 1905, the Mumonyot began acquire cattle again. They then married a number of Mukogodo girls in exchange for cattle and taught the Mukogodo how to manage cattle. During this period the Mukogodo began to learn. Masai, which language they speak today.

Elmolo (proper) - This tribe which fishes on the south-western [sic] shores of Lake Rudolf may be broadly termed a Dorobo tribe. Its main symbiotic relationship is with the Rendille who give goats in return for sandals and whips made from hippopotamus hide and for medical services. Paradoxically the tribe changed its language about 1900 from one of a Hamitic type having a number of words in common with Boran and Rendille to Masai ( Samburu dialect) although the Samburu did not in general treat the Elmolo with any respect and would raid it on occasion. It seems possible however that these raids did not take place before the change-over in language occurred and a firm symbiotic relationship may have been previously formed.

Elmolo ( Samburu) - After the rinderpest epidemic of the last century a number of Samburu turned to fishing on Lake Rudolf north of Porr. This was possibly one factor which resulted in the Elmolo proper changing their language. If marriage took place between the two tribes then it would only be to a limited extent.

There is considerable contradiction in the accounts of the early travellers about the Elmolo tribe and enormous fluctuation in estimates of population. This can be resolved if it is realised that Elmolo was a term, used to refer generally to the fishers on the eastern shores of Lake Rudolf and that many of these (e.g. the Samburu and Reshiat) were only temporary and even seasonal fishers. Different writers seem to have come into contact with different groups. I would guess that only Neumann and Maud (of these earliest writers) actually came into contact with the Elmolo proper. Neumann's remarks on the distinction between the Elmolo proper and the Samburu Elmolo are probably absolutely correct, but this is a distinction which later writers (e.g. Fuchs) overlooked and this has led to general confusion. The Elmolo described by vonHohnel and Donaldson Smith on the south of Lake Rudolf were almost certainly Samburu Elmolo.

Elmolo (Reshiat) - these are the Elmolo described by the early writers as fishing in Alia Bay half-way up Lake Rudolf. From various sources one gathers that the Elmolo of Alia Bay tended to migrate north to the Reshiat country to help in the harvest (vonHohnel, vol ii p 212) and to return to fish in the bay in time of famine ( Neumann p 274) or cattle epidemic (Donaldson Smith p 294). When Stigand passed along the shore in 1909 there were no Elmolo in Alia Bay (Stigand pp 192-3) and I believe none have been reported there since then.

( Ltudaani - Reputed to have been Laikipiak Dorobo who were utterly routed by the Purko when they defeated the Laikipiak. It is thought that a considerable fragment is now in the Masai Reserve. They lived and kept bees at one time between Seiya (Swiyeni) and Barsalinga.).

Since 1900 there has been more migration between these hordes and neighbouring tribes, but there are still certain groups which consider themselves to be the hard core of these 1900 hordes. The present disposition is as follows: Loliin, Olkerenye, Eremoto, Lorkoti, Lemarmar, Dondoli and Lesupukia are all represented in the Dorobo reserve on Leroghi, referred to below as the Leroghi Dorobo whose area is marked on Map 1. I believe they were confined here in the 1930s. Other members are probably in the Masai Reserve. Individuals have been absorbed by several Samburu sections: Loliin, still living in the Ilpiroi area, by Lmasula, Eremoto by Lorogushu, Lorkoti by Lpisikishu and Olkerenye by Lmasula and Lpisikishu. N.B. These are hordes who were in the area when the Samburu moved onto Leroghi between 1914 and 1919. The list of incorporations could no doubt be extended considerably. They are not all fully integrated into these sections and tend to abstain from general social and ritual life and to perform their ceremonies (e.g. circumcision) with the Leroghi Dorobo.

[\[Re- Map 1. See Nomads in Alliance \(1976: 151\) for an elaboration of the original of this map\]](#)

Leuaso, Lngwesi, Ndigiri and Mukogodo (and Mumonyot) are all in the Mukogodo Reserve administered from Doldol and separated from the Samburu District by the Somali leasehold: the Leuaso and Mukogodo still have their original bee-culture, but only individuals of the other hordes (referred to below as sections) have started to cultivate bees. All the above ex-Laikipiak hordes acknowledge an age-set system which appears to be closely related to the Masai system, and not very similar to the Samburu system. The Mukogodo Dorobo, following their Mumonyot neighbours, have now adopted this system. The area administered from Doldol is referred to below as the Doldol reserve inhabited by Doldol Dorobo. This is to avoid confusion with the Mukogodo section who have their own area and members within that reserve.

These Dorobo sections could probably change relatively easily from acknowledging one age-set system (the Masai) to another (the Samburu). This is because the two systems are sufficiently alike and also because the Dorobo conform so loosely to the norms of their age-set system that the fine differences between the Samburu and the Masai systems would hardly be acknowledged. They do not, for instance, have an elaborate series of ceremonies during the moranhood of each age-set as do the Masai and the Samburu. Apart from, the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between Masai and Samburu age-sets, the reason that neither Leroghi nor Doldol Dorobo have adopted the Samburu age-set system, is surely because contact between the two societies is limited. Individual members from these groups have been absorbed by the Samburu, but only as individuals and these have to adopt what they consider to be their equivalent Samburu age-set. Suiei, cut off from the other Dorobo groups, eventually followed the Samburu age-set system and Lanat associated closely with the Samburu at the end of the last century, has become fully incorporated. A sharp social barrier tends to divide the Leroghi and Doldol Dorobo from the remainder of Samburu.

A definite pattern emerges from these notes and it suggests that for an indefinite period, many of these Dorobo hordes:

1. have joined in a symbiotic relationship with certain neighbouring tribes.
2. have spoken the same language as these tribes and observed some of their customs e.g. acknowledgement of a common age-set system.
3. have to a certain extent intermarried with these tribes and have permitted individuals of these tribes to enter their horde while, at other times, individuals - and even groups - have become members of the pastoral tribe: putative examples of this have been collected over the last four generations - no-one knows what happened before this.

It seems possible that these same principles are generally true of the Dorobo hordes of the south and the Masai, of the Ogiek and the Nandi, of the Wata and the Galla. A number of changes of language have been reported e.g. the Elmolo to Samburu, the Mukogodo to Masai, and also a number of Dorobo tribes of Tanganyika to Masai (Maguire) and, I believe, a number of Ogiek to Nandi (Huntingford). A recurrent feature is that with a fresh invasion the pastoral tribes are either scattered or absorbed or driven to a new area, whereas the Dorobo hordes tend to remain in their former territory where a. they may be absorbed (e.g. Lengiro, Lanat) b. they may retain a certain degree of separateness e.g. Suiei who still speak a purer form of Masai than the Samburu, c. they may retain their Dorobo characteristics but enter into a new symbiotic relationship with their new neighbours e.g. as the Ndigiri did with the Masai at one time and as they may previously have done with the Kikuyu, as the Mukogodo have done

with the Mumonyot and as countless hordes of Dorobo of the Laikipia area have done with European settlers. It may be that absorption and symbiosis are the main conditions for Dorobo tribes to change their customs and language. A collection of these earlier languages as made by Maguire (some Dorobo hordes of Tanganyika), the District Officer Doldol (Mukogodo) or myself (Elmolo) does not necessarily give a clue to some aboriginal race of East Africa, but it may give some clue as to the previous associations of these hordes.

This general pattern seems to suggest that ties to one particular area are more important to the hunting and gathering tribes than to the purely pastoral ones. There may be several reasons for this: a. because an intimate knowledge of the countryside is more essential to a hunter and collector than to a pastoralist, b. because honey cultures can only be developed over a number of years, c. because these Dorobo hordes felt a greater security in their inaccessible territories. In the past it is likely that after a tactical defeat, the pastoral tribes would prefer to migrate a long distance to retain a certain degree of compactness than to face utter defeat by remaining in a weak position. Dorobo who tended to live in small inaccessible hordes and who offered no real prize to raiders would not have to face this problem. When the Masai were removed from Laikipia to their southern reserve in 1913, it was the Dorobo hordes who in general evaded the move, and created a recurrent problem for the administration which still exists today. The above notes suggest that this evasion is no more than an example of the wider pattern.

None of these tribes are officially allowed to hunt today and they have all acquired considerable numbers of stock. They are nevertheless still regarded by the Samburu as Dorobo for other reasons than their recent history. It is necessary to look further than to the definitions suggested by vonHohnel and Donaldson Smith

The most vivid contrast between the Samburu and these Dorobo hordes is in their recruitment. Samburu is divided into eight exogamous sections. If a man migrates from another tribe or horde and wishes to become a full member of one of these sections, then he associates closely with this section, but he does not marry into this section: he marries from, it into another section and he does not give his sisters or daughters to this section as wives. If he does choose to marry into the section, then he places himself as an affine - an outsider - and his own children by that marriage as the children of a girl of that section. His children or his children's children might be permitted to marry into this section so long as they marry into a branch which is only distantly related to his own wife, but so long as they continue to rely on this section for their wives they continue to place themselves and to some extent their children in the position of outsiders. Only after several generations of marriage outside that section and with a clear understanding that they will not in future marry into it, can they enjoy the jural benefits of membership. These benefits include reliance on other members for material help (e.g. gifts of cattle) during a time of hardship and exercise of sanctions with full moral support of the section following some personal and

justified grudge against another person. A man who associates with a clan and marries into it delays the time at which his family can enjoy these jural privileges and security by at least one generation. Male captives in war would automatically become members of their capturer's section and marry from it, and female captives would be married into other sections as if they were sisters or daughters.

Recruitment into a Dorobo follows a different pattern. A man consolidates his position in that horde by marrying close kinswomen of his closest associates and by giving his daughters to these persons. He exploits these ties to obtain privileges: for instance among the bee cultivating hordes who divided their territory into areas (often hills) owned by individual families (e.g., Suiei, Lengiro, Mukogodo, but not Leuaso) he would obtain concessions to put his own bee-hives on their hills in certain trees. Fundamental social ties are not between clansmen who do not intermarry, but between affines and cognatic kinsmen. The only exogamous group is the family of several - perhaps two - generations depth. It would be dangerous to make such a generalization for all these Dorobo hordes, but this was my distinct impression among the Elmolo, Suiei and Leuaso; the Mukogodo, Lngwesi and Ndigiri recognised it as their own pattern when asked, and the Masula of Ngiro, despite their full incorporation into Samburu society, certainly show significant traces of it. It seems to be a feature common to many small societies with limited outside communications.

The term Dorobo may be defined in terms of social behaviour. The main Samburu criticism of the Dorobo is that they marry their 'sisters'. This shows complete lack of decency. Their behaviour generally falls short of the expected standards of the Samburu. The Samburu elder whom I took with me to the Doldol reserve has now returned with a collection of shocking tales to tell everyone else. He would be offered one cup of milk but the host would never ask him if he would like another. A complete stranger showed undue familiarity by taking his stool from him. One night he was offered a completely empty hut to sleep in.

These are mainly differences in degree, but they are degrees which are very important to the Samburu. So long as they have social contact with such tribes, they have some standard with which to compare their own norms of behaviour. The Dorobo are no longer hunters, but they still marry their own sisters, show too much familiarity and too little respect, and they do not honour the obligations of hospitality to the same extent as the Samburu. They are still Dorobo.

The difference in degree may be summed up as follows. In so far as an institution, e.g. an age-set system, does not result in conformity with certain expected forms of behaviour or does not stipulate these expectations, this institution can be said not to exist. It does, however, exist among the Dorobo hordes, but to a lesser degree, and the Samburu elder judges others according to the extent to which he [sic] conforms with expected standards of behaviour. The Masula of Ngiro are called Samburu in so much as they belong to a Samburu

section, conform with the norms of the age-set system and intermarry to some extent with other Samburu sections. But when it is pointed out that they still marry to a very large extent within their own section, that they tend to avoid the obligations due to an age-mate, and that their daughters are notoriously self-willed, there is always one verdict - they are Dorobo.

The view that the Dorobo represent an aboriginal race of hunters and the Masai, Samburu etc a pure race of invaders is misleading and probably false. It is far more profitable to speak of pure Samburu (and presumably pure Masai) with reference to an ideal society in which there is 100% conformity with certain norms of behaviour. In a similar way pure or true Dorobo can better be thought of as describing an ideal society in which there is conformity to other norms of behaviour, such as in-marriage, avoiding nominal obligations and permitting great freedom to women. These two ideal societies do not exist, but represent the extremes of a scale in which, for instance, Samburu and Rendille approach in reality one end of the scale, the Lmasula of Ngiro are somewhere near the middle and various Dorobo hordes approach the other end of the scale. In each society there are individuals who may appear slightly eccentric, and this can in many cases be represented by an eccentric position on this scale.

It is well-known that the Masai have a myth of descent from an original ancestor, but on the basis of my Samburu material it seems far more likely that this is an expression of their corporate unity as a nation having one set of social ideals, rather than a statement of fact. That their social purity is translated by them into a myth of racial purity should not tempt observers to confuse myth with reality.

## **Part Two. The Doldol Dorobo.**

My recent visit to the Doldol reserve was primarily to gather information on the Leuaso Dorobo in order to determine whether the recent decision to remove them to Samburu District was justified or not. Map 2 shows the official distribution of the various sections in the area and Table 1 shows the sizes of these areas (my own estimate) and the numbers of tax payers. There is no area officially allotted to the Mumonyot who tend to live in Mukogodo area outside the forest reserve. The area  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  on the map is at present occupied by 57 tax-payers and their families awaiting removal to the Masai reserve. Area  $M_1$  is to be given to the Ndigiri and  $M_2$ , I believe, to the Mukogodo.

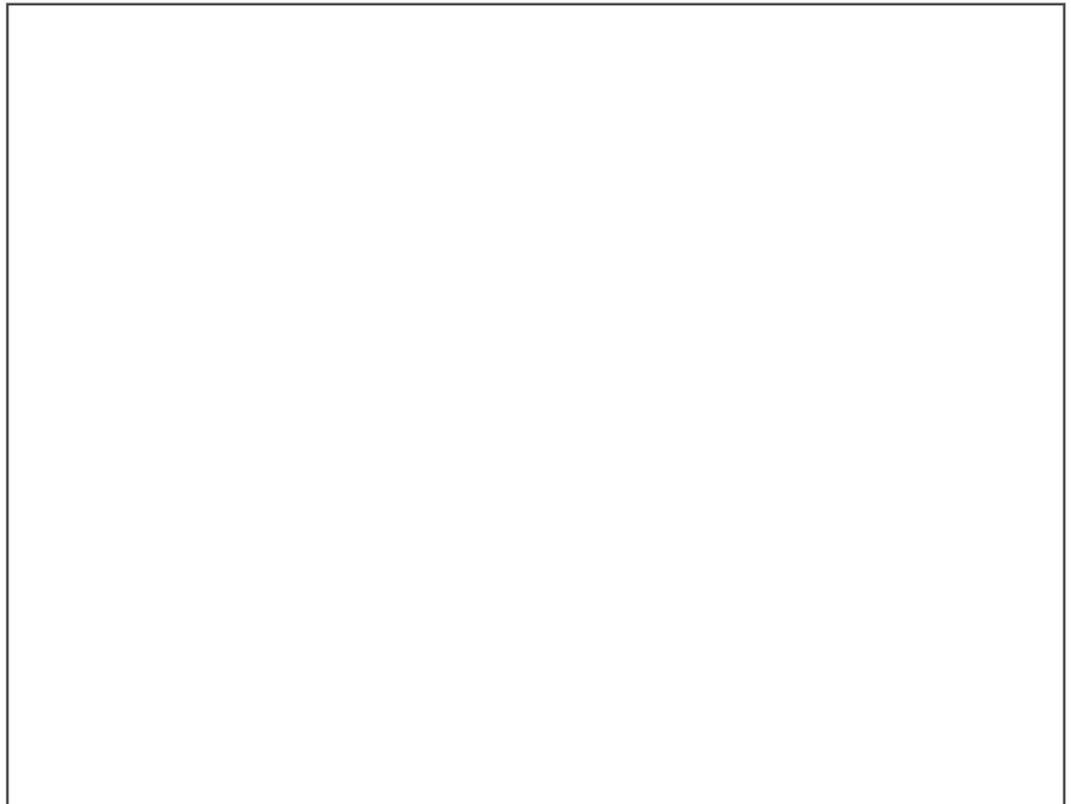


Table 1. Tax-paying strength and area of Doldol Sections

Section	Tax strength (1959)	Tax strength [square miles]	Estimated area density	Population
Leuaso	97	36.9	2.63	
Ndigiri	171	82.0	2.08	
Mukogodo	109	)		
	)	201.8	1.13	
Mumonyot	119	)		
Lngwesi	187	80.1	2.34	
Total 683 (Masai)	57		11.7	

#### Mr Worthy's Report.

Mr Worthy, the former District Officer, Doldol, wrote a report on the various tribal groups of his reserve including those recently removed from the district. This report has formed the basis of recent administrative policy in the reserve.

Mr Worthy is a firm advocate of the pure Masai - true Dorobo approach. It would be unfair to assert that this has led him to initiate a policy which is wholly misdirected and ill-conceived, but it has, I think, clouded certain issues, particularly with regard to the Mumonyot and the Leuaso Dorobo. Mr Worthy would, I think, if he could, separate out all pure tribal groups from when they apparently began to mix – about 1890 – and send each one to its appropriate area in Kenya leaving only the true Dorobo at Doldol. He has great difficulty in knowing where to draw the line and tries to do so at a point in time as early as known history will allow. A bit earlier in fact. This leads to a number of statements which are often questionable and sometimes quite contrary to any other findings. For instance Mr Worthy reports that the Leuaso and Ndigiri once spoke a form of Nandi. I spoke to number of the oldest men in the reserve and did not meet a single one who would acknowledge this, and there was no obvious reason why they should lie. His remarks about the Lngwesi not having cultivated bees in the past might equally well have been applied to the Ndigiri. His remarks about the Ndigiri forming close links with the Kikuyu totally ignored their early links with the Masai - almost certainly much earlier than 1920. Finally, his section on the Leuaso entirely assumes that they are new comers to the area and this forms a basis for the argument that they should go. Some of these are unimportant points, perhaps, but they do suggest that some of Mr Worthy's sources and the accuracy of these sources should be checked before they form the

basis of future important decisions. It is a useful report but it should be accepted with certain reservations.

Mr Worthy traces the history of the area, from the time of the Masai invasions at the end of the eighteenth century to the present. He does not approach the evidence for the early movements at all critically, but simply allows it to lead onto current events with complete assurance and continual allusion to 'origins'. He has confused tribal traditions with actual history. As a result, after removing the most obvious newcomers from the reserve, Mr Worthy is faced with the problem of where to draw the line, but this assumes that a line can be drawn. Are the Mumonyot pure Masai because the bulk of them seem to be descended from a Laikipiak or closely related tribe as he maintains or are they Dorobo because since 1893 they have closely associated with Dorobo lived in one area despite frequent eviction, and for some time actually hunted? Is Ex headman Lesarara a Samburu because his father was a Loliin and he has himself lived for some time in the Samburu District, or is he a Leuaso because he has for a long time associated with the Leuaso and has represented their interests in the past? To an administrator there must be a clear answer to each of these questions, but to a Dorobo the answer is not so clear-cut.

Had Mr Worthy approached the subject more empirically, he would, I think, have started to find a pattern behind recent events in the area and this would have made it easier for him to formulate an administrative policy. Nowhere does he ask the question - what is it about Doldol that attracts people back to it after they have been removed or attracts new outsiders continually.

Dorobo society, with its weakened social discipline in which social obligations as acknowledged by such societies as the Samburu can be evaded, inevitably attracts the dregs from all other societies, including runaway wives, Masai from European farms and other Dorobo, just as it attracted so many of those stockless Laikipiak in the past. A number of those Samburu who have migrated to join the Dorobo are just those eccentrics of Samburu society who come rather low on the Pure-Samburu – True Dorobo scale. Doldol, with its good grazing facilities and relative freedom from cattle diseases has also attracted a number of Samburu from the heavily overgrazed low country. A really 'pure' aboriginal tribe might not necessarily attract such a diverse set of immigrants, but it seems that many of these Dorobo have for a very long time formed extensive relations with different tribes, and hence the influx of Laikipiak, Purko Masai, Ilkeekenyukie Masai, Dalakutuk Masai, Enkidongi Masai, Samburu, Mumonyot, Kikuyu, Meru, and Dorobo from other areas. And they will continue to attract these.

Reasons given for proposed removal of Leuaso Dorobo (MUK/  
ADM/12/13

I propose to discuss each of the reasons given by the District Officer, Doldol, for proposing the removal of the Leuaso

A. HISTORICAL. The D.O. states that 'Ile Uaso were originally Rumuruti (Rift Valley) inhabitants near Narok, removed to Samburu on white settlement, squatting in farms instead of going. Their infiltration to Ndigiri is relatively recent – 11 years. Formerly removed to Samburu in 1935.'

This statement is incorrect. Even Mr Worthy in his report says that only a part of the Leuaso were removed in 1935. Their 'original' habitation - where they still have bee-hives - was both on the left bank of the Uaso Ngiro river (Rift Valley Province) and on the right bank (Northern Frontier Province and Central Province). The main concentration of people is said to have been at the confluence of the Uaso Ngiro and the Uaso Narok, with settlements mainly on the right bank concealed in the cactus forest. On the left bank there is also cactus but it is not so thick and the hills would have made it less easy to conceal themselves from enemy scouts. An informant described to me how, when he was a child, the Samburu Terito age-set passed close by the Leuaso on a raid, but owing to the thick forest did not come across a single settlement. The Terito were moran from 1893 to 1912 (approximately). It is not, then, surprising that vonHohnel passed through the area in 1887 and noted that it was uninhabited, but it is surprising that he did not (I think) notice any bee-hives. If the Leuaso were not in the area in 1887 (a remote possibility) then all evidence suggests that they were there soon after. I was pointed out the remains of a settlement which a man of perhaps fifty maintains he was born. The site has not been occupied since then. Presumably bones of killed game could be collected from the site and dated. Unfortunately I lost the specimen I had collected for the purpose.

Mr Worthy refers to the removal of a part of the Leuaso in 1935 as a result of the Kenya Land Commission Report, Paragraph 811. This paragraph states that.

'There are a few scattered Dorobo in the Laikipia District, notably the Nyambire Dorobo located at the source of the Ainanga' (Amaya?) river and another group on the Uaso Narok. We recommend that they be moved into the Northern Frontier Province, where suitable accommodation should be found for them.'

I suggest that this referred in the second instance to the Leuaso Dorobo who were squatters on farms and not to those Leuaso who were inside the Doldol reserve. The recommendation was probably made in complete ignorance that this group had full tribal rights to the eastern bank of the river (also Northern Frontier Province at the time) or that they had relatives there. The whole enigma of the Leuaso Dorobo seems to stem from the fact that they are not mentioned in the Carter Land Commission Evidence or in the Report, nor apparently in some of the files and statements made prior to the Report which I was allowed to read at Doldol. It seems more probable that the Leuaso on the eastern bank of the river were classified at the time as Ndigiri and that they did not emerge as a separate administrative section for some time, than that there were none present on this bank as the D.O. implies.

The District Commissioner, Maralal, is also mistaken when he admits that

the Samburu have Leuaso Dorobo of their own (Lnd/16/1/vol II/29). The only Dorobo I have met near the Uaso Ngiro inside Samburu are some Eremoto Dorobo, now being absorbed by Lorogushu, and Lanat still inhabiting their former area. These are not, however, Leuaso Dorobo.

B. ETHNIC. [The D.O. continues] ‘Their connexion with Laikipiak Masai above developed so that they have become mainly Masai in custom. There is relatively little inter-marriage with the Ndorobo of this area. They are reputedly closely connected with the Leroghi Dorobo. They are also reputed to have migrated to Mukogodo illegally when grazing control began in Leroghi and did so to avoid new measures. (e.g. Lesarara, ex-Court Elder then headman in Samburu. came in 1951).’

The Lngwesi and Mukogodo also formed close associations with the Laikipiak and the Ndigiri formed close associations with the Purko Masai.

I was asked to look particularly at the extent to which the Leuaso were integrated with other sections. Owing to recent measures enforcing territorial separation of the sections, it was impossible to gain insight into the integration between sections purely from residence choices. I could, however, check on inter-marriage, and Table 2 sums up my findings on this. The Leuaso had previously been told the purpose of my visit and I had to impress on them the importance of their telling me the truth. In order to detect if they were lying I checked up on a random 10 of the 109 recorded marriages with a different informant and did not find a single contradiction. In order that they should not tell me only of marriages with other Doldol sections and omit marriages with Samburu and Leroghi Dorobo. I first asked them, to tell me all the married elders they could think of in each settlement in turn, until they could think of no more.

The marriages of each elder and the section of his mother were recorded in this way and the results divided into marriages in the present generation and marriages in the previous generation. Marriages in the previous generation were not duplicated so that if a man had a full brother then the marriages of their mother was recorded only as one marriage and if they had a living father then this marriage was counted as of the previous generation. The mothers of these fathers of elders were not recorded, nor were marriages which have ended in death without issue or divorce. These would have been hard to collect.

To the Samburu, the Doldol reserve means one thing perhaps more than any other: it is a place to which runaway wives go if they dare not return to their father's home; they then settle down with some Dorobo - either permanently or until their father or original husband comes to collect them. The Dorobo do not normally beg girls from Samburu families, but if they want a Samburu wife, look around for a divorced woman and ask for her or persuade her privately to elope with them. These marriages are, of course, of an inferior type: and are not a sign of close integration between the tribes. I only asked about secondary marriages when the wives were Samburu, partly because this concerned my own personal work, but I now realise I should have asked for this information on all

marriages.

The marriages of three Ndirigi, one Momonyot and Lesarara and his sons were excluded, but those of Laikipiak families were included since these can hardly be called other than Leuaso Dorobo.

	Present Generation	Previous Generation	Total	
Section/tribe of wife				
Leuaso	44	17	61	
Ndigiri	6	4	10	
Lngwesi	1	-	1	
Mumonyot	2	-	2	
Leroghi Dorobo	4	3	7	
Samburu Dorobo (Suiei etc)		1	2	3
Samburu – 1 <sup>st</sup> marriage	6	1	7	
Samburu – 2 <sup>nd</sup> ary marriage		4	2	6
Masai (Dorobo)	1	4	5	
Laikipiak	-	2	2	
unknown	1	4	5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>109</b>	

Table 2. Marriages of Leuaso Dorobo

This table shows fairly clearly the present extent of contact with Leuaso and between Leuaso and other groups both today and a generation ago. In reply to the D.O. Dondol's remark, I think it is worth pointing out that marriages with Ndigiri alone both today and a generation ago are higher figures than with the Leroghi Dorobo, although these figures are not, of course, significant. In that all parties (Mr Worthy, the D.O. Doldol and' the D.C. Maralal) agree that if Leuaso are moved they should join the Leroghi Dorobo, the reasonable number of marriages made recently and formerly with Samburu families are not relevant to the argument.

I have been told that the Leuaso were sent back to the Mukogodo reserve by Major Sharpe – then D.C. Samburu – as belonging there. In that there is no obvious record of this, I think it highly unlikely, but I have written to Major Sharpe asking for his comments and still await his reply.

With regard to Lesarara's movements I would like to get hold of Mr Worthy's source of information. He is not, in any case, a typical Leuaso although he has associated with them for some time. He has, incidentally married both a Leuaso and a Leroghi Dorobo wife, and his sons have married Samburu Dorobo, Leuaso and Ndigiri wives.

C. RELATIONS WITH NDIRIGI. The District Officer, Doldol writes 'The Ndigiri have asked for the removal of the Uaso lock, stock and barrel,' Mainly because they raid Rumuruti farms and those west of the Uaso Ngiri in Nanyuki

area, because they illegally move stock from Samburu, trespass their cattle in Rumuruti and so get a bad name for the Dorobo in general. 'Useless elders do not control anarchic moran. In parenthesis, of all liars in the area (everybody) I find the Leuaso the least plausible in or out of court. Now even the tolerant Ndigiri etc. are fed up with them.'

I understood that it was the chief of the Ndigiri (chief Lekaparo) and the A.D.C. members (Lekaparo, Lenaimado and Lesilange) who had asked for the removal of the Leuaso and that this was supported by considerable public opinion including the 'power behind the throne' (unnamed). I therefore decided to see as many of these officials as possible, and also ex-chief Lekaparo, ex-chief Lemesheme and a number of other elders.

I stayed with ex- chief Lemesheme and asked him, the following questions.

1. Who has always lived in this country? Answer – the Mukogodo and the Leuaso
2. Do you want the Leuaso to go to Samburu? – no.
3. Not even a single family? – no.
4. Does anyone want the Leuaso to go? – no.
5. Not even chief Lekaparo? – I dont know about him, he's a child.
6. If the Leuaso stay, will the Ndigiri mind if they continue to cultivate bees on the banks of the Uaso Ngiro where Ndigiri cattle graze? – no.
7. What was the Leuaso reaction to the Ndigiri when they first settled on Leuaso territory? – they didn't mind at all.

Next day I asked ex-chief Lekaparo the same questions (except number 5 above,) and was given the same answers. I later met 40 elders (actually counted - excluding moran) and asked all of them the same questions in public. Five simply refused to answer my questions in any form. The others, who did answer, answered exactly as ex-chief Lemesheme had done. To the additional question 'I have heard that the Ndigiri have asked for the removal of Leuaso, why is this so?' They generally replied 'This is untrue.' or 'It was not us who asked, we don't know about the government officials.' Among these 40 elders were A.D.C. members Lekaparo and Lesilange and when asked in public these replied exactly as everyone else had done. However three persons including A.D.C. member Lekaparo asked that Lesarara and his family should be removed as thoroughly bad people. No-one else supported this and at least ten elders when asked explicitly whether they thought Lesarara should stay or go said that he should stay.

The last person I asked was chief Lekaparo himself, and he was the only person I asked in private.

1. Do you want the Leuaso to be removed to Samburu? – yes.
2. Why? – because they are thieves and thoroughly bad. Because they were originally sent to Samburu in 1934.
3. Do you think they should all go or only some of them? – I would not mind if those who have married girls of Ndigiri stayed, but I would like to see all the remainder go.
4. Where was the Leuaso country formerly? – along the Uaso Narok.

5. Did they live on this side of the Uaso Ngiro ever? – no, not until recently.

Ex-chief Lekaparo, chief Lekaparo's father, had made the following statement earlier on the same day. 'There have always been four Dorobo sections on this side of the Uaso Ngiro: Leuaso, Ndigiri, Mukogodo and Lngwesi. There have always been five Dorobo sections on the other side of the river: Eremoto, Coliin, Lemarmar, Lorkoti and Olkerenye.'

At this meeting of forty eiders only Ndigiri were present, as they had gathered for a ceremony at which other people were excluded. The embarrassment of being asked to state private opinions in the presence of other sections could not have arisen in the presence of other Ndigiri men. If, then, A.D.C. Lekaparo and Lesilenge had supported chief Lekaparo's arguments to the District Officer, then they must have known that they did not have the general support of public opinion to say the opposite to me in the presence of others. As these people had previously been told the purpose of my visit, I did not attempt to conceal it, and they must have known that their answers might affect the future policy of the administration towards the Leuaso section. I did not meet the A.D.C. member Lenaimado.

Several, mainly older, men, when they realised what I had come specifically to ask, came up to me during the course of the afternoon and repeated what they had said earlier with some fervour. 'We do not want the Leuaso to go.' I asked 11 Mukogodo elders including chief Lematonge, ex-chief Lematonge and A.D.C. members Lolenaintiri and Lelemotinge about the Leuaso and they all answered as ex-chief Lemesheme had done. I also asked 16 Lngwesi elders with the same answers. During my final stay at Doldol I was constantly taken aside by elders who asserted that they did not want Leuaso Dorobo to go.

I have no hesitation in saying that if the Leuaso are removed to Samburu District for whatever reasons, this will be judged by all sections of the Mukogodo reserve as a gross injustice to Leuaso. I could induce no-one, except chief Lekaparo, to say that the Leuaso should be removed.

D. THEFTS. The Leuaso are generally held to be responsible for all thefts that take place to the west of the Uaso Ngiro. The District Officer recently tried to account for all the moran of the section and found that 15 out of a possible 37 were either in jail or on trial for stock theft.

This has recently been suggested as a good reason for their removal to Samburu District (by the former D.C. Nanyuki). On Leroghi, they would still border on the settled area for raids onto European farms - or cattle trespass for that matter. Removal would merely transfer the problem from Doldol to Maralal.

E. RELATIONS WITH LEROGHI DOROBO. [The District Officer notes that] 'There is a steady traffic of cattle from Leroghi to Leuaso though no census figures are guaranteed, 1392 cattle in 1958 became 3678' in 1959.'

This is perhaps the only valid point so far. I think it is highly likely that this

increase is due to the influx of cattle from Leroghi, particularly if the traffic has actually been caught in progress. But removal of the Leuaso Dorobo to Leroghi will not necessarily stop this traffic.

There are nine main areas of controlled grazing on Leroghi – that of the Dorobo and those of the eight Samburu sections. In theory, as herds increase, so the stock-owners should eat or sell the surplus and retain their overall figures at a constant level.

Unfortunately,

1. Samburu still have vivid memories of harsh droughts, as in 1959, and epidemics when the larger a man's herd the greater his security, and they cannot accept the argument that they could sell the surplus and store it as money (what money when invested will bring in an average 10% income?).
2. They are thoroughly liberal in their outlook and regard the prudent man as the one who can build up a large herd from only a few cattle, (our Protestant ancestors thought the same).
3. Samburu is frequently in quarantine as it has been for the last six months and is likely to be for the most of 1960, and hence there can be no guaranteed market for surplus stock. As a result the surplus is illegally driven into the uncontrolled areas of the low country and kept there: everyone knows that this is going on. However, as grazing schemes spread eastwards, now covering about one-quarter of the district - so there will be increased concentration of cattle in the western extremity and worse erosion than ever. Logically it will reach a point when Marsabit asks Samburu to take back those who avoided the removal from Marsabit in 1913 although they have been classified as Rendille ever since then, and then probably also the camel owning Rendille – who – logically or not – accept gifts of cattle from their good neighbours the Samburu.

The situation on the Rendille border has not reached this critical state. Each of the eight Samburu sections are represented by members in the low country outside grazing schemes, and it is these persons who absorb the surplus cattle. The Leroghi Dorobo, however, have only a few isolated members in the low country so have to face the problem of what to do with their surplus. The Leuaso Dorobo, then, may well be one of the main dumping grounds of the Leroghi Dorobo's surplus. If the Leuaso are removed to Leroghi, then the Leroghi Dorobo may be expected try to form new bonds – if they don't already exist – with some other group, very possibly another Dorobo group in the Doldol reserve.

Recently, Maralal has been extensively opening new grazing schemes conscious only that the situation in the east is still tolerable and the critical point far away. Now it is possible that this critical point has been reached for the Leroghi Dorobo and Maralal and Doldol may have to come to some agreement as to how to tackle it. The Samburu have now fully accepted the first phase of grazing schemes - that there should be any in the first place. They do not accept the final phase - that the whole district should be under grazing control.

F. [\[The District Officer, Doldol concludes\]](#) 'It. has been agreed with the Ministry

of African Affairs that the Uaso must move back to Samburu .... This decision, I hope, is irrevocable.'

The decision was almost certainly made without knowledge of the above material. I hope it is revocable.

Further Remarks.

Certain other points are worth considering.

1. Dorobo Trespass. The D.O. Doldol refers to the concentration of Leuaso cattle which encourages them to trespass on settled land. The following figures may be of interest. Leuaso stock counted in December 1959: 2787 mature cattle, 891 calves, 2355 sheep and goats, 169 asses. Counting 1 mature cow = 1 ass = 5 sheep and goats = 5 calves = 1 stock-unit, this gives the total Leuaso stock at present as 3,605 stock-units, which in the allocated area of 23,560 acres gives a stock density of one stock unit to 6.6 acres. On neighbouring European farms a good farmer might increase the density of stock from 1 in 20 acres to 1 in 10 acres after 15 to 25 years of careful management. The comparison between the grazing afforded to Leuaso in their official area and across the river in the neighbouring settled area is obvious.

2. Population Pressure. The following population densities have been calculated:

Doldol Reserve (excluding 57 Masai to be repatriated)

1.65 tax payers / square mile

Leroghi 3.34 tax payers / square mile

Samburu 0.94 tax payers / square mile

Doldol Reserve is roughly the same altitude as Leroghi and climatic conditions are comparable. There does not appear to be a valid argument in favour of further deportations to Samburu on the grounds of population pressure.

3. Mumonyot Masai. This question needs settling almost as urgently as the Leuaso one. Deportations of the Mumonyot to the Masai Reserve in 1912-13, 1935-6, and to Samburu District in 1935, 1939, 1940 and 1946 each resulted in subsequent infiltration back to the Mukogodo area. The recent request to remove them to Masai in 1959 was rejected by Kajiado. They obviously feel very insecure in their present position and feel – perhaps quite rightly – the Maralal will soon be asked to take them in again. Needless to say, they did not admit to me that they were Dalakutuk Masai since that could be to sign their own removal warrant from the district. I have only Mr Worthy's word for it that they are, in fact, members of this tribe, and do not know his source.

Both the Mukogodo and the Lngwesi elders expressed unanimously that they wanted the Mumonyot to stay. I easily collected the same sort of marriage figures from the Mumonyot as from the Leuaso, taking the same precautions.

Table 3 sums up this data.

	Present Generation	Previous Generation	Total
Section/tribe of wife			

Mumonyot	46	10	56		
Mokogodo	11	9	20		
Samburu Dorobo	1	2	3		
Leroghi Dorobo	-	-	-		
Samburu – 1 <sup>st</sup> marriage	3	1	4		
Samburu – 2 <sup>nd</sup> ary marriage		1	2	3	
Lngwesi	7	-	7		
Ndigiri	1	1	2		
Meru	1	1	2		
Masai	1	1	2		
Rendille – 2 <sup>nd</sup> ary marriage		-	1	1	
Total	72	28	100		

Table 3. Mumonyot marriages

Table 3 shows quite clearly the extent to which the Mumonyot have associated with the Mukogodo over two generations. Recent marriages with Lngwesi suggest that they have consolidated their position in the area. It is also worth noting that in the present generation they have married as widely as the Leuaso (see Table 2) which again suggests that they have been consolidating their position.

4. Stock Theft. The two successive District Officers at Doldol have collected police wireless reports of all missing cattle since May. The frequency of these incidents may be tabulated as follows.

2 <sup>nd</sup> half of May	4	New moon – first ¼	6
June	1	First ¼ – full moon	6
July	4	Full moon – last ¼	20
August	5	Last ¼ – new moon	5
September	4		
October	6		
November	5		
1 <sup>st</sup> half December	8		
Total	37		37

Table 4. Frequency of cattle reported missing.

Table 4 shows that no definite correlation can be made on the basis of these figures with respect to season (e.g. that a drought as occurred between August and November causes hunger and stock-theft. A definite correlation is seen with the third phase of the moon. This merely confirms what all policemen of the area assert: that the waning moon either provides ideal conditions for stock thieving or it affects cattle in some way and induces them to stray. I disclaim all responsibility for the 5 incidents that occurred during my 8-day stay in the area.

5. Relations between [Doldol] Sections. Quite contrary to the D.O.'s opinions I found the really unpopular section in the reserve not the Leuaso, but the Ndigiri. Members of other sections besides the Leuaso suggested with some vehemence that they would like to see Ndigiri removed lock, stock and barrel to the place where they belong - Masai. Altogether, I got the impression that the various sections have got hold of the revolutionary spirit. Well placed fetina [malicious gossip] may conceivably lead to subsequent expurgations and gains in land and it may also allay the general sense of insecurity that the survivors at present feel. The most balanced views I heard were that the immigrants so far expelled have been justifiably expelled, but that those that remain, including Leuaso and Mumonyot, irrespective of their origins, have ties only in this country both to the other sections and to the land itself, and that to continue expurgations after the present 57 Masai have been repatriated would be going too far. Perhaps I describe it as a balanced view because it is my own.

### **Part Three: Analysis of the Situation**

The most startling discovery of my visit was the contrast between the views of Doldol and those of everyone else I spoke to. I had been told that the Leuaso were infiltrators and that the Ndigiri had asked for their removal. Instead of finding the Leuaso generally unpopular with the Ndigiri championing the movement to have them thrown out, I found that it was the Ndigiri who were generally unpopular and this seemed faintly to resemble the Purko (Ndigiri) - Laikipiak (the rest) war. It appeared that Doldol had been grossly misinformed as to the general tenor of public opinion, even among Ndigiri.

The following information was given about the Leuaso. They are notorious stock thieves and 15 of their 37 known moran are in jail or on trial for stock theft. Their cattle are thought to have increased from 1392 in 1958 to 3678 by the end of 1959. They have been informed that they will be removed to Samburu District during the spring rains of 1960 and will only be allowed 5 head of cattle per head of family ( $5 \times 43 = 215$ ). The section owes 12,000/- in fines for 1959 alone, ignoring arrears.

Altogether I got the impression that the Leuaso Dorobo and the Administration at Doldol, supported by European pressure, had become involved in a vicious circle. As a result it became only too easy for the District Officer to accept a malicious rumour. I still cannot help wondering if the high incidence of stock thefts by the Leuaso is not their reply to the harsh threats of the Administration. I have noticed a similar thing among the Samburu where the moran are to some extent bullied by the elders: a highly prized achievement among these moran is to seduce the wife of one of the elders without being found out. This would in part explain why it is European cattle and not Somali, Samburu or Ndigiri, that are stolen, that European cattle are a richer prize should not be overlooked nor that their cattle are less closely guarded.

The position of Leuaso becomes more intelligible when that of other sections are taken into account. Once again here is a summary of the facts. In 1953 during the Emergency the Kikuyu in the reserve were removed. In 1958 and 1959 this policy was extended to all other recent infiltrators - Samburu, Masai and Meru. Of the five tribal groups that remain only Mukogodo and Leuaso have any historical claim to the area and even Leuaso had been partly removed in 1935. All this expurgation meant more land - and hence grazing facilities for those that remained, but at the same time only 109 Mukogodo tax payers out of a total of 683 tax-payers in the reserve could feel reasonably secure. The situation reached unreal proportions: those that remained had something to gain and those that were removed so much to lose. It was no longer a matter of prudent animal husbandry leading to a gradual increase in herds. It became a matter of staying at all costs and, where possible, of exploiting the situation.

Whenever one person seemed particularly fervent in his assurances that the Leuaso had always been here and that he wanted them to stay, I would ask him why he had not told the District Officer. I had the following answers. 1. We would not be allowed to see him. (I know now that this is quite untrue). 2. He would not believe me. 3. I had thought of waiting a little longer to see if the Leuaso really were going and then I would have seen him. These are evasive answers, the truth of the matter is that so far no-one has been to the District Officer to tell him their views, and I very much doubt if anyone ever would have gone.

Why was it that, with public opinion so very much in favour of the Leuaso staying, no-one had raised a finger to tell the D.O. what everyone seemed to know - that the few Government elders of Ndigiri section had given him misleading advice? Was it because, while no-one would admit in public that there was any justice in the Leuaso being removed it still meant a lot more land for those that remained. In other words, when the matter was put publicly before them they could find no justification for the removal, but each man privately would have welcomed their departure. Leuaso marriage (Table 2) does seem to indicate that they are not integrated with their neighbours to the extent, for instance, that the Mumonyot are. Or was it perhaps fear that if they openly challenged official policy, they too would be removed?

There is another possible explanation and this was most clearly expressed by those five Ndigiri elders who refused to answer my questions. Their statements more or less were as follows: 'it does not matter whether we want Leuaso to stay or not. If the Government wants them to go, they will go, and if it wants them to stay, they will stay. We manage our own affairs, our marriages and our cattle, but when the Government steps in, even in these matters, then we do what we are told' One of these elders specifically included the Ndigiri Government elders with the Government. This sort of opinion was expressed less definitely elsewhere. Could it be, then, that these people have no feeling whatsoever that to some extent they may participate in the Government of their country and are willing to sit back and see actions, which they otherwise consider unjust, take place?

Here are examples of complete lack of adjustment between means and ends: a condition of society which sociologists refer to as anomie, and which are often correlated with high crime rates and high suicide rates. At one extreme, five Ndigiri elders refuse to answer my questions showing complete apathy towards the administration in general. They refused to believe that there was any reason to express their desires and would not admit that such desires existed. This attitude seemed to be developed to some extent in all sections, as may be seen in the fact that no one single person made the slightest effort to tell the D.O. what everyone thought, and in the D.O.'s remarks about useless elders, anarchic moran, and liars. At the other extreme, the Leuaso, in managing their cattle, were not deprived of ends because they had no means, but because their means were too great. Assuming that 1392 cattle have built up to 3678 in the course of a year because of great influxes from Leroghi, then the 10% a year build up of a herd

through prudent animal husbandry would-be meaningless. New ends might be sought, such as withholding facts from the Administration or even playing a game with it. The stakes of the game rise higher and higher and now they face a 12,000/- fine and are threatened with a sudden cut of stock down to 215 and removal from their district. I think it is very possible that, in their present condition, severe punishments on Leuaso would not act either as correctives or deterrents. It seems to me that the whole society, especially Leuaso, has received some rude shocks in the last few years and has a lessened sense of reality.

I referred above to a ceremony at which I met 40 Ndigiri elders. This followed the removal in 1958 of two laibonok [diviner-sorcerers], Parkilote and Lengiteng, sons of Sendeu oleBatian, from the reserve. Apparently, it was generally felt that these two left behind them a quantity of evil charms as a malignant gesture because of their removal, and that these charms have been responsible for a number of misfortunes suffered by the society since their departure. The District Officer was asked to allow a certain Meru specialist into the reserve to perform a cleansing ceremony with each of the sections in turn. It was the main part of this ceremony inside the Ndigiri section that I saw.

Why should the people feel that there have recently been an abnormal number of misfortunes and that there are malignant forces at work related to the removal of the laibonok? Is it possible that just now the Doldol reserve is a sick society and feels the need of a different type of purgative to the one administered so recently by the Government? If so, then there would be every reason for projecting the cause to something that was inside the society and had already been removed from it. The ceremony may have been a scape-goat mechanism.

#### **Part Four: Recommendations.**

Leuaso and Mumonyot.

The most urgent need in the Doldol reserve seems to be to give its members a sense of security and of reality, and to break down the vicious circle between the Leuaso and the administration. If the Leuaso and the Mumonyot are to stay - and I sincerely hope they are - then they should immediately be recognised as separate sections of Doldol reserve - with elected members on the A.D.C. and appointed officers. I would suggest that nothing less than a chief should represent the interests of Leuaso; after the present tension with Ndigiri, a Leuaso headman under the Ndigiri chief might prove unsatisfactory. The Mumonyot, on the other hand, freely acknowledge their dependence on the Mukogodo for permission to stay in the reserve and a separate chief might cause bad feeling between them and the Mukogodo. For the same reason it might be unwise to allot the Mumonyot a separate territory within the present Mukogodo area. I suggest that the Mukogodo elders be approached as to their opinions on having a Mumonyot headman subsidiary to the Mukogodo chief, and that the two sections be allowed to mix freely.

If the Leuaso are allowed to remain then the following gestures would probably be highly appreciated: a slightly larger area to live in; certain concessions to carry spears equivalent to the concessions allowed other sections; a partial reduction on Leuaso fines and prison sentences. These would help to give them confidence in the administration. A similar gesture on the same scale might be a reasonable gesture to all sections.

Stock Thefts, both by Samburu and by Dorobo.

The two outstanding features of the recent series of stock thefts seem to be the extent to which the police do manage to retrieve stolen cattle and convict offenders and the extent to which these successes do not appear to affect the rate of stock theft. The obvious conclusion is that internal tribal mechanisms of control - in so much as these curb the activities of the moran - should be encouraged to operate.

The Samburu, with a well developed age-set system, recognise one age-set of elders - the ilpiroi, whose age-set is next but one above the moran - as having disciplinary powers over the moran. The recent attitude of Samburu elders has definitely been a tendency to treat the relationship with a certain degree of apathy on occasions when the administration personally steps in. They sometimes openly assert that nowadays control over the moran is no longer their own responsibility but that of the administration.

It was recently suggested that any collective punishment of the moran should include also a fine on the ilpiroi elders, and so encourage them not to

shelve their responsibilities. I now feel that a fine imposed on the whole section in the area involved would be more effective for the following reasons:

1. It would be an additional complication to determine exactly who are members of the ilpiroi age-set and who are not, and which ones should pay and which ones should not. There might even arise the question of which of two age-sets of moran and hence ilpiroi are involved, (i.e., at times when two age-sets of moran coexist).

In that offences tend to be localised and can often be traced to the area of one section, a fine on the whole section of the area could very easily be imposed at the local stock-sale. This would not implicate members of that section living elsewhere who are unlikely to be implicated or to have much influence in the general control of the local moran.

2. The formula of fining the ilpiroi elders may have been just a bit too neat. It could have worked the opposite way. The elders in general might have felt that the Administration was trying to teach them their job, and the ilpiroi elders, faced with a fine, might have had the general sympathy of other age-sets. If elders of every age-set are fined, then there should be a general pressure from within the section on the moran and the ilpiroi to do something about it.

3. It is very likely - almost certain that some elders know of a theft, but these need not necessarily be of the ilpiroi age-set.

4. Among the Dorobo sections the ilpiroi relationship appears to be considerably weakened. Among such sections as the Mukogodo, newcomers to the Masai system, it may be totally absent. On the other hand these same Dorobo sections tend to be small groups with a high incidence of in-marriage, and these bonds may generally be expected to produce constraints of a different kind on the activities of the individual. Without detailed research on each of these sections separately, it would, be impossible to make a definite statement, but an overall fine on the whole section can be expected to encourage what constraints do exist over the activities of the moran. I do not believe that merely fining the offender's father will have any effect. Certainly among the Samburu, pressure on the moran to behave comes from outside rather than inside the family and a man would seldom denounce his own son.

There is, I understand a certain legal complication to the imposition of communal punishments, but the low density of population in northern Kenya, the lack of police personnel and of funds for administration necessitate a different kind of law. The police can double their night patrols during the week following the full moon only a certain number of times - almost certainly not enough to reduce stock thefts to any great extent.

At present the facts of thefts from Samburu and Doldol are spread out over three Provinces. There is a bad need to collect these together and to determine exactly where the crime rate is highest, what the overall pattern is, and who the most persistent offenders are.

## Further infiltrations into Doldol

This topic has been discussed above (pages 8 [=19], 12-13 [=25]). These may lessen with time. Doldol has only recently been closely administered, and deterrents will presumably increase as administrative control does. But I defy even the Doldol District Officers to stop the steady infiltration of runaway Samburu women.

The question of cattle coming from the Leroghi Dorobo to Doldol (with nor without the Leuaso) may be an urgent problem requiring careful consideration and cooperation between Doldol and Maralal.

I think the administration should expect no real help from the residents of the reserve. Few people would say no to the offer of a cow, even on conditional terms. One of these conditions may be that the cow should be sold: the prices obtained in Doldol are, I gather, much better than in Maralal, and it is less frequently in quarantine. Or the condition may be that the original owner always has a right to the cow, but it is not easy to see how he could make much use of this right. There will probably be equally little help to report new infiltrators. Dorobo society is a closed society to no-one - this is, in fact, a boast of the Lmasula of Mount Ngiro.

Lesarara

The present situation in the Doldol reserve is a breeding ground for fetina. Lesarara was most criticised by his antagonists for spreading fetina. Chief Leparkaro and other Ndigiri elders have apparently tried to do a similar thing with the District Officer and some of these elders and various others tried to do it with me. In favour of Lesarara, I would like to say that he was the first Leuaso member who was persuaded that he could help the Leuaso more by telling me the truth than by telling lies, and he has done more to give me a fair idea of the general relationship between Dorobo and pastoral tribes than any other informant. Nothing that he told me has so far contradicted with my other material. He did not side-track the issue with any malicious suggestions against Ndigiri. He fully accepted the gravity of my contention that the Leuaso would continue to be hounded so long as their moran continued to steal. Altogether my impression of him was of a reasonable elder who could, if he wanted, take on a responsible position for the Leuaso. If a peace offering is to be made to Leuaso then Lesarara may be expected to take a key role.

My thanks are especially due to the District Officer, Doldol, for his generous hospitality and help in collecting much of this material.

Paul Spencer

24:12:59

Maralal,  
P.O.Rumuruti,  
Kenya  
6 January, 1960

Dear Mr Trench,

With reference to my report on the Dorobo of Northern Kenya (esp. page 10 [=22]), I have received further information from Major H.B. Sharpe. Major Sharpe writes:

Mukogodo for Administrative convenience was under Laikipia when I assumed control of Laikipia and Samburu in 1934. No Leuaso from Mukogodo as such were ever sent to Samburu in 1935. Leratia's Wanderobo were the only ones moved into Samburu. Odd individual Leuaso may have come into Samburu, but as that were known of were sent back. In fact, during the years 1935-38 no inhabitants of Mukogodo were accommodated in Samburu. At the end of 1937 Mukogodo was handed back to Nyerl and there was no question of any movement of tribesman between us then.

This substantially confirms the statements of Leuaso informants.

Yours sincerely,

Paul Spencer

D.C. Maralal

## THE AFTERMATH

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER  
SAMBURU DISTRICT  
P.O. MARALAL (via RUMURUTI)  
LND. 16/1/Vol II/40            29 December, 1959

Provincial Commissioner,  
Rift Valley Province,  
NAKURU

### PROPOSED REMOVAL OF IL UASO NDEROBO FROM MUKOGODO TO SAMBURU

Ref your ADM.15/1/7/2/175 of 17 November

I enclose in the original (paragraphs numbered in red by myself) Mr Paul Spencer's report on the Il Uaso (alias Leuaso) Nderobo.

2. You will see from this report that the historical, ethnographical etc excuses for trying to dump the Il Uaso in this district are founded on a memorandum by a former D.O. Mukogodo which is full of inaccuracies and plainly inspired mainly by a wish to empty his dirty water into somebody else's bath.

3. In particular, I draw your attention to the following points in Mr Spencer's report.

Para's 5 (h) and 29, on pages 2, 8-9.

Original habitat of Il Uaso Nderobo.

4. The Il Uaso did not live in this district. Their original habitat is along both banks, but particularly their east bank, of the Uaso Nyiru River, upstream from Kirimun i.e. in Laikipia and Nanyuki districts, mainly in Mukogodo.

Para's 30 & 31, on page 9

Carter Land Commission Recommendations

5. The Carter Commission, in para 811 of their Report, admittedly recommended that a few Nderobo from farms in Laikipia be moved into the N.F.D; but they made no such recommendation on the Il Uaso Nderobo of Mukogodo, who seem to have escaped their notice. To this I would add that as the Carter Commission recommended (para 810 (i)) that Mukogodo be made part of the NFD, and Samburu was then in the NFD, neither the D.C. Nanyuki nor I can quote the report with much confidence.

Para 32, page 9.

Il Uaso Nderobo in Samburu District

6. I thought there were a few scattered Il Uaso Nderobo in this district, but it seems that I was wrong,

Para 37, page 10.

Inter marriage of Il Uaso and other sections

7. Of 109 Il Uaso marriages,  
61 were inside the Il Uaso clan  
13 were with other clans of Mukogodo  
10 were with Samburu-Nderobo  
13 were with Samburu  
12 were with Masai etc  
They are, in fact, thoroughly mixed in blood
8. The elders with whom Mr Spencer discussed the matter were almost unanimous in considering that the Il Uaso had a historical claim to Mukogodo, belonged there and could only be ejected by an act of gross injustice

#### General

9. As there are no historical or ethnographical grounds for the proposed transfer, there remain only the arguments of administrative convenience. These are:

10. The Il Uaso are Cattle Thieves, we have plenty of cattle thieves of our own without importing Mukogodo's.

11. The Il Uaso are Trespassers, They trespass now on Kirimun and on Sosian Estates. If they are dumped among the Loroghi Nderobo, they will probably trespass on Marmar, Mugie and Lariak Estates.

12. The Il Uaso will not obey the Mukogodo Chiefs, Headmen, A.D.C.  
Transfer across the district boundary will not change their nature.

13. The Il Uaso accept surplus stock from Leroghi.

If the Il Uaso are dumped on Leroghi, there will be still more surplus Leroghi stock. It is, and will be, a difficult problem for the Mukogodo authorities to prevent this infiltrating into Mukogodo but their problem will not cease with the expulsion of the Il Uaso.

14. Since Mukogodo have perfected the Hitlerian technique of making their demand little by little instead of all at once, it might be as well to ask them now if they propose persuading us to take the Mumonyot Masai off their hands. (Para 61, page 13 refers) or, for that matter, the Ndigiri (Para 66, page 14).

C. P. CHENEVIX TRENCH  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER,  
MARALAL .

Copies to:- District Commissioner, ) Please

NANYUKI ) see your T.98/58

District Officer ) sent just

MUKOGODO – Doldol ) a year ago

CPCT/AMC

LND.16/1 4th January, 60  
District Officer,

MUKOGODO

Dear

I am sending you the report made by the tame anthropologist Paul Spencer written as a result of his recent visit to Mukogodo and which I read last night. It contains a great deal of interesting pre-history but also you will see that when he begins to talk about Mukogodo and in particular the Ile Uaso, the ground has been kicked completely beneath our feet, I have not the slightest doubt that when D.C. Maralal and P.C. Rift Valley have digested his findings Government will perform a volte face and we will be instructed to retain not only the Ile Uaso but the Mumonyot (I never really thought that we had a case to expel the latter).

2. Please read through and tear as many holes in the report as you can, for I feel that we may well be asked to give adequate reasons to support our case for the expulsion of the Ile Uaso,.
3. This is the only copy of the report that we have - I am not sure whether one has been sent to the P.C. - so please treat it with care.

Yours,  
A.P.PALMER  
DISTRICT COMMISSSIONER  
NANYUKI  
APP/ER

DC/NYUK/4/11/4

Ref. No. MUK/ADM/12/26 District Office In-Charge, Mukogodo Reserve  
c/o Office of the District Commissioner  
P.O. Box 11  
NANYUKI, KENYA

8th January 1960  
The District Commissioner,  
P.O. Box 11,  
NANYUKI.

ILE UASO

Ref. Your LND.16/1 of 4th January

I have studied the report which is most interesting and discussed selected items - but not everything with the chiefs and elders.

My main argument against, it regarding suggestions that the Ile Uaso stay is that their residence has not been continuous. (This is admitted p.5 by Mr. Spencer) I enclose a copy of a letter from Rumuruti on our records (page 2 is untraced). I am assured that when this letter was written all Uaso were outside. Three families came back about 1947 and the rest have only coexisted since then. In fact the Uaso had their own chief, I am told, in Leroghi, Chief Kintoriori and they are not mentioned in Carter because the eleven families mentioned in Adm/25/4/8/11 of Rumuruti; (26/X1/35) were all who were here pre 1935 and they went with the Mumonyot at that time (1935). A complete sub-tribe, says Mr. Trench, has moved back leaving not one in Leroghi. The Rift Valley contention in the enclosure, "The three tribes remaining in Mukogodo area are the Mukogodo; the Ndigiri and the Il Mwesi" is therefore correct. Mumonyots and Uaso returned since then. I am assured that even before they went to Maralal all the Uaso were registered for tax and paid tax in Samburu.

2. On examining the records it is of interest to see that the District Commissioner Samburu (1935) was more than anxious to return Mukogodo in December '35 to Central Province, a policy reversed by Mr. Balfour 1959. I mention this as the subject may reopen; should the Rift Valley try to reverse the recent decision to expel Uaso (P.C's LND,6/NK/3/6 of 23rd Nov refers) they may well raise again the transfer of Mukogodo once more at the same time (My S/9 of 11.XI.59 argues against this).

3. At the same time Mr. Spencer pre-history appears generally correct. Some Uaso (but informants think a minority) did occupy the ' east bank of the Uaso and were hive-barterers with our Mukogodo who complain that the Uaso also robbed Mukogodo honey. Mukogodo called them "Logolaala".

4. My discussions with Ndigiri indicate that local opinion is much more divided than Mr. Spencer suggests. I also think Mr. Spencer's discussions with the Uaso (where he camped longer than anywhere) has given them part of their feeling insecurity. I had not published the Provincial Commissioner Rift's order

that they reduce to 5 cattle per head. I had hoped to get revision of such an arbitrary figure. I am also told that following his discussions, the Ndigiri are beginning to be apprehensive, that they would be shifted to Narok. This rumour has reached the Ndigiri from Samburu sources.

5. Regarding the unpopularity of the Ndigiri, this is explainable perhaps by their relative non-conservatism and non-conformity. In spite of Narok connexions my observation of Ndigiri shows they have also a very strong Bantu connexion mentioned by Mr. Spencer (p 2) but

(a) Their contact with Boyes and Kikuyus in Kiganjo area; the Kikuyu traders and women in Tura, which however I admit is not typical: their acceptance of Bantu ritual in oath and magic ceremonials reported on separately. Lekaparo himself talks better Kikuyu than Swahili.

(b) The other Ndorobo look askance at Ndigiri abnormality. The Ndigiri are by way of being more individualistic, taking after the Kikuyu, and have shown signs of enlightenment that are far from the norms of the other sections. To illustrate, they have more children in school than others, they want to reserve land for their own enjoyment and expel Uaso and Mumonyot from their area; they have largely accepted grazing control. They are almost the only ones to ask for veterinary services here, or to dip sheep. These ideas are still alien from the others and make Ndigiri appear odd.

6. There are two details of error in the Report:-

P.3 Mukogodo, especially women, still speak the language but Masai is ousting it. Men appear more fluent in Masai but talk it to some extent.

P.16 The 12000/- owed by Uaso members is the accumulation of some 20 debtors' fines or communal fines under Cap 206 and is not due to a single incident or case.

7. (a) Regarding Mr. Trench's letter; it is still disputed whether more were on this bank than the other. It is irrelevant prehistory to make too much of it either way. (para 3 above).

(b) The Carter Commission did not mention the Uaso as until 11 families moved in 1935 back to Leroghi all the rest were already in Samburu (para 1).

(c) The fact that a whole sub-tribe has come to Mukogodo with their cattle etc. without the Samburu administration being aware of it surprises me. I have heard that others have recently been prevented from smuggling more cattle in, so I have no doubt : that the migration has not ended. There seems to be a great deal of movement to and from Samburu where Uaso moran have been alleged to reside too.

(d) Chief Lithoya states that he was hardly consulted by Spencer (as a member of Government) and carries about half the opinion of the Ndigiri. The elected elders agreed with him anyway when they asked me to have the Uaso

moved.. ];

(e) The Mumonyot. I feel it would be impracticable to move all of them. But I see no reason why certain manyattas not accepted by the Mukogodo should not move. There are three lineages to go.

(f) The telegram referred to by Mr. Trench was regarding the Samburu only so I do not see why the question of small move of Mumonyot should not be raised. The Mumonyot are persistent harbourers of Samburu and have retained many connexions with them.

#### 8. Mr. Spencer's Recommendations.

1. A chief for the Uaso. I do not consider their conduct as thieves deserves recognition and to encourage their existence here would be to admit defeat in moving them to Samburu.
2. A headman for the Mumonyot. I have no objections. They outnumber the Mukogodo. However Mr. Spencer asks for free mixing. This already happens. In the drought virtually all Mumonyot watered in the Forest with the Mukogodo. I have however removed Mumonyot manyattas from Ndigiri area.
3. A larger area for the Uaso to live in. I can only see such an area coming from the Leasehold or settled areas. As it was suggested by Mr. Edgar (LND.16/1/V/169 of 1 Dec) to give a reciprocal piece of Ndorobo land in turn for a new boundary under the hills, perhaps the Uaso could be transferred to Isiolo? They certainly have no rights out of their present habitat.
4. Carrying spears. In view of their thieving nature thus would aggravate assaults during raids on cattle. Elders are also concerned in trespasses.
5. A partial reduction of fines, and prison sentences. This is impracticable after sentence is passed.
6. Collective punishment. If a moran does not pay a fine for stock theft his father or manyatta animals are seized under a warrant endorsed under Cap 206. The endorsement allows seizure from the section as a whole but is only possible after conviction for theft. Trespass and other fines cannot be collected except from the convicted person. As far as I know 01 Piron elders are not singled out to pay.
7. It would certainly be appreciated if Maralal did continue to cooperate by turning back would-be migrants from coming here.
8. Sale of animals. 120 Uaso cattle were seized by distress for the last Dol Dol sales, 25 Uaso cattle were voluntarily brought for sale at the same time. I do not see that they will destock voluntarily on a larger scale. Though Samburu culling rules are reported not to be workable, some compulsion will be necessary to reduce Uaso stock.

J. Rowlands  
DISTRICT OFFICER,  
JSSR/NSN MUKOGODO