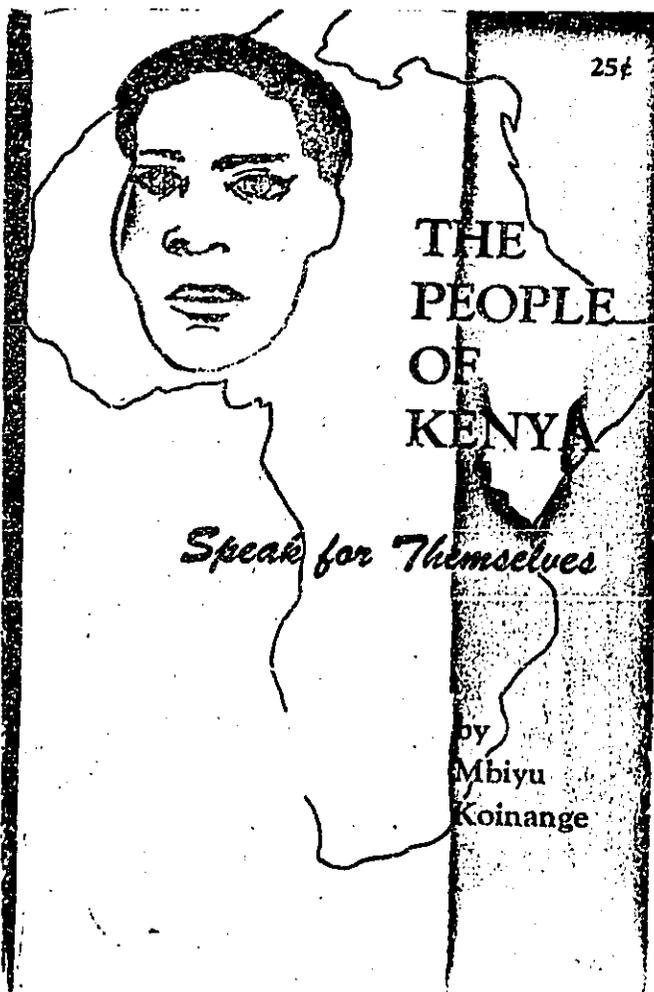


*About the Author*

Mbiyu Koinange was born in Africa, the son of an ex-Senior Chief. From 1927-36 he was at school in the United States, at Hampton Institute, Ohio Wesleyan and Columbia University. Returning to Kenya in 1938, he found the Government closing down African Independent schools. The moving story of how the men, women and children then founded Kenya Teachers College, of which he became President, is told in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

In October 1951 the Kenya people, at a mass meeting of 30,000 in Nairobi, sent Mr. Koinange to make known the truth of what they think, feel and want, to the United Kingdom, the United States, Asia, the United Nations and elsewhere outside East Africa. He is in London today; acting on behalf of his people.

Mr. Koinange writes: "Talk of Mau Mau atrocities is designed to obscure the issue of liquidation of Africans . . . Here, now, before the people of East and Central Africa, of Britain, Asia, the United States and the whole civilised world, I declare that further bloodshed is useless. I stake my reputation on the promise that I am able to bring about a cease-fire in Kenya."



**THE PEOPLE OF KENYA SPEAK  
FOR THEMSELVES**

by

**MBIYU KOINANGE**

*Delegate in the United Kingdom of the Kenya African Union  
President, Kenya Teachers College*

**KENYA PUBLICATION FUND**  
Detroit, Michigan  
1955

2120

Copyright 1955, by  
Mbiyu Koinange  
Copies of *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves*  
may be ordered from  
Kenya Publication Fund  
600 Woodward Avenue, Room 500  
Detroit 26, Michigan  
25¢ for each copy. Bulk orders: \$2 a dozen  
plus 50¢ for postage and handling

Dedicated to



Njeri, Leader of the African Women's League  
Now in a Kenya Prison Camp  
(see Chapter VI)

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The publication of *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves* was made possible by the help of thousands of Americans, white and colored, of all walks of life, who feel a kinship to the Kenya people in their striving to build a new Africa and who believe that the Africans should be free to speak for themselves, go to school, work, trade, build their own organizations, and take their place in the modern world.

Printed in the U. S. A.

2121

## CONTENTS

	Page
Preface . . . . .	1
I Our Land is Our Life . . . . .	2
II Kenya Africans Form a Union . . . . .	7
III Kenya Africans Build Cooperatives . . . . .	15
IV Kenya Africans Build a College . . . . .	25
V Education for Human Relations . . . . .	38
VI African Women in Kenya . . . . .	49
VII The Settlers' Method of Bringing Up Africans . . . . .	54
VIII Resistance . . . . .	62
IX How to End the Emergency . . . . .	69
Appendix	
A. Letters and Leaflets of the European Settlers . . . . .	79
B. Petitions and Letters of the Kenya Africans . . . . .	95
C. Wage Rates in Kenya . . . . .	114
D. A Letter from American Clergymen . . . . .	115

## PREFACE

**I**N October, 1952, the Emergency was declared in Kenya. What I want to tell here is how before the Emergency the Africans were trying to help themselves and make themselves part of the best that is in civilisation.

There was a Kenya situation before the Emergency and whatever happens to the Emergency, there will be a Kenya situation after the Emergency. It concerns the whole of Africa. I am not here debating the Emergency. It is obvious today that the settlers in Kenya will never be able to rule Kenya on the old basis. Not only that. Without winning the confidence of the Africans, they cannot stay in Kenya at all except with the actual military support of the British Government. This is not a threat. It is a fact. I hope that they will see that or if they don't, their friends elsewhere will bring it home to them.

In this pamphlet I want to tell people what my people were doing, of their energies, how they were doing for themselves what the Government should have been doing for them. It is when you suppress these energies, which are the driving force of any civilisation, that you have barbarism.

Some of what I tell will be of my own personal experiences. But I was not introducing anything in Kenya. I could see these things surging up. What was there was the energy of the people for progress. I was not the founder. The reality was already there and on the move. I, as a participant, was only fulfilling their wish.

Chapter I  
OUR LAND IS OUR LIFE

THE fundamental problem facing the Kenya people today is that they are living in a changed society, but their economic status remains unchanged. They are not able to adjust themselves to that changing society unless they have control of their own land and destiny. Such a barrier existed for years in India and Burma before the British Government cooperated in meeting the people's wishes.

For example, one pint of milk in any part of Kenya other than the areas occupied by the pastoral people cost about 6d. (7¢). If a mother would like to feed her baby a pint of milk per day it will cost her 15/- (\$2.10) a month at a time when her monthly earnings are only 4/- (56¢) to 20/- (\$2.80).

That is the life of the African in Kenya. That is not the Emergency. The policy of the European settlers has been to maintain the concept of domestic slavery by giving low wages and maintaining insecurity of land tenure among the Africans. So much so that the Africans go to work on the European farms at 6 o'clock in the morning, returning sometimes at 5 or 6 o'clock and at others, at 8 o'clock in the evening, depending on the crop season. The Africans work for ½ of a shilling (4¢) per day which has since been increased to ½ a shilling (7¢) a day. That meant that a person used to work three days for 1/- (14¢). According to the increased wages a person could work two days for 1/-. In Kenya every shilling (14¢) is divided into a hundred pennies so that these wages can be paid.

In 1921 African farm labourers were paid 4/- (56¢) a month. There was a threat to cut these wages. At the same time the Government raised hut and poll taxes and intro-

2

duced compulsory labour for women and girls.

The Africans wanted to petition to the British Government against this. At that time it was believed that if any Africans petitioned to the King they would have their hands cut off. Harry Thuku, a telephone operator from the Kikuyu, agreed to sign the petition. The Government welcomed the petition, Harry Thuku did not have his hands cut off, and he became a national hero.

Then he was arrested. The African women threatened to pull off their clothes and resist unless the men would go and get him out. The people protested at the police station, and five African women were among the 22 people who were killed. Harry Thuku was exiled without a trial for 9 years.

The people who had fought against his arrest formed an organisation known as the Kikuyu Central Association. This was the first of the Kenya African political organisations. It was organised only by the Kikuyu people (the Agikuyu) and was not yet a national organisation. The Agikuyu are, however, the largest African community in Kenya and live in Central Province, the province in which Nairobi, the capital, is also situated. As a result of these struggles, it was declared in 1923 in a British White Paper (Lord Devonshire) that "Primarily Kenya is an African territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races shall conflict, the former should prevail." This declaration led the Africans to believe that at any rate this was the legal basis on which Kenya would develop.

The main aim of the Kikuyu Central Association was the abolition of forced labour for men and women, the abolition of hut taxes, and the recovery of the land that had been alienated from the Africans. The Agikuyu were not alone in wanting these. In 1923 there was no civil war. The Morris Carter Kenya Lands Commission came to Kenya. Here are

3

some of the statements made to the Commission by Africans. They are from the Commission's Report. They still hold good. The Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association in Nyanza Province testified:

"As the Europeans and Indians have come to Africa because their lands are full of people, we beg that they remember that our land will be full of people also, and we cannot leave Africa as the Europeans and Indians leave their lands."

"We do not like the name 'Reserve.' The land has been ours from old."

The native Catholic Union of Central Kavirondo stated:

"We thought that this land was ours and the Government was protecting it for us. This is why we cannot fix this matter. It surprised us . . . It (the Crown Lands Ordinance) makes the natives to be holders of land at the will of the Crown. This is unsuitable and should be abolished or amended."

Here is another group, the Kanyakwar:

"At times petitions and memorandums in regard to the land questions which were addressed to the Government, were considered to be *sedition* and *revolutionary*, whilst in reality our absolute motive is to express our great feelings only."

"We are expressing the truth and innermost feeling of our people which probably the headmen may fear to disclose owing to the fact that they would be brought into disfavour with the Government."

"We respectfully beg to impress upon your Commission that the land question is very vital and important to us, as it is the only means of our living."

A Luo native, Antonio Okulo, from another Catholic Union at Marenau, told the Commission:

"In Nyangoro there is a missionary who first came to teach us, but has now started agriculture . . . It was the property of the local inhabitants . . . We don't understand the meaning

of the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1915. Now we feel that we are like grass growing on land which is not ours, but we feel like people who have borrowed the land. So far as we can see, this is not true . . . The Native Lands Trust Ordinance: I don't know the meaning of the word 'Trust'."

Daniel Oviti of Local Native Council, a Government organisation, stated:

"These days Europeans use gentle words: we never know when they may boil up. If he gets a bit more, he wants more, and then troubles begin. A European begins in a small way and spreads everywhere."

From Ukamba Province, one of the men described the European estates as "so big that it takes four hours to walk from one end to the other and the area of development is very small . . . There is game wandering over it. It is better to look after the interests of these natives than it is to look after the interests of the game."

An elder of Kisumu, Ojuang s/o Boda, had this to say: "People who followed on the heels of Government have taken our land. We gave it to teach cultivation of economic crops; we did not sell it. This was our land before Government came."

Here is the evidence of Kibirir Arap Chemwa of Buret in Nyanza Province:

"Our strength has gone as the Europeans have our land . . . It is like having been invited to a feast and only being allowed to look at the good food."

This statement is by Ezekiel Arap Roronya of Buret:

"We all have one feeling . . . Buret has been squeezed. We have no room for cattle grazing and wander about; those left behind suffer."

Chebore Arap Chengecha of Sotik testified:

"We worked for Government as Police and King's African

Rifles. With wages we bought cattle but there was no room to graze them. We shall be pleased if we can get our desserts. Even ex-Sergeants have to go on farms, as squatters like children at sh.6 a month (84¢) to get grazing. Now Chepalungu is a resort for carnivora; we want to occupy it beneficially. This is all I have to say; it is the word of our people."

I have given this evidence because this is the foundation of the troubles in Kenya. I can fill hundreds of pages with evidence of this kind.

In 1940, at the beginning of World War II, the Kikuyu Central Association, together with the Akamba Union, the Teita Union, and other organisations of the Kenya Africans, were all banned by the Government. Twenty-two leaders of these organisations were arrested and interned in concentration camps.

Nevertheless, when the British asked the Kenya Africans to join in the European war, the Africans imposed no conditions. They were not allowed to bear arms but they drove lorries and ambulances, acted as porters and as hospital aides. They placed their land at the disposal of the Government for aerodromes, roads and the production of food.

It is often hinted that when the people of India agreed to join the second World War they asked for assurance from the British Government that if the war was won, India's continuous demands for independence would be implemented. The African people did not raise such points when they joined the first or the second World War. Tens of thousands of Africans lost their lives and families in the first World War in the carrier corps. During the war the Crown Lands Ordinance was introduced and after the war the Kenya Africans received compensation by their country being annexed to the status of Colony. They believed that after the second World War people all over the world would not want the same thing to happen again.

6

## Chapter II

### KENYA AFRICANS FORM A UNION

IN 1944 some three Africans and myself started to debate by the roadside on the African political status. The debate became a bet as to whether Africans could gain what they want if they go about it in the right way. I bet 500/- (\$75) that we could win a demand if we went about it properly. Three of the others offered the same amount in opposition to me, claiming that the British Government had invested too much in racism ever to honour its political promises. We formed a committee to petition the Government for direct African representation on the Legislative Council. There were 26 Local Native Councils in the country. But these had only advisory power, and even these were headed by Europeans. This does not imply our ingratitude or that the civil servants were dishonest. But if the automobile instructor receives fees for teaching but never allows the learner to touch the steering wheel, the pupil will never learn to drive.

The money collected was used for the petition and we toured throughout the country getting signatures of the Chiefs, civil servants, shop-keepers, teachers, ministers, and people from all walks of life.

In that petition we did not make any reference to tribal representation. The Africans who read the petition throughout the country also confirmed that all the Africans wanted was their representative in the Kenya Legislative Council—an African from any part of Kenya. It is the continued cry of the Europeans, supported by the administrative authorities, that the African communities are hostile to one another and fighting all the time. From the very beginning the African political movement stood for communal unity.

7

2125

The Secretary of State for the Colonies of the Coalition Government, Mr. Oliver Stanley, was scheduled to visit Kenya. We planned to hand him this petition. The custom was that any petition addressed to the Secretary of State went first to the District Commissioner, to the Chief Native Commissioner and then to the Chief Secretary who advances it to the Governor in Executive. Their comments were attached to it, and only then was it sent on to the Secretary of State. To avoid this happening, the day before the Secretary of State was to arrive, we posted the letter just before closing time at the Post Office, by Registered Express so that it would go direct to Government House. In this way, Mr. Stanley was the first to open and read our petition. He handed it back to the Governor with recommendations that it should be implemented. The Government was very much annoyed with our strategy, especially about my part in it because they thought that I was the ringleader.

However, the Secretary of State had recommended an African representative and the Governor of Kenya introduced a system of a panel of names of the candidates to be appointed for this new post. The local Native Councils were given power to receive names of candidates. Of the 26 Native Councils, 19 selected my name, six selected Mr. Mathu, one selected Mr. Francis Khamis.

The Government asked for another nomination proposing that the names be screened on a provincial basis. Central Province was asked to select 4 persons, Nyanza Province 4, Rift Valley 2 and the Coast Province 2. These 12 were to form a committee to screen the candidates at a meeting under the Chairmanship of the European Member for African Affairs, the Chief Native Commissioner. The first result of this meeting was that, of the 12 people, nine selected my name and two selected Mr. Mathu. The Chair vetoed the majority vote.

The Chief Native Commissioner asked the people to cast still another vote. Africans by that time noticed that the

8

Government definitely did not want me to be rewarded for getting the petition to the Secretary of State. The two names, mine and that of Mr. Mathu were presented to the Governor who nominated Mr. Mathu as the first African Member of the Legislative Council.

The Kenya Legislative Council had then 11 members, one Indian, one African and the rest Europeans. Today there are 54 members of the Legislative Council, the 5½ million Africans are represented by eight nominated Africans; 120,000 Indians are represented by eight members (six of whom are elected by Asian voters); 24,000 Arabs are represented by three members (one of whom is elected by Arab male voters). The remaining 35 members represent the 40,000 Europeans. In the Executive Council the seats are by appointment and the structure is one African, one Asian and the rest Europeans to make a total of 11. You can therefore see that the constitutional power is directly under the control of the European minority. African members are at the mercy of the Governor who nominates them and are constantly threatened should they be found to differ seriously with the Government. The views held by my three opponents regarding racism in British politics are still irrefutable.

However, the Africans had now gained confidence that their request for African representation was recognized as legitimate and that their solidarity dispelled tribalism theory. So they got together and decided to form a committee that would assist, and advise their new Member on the Council. That new committee was called the Kenya African Study Union which later became the Kenya African Union (KAU).

The policy of the Kenya Government has been and still is to promote and perpetuate tribal differences among the Kenya people. In a world where people are moving closer to one another all the time, the first task of the Kenya African Union was to break down these differences. Before petitioning the Governor we had toured around all the communities and

9

2126

asked them to read and amend or approve. They were all in agreement that Africans needed self-government, a common electoral system, compulsory education and above all, full control of their land. Their agreement was the first action toward political unity. The executive committee of the Union was representative of various groups and communities speaking different languages. We were quite successful in getting rid of tribal feelings.

The programme of the KAU was and is self-government for the African people. By self-government the African people never meant throwing out non-Africans. But we feel that the principle of a common franchise on a geographical basis and the electoral system by secret ballot has been established in India, Ceylon, the Sudan, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. If even there are Africans who cannot read, we feel that it is important that they have some way of saying who is to represent them.

We were not hostile to the Europeans. In the cities where people of all nationalities, Europeans and Asians, lived, we were ready to adapt the system of representation so that the minority Europeans and Asians would have no fear of being swamped by Africans. But we feel that Africans should have control of their political affairs so that they could use their national resources to develop the best in themselves.

The KAU had about 150,000 members throughout the country, men and women in about 50 branches. We held meetings all over Kenya. The meetings were held in the markets and on the farms. At a typical meeting 5,000 people would have gathered before the speakers arrived. People came from 20 or 30 miles away to take part. To a meeting on a European farm people came by lorries from dozens of different farms. As many as 10,000 people attended these meetings on the farms. The people on the farms take more interest even than the people in the cities because they have come to believe that the function of the KAU is to fight for their

10

rights, higher wages, better conditions of work, and education for their children. On the farms they feel the restrictions not only of the Government officials but of the European farmers.

The agricultural labourers had no trade union organisations. Therefore part of the programme of the KAU was to encourage workers on the farms to organise farm labourer unions and to fight for their legitimate rights in the same way as people do in the United States and Great Britain, where labour is accepted as a way of life as land has always been accepted as a way of life by the Africans.

The KAU was definitely aware of the opposition of the non-Africans who falsely thought that the policy of the KAU was to oust Europeans. We made it our policy to plead with the working people to be faithful in their work, whether they were employed by Europeans, Asians or Africans. We asked them to contribute to the best of their ability in order not to harm the record of Africans in general. Labourers were taught the value of their energy in production as the basis of their demands for fair remuneration. While Africans knew that they were the ones who produced, they had never been told the sum total of their production. A worker could pick six tins of coffee a day. We explained to them that one tin weighs 20 pounds and sells for 100/- (\$14). He receives one shilling and one-fifth (17s) a day for a product that sells for 600 shillings (\$84). We believed that if the workers knew the value of their work they would know the value of their laziness if anyone called them lazy. They would also understand who develops the country and what part of national wealth returns to the country.

If you visit Kenya today you will find that on the railroads Africans are station masters, conductors, ticket collectors. You will also find African guards. Should you go to the executive department of the railway, you will find that apart from the highest office, most of the posts of responsibility are

11

2127

held by Africans. The dock workers are Africans. Because of the shortage of land, many people had to go to the cities to get jobs. They are in post and telegraph.

The workers in the cities in the transport industries, the tailors, domestic servants, civil servants organised themselves into trade unions, about 75,000 of them. The dock workers were organized into a union with an office known as the "Poor Man's Office" (Ofici Masikini) and carried on a great strike at Mombasa. The Government accused the dock workers union of threatening strike-breakers with cutting off of their ears and they arrested and deported their leader, Cego Kibacia, without trial.

On the first of May 1949, an East African Trade Union Congress was formed. The Government accused the Trade Union Congress of being a political organisation and refused registration. Then on May 15, 1950, the Congress officers were arrested on the charge of being executives of an unregistered union. The Trade Unions ordinance contains the same restrictions against picketing as the British Labour movement fought against in the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927. It took the British workers nearly 20 years and a Labour Government to get rid of these restrictions. The Kenya people do not think that in the modern world they should have to wait so long before they can have free trade unions.

The KAU did not enter into any strikes. It left the organisation of the workers to the unions. When the trade unions appealed to the KAU for help, the KAU conjointly with the unions approached the Government and the African Members of the Legislative Council on behalf of the Trade Unions. The KAU sought by every means to work in harmony with the Kenya Government. But the KAU was under continuous attack and criticism. If any person should be accused or arrested by a policeman and he was found to be a member of the KAU, the Government said it was the KAU who instigated his action. Therefore one of the policies of the

12

KAU was to plead with the people to pay their poll taxes on time and to refrain from any action that would bring accusations from the police challenging the growth of the organisation, on the basis of petty thefts etc.

Before holding public meetings we got permission from the police. For a meeting on a European farm we got permission not only from the officials but from the European farmers. Europeans were invited and encouraged to attend these meetings. No farm of any leader of the KAU was not terraced for soil conservation.

We also encouraged self-help in the form of Africans working for other Africans. We were concerned with encouraging cooperative farms in fruit-farming, coffee-growing, and wattle bark. We were not encouraging or opposing individual enterprise, but cooperative enterprise was most ideal. There are no political parties in Kenya, neither Conservative, Liberal, Labour, Communists or Anarchists. The Africans in Kenya have always lived on a communal basis with one helping the other. Village communal activities were being organised by the people themselves. These applied for membership in the KAU so that we had group memberships as well as individual memberships.

Our political education was arranged in the form of yearly conferences. The agenda of these meetings was first discussed on a local basis. Next the questions were brought before the district and then the provincial council. Those topics were then prepared by the national headquarters to be discussed at the general conference. The questions that affected Kenya were those affecting agricultural people everywhere, trade unions, the wages of the workers, the land question, compulsory education, the electoral system, education of women, the questions of cattle and soil erosion, health and even the question of the general morale of the country. Women denied a license to sell lunch under a tree-shade called at the KAU office for necessary action.

13

2128

KAU meetings were without exception orderly. There were never any incidents, riots or demonstrations, before or after a meeting. If the Europeans had wanted to bring civilisation and order to Africa, they would have welcomed and encouraged the activity of the KAU. We expected those who wished Africa well to start from the firm foundation of what the Africans were building for themselves. Building on the basis of these efforts of the Africans would have gained the confidence of the Africans.

### Chapter III

#### KENYA AFRICANS BUILD COOPERATIVES

**B**EFORE the Emergency there were more than 8,000 Cooperatives initiated and organised by Africans. They were begun as a result of the restrictions and obstacles put in the way of Africans who were trying to adopt modern methods of trade and production.

If you move from one street to another in the city and townships, you will see African men and women doing business as tailors, tin-smiths, hair-dressers, bootmakers, bicycle repairs, etc. from the verandahs of premises rented from Indians, who are the chief traders in Kenya. Semi-educated Africans have been able to learn trading practices and start small businesses of their own by watching the Indians while sweeping out their offices. In urban areas you find African vegetable stalls side by side with that of Asians in the market.

In Nairobi, the capital, there are three peak hours of traffic every day, in the morning, at lunch time and after work. The Africans do not participate in the lunch hour traffic. While the Europeans and Asians drive home for lunch the Africans eat their lunch under the shade of the trees. African women cater to their trade in open-air restaurants.

Trading in the fullest capacity has only recently been started by Africans in Kenya.

I remember one instance where an Indian wanted to auction his block of buildings on the open market and bidding was carried on by Europeans, Africans and Indians. An African who was almost in rags kept up with the bidding until it came to 330,000 shillings (over \$46,000) which no other person could outbid. People looked at him with disdain, thinking

2 1 3 0

that perhaps he was only joking and did not know the financial responsibility involved. The African paid that money in cash the following day, and almost half of the amount he paid not by cheque but in money that his partner was carrying in his pocket at that moment. When other big houses were auctioned, more than seven trading premises were actually purchased by these Africans until some of the Europeans and Indians organised through their Chamber of Commerce a way to give their people priority before the auctions.

Africans in bus services, transport services and supplies were beginning to control the trade. Also African builders organised building companies which got building contracts from Europeans and Asians, not to speak of the other Africans. These traders and transporters were beginning to develop their own country, take their places in the East African economic world and offer keen competition to trained businessmen, transporters and builders. These Africans were mainly supported by other Africans. They wanted encouragement from those who had introduced European practices into Africa. But Africans, when referring to the desired encouragement, are reminded of the person who was dangerously ill in hospital. His relatives surrounded his bedside, hoping he would recover sufficiently to sip some water. But to his surprise, when he recovered, they would not even give him a sip of water.

Europeans and Indians give credit terms to African traders which force them to operate on a share crop basis. According to the Kenya law Africans were prohibited from expanding any form of financial credit over £10 (\$28). Africans have to pay cash.

In areas alienated to Europeans, the African squatter who produces a crop must sell it at a low price to the European farmer who in turn sells the produce at a high rate under a trade label "European produce." The Africans must not keep goats or more than 15 sheep or over five cows. According to

16

the present system the African is to be disowned even in the areas which the European settlers allotted to him as a squatter and is to be kept as a village type, a source of labour for the Europeans.

Africans in Kenya were discouraged from coffee planting because it requires large scale production. There could be no question of ability. Africans in Uganda, Tanganyika and West Africa are coffee planters. My father was the first African to grow coffee in Kenya, but he was able to do so only by defying Government orders against it. When the Government prosecuted him, he had to take the matter to the Supreme Court in Nairobi and won the case. During the Emergency the Government set up a one-mile safety zone between the European coffee plantations and the African farms. All crops were destroyed in the safety zone—the entire one-mile strip taken from the African side.

However, during the 1939-1945 war, Africans were able to make some money from trade. This tended to make the Africans of Central Province wealthier from the money point of view and Europeans were worried how to reduce this African money circulating in the reserve. As soon as the war was over a secret plan was made to sell to Africans reconditioned military vehicles on terms of cash without credit, each vehicle at a price of 10,000/- (\$1,500). Africans who wanted to better their economic position fell into this trap and within a very short time every road was covered with lorries that did not really last long. Only European automobile firms were licenced to sell these ex-military vehicles. African earnings returned to the Europeans through these reconditioned lorries.

The District Administrators initiated the system of building shops. Africans were allowed to build shops of permanent material in trading centers, each allotted a plot of 40' by 80'. A time limit was placed on the completion of these shops after which the builder lost his trading licence and trading site. In the Central Province alone which has about

17

2130

eight districts each district had about 2,000 shops costing about 8,000/- (over \$1000) each. This meant that between 1939 and 1949 Africans of one Province spent nearly 80 million shillings (over \$10,000,000) in this way.

The result is that if you visited any of these trading centers you found two, three or four restaurants with not sufficient people to use them. In one shop you would find only a bar of blue soap, one blanket and a lantern. The African, having spent 8,000/- of his savings on permanent materials, did not have any money left to buy trading goods for his shop.

The other way of taking the Africans' earnings was the encouragement of court cases on land. In 1940 I was appointed one of the members of His Excellency's Standing Advisory Council for the African District Council to examine the District Council's findings on the whole country. We have in Central Province the report on tribunal fines and fees. £11,000 (\$30,000) per year were taken in one district alone.

Now what were the type of cases? Since there is an acute shortage of land and more people cannot be absorbed either in small industry, in trade or in any other work, the alternative was to go back to farming. Those who went out for military service as tractor drivers or hospital assistants found that those who were left behind had cultivated extensively, partly through the encouragement of the Government and partly due to the production for the war effort and war supplies. Then ex-servicemen returned with a record of their work in the war and with promises made to them by the Government for rehabilitation. The Government did not fulfil the promises or even give them land for rehabilitation. Next, Government encouraged the tribunal officers to receive land cases which involved dividing of the land between the families or between clans or between sons and brothers. Cases would go on sometimes two or three years. The money spent for court expenses, together with the money spent for entertainment of the elders when they visited the sites of the land involved, was much

higher than the value of that particular difference in boundary. But all this was encouraged because the Government was reaping the advantages of these differences between Africans and the money was going to the tribunal court in abundance.

Africans, however, are chiefly interested in developing the resources and trade of their country. Today, everything that the Africans in Kenya use in their daily life must be imported: cooking utensils, farming tools, clothing, transport, money, salt, vehicles. In some areas if an African is seen wearing African costume he is arrested under the Emergency powers. Should women allow their hair to grow longer, they are arrested. They are forced to wear the equipment of European life, produced by Europeans. It is not that the Africans do not want to use European-type goods. They have been trying for years to gain the right to adopt Western ways of production and trade.

In 1944 the Import Controller asked all the Africans to bring cash with them and lorries sufficient to collect the goods they wanted to buy. A group arrived in Nairobi about 11 o'clock in the morning with money in silver and paper which was hoarded in bags and baskets amounting to 65,000/- (about \$10,000), and about 20 empty lorries. They asked me to be their interpreter to the Import Controller. After some time we were told that we should go back to the reserve with our money, there was no goods for those lorries. We told him he had promised us and I showed him the letter he had written to the shop-keepers. These shop-keepers had each contributed either 2,000, 5,000 or 10,000 shillings according to the size of their shops and their financial ability. Sometimes one shop was kept by three brothers who put all their earnings together to purchase these goods. Failing to get the goods, we could not return with the money. The whole country knew that there was money with those people. It was dangerous to keep on carrying the money around and besides, before our return some of the money would have

been spent on transport.

We decided to ask the Import Controller to keep this money for the people. We returned to his office at 2 o'clock but he definitely said that he could not either take the money or give us goods. Next was the question of where to deposit the money. I went to the Secretariat, saw Colonel Marchant and explained the situation. I explained that should they carry the money back to the reserve it would create a problem. He gave me an urgent appointment and when I went to see him with the elders (the money meanwhile was left in the lorry outside) he called Mr. O'Hagan, the then District Commissioner of Nairobi, who was asked to assist me in depositing the money. The District Commissioner asked me to deposit the money in my name. I refused because if that money should remain in the bank under my name one day and the commission given, then I would be earning with other people's money. The Commissioner suggested that he and I should jointly sign a slip stating that this money was in the Barclay's Bank pending the availability of goods. About 4 o'clock I left and visited an Indian barrister, Mr. S. G. Amin, and asked his assistance in drawing up a cooperative memorandum for registration of a company. He accepted and I asked him to give it top priority and with that I returned home. I did not want to return to the city until the memorandum had been registered. Three letters came. One of them was abusive. It was from the District Commissioner saying that the bank could not keep the money any longer. I did not reply to any letter but I kept on insisting that Mr. Amin should finish his draft of the memorandum and present it to the Registrar of Cooperative Societies.

This money founded the first African Cooperative Society in Kenya, called Kenya African Farmers and Traders Cooperative Limited. From there some other cooperatives in the country started and they increased to 8,000. Most of these have been liquidated by the Government during the Emer-

20

gency. The Government encouraged instead the formation of cooperatives under the direction of Europeans. In this way the Government is always in control, knows the financial power of the cooperatives and controls their growth, instead of this remaining in the hands of the members.

Even before the Emergency, African cooperatives were subordinated to European cooperatives. The goods produced by Africans had first to be sold to European cooperatives working with the Government in produce control and marketing. Financially this mediation meant a loss and also the African produce loses its identity. Hence their agricultural contribution is not recognized. Here again the Africans do not want to swallow up but to learn by experience which will give them the desired confidence in their capacity to produce and trade with others.

The formation of the first African Bank in Kenya (Mumbi Kizina Ltd) was the result of Government discouragement of African efforts to increase productivity.

The Agikuyu were not provided with equipment for the battlefield during the second World War. The part played by them was mainly production of food and food supplies. The Agikuyu with their rich country supplied vegetables in such abundance that the Government established two dry vegetable factories, one at a place called Karatina in Njeri and the other at a place called Kerogoiya in Embu. According to the negotiation entered between the Government and the African owners of the land where these two factories were established, the Africans were to put their land at the disposal of the Government. The Government was to help the Africans with irrigation and vegetable seeds and then the Africans were to sell the vegetables back to the factory. The enterprise was so successful that Africans in that neighborhood started to earn more money than they had ever earned all their lives. The agreement was that the land would be returned to them after the war and that the factory would equally be placed at

21

2132

their disposal, in fact in the hands of the Africans, through their African District Councils.

When the war ended the Africans through their leaders and their local district councils approached the Government in order that it should fulfil its agreement of turning the factory over to the Africans, so that the Africans could control the factory and carry on production in peace as they had in war. The Government was to retain the market in Britain and the world market for tinned dry vegetables, acting on behalf of the Africans.

The Africans said that they were willing to subscribe six million shillings (about \$1,000,000) which would be used for the salaries and upkeep of the factory and the wages of the European and non-African engineers, transportation, etc. When the Government heard that the Africans were seeking to have exclusive control it refused. It insisted that the Government must control 51% of shares and the Africans retain only 49%. The Africans objected on the ground that that was contrary to the previous agreement. They said they were capable of controlling the factory and running it, at the same time retaining cooperation of the Government. The Africans said it appeared to be the Government's intention to discourage Africans running the factory with a view to the Government taking over the control of land which had already been manured and irrigated and was suitable for crops. Instead of the Government agreeing to assist the Africans to continue this method of self-help to get vegetables to feed the hungry world it proposed to demolish the two factories.

The Africans, having been denied permission to run the dry vegetable factories, decided then to open up an African National Bank with the money which was intended for the factory. A retired civil servant got all the information and initiated the machinery to Register the Mumbi Kigina Ltd. which means National Bank.

We sought the Government's permission to have such a

bank established in Kenya for African traders and farmers. The Governor delayed giving that permission, shelving our application in the Secretariat. By 1951 we appealed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view to getting his support in persuading the Governor of Kenya to sanction our appeal. That also failed. By this time African patience was beginning to reach saturation point. They had worked hard to earn money, they were prepared to cooperate with the Government in every respect to produce food for a food-hungry world. Yet at every point their energies were frustrated and they felt poorer and more retarded than before they began to adopt Western ways of trade.

When the Emergency started, the first act of the Government was to close down all African shops, confiscate buses, suppress all African economic activities. Under the Emergency, Africans are not allowed to visit the city where they can open up their banking accounts or even draw their previous savings. According to the law nobody is supposed to draw money and the Africans are not supposed to keep accounts of their own. Africans are at the mercy of the Kenya police, the European Reserve, the Kenya Defense Forces of Europeans, the army and the African Home Guard. During the round up, if Africans are found with more than 30/- (\$4.30), that money is taken away from them. If in an African shop there is found more than £5 (\$15) any day, the money is confiscated by the Government as well as by the military and police forces during the round-up and the Africans cannot reclaim it. If an incident takes place in the neighbourhood of any trading centre all the shops and restaurants are forced to close down until the shop-keepers give information as to who committed the offence. Licences, passes of working people, are torn up and they are then charged with being "spivs." Not only are the Africans forced back into the reserves, into forced free labour. The European and Indian traders in the cities have had their businesses com-

pletely disrupted. Economic activity has been paralysed.

During the reconstruction after 1945, Africans knew from the wireless, newspaper and their fellow countrymen who had visited Britain under the auspices of the British Council, of the amount of money borrowed from the United States by Britain. They knew that the British people were passing through a very hard time. Therefore the Africans were carrying out a programme of self-help in education and in business without expecting money to be appropriated by Government. They knew that the first money available had to be used to provide homes and shelter for those bombed-out people in Britain. Africans were supporting themselves in their schools, building their own trading centres, buying second-hand vehicles, patiently and without bitterness. But when the signs of recovery came to Britain and the Europeans in Kenya started then to fight, to destroy the schools, trading centres, vehicles and other work of Africans, that could only develop a collective resentment among the Africans. Africans cannot understand that Government should exist to increase poverty. It is impossible to understand how the rest of the world can benefit from it.

24

#### Chapter IV

#### KENYA AFRICANS BUILD A COLLEGE

The Africans believed that in order to understand themselves and the peoples of other countries, children in Africa should enjoy compulsory education, irrespective of racial community or religion. Africans could see that European and Asian children in Kenya enjoyed compulsory education, but the education of Africans was discouraged.

The Kenya Government spends £59 (about \$180) per head on each European; £14-16s (about \$42) for each Asian, and £1-10s (\$4.30) on each African. And this assessment is only for children of high school, teachers training. Elementary schools for Africans receive no assistance. They are run only by missionaries or by Africans themselves. Mission schools separated the people according to the conflicting doctrines of their sponsors but they all treated African practices and beliefs as heathen and ungodly.

In 1925 the first African independent schools were started at Gethunguri by a man called Ndirangu. These schools, 400 of them, with an average enrollment of 62,000 children, received no grant-in-aid from the Government. Africans imposed special taxation on themselves to pay for the schools. Each school had its own elected managing committee responsible to the community.

The Government did not supply trained teachers for these schools. When I returned from the United States and England in 1938 I found that these independent schools were being closed by the Government as inefficient because they lacked trained teachers. The Government offered me the post of Principal of one of the Government schools. The former principal had been getting £1,000 (\$2,800) a year. I was

25

2134

offered £10 (\$28.00) a month by Mr. Wisdom in the Education Department. I told them that my tuition had not been halved during my training in Britain because of my color. Africans who had remained in Kenya were getting much higher wages than those who returned from overseas. The purpose was to discourage other Africans from going abroad.

But the "half-salary reason" did not dictate my choice.

Upon my return my parents had organized a very big reception in my honor. At that reception I put on my cap and gown. My father looked at it and said he wondered whether I had purchased that cap and gown at an Indian bazaar or from Woolworth's. He said that he would not believe that this was in any way a University degree until I was able to transfer this power to other children. The "other children" did not mean my own brothers and sisters. It meant African people.

My father was at that time 75 years old and he wanted to see in order to believe. Later on he invited several important Chiefs and members of the Independent schools together. They asked my father to allow me to go and open a teachers training school for the village schools. My father accepted on one condition, that the elders should take the responsibility for the building and so forth. It was to be started on the 7th of January.

Those elders paid 5/- (70¢) each, which brought the total up to £10 (\$28.00) as security for the beginning of the new school. The management Committee of various independent schools decided to return to their respective districts and provinces and select several suitable children to be the first candidates to open the new school. They had a ballot to select one school to be set aside under the new management. The ballot fell on Gethunguri, the seat of the first independent school.

We decided to open up the school with at least 25 students and £10. A sports meet was arranged, the field fenced in with

banana fibres and dried maize stocks so that the new venture could be made known to the public and at the same time we could get more money from the spectators to start the school. We got about £20 more which brought the total to £30 (about \$90) and we actually decided to call the school *Kenya Teachers College*.

To the sports meeting we invited the Provincial Commissioners as well as the Governor. The Governor sent the Chief Secretary to deputise for him. None of them knew what was going to be the name of the school. We had secretly made a board with the words *Kenya Teachers College* and had asked the oldest African, Muirure wa Gatai, according to the custom of the Agikuyu, to pronounce the word *Kenya Teachers College*. It took him more than two weeks to learn to pronounce the words. He was assisted on to the platform with the Maturanguru (branches of trees carried by elders on ceremonial occasions) and the arrow and shield, as is the custom of Africans who declare a new thing. After the prizes were distributed to winning teams and the individuals, Muirure, amid complete silence, pointed toward the area, saying, "Now from this time, according to the African custom, I sanctify and bless this place, naming *Kenya Teachers College* as the 'Sharpener' (Inorero in Kikuyu)." Simultaneously the blackboard with *Kenya Teachers College* was uncovered, and African women shrieked "Ngemi" five times as for a new-born son. A new dawn had risen.

We had planned on only 25 students but on opening day, 7th January, 1939, we found 200 more students, each with a bundle of clothes, each giving as his or her excuse that he was not properly selected by the Village School Committee and that he also needed the educational opportunity. So that instead of starting with 25 students we started with 225.

Their ages ranged from seven years to 50. We decided then not to deny them their educational needs, but to change the policy of *Kenya Teachers College*. Instead of having it as a

select school for only 25 students we would make it a pyramid type. Teachers training, adult classes, the infants school and secondary department were all together. The teachers would find a place to practise among the old people as well as the children. Later we drew up extensive plans to extend the *Kenya Teachers College* into the University of Kenya. The sites were selected and the blueprints of the 22 colleges of law, medicine, home economics, liberal arts, agriculture, science and technology, were all drawn up and are in Kenya today. In 1948 we submitted our proposals to the Colonial Office and the United Nations.

A Board of Trustees was established, £5 (\$15) was agreed on as the minimum donation for a person to get a certificate of membership on the Board. This is what happened. An elderly man in the neighborhood wanted to be made a member of the Board. He did not have money but he had a half acre of wattle bark trees. It was assessed at £5 and he decided to give it to us. A boy of 12 received a donkey from his father and he wanted to be a member of the Trustees. We assessed the donkey at 35/- (about \$5) and the remainder he paid in installments. An African priest of the orthodox church wanted his son to attend the school. He had two pigs and he offered a sow as his equivalent for his membership to the Board and the boar for part payment of fees for his son. The other Chiefs also became members of the Trustees but since they were members of the Civil Service they had to remain incognito.

People who worked in the city proposed that their wives be active members of the Trustees, attending whenever the meetings were held in the College, while when the meetings took place in the City the husbands would take part.

The work was started at once so that the students should not only attend classes but would help in building the school. One of the elders, Kalura, came to us saying that all he wanted to find out was whether we were able to eat his food.

28

For the first three months he offered to give us food for 100 students who were boarders. The rest were being taken care of in the villages. Another elder, Kago, who wanted to plant more grass in his grazing field, offered to give us firewood as well as poles for building, and in return we were to plant grass in his farms.

The Europeans present at the sports meet were shocked. To have the word *Teachers College* in Kenya was in itself a bold act because of the existing educational policy of the Government. There was only one High School called the Alliance High School for higher education. Students from Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia and Uganda had to go to Makerere College in Uganda. In 1925, three Colleges for Africans had been established: Fort Hare in South Africa, Achimota in West Africa and Makerere in East Africa. Not until 1953 did Makerere confer a degree on an African and that first African was in fact a graduate of the African independent schools.

The Government did not accept lightly the announcement that *Kenya Teachers College* was now organized by Africans. The officers of the Kiambu District called a general meeting, and Chiefs and other members were called in throughout the country to explain to the Government where we would get money for the teachers and books. He was told that these people were prepared, since they were agricultural people, to sell their produce in order to purchase anything they wanted.

From that time on there were mixed feelings between the Government and the *Kenya Teachers College*. We decided that as far as possible we would invite some of the children who were refused admission to other schools on the ground of age. The Government policy was that if a student should fail in his examination or even seem taller than the others, no matter what his age, he was denied continuation of education. Our policy was that as long as a person was willing and

29

2136

capable of improving his education, we were going to extend the opportunity to him. The Inspector of Schools called *Kenya Teachers College* a dumping place for those who fail. But African parents regarded it as their "Inorero" and we, the members of the College, decided that we were going to compete academically with other schools and colleges. We checked our syllabus from the suggestions obtained from his Majesty's Stationery Office, London and high school tests from the United States and India, all adapted to African environment and needs.

The question of building the school and the purchasing of the land arose. First we decided that all the land must be acquired by the College and become the property of the College. Second that the elders must assist to build the school. We then decided that we were going to raise money from produce as well as from a competition of the age-groups.

The age-group is a term which means all those who were circumcised in the same year. Thus, those who were circumcised in 1919 obtained their name from a national epidemic in that year. My age-group was called *Kimiri* which means epidemic. *Kihlumwiri* was an older group called the big knife in the body. *Njung'e* is the age-group including all the oldest men and *Ciringi* (Shilling) was the age-group that was circumcised at the time that the shilling system was introduced in Kenya. The age-group system was transformed to serve the community educationally. Every person or age-group in competition with others identified himself with the College. They came to see the school and we had the children sing songs, some songs creating envy and others appealing for help, e.g., hospitality or boarding places for the students. Each age-group made itself responsible for one definite task. The *Kimiri* group decided to buy land and so did the *Kihlumwiri*. *Shilling* decided to give water-pump facilities, other groups to build a school dispensary and others to build the classroom building.

The *Kenya Teachers College* began in January, 1939. By October, World War II was declared. Our plans for education were almost brought to a standstill. We were, however, able to collect by that time 40,000/- (\$6,000) with which we managed to buy the land, build mud huts, and concrete floor class buildings.

By 1940, instead of having the 225 students, the number had increased to 400. By 1946, we had about 900 students. Parents in the villages who were offering some hospitality to student boarders were no longer able to do so. We therefore asked the students to build their own accommodations. We did not have enough beds so we had to use dry banana fibres for beds.

During this time, when control made things extremely difficult and new building materials were not available, we started a competition between the students to put up mud buildings or mud classrooms without using any European material. No new nails but only old ones picked up on the street second-hand could be used for these mud hut buildings; similarly with second-hand corrugated tin and iron and strong ropes and banana fibres for thatching.

During one of the competitions some elders came to check our work in building and decided to offer us two bulls to be eaten by the students who won the first prize. The work was very hard and some of the students did not take part in it. The principal and the teachers decided to pick out merits and demerits in each house so that all of the students would take part in the feast except those students who did not help. A school nearby lent us their band and we had a well-earned holiday. We decided to go by the river-side so that when we were on the banks of the river eating and feasting with the music, right across the bank were about 25 students who were actually enjoying the music and the sight but no meat because they had not worked. The punishment by ostracising was so strong that nobody else dared to evade the work.

We presented a scheme to the Director of Education, telling him that since the Africans were continually asking for more education and did not know the price of education, our idea was to throw the whole enterprise into their own hands and regard it as their mirror. Those Europeans who would like to see what Africans think, what Africans want and how Africans wanted things to be done, could see the work of the *Kenya Teachers College*. We told the officers that in case of need we would go to the Government for help. In fact we did not go except on such questions of getting special transport concessions for scholars, and permission to hold sports meets in the cities.

Some of the elders saw that we were continually criticised by the Inspectors of Schools who visited our schools. Our buildings were mud huts and they thought that we must have permanent buildings. Those elders who were qualified as masons came and offered their services to the *Kenya Teachers College*. Some of the African elders in the neighbourhood offered us their quarries where we could cut stones. Elders came for the weekends, bringing their food with them, and offered to cut stones for the schools. Students and teachers went during their working hours in the agricultural period to collect stones. The carrying of stones created an unhappy impression on Kahura who was supplying the school with food and he decided that his team of four bulls, used to draw a cart loaded with food for the students, would come earlier twice a week and would help to transport about 25 ft. of stones each trip. In the neighbourhood there were many Africans who had lorries which they hired out. When they saw that the bulls were used for transport they offered one day to donate the full transport from the quarry in lorries.

During the vacation we thought that we should start a poultry and agricultural farm. We suggested to the students that when they returned each could bring an egg, a chicken or anything in that line. During our second term we got more

32

than 200 chickens, pullets and hens and about 600 eggs. One by one the students came bringing their donation to the student-teaching receiving committee. A good many eggs were broken and we had no hen ready for hatching or an incubator. Some of the children brought lambs and my father supplied four cattle.

As to the question of teachers, we were to pay them more than they were paid by Government in order to attract them to come to the *Kenya Teachers College*. Men and women had equal status, equal pay for equal work. We asked teachers the conditions of their accepting work because the school was self-supporting and we had no money. They could request as much money as they wished but they would be the ones who would be counting the fees and depositing them in the bank. In that way they knew how much we got and how much should go to them. For the first five years, I, as the principal of the *Kenya Teachers College*, was getting 6d. (7¢) a day although the other teachers and headmasters were paid £15 (\$45) a month and over. My parents decided to keep my wife and have continued to do so until today. So although I got married in 1940 and have 6 children I have never lived with my wife more than three months continually because of the economic situation.

Before I left England in 1938 I approached the chartered architects, Alston & Drew at 24 Woburn Square, to draw up a plan for a house for myself. At the request of my father it was to be a three-story building which was to cost about three million shillings. When I returned home my father showed me the site of my land, timber, materials and other things that had been collected for my house. But although the foundation was completed up to the damp course in 1940, it remains at that level today. Why? At the Teachers College others were offering their effort, sweat and money in shillings and pennies. One student came to the school holding six chalks and a small blackboard, pleading that that was the only money

33

2138

he had and that we should accept him for that because the blackboard was used to teach his own brothers and sisters in the village. As for me, I remembered the challenge put forward by my father at the opening party and I turned over all the building materials of my house, stones, iron bars etc. to the *Kenya Teachers College*.

Although my parents were at that time able to put up such a house for me, I did not want any mistrust among the college supporters that coins they were donating for their national college might be used for my house. I decided to build my house only after the college was completed and never to handle the college finances in any manner. I asked the elders for the chalk, blackboard and textbooks only.

My father was disappointed at first, but I was able to persuade him to agree with me. You see, according to the Kikuyu custom he does not regard me as his son but he is my son. Moreover, he regards my wife as his mother and also as his mother-in-law. I think that I should clarify this point because it illustrates the structure and the solidity of African family life. My first son is called after my father, and the second son after my father-in-law. My first daughter is called after my mother, my second daughter after my mother-in-law. The third son would be called after my brother and if there were another he would be named after my wife's brother. This means that no sooner does my wife become pregnant than my father and mother start to challenge each other and be friendly to my wife, competing as to who is going to be born first. Should my wife have a daughter, then from my mother's point of view she has won the bet. And since the daughter is called after my mother, my father calls my oldest daughter his wife (only in a joking way). When my son is born, then my mother calls my son her husband. This means that if I have a quarrel with my wife and she goes to her own parents her father will ask her where have you left me or where have you left my wife. That explains

34

why in the African custom divorce was not obtainable because a wife would never know where to go, since in her own household she has her own parents and mine. It follows from this also that my father or mother are friendly with my wife and that my parents, in supporting my children and my wife, are supporting themselves.

The attitude towards the College was divided. Some people, no doubt, wanted to help, but other people had a private ulterior motive. For instance, one man, called Kamera wa Rebiro, offered land to the school on the site of the *Kenya College* and also part of his farm to be used as a school farm. This was used by his own goats, sheep and cattle and was actually shared by students as their playing ground. He did not have anything left. The classrooms were just next door to the church. The kitchen and dining hall were right on the boundary of some of the members who were not as keen as Kamera to place it at the disposal of the school. They thought that perhaps the school would only remain for a few years and then fail. They were afraid that if they gave away their land to this new Institute, when failure came the land would be occupied and used for other purposes than education.

Some thought that since the school was assisted by Africans from all over Kenya, they should delay giving land to the school until they could get much higher prices for it. These gave only 45 feet where we built pit latrines about 30 feet deep and 45 feet long, segmented into 3 foot by 2 foot latrines. Now for 300 student boarders as well as 600 or more day students, that was not sufficient. Soon the latrines became full, and owing to the climatic conditions of the area the whole thing started to boil over. For Africans accustomed to going into the Bush for their latrine, the cleaning and taking care of latrines was a new unpleasant experience. I asked the teachers and the students to carry on with the classroom work, but I told them I would not leave that filthy there and go and teach. I took hoe and shovel and tried to

35

2139

do my best. The school carpenter came and assisted me. For two hours nobody else came at all, and then two students came and gradually I won the confidence of all the teachers and students until we were able to put the latrines into condition. Meanwhile a driver was sent to the Health Department to get the material for that type of work, lime, etc. This incident gave the opportunity for a heart-to-heart talk with the students. Three months per year are for vacation and the remaining months are spent in school. Therefore, we stressed to the students that the school must really be a home for us all, and that staff and students should keep it clean and tidy just as they would their own home.

There was a competition in tree planting, and the trees for the avenues were planted either on the basis of a class competition or a district basis or community basis. When distinguished visitors from the United States, India, England or any other part of Africa, including Kenya, paid the school a visit, it was taken as an opportunity to plant a new tree. We kept up correspondence with the visitors, reminding them of the progress of their trees, and we invited them to return to see how their trees have grown. Some trees were for shade, others were planted for soil preservation, others for botanical study and others to bear fruit. At noon or in the fruit season the students all flocked to the shade of the fruit trees, and of course they are allowed to eat the fruit freely.

The study of agriculture and providing food for the students were combined with growing part of the vegetables. There again we introduced methods of conservation planning for vegetables and fruit, as well as flowers.

Banana and coffee growing were used in a classroom to study the larger aspect of economics. Maize was also used for that purpose.

A brochure from the Nairobi branch of the International Harvester Co. of the United States, describing varieties of maize and maize products, was used to interpret to African

students several ways of using a grain of maize, such as maize stock, manure, starch, paper making, etc. The concepts of mercantile theory and trade were illustrated with the coffee and banana plants, how one banana tree could produce the money value, to be the cost of production for other banana trees, and the money accumulated from these could be used for profit. We did not study the kind of crops grown only by one group, but those representative of the whole country. Coffee was a useful example because we had students from Kesii and Meru as well as Wachagga in Tanganyika where Africans plant coffee just as some European settlers do in Kenya.

The question of water supply for the school brought us to the problems of engineering, the survey of the pipe line, as well as collecting the several springs into one from where our hydraulic ram was built. We had to dig a trench about one quarter of a mile long and about 25 feet deep in order to collect all the springs from one area. The work lasted more than one school year, but the completion of it was in itself an enterprise.

Chapter V  
EDUCATION FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

**KENYA** Africans want to be a part of the world, not separate from it. It is the officials who have encouraged separation, racialism as well as tribalism. We were able to work from a human and a cultural point of view only by taking a different road from that imposed by the European settlers in Kenya. Racial separation in hotels, restaurants, cinemas and even churches and cemeteries was maintained and insisted upon by the European guests of the Africans. The Africans wanted to extend hospitality to Europeans and Asians, not on this racial basis but in their own way.

Some settlers oppose political freedom, they oppose self-help organisation by Africans. They even try to make people believe that they are defending European civilisation from barbarism. They also imply that the "culture-less" Africans intend to drive them out. That is absolutely untrue. Africans welcome inter-racial cooperation. They want to live in harmony with the Europeans and other races too. What these settlers want to maintain is European domination on African doorsteps. They are afraid that inter-racial cooperation will end in African rule because Africans are the overwhelming majority. We do not see anything wrong in majority rule of a country. Minority rule is what has created the inter-racial disorder. Majority rule, which is natural and inevitable, would bring inter-racial order.

In their attempt to adjust themselves to the new environment created by the coming of non-Africans from all over the world to their country, parents thought that their children must know such languages that would enable them to communicate with the peoples of other countries. When the

Government started to encourage Swahili language in African schools, these independent schools were the first to object. The Swahili language is a simple language used throughout East Africa by Africans and Europeans alike. It does not belong to any one of the national groups. If the Africans learned only Swahili, after some years they would lose their identity and could be challenged on the seniority basis that they have been in those areas only as long as the newcomers. However illogical their views may appear, Europeans, Asians and Arabs are not prepared to drop their own languages completely and depend only on Swahili. Africans wanted education, of course, in their national languages. But as a language of general communication they insisted on being taught English which is a language used by hundreds of millions all over the world.

The syllabus at *Kenya Teachers College* was challenged by the Director of Education. Academically our standards were not inferior. For example, in the General Post Office about seven students of secondary education were presented with an examination which would qualify them for the post in the Telegraphic Department. All of them except Mwangi, the student from *Kenya Teachers College*, failed. Mwangi passed with distinction and was placed next to a European officer. Another student from *Kenya Teachers College* went to South Africa and returned after five years with a University degree at a time when Makerere College in East Africa had never produced a single candidate with a degree.

We were not interested primarily in preparing students for Government examinations, but for life in the modern world. We told the Government that of the 7,000 students in the village schools in 1945 only 200 were able to go to secondary schools and of those only 12 students were admitted to Makerere College. The remainder were thrown out of education altogether without a certificate of any kind. Our standing had to be judged on its special merits and needs.

Our syllabus did not include only the usual studies, but also African folkways. We told the Director of Education that a rapidly dying old African civilization could be kept alive only by Africans. Were we to wait for youth to take University degrees overseas and then return to do scholarly research on African folkways? Or should we study them now when the old people are alive to give them this information? We organized the school in such a way that every child was a teacher and every teacher was a student. Every child was to go during the holidays and learn some stories and legends from his great-grandparents. After the holidays two or three students together with a teacher learned dances, games and songs which they taught the rest of the school. Those who spoke various languages like the Masai would teach others their songs. In the same way the Nyanza people would give their national songs. Each song must be written and part of the assistance that the teachers provided at the early stage was to enquire whether the song contained abusive language or not. If it did, then more suitable words were substituted without suppressing the quality and meaning of the song.

The students who came from various provinces were first of all to solve their problems of living together. Our first difficulty was to meet the food requirements of the students who had been accustomed to a different diet. For a time the students were asked to make a choice of either using the kind of food to which they were accustomed or to sacrifice their diet for educational purposes. We maintained that should students go to India or any part of Europe, America or Japan for education, they could not carry with them their own diet, and therefore one has always to adjust oneself to certain conditions of other countries. We received at the *Kenya Teachers College* the greatest cooperation.

Furthermore, we knew that some students support certain customs which others do not follow. For example, the Luo people in Nyanza Province extract their own front teeth as

a symbol of circumcision, whereas in Central Province the people use circumcision on their sex organs. All these are methods of establishing their adulthood. At first we experienced difficulties between the students who regarded others who had been operated on in different ways as not adult. In cooperation with the Student Council we carried on a series of lectures and organized the school not on the basis of origin but on the basis of school grades, academic merit and the prefect system. Thus the new student developed a new outlook to other students. Instead of looking at things on a tribal basis, they all looked on the basis of one nationality.

School songs were so composed as to emphasize the oneness in education rather than the tribalism. When we succeeded in winning the confidence of the different groups we thought it appropriate to use this same "play way" of education to bring together inter-community harmony. At the end of each year we had a sports meeting and invited Asians, Europeans and Arabs as guests. We tried at first to organize an inter-racial sports meeting but the rules and regulations governing the racial schools, and enforced by the Kenya Department of Education, would not permit us to invite European or Indian children to join in on the same sports field.

We decided on a short cut. One day I asked a friend of mine, A. D. Trench, to contact the Caledonian Society of Nairobi to take part at our Annual Sports Meeting by demonstrating some Scottish Reels. Then we visited the principal of an Indian Girls High School at Mgaru Road for another team of Indian students. We approached the European District Commissioner and the Welfare Department, and also the Kenya Information Department, to permit other facilities. They all came, and for the first time the Kenya Teachers College put forward an inter-racial program in which Asians, Africans and Europeans took part. We had more than 50,000 spectators drawn from all communities in Kenya. The success of that was not only from the sports point of view but the

way it showed for different races to work together.

At our first sports meeting in Nairobi we advertised several national songs and dances. One of the dances that was advertised was the Zulu war dance. Some of the students who were working with Indians learned some folk dances from the Indians, and when the Indians heard that some of the Africans were going to do their dances the whole town came to the field. The Governor was deputised by the Chief Secretary, Sir Gilbert Rennie, who was once the Governor of Nyasaland. The Commissioner of Police had given us permission to hold the first procession which marched from one end of the town through the city to the other. This was to start at 10 o'clock and the sports meeting was to begin at two o'clock. We had been offered by elders in the neighbourhood about 25 lorries to bring the 750 students. But unfortunately night and day at Gethunguri it poured rain and the roads were completely impassable. At one p.m. nobody had arrived and the field was packed with people. But no sooner had the Chief Secretary started to leave the field when we heard a shout from the first lorry which had brought in the first 25 students. Before long more came. In twos or threes whoever came first went in and danced what they were taught. Before long all the students came and excitement started. Dr. Leakey, the Curator of Crydon Museum in Nairobi, acted as announcer at the microphone. The film which was taken at that sports meeting was sent to Britain and publicly shown.

During the war, American G. I.s were stationed in Nairobi. The British and American officials did not encourage the mixing of Negro G.I.s with Africans, Europeans or Asians. For Christmas Eve in 1944 we invited 240 Negro G.I.s of the 840th U. S. Army Engineers to Christmas Eve dinner at my father's residence at Banana Hills in Klambu, together with Europeans, Asians and Americans. There were 1,000 people altogether. Later they came to the sports meet of the College. It was the first time in Kenya that Africans, Euro-

42

peans, Indians and white and Negro Americans, sat around the same table. Later members of the Church of Scotland and Chief Philip Karanja also sponsored a party at Kikuyu for these distinguished guests. At both parties Negro spirituals drew the people together. It was the first time in the whole of East Africa that Africans heard Negroes from America sing Negro Spirituals.

We were able to initiate these forms of human relations because we were not prejudiced by European attitudes to education in Kenya. A European or Asian baby in Kenya is handed over to an African nurse or ayah when it is one month old. The nurse takes care of the child, washing it, feeding, clothing and putting to bed, and also providing recreation until the child is seven years old. During that period the child tends to respect and obey the nurse much more than her own parents, and of course, sometimes the child receives a spanking. At the age of five the child goes out with the nurse, and sometimes the nurse walks by the roadside or even goes to see African children in another neighbourhood doing their folk dances. As these European children watch African children of their own age they too start to learn the African languages and the songs. It is not unusual for a European to see her own child repeat some African folk dance in her drawing room, and of course the African nurse is warned not to take the child there again. In other words, the Asian, African and European children do not know any racial differences. It is only after that child starts to go to school that a new doctrine of racial differences is inculcated in her mind.

The European child is taught the Swahili language in the form of commands. Come! Do this! Bring food! etc.

The purpose of this is to enkindle his sense of leadership. The European child is taught "You are leader." "You are going to lead." He is trained for responsibility, and is given confidence that he is in life to lead. His leadership is correct

43

2143

and should not be challenged by the persons he may be leading, should those persons be of a different racial group.

The African child, however, who goes to a Government, Mission school, elementary, primary high school and even the Makerere College, Uganda, is taught to obey, to be submissive. While in school he is warned to avoid getting involved in politics, and to avoid the company of people who are regarded as agitators. If he should be seen developing a firm attitude to life, he would lose his scholarship and/or be thrown out of school. This has happened on several occasions. Even today several African students in Britain are losing their scholarships not because they have joined any political groupings but because they have refused to become informers on their own people.

When an African student finishes his training and joins the Civil Service, there again he is warned that as a Civil servant he must not indulge in politics. He carries on that life until he retires. Then having proved himself to be an obedient person he is nominated by the Government to represent his people whom he has had no opportunity of knowing for years nor even of participating in their social life.

The Indian child is in the middle. Indians in Kenya are not fully associated in the life of the community. Their main occupation is trade and clerical work. They are neither trained to accept leadership or even to identify themselves with a country which has no other meaning to them, except that it is the country where they trade. The discouraging impression is created by the European community that they are to return to India and Pakistan in the future, although as traders or artisans they have taken an active part in the development of the country and sunk a lot of their earnings into it. Their efforts are thus permeated with fear and anxiety, and they are divided by two loyalties.

Indians in Kenya have been giving indirect help to the African people politically and economically. The program of

44

the late J. M. Desai, one of the strongest fighters for the suppressed people, was friendly to the African people. When I was in Britain in 1937 I got a letter of introduction to the East African Indian Congress from Pandit Nehru, and the Indian Congress in Nairobi always gave us full cooperation. Indians assisted in registering the Cooperative of Farmers and Traders Limited. In 1943 when the College was in difficulties over food and finances, we appealed to Europeans and Asians and received 10,000/- (\$1500) from Indians while a European woman gave 10/- (\$1.50). The Indian Government has endowed almost 300 scholarships for African students in East Africa. In 1944 it was the Honorable A. B. Patel who put before the Legislative Council the proposal that Africans should be directly represented in the Legislative Council.

Until it was politically free India could not give much help to Africans. Since then, time and again, India has not been quiet in urging the importance and urgency of the African cause.

However, because of the Pakistan and Indian split the Indians in East Africa do not speak with one voice. The Moslem Spiritual leader, His Highness the Aga Khan, has frequently told the Moslem community that they should identify themselves with the country in which they are living. The Moslem community in East Africa is not sure whether this means the European settlers or the indigenous Africans. The fundamental difficulty of the Indians springs not from themselves but from the settlers. If the settlers backed by the Government did not foster racial splits and differences, the Indians would not be in this ambiguous position.

The Arabs, who number altogether about 24,000 in Kenya, are the oldest immigrants in the country. They were carrying on the slave trade in Africa much earlier than the Asians or Europeans. After slavery was abolished in 1877 the Arabs around the coastal areas retained control of the land illegally acquired and carried on with building estates as well as trade.

45

2144

2 1 4 5

They also intermarried with Africans, so much so that you can hardly distinguish many Arabs from Africans. In higher education Arabs attend secondary schools and Makerere College with Africans. When it comes to political demands, they are treated as a separate racial group. They too tend to identify themselves with the Arab states in the Middle East, hoping to get moral relief from being humiliated like the Africans.

Europeans too have this dual loyalty. They tend to say "we are here to stay" and in the same breath refer to Europe as "back home." They speak of the genealogy of their culture as over 2000 years old and how they introduced this and that and therefore should fill the gap of civilisation for "uncivilised" territories. They cannot explain the mystery of unqualified praise for a culture which has not had a quarter of a century of peace or freedom from bloodshed.

The Africans are the only ones without divided loyalty. Through thick or thin Africa is their national home with all it has and all it lacks. Their first loyalty is, has always been and will continue to be to that country and what it stands for. If, for instance, there was a specific assignment to be carried out by the "multi-racial" inhabitants of Kenya, and should the task prove to be very difficult, the Asians might excuse themselves on the grounds that they must go either to Pakistan or India to their relatives. Europeans would react similarly, but the Africans never have any excuse to offer or any other place to go. Therefore when an African is looking for educational methods to assist himself, he feels that he must be prepared to give the last drop of his energy and sweat to the country which is his national home.

It is important, that this background should be known by the people who want to understand the African way of going about doing things to put his house in order. Whenever education is organised on a racial basis and priority is determined on a racial basis, Africans are always last on the queue.

46

Naturally, one cannot expect an alien community to give educational priority to African communities. Nor can one expect European parents to extend educational priority to African children.

Africans know that since they are not getting the educational help from other racial communities, it is important that they should help themselves. Personally, I feel that the task of helping Africans to help themselves should start from stimulating the need to run their own schools. Parents naturally help the schools their children are attending. They feel responsible for the improvement of that particular school. They are concerned about its financial aspects. This concern and understanding will give them a better introduction to financial requirements of other social services, the understanding of which will help the individual when he pays Government taxes for roads, hospitals, education, bridges, and other services. If the Africans are only asked to pay taxes and let the authorities manipulate the money on services not understood by the Africans, they will never have an opportunity of identifying themselves with those activities, and they will never believe that what the Government is doing is really meant for them.

As these schools and these established enterprises were taking root in the community, they should have enjoyed full encouragement by the Government and the African leaders organising the African initiative should have been welcomed because they were nuclei for the common good. They were also a wholesome approach to the understanding of the contributions made by missionaries and the Government in their introduction to a common way of life.

Instead, after the Emergency was declared, the Government closed down the Independent schools and prosecuted the school committees. It turned some of the schools over to the Missionary societies and the Government Boards. It declared others "redundant," that is to say unnecessary altogether, and

47

2145

demolished them. Some schools were turned into police stations and jails and guillotines were set up in some. 35,000 innocent school children were deprived of educational facilities altogether. The Government claimed that the schools were centers of subversive activity. The African Parents Educational Association petitioned for the reopening of these schools reminding the Government of its ample power of inspection and supervision even to the point of appointing its own nominees to committees or management to receive copies of the minutes and to exercise all the rights of other members. When, despite these proposals, the Government does not reopen the schools, it cannot fail to foster the suspicion among Africans that the real aim of the Government in closing down the schools is not to deal with subversive activity but to break down the Africans' attempt to make up for the gap in African education by their own efforts.

48

#### Chapter VI AFRICAN WOMEN IN KENYA

NJERI to whom this pamphlet is dedicated is the leader of the African Women's League, an organisation of 10,000 African women. She is a woman of 52 or 53 and she cannot read or write legibly. Today she is in prison camp together with about 9000 other African women. She has been very badly treated, and everybody thought she was going to die. I would like to tell her story and ask women in organisations in Britain, America, India, the West Indies and all over the world, if putting women like her in prison is the way to bring Western civilisation to Africa.

I first met Njeri in 1940. One day some ladies called at the Kenya Teachers College, saying that they had just been in the market, had heard about the College and would like to be shown around the classrooms, dormitories, the school farm and the playgrounds. I also showed them the girls' hut which had been built for 12 girls and not of permanent material. They resented seeing African boys living in a stone building and a mud hut thrown to the girls. But they said nothing and only asked if I would make an appointment for them to come another day to see this work and bring two other ladies. We agreed and fixed the date.

Three weeks later Njeri returned, bringing with her not two or three but about 25 other ladies. They were representatives selected from various independent schools in various districts. I prepared the reception and invited them to ask questions. Soon it became clear that they were most interested in why girls should live in mud huts and not in a permanent building. I tried to explain that it was because there were only a few girl students in the school, and a number of them were

49

2146

day students who returned to their homes in the afternoon. But that did not satisfy them. They asked whether I had some type of work which I would like African women to do to assist in developing the school. I told them that the *Kenya Teachers College* belonged to them, that it was their own enterprise and the mirror from which they themselves would be able to see what they could do and in which other people could see what Africans could do for themselves. They were at liberty to select any project to work out.

They said that according to African custom it is the responsibility of men to build the hut, "Nyumba" but inside the house the building of the "Kiriri" (or bed for the girls) is the responsibility of the mother. Man builds the bed for his wife, but the woman builds the bed for her daughter. Therefore these women decided to build "Kiriri" a girls' dormitory.

They went back to their homes and started to organise meeting after meeting to collect money, sixpence, shillings, (i.e. nickels and dimes). Within a few days they came back, purchased stones and employed stone workmen. They fetched the stones themselves from a quarry a mile away. For skilled labour they said they would buy the knowledge of the masons and carpenters, but no man could attend their meetings unless he wore a skirt.

Eventually these women came to bring their contributions sometimes walking thirty or fifty miles to bring a shilling (14¢). They came each day in hundreds. Sometimes they stayed for three days, continuously making arrangements and putting their building into effect.

The men had already started an Age-Group competition to collect funds for a teaching block at the College. They were obtaining money by asking their wives to go to the market and sell the crops. Then the money would be used for their contribution to the teaching block. The women told the men they must go to the market and sell the crops them-

50

selves to obtain money for their own contributions. The women were engaged on their own project and there was a keen competition to see which would finish first.

Njeri presided over the meetings like a statue. I was the principal of the College and the women met in my house, but she treated me like an infant, and while they were there I had to go elsewhere.

When Africans set out on a competition they see nothing more than their competition project. A son is in a separate age-group from his father, a mother works with her league. Meetings held by these groups motivated by competition are labelled by officials who do not understand them as anti-Government or anti-European. In fact, however, not even a Chief or a top African leader could drop into the meeting of another age-group.

Njeri would sit at the front without a word to say until each woman had "greeted the table" with a farthing (one-fourth of a cent) or some coin. No food was allowed at the meetings until the business was finished. Njeri would say, "How much money did we decide on last time?" and then not a single word more until the sum had been reached. If a woman's child cried at the meeting she was fined and the fine went to the meeting.

Newcomers to the meetings had to bring letters from their husbands giving them permission to join the League. Njeri said, "I don't want any of us to be divorced on the ground that we were detained at the meeting. We want the permission fixed in advance." Each woman had to fight it out with her own husband.

If a woman representative from one village was absent from a meeting, she had to bring to the next meeting a fine because her absence meant the absence of the whole community she represented.

These women, the majority of whom could not read or write, raised 85,000/- (over \$10,000) and built a modern

51

dormitory for 60 girls with modern furniture, stone windows, a dining hall, a reception hall and separate kitchen facilities. They did not use the banking services of Barclay's Bank, like the age-groups, but I never heard of a mislaid farthing. It was and still is the first independent effort of any women in East Africa. Neither the European nor the Asiatic women in East Africa have their own buildings. When they meet, they have to hire public halls. What these African women did at *Kenya Teachers College* has been duplicated by Kenya women in other districts. Of the 400 schools that have been accredited to the Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu-Karinga Educational Association, seven were in fact built by the African Women's League. They have also built three dispensaries and one commercial school.

Today some African women have their own property and in Nairobi African women own more than two hundred permanent buildings. African women now take part in the field of teaching. They have already sent for European women to teach African women. They are taking part in clerical work, as nurses in hospitals, as councillors on the African District Councils and Boards.

Asian men used to come to our sports meeting leaving their wives at home. Then some of the top Asian leaders brought their wives who were introduced to wives of members of the trustees. The African women organised their own sports meetings to which they invited Asian and European women as spectators. But since the majority of African women do not understand the Asian languages and Asian women do not understand African languages, it was essential for some men to act as interpreters.

At the second year of the sports meeting the Asian women expressed their willingness to participate in African folk dances provided that the African women would make sure that there was not a single man present. When the meeting was started, the old African women would begin with a

prayer and a thanksgiving type of folk dance. They requested that the Asian visitors should join in with them. This dance includes raising hands upwards towards heaven in an attitude of prayer. Religious folk songs followed. When the songs are completed they are followed by a prayer for children, prayer for rain, prayer for freedom from sickness and illness and prayer for friendship. By the time all these things were completed the Indian women found that they had taken an active part and had not been aware of the presence of thousands of spectators, including Asian men. From that time the shyness of the ladies was dispelled.

The Asian women in return invited the African women to their functions in Nairobi, they too in their own style. Some African women were shy, particularly because the kind of saris worn by the Asian ladies are such that the African women could not afford, and which they have not learned how to wear. Accordingly Indian women became moderate in their saris so as not to frighten their guests. Africans were again absorbed into Asian society in that way. At these women's gatherings Hindu-Moslem differences did not have the ghost of a chance.

A European lady was once invited by Asian women to visit *Kenya Teachers College*. She came from a place called Gilgil, and was the wife of a medical doctor. Since she was alone she was slightly shy and did not know what to expect, but gradually she found that both African and Indian women were treating her in the same way as they were treating other women who were present. She again was absorbed into this new way of living together.

## Chapter VII

THE SETTLERS' METHOD OF  
BRINGING UP AFRICANS

THIS is the progress that Africans in Kenya were making through their own efforts. If people in Britain, the United States, India and elsewhere had known of it, they could only have rejoiced at the advances of the Africans. We knew our difficulties. We knew the vast amount of ground to be covered. But these organisations and these activities had the people behind them. If the settlers and the Government had been ready to cooperate, Kenya could have been a great example of self-help by Africans and of cooperation between Africans and non-Africans.

But the European settlers did not make this known to the world. It would have been a demonstration to the world of how Africans could manage for themselves, at the same time cooperating with non-Africans and incorporating the cultural achievement of other peoples. The Government and the settlers today talk of "gangs" and "thugs." Yet before the Emergency the only signs of "good government" which the officials could show distinguished visitors was the activity the Africans were carrying on for themselves.

But instead of welcoming this self-help by Africans the European settlers became alarmed. They accused Jomo Kenyatta, the President of the Kenya African Union (KAU), of being anti-European because he had not been hand-picked and endorsed by the Europeans. They accused the African schools of being centers of anti-European activity because they were organized and managed by Africans who wanted Europeans to see in them the mirror of the Africans. The

54

majority of the Europeans who criticized the activity of the KAU and the African schools were those who never paid a visit to the schools or saw the program of the KAU in action.

The Europeans had their political organisation, called the European Electors Union. From 1946 on, the African Affairs Committee of this organisation had a plan, called the Kenya Plan (see appendix). This plan called for the liquidation of the African leaders. They employed African informers to attend the meetings of Africans and gather material with which they sought to discredit the people. Typical of these reports is the following, reported in the European Electors Bulletin:

"14th August, 1948, Kenyatta held a meeting at Upianda between 9 p.m. and 2 a.m. during which he told his hearers that the British Government treated its subjects very differently from the way the Kenya Government treated Africans, who were only regarded as cattle or goats by local Europeans and treated accordingly. The Governor, (Sir Philip Mitchell), as he had got a farm, was only helping the Europeans. Even at this early stage it was clear that there was a strong link between the Koinange family and Kenyatta. The following is an example: 'Is there anyone here,' Kenyatta is reported as having said, 'who has not heard how the Governor abused the Agikuyu at Gethunguri the other day? I told senior Chief Koinange what to say, and his replies to the Governor were most effective. Peter Koinange will report our many grievances to the Secretary of State, especially about the land.'"

The African people were preparing to make known their grievances to the Government of Kenya and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the British Government. That which is the most elementary right of people anywhere was our open intention and that was what alarmed the European settlers. They demanded of the Kenya Government that Jomo Kenyatta be deported. The reply of the Government was that

55

2 1 5 9

this arrest was "premature and would only confer upon him an aura of martyred persecution which would enhance his prestige."

The European settlers systematically built up their own police apparatus of informers and guards. They demanded that the Government take "immediate and strong action" along the lines they proposed. Until the Emergency was declared, there were two governments in Kenya, the official Government and the police apparatus of the settlers. Since the declaration of the Emergency they have become one. The informers and police force of the settlers has become the nucleus of the Home Guard of the Government. The visit of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Lyttelton, in March, 1954, completed this handing over of the Kenya Government to the European settlers. In the new Cabinet there will be 13 Europeans to represent 40,000 Europeans, two Asians to represent 120,000 Asians and one African to represent 5½ million Africans.

When Mr. James Griffiths, the Secretary of State for the Colonies under the Labour Government, was in Kenya in May, 1951, the Kenya people put before him through the Kenya Government "a prayer for the restoration of our land."

In October, 1951, about 30,000 people assembled at the Kaloleni Hall in Nairobi. (Nairobi is a city of about 125,000 people). They raised the cry "Send him now," and showered the platform with coins. Nearly 30,000/- (approximately \$4,000) were raised at that meeting. I was appointed by this assembly to lead a two-man delegation of the Kenya African Union to present the African question in the House of Parliament. The other man was Achieng-Onoko of Nyanza Province who was to follow me for this deputation. We were provided with a mandate both to the British Government and to the United Nations and were instructed to negotiate with the

56

Government on land, constitution, trade unions and education, and most of the other subjects that concern the African people.

In order to equip ourselves with the general opinion of the people we had toured around Kenya collecting information from the African people and Chiefs, Civil servants, shopkeepers and various organisations. All these people agreed on the importance of land reform, constitution reform, social and trade union reform. The Nyanza people (Luo) especially emphasized the importance of cattle and its relationship to African social life.

When we were asked to put our case before the British Government and the United Nations on behalf of the Kenya African Union, we knew from the beginning that the Kenya African Union was acting for and on behalf of the African people irrespective of community or Civil Status.

Our mandate was not limited to the United Nations and the British Government. KAU branches instructed me to make the case of the Kenya Africans known to the British public so that this public would "lead by the nose prejudiced and general theorists who lecture and instruct the Kenya Government on points and details as well as of policy of their offices." They were confident, they said, that if the British public put these propagandists for the European settlers in their place, the country would "continue in peace." (The European settlers have since raised £40,000 (\$120,000) to establish an office in London and a paper, the *Voice of Kenya*, for their propaganda.)

I arrived in England on the 6th November, 1951. The new Government under Sir Winston Churchill had just opened up Parliament. In sending me to negotiate with the British Government the African people were following the constitutional method of claiming our rights.

We had given our petition to Mr. Griffiths as the Secretary

57

2150

of State for the Colonies. We had presented it through the Government of Kenya, and the Africans presenting the petition had been a representative body, consisting of the African Vice-President of the African District Council, then James Gichuru; Senior Chief Warohio; Chief Magugu; the Hon. E. W. Mathu, Member of the Executive Council and the Legislative Council; Jomo Kenyatta and myself. In fact it was ex-Chief Warohio who actually handed the copy of the memorandum to the Secretary of State.

The reception that we got from the British Government, especially the Colonial office, was not encouraging. The United Nations Organisation was meeting in Paris so we decided to go and present our mandate there and at the same time meet some of the various representatives in the United Nations. These gave us a very good reception and encouraged us to continue our claim, saying that if we should refer the claim to them they would definitely see to it that it was placed on an appropriate committee and given a proper hearing.

During our stay in Paris we were accompanied by Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., who in fact saw the United Kingdom representative on the United Nations. The U.K. representative read the petition and advised us through Mr. Brockway that the question of our demands and the nature of that problem were more or less a British family matter and should be discussed in Britain.

We received a message from London saying that the Colonial Office had expressed a wish to receive us. We came to London and presented our petition for discussion. The only reply we were able to receive from Mr. Lennox Boyd, who was then the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, was in the negative.

We then sought sanction from the Parliamentary members. The Parliamentary Labour Party agreed to look at our case with certain modifications.

58

In our petition we had asked for the revocation of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1938 and the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938 which deprived the Africans of ownership of their land in Kenya and placed them as tenants at will to the Crown. The desire of our people was that the Crown Lands Ordinance should be revoked and such laws substituted as would enable the Africans to have full control of the land, to lease to Africans, Europeans and Asians, and to impose taxation for the same lease. The money from these leases and taxes would be used for the social services so needed among the Africans and the country in general. We were confident that non-Africans and Africans could live together harmoniously in Kenya if it was the African majority and the legal owners of the land who apportioned the land to be used by all.

The Parliamentary Labour Committee decided to tackle the issue on the basis of land use rather than the question we had posed of security of land tenure by the revocation of the said Ordinances. On the 22nd February, 1952, Mrs. Irene White, M.P., moved an adjournment of the debate in the House of Commons in which she pleaded for land use in Kenya. Mr. Lennox Boyd's reply was that the Europeans in Kenya should be protected on grounds of prestige and that the British Government had a responsibility to its colonists. To hear this stated in Parliament was very strange since the Europeans in Kenya so far had not made any presentation to Parliament of insecurity.

At another debate on land use in the House, it was disclosed that of the 7,000,000 acres constituting the European Highlands, only one million acres was under cultivation. The next day, on the 16th July, 1952, the Secretary of State expressed the wish to recommend a Royal Commission to be sent to East Africa to investigate land use. The debate resulted in a recommendation for the East Africa Lands

59

2151

Commission, which is now carrying out an investigation in Kenya.

Frightened by the proposal for a hearing, the European settlers started agitation in Kenya, claiming that the Africans would not permit the Royal Commission to go to investigate the problem of land. They alleged that the Africans would take the law in their own hands and start to kill the Europeans who were in possession of the land. The same Europeans who had been pressing the Kenya Government to take immediate and strong action to liquidate African leaders now pleaded that their own lives were insecure. Thus the question of our constitutional demand for land was re-focused towards the security of the Europeans.

When the KAU saw this shift taking place, it decided to invite a Parliamentary Delegation of five to visit Kenya and see for itself what the situation was. We explicitly proposed that such a delegation receive deputations from Europeans, Arabs, Asians and Africans alike, regardless of the size of the racial grouping. Two members of Parliament, Mr. Fenner Brockway and Mr. Lester Hale, accepted our invitation. Today, if any African is found in Kenya with the picture of Mr. Brockway and the KAU leaders he is subject to six months imprisonment. It is striking to note that even in the report now presented by the Parliamentary delegation that visited Kenya, it is stated that between January and February, 1952, before H.M. the Queen, the then Princess Elizabeth, visited Kenya, a security check-up failed to disclose any existence of what is now known as Mau Mau.

All the talk about Mau Mau boils down then to this. From the moment the Kenya people in Africa began to make their case known to the people of Britain and the world, through the constitutional channels taken for granted in Europe, the European settlers became terrified. They recognised that the British people as a whole, whether Conservative, Labour or Liberal, had absolutely nothing to gain by a scandal in Kenya

60

protecting the privileges of a few thousand settlers. Realising that they would be isolated from world public opinion, the European settlers agitated for organisation of the Emergency to wipe out the African popular movement and to thrust Kenya back into subordination and acceptance of European domination.

61

2152

Chapter VIII  
RESISTANCE

WHILE I was in London, another mass meeting of 30,000 people was held at Gethunguri in July, 1952. People came from all over the country in lorries singing:

"Our fight for the land will never cease.

It was ours, and it will be ours, forever and ever."

"We do not fear those who speak behind our backs,  
If they scorn us they will not be here forever."

"We look for the day to arrive  
When great jubilation will reign everywhere  
And the children of black men throughout the world  
Will know happiness in the return of their rights."

When you suppress open mass meetings of these numbers and for these purposes, then it is ridiculous to complain of secret meetings in the forest.

At this meeting my father, ex-Senior Chief Koinage, by this time a man of 84, made a speech which the young people of Kenya still remember and imitate. Standing on a platform so that he could be heard by all, he addressed his audience, which included Europeans:

"I can remember when the first Europeans came to Kenya. I worked alongside your father (pointing to a European) and you are my son. In the first World War you asked our young men to go to fight with the British against the Germans and many were killed. In the second World War you came again and asked us to fight against the Germans and the Italians and our young people were again ready to go.

"Now there are Italians and Germans in Kenya and they can live and own land in the Highlands from which we are

62

barred, because they are white and we are black. What are we to think? I have known this country for 84 years. I have worked on it. I have never been able to find a piece of white land."

The Parliamentary Delegation which has just returned from Kenya talks about the barbarism of the Africans. They use the word "barbarism" too freely. The Emergency was precipitated directly and indirectly by the actions of the Europeans.

The Emergency was to smash this movement of the people who had made no secret of their needs nor of how they thought they should be met. On October 20th, the Emergency was declared, and the programme of the Electors Union carried out. Mass arrest and deportation of political leaders, Independent Schools leaders, publishers and editors of the African newspapers, African businessmen, traders, trade union leaders, and distinguished independent Africans. Then followed the banning of the African press and most of the independent African schools, the closing of African Christian Churches and the paralysing and destruction of African social, economic and political order.

The Emergency had been long prepared for by the amassing of civil police, police reserves, military units, foreign military and police units from Uganda, Tanganyika and the Canal Zone, and a cruiser from the Indian Ocean. All these forces began to make their presence felt immediately by beating up and arresting and killing Africans. The order was to shoot anybody who did not stop at sight of the troopers. This order drove people deeper into the forests. So many police passes were required for any movement that one had to take refuge in the bush at the appearance of a Home Guard.

On October 7, 1952, before the Emergency, a very big Senior Chief, Warohio, son of Kungu, was murdered. My father his three sons and some others amounting to 16 people in all, were arrested, some as accessories after the fact, and

63

2153

some as accessories before the fact. My father sought legal defence from England and Barrister Dingle Foot, Q.C., went to Kenya and established the innocence of 14 people, including my father and brothers, leaving two who were hanged.

When my father and the others acquitted with him were leaving the Supreme Court, they were arrested on Emergency and taken to a place called Marsabit.

My father is still in prison today. He is 86 years old, his health is failing, he has no more teeth, and he is nearly blind. He has served the Government for nearly fifty-five years as a Senior Chief. He is the largest landowner in Kenya, but his land is cultivated, rent free, by the people for their own use. Although he is without formal education and can only write his name, he is respected by Europeans as well as by Africans as a land surveyor, and he was the surveyor who fixed the boundaries between Nanyuki and Central Province.

During his internment his sons (and co-prisoners) were assisting to wash his clothes and attending to him. But he also was assisted by them in reading letters and maintaining correspondence. He also prepared a little memorandum to the East Africa Royal Land Commission from the prison.

The authorities decided to separate him from his sons and sent them to a prison camp about 400 miles away, at a place called Manda Island, near Mombasa. During that time my father was asked by the Government to ask one of his younger wives (he has six wives) to go and assist him. My father refused, saying that either he should be sent home or else he should undergo the same experience as the other prisoners who were getting no help from their wives. My father was then asked whether James Njroge, the only person left to look after the family at home, could go to prison to assist him. My father replied that he would be happy if Njroge stayed at home. If the Government wished, he was prepared to go and be detained at the same prison camp at Manda Island as his sons. The alternative, which would be much

64

appreciated, would be to be allowed to return home simply because he doesn't know why his 45 years of Government service are to be rewarded by retirement pension in a prison camp.

My father's wives, invited to join him in the prison camp, also refused. They said that if the Government wanted to avoid the responsibility for his failing health, they should release him to go home to his family.

The settlers were convinced that if the African leaders were arrested, the movement would be crushed. In fact, they issued a leaflet telling the people that they would never see their leaders again; and they had better forget the whole business. Yet, today, if I were to meet on the street the young men who are leading the movement, I would not know them. They were probably members of the KAU but only in a small way. The Government has arrested first, the top leaders, and in turn, the second and third layers who arose to replace them. Many of the present leaders are ordinary young people who could escape beatings and death only by refuge in the forest. The alternative was to join the thugs, gangsters and informers who constitute the Home Guard of the Government and this they could not do.

The Home Guard was, first of all, started by the elders organised within one village for maintaining tranquility within their area. They were successful but the European police reserves were very unhappy to find that at such and such a location everything was quiet. Therefore police positions were organised, location by location, and at the same time the troops were divided into location places to go with the Home Guard to look into every household and see who was at home in the evenings. This was a means of enforcing curfew. When the Europeans found that the guards were not bringing in agitators, the first group of the Home Guard was dismissed, and the District Officers and the Chiefs handpicked from the same village a new set of Home Guard. After a time that

65

2154

2 1 5 5

group was dismissed for the same reason. This was repeated as many as five times until the Government could depend for its Home Guard only on Africans recruited from distant locations. This proved to the Africans that the Government was interested not in the maintaining of law and order but in provoking bitterness and revolt which could be used as an excuse for killing people. Today the Home Guard is made up of the habitual criminals and the corrupt elements who are willing to denounce their neighbors for the reward of their property. In a recent case the judge had to acquit the accused because the reputation of the prosecution witnesses was so obviously unreliable. These are the only elements in Kenya the Government can rally to itself.

The African people in Kenya have had no alternative but resistance to this offensive by the European settlers who constitute the Kenya Police Reserve. They resist in the confidence that what they have been creating is good. The collective resentment, far from being confined to the Kikuyu, now includes the Masai, the Suks, the Kisi, and Luo. In fact a new organisation known as the Onego Society has recently been established in Luo, in Nyanza Province. The people have been confident too that if the rest of the world knew their story, they too would not want Africans to be thrust back into despair and out of the stream of progress of people everywhere.

These are some of the ways they have been resisting. During the early days of the Emergency, if an African should be in one particular place in the city with other Africans, and the police asked him for a pass and he could not produce one of the dozen passes required on demand, the African was arrested. When this happened, the people in that house all followed the man into the police lorry. When the lorry was stopped by street lights, other Africans jumped on to the van so that by the time the lorry arrived at the station the lorry was filled up. The European officer denied that he had ar-

66

rested them but he had to explain how all these people got into his lorry.

Africans go on singing national songs both in prison camps as well as in jail. They have several ways of retaliating to the brutality of the Europeans. For instance, if an officer is known to be rough and rude to them, Africans will form a line. One in the rear line will have a revolver waiting. If the officer starts beating any of these in the front line, they will all break the line pretending to be scared. Like footballers those in the back line go to the front, the one with the revolver shoots that European to death, at once placing the revolver in the pocket of the man who obviously could not have done the murder.

Some of the European Police Reserve suggested that women should be raped openly in front of their children as well as in front of their husbands, while the husbands were tied and beaten at the point of a revolver. Also the breasts of African women were nipped with pliers. An African assistant officer of the Kenya Police Reserve was assisting Europeans to do so. The women were very very angry about it and said they were ready to take action if the men were afraid to do so. It was known that a lorry filled with armed Africans and Europeans was to pass a certain place. The African women chose that spot to fell trees as though they were cutting fuel of wattle bark trees. They had previously dug a trench in which their husbands all armed were lying in wait. One tree when felled would go across the road and so force the lorry to halt. When the officer put on his brakes cursing these foolish women, the armed Africans dashed out and before these people knew where they were, not a single one was alive. In this case, the Africans were prepared to stand the consequences and to shoulder whatever happened rather than to see their wives so humiliated.

While the offensive of the Europeans is based on killing as many Africans as possible to the extent of army units and

67

2155

newspaper headlines competing with one another in chalking up "kills," the Africans have resisted in such a way as to spare lives. The Government has confiscated African-owned lorries and buses and closed down African businesses. Part of the self-discipline of the Africans has been to pass regulations among themselves that people should not smoke, drink beer or wear hats or even travel in buses operated for hire either by the Nairobi municipality or by non-African firms. The Africans up to this moment have strictly observed these regulations, not only the Africans of the Kikuyu but also of the rest of Kenya. The officials believe that the non-Kikuyu refrain from using these things because of fear of the consequences which may be inflicted on them. The truth is that the resistance is not restricted to the Agikuyu but is common to all the African people of Kenya who have come to understand each other in their collective resistance.

One of the Emergency regulations is that it is against the law for more than three people to meet. This is to make it impossible for the Africans to have any form of organisation since they cannot meet without security forces. Even those who are church-goers cannot go to church without the Home Guard.

A District Commissioner of the Embu District ordered an area cleared to separate the forest from the cultivated areas so that Africans believed to be in the forest could be detected and killed. When he called for volunteer work of the loyal Africans to clear this area, he stated that he needed no more than 500 to 1,000 people. On the day of the work 10,000 people showed up. The Government regarded this as a mark of loyalty of the people. In fact it was used as an opportunity by the Africans to meet and discuss.

68

#### Chapter IX.

#### HOW TO END THE EMERGENCY

**DURING** the crisis experts have put forward all kinds of suggestions on how to bring an end to the Emergency. These remedies are along the following lines: arresting leaders, liquidating leaders, banishing leaders, summary justice, shooting on sight, corporal punishment, collective punishment, touch the African pocket, make every African poor, confiscate property, close down shops and trade, mass evictions, forced labour, rounding up and fencing in, collective imprisonment, photographing and fingerprinting everybody, special taxation, counter-cleansing oaths, release leaders on bail, all villages under police guard, denial of recognition, closing all schools, nipping of women's breasts, castration of men, birth control and death control by mass imprisonment of men and women in separate compounds, liquidation of the race. Almost all these remedies are being put into practice today by the Government, in one form or another, and more rather than less. It is impossible to see how anybody anywhere, even the few thousand settlers in Kenya, can gain anything by them.

The Labour Party in Britain has had a lot to say about these practices. However, they are divided among themselves on policies for peace in Kenya. A certain section of the Labour Party, has tried very hard to help the people of Kenya. They have moved adjournment debates, called for a division, sought an interview with the Colonial Secretary, pressed for an all-Party delegation to visit Kenya. We are grateful for what they have done, but they have not only the Conservative Party but also large numbers of their own

69

2156

Labour Party to deal with. In addition, only the African people themselves in Kenya can determine the pace and scope of their progress.

In Britain there are a few people whose financial interests are closely tied together with the settlers. Some are in both Houses of Parliament. But they are few. The settlers by their incessant and vigorous propaganda give an impression of strength so long as they are encouraged by the British Government. But it is difficult for one to believe that the British people as a whole feel anything but uneasiness and shame about what is going on in Kenya.

When the Kenya African Union recently drew up a petition to the House of Commons, it was signed by 159,000 Africans and was supported by another petition presented the next day signed by 16,000 British people.

At a meeting of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, an organisation of the United Nations, at Central Hall, Westminster, December 31st, 1953, I debated Mr. Kendall Ward, former executive officer of the European Electors Union, before an audience of 2,000 English people. I told them what my people had been doing for themselves and what they wanted. They listened sympathetically. Then Mr. Ward got up to attack the Africans. When he had finished, I took from my pocket and read his letter of 7th August 1952, proposing to liquidate the African leaders. (See Appendix). The audience cried: "Shame! Shame! Answer! Answer!" Ward could not answer.

The European Electors Union has delegated to itself the task of leading other non-European communities. Underneath this proposal to lead is the policy of liquidation of African leaders. It has been going on since 1948. We have put into the Appendix photostats of their newsletter.

We want the people of Britain and the people of the world to know the facts, all the facts. That and the struggle of the people of Kenya makes us confident of the future.

70

In a recent book (*The Struggle for Kenya* by D. H. Rawcliffe, London, 1954) the author has this to say about me.

"A word about Mbiyu Koinange. Next to Kenyatta he is the most influential of the Kikuyu leaders. When the emergency was declared he was in London, and since the Government refused to grant him a safe-conduct return to Kenya, he has had to remain there. Koinange is ambitious, an uncompromising nationalist, and inclined to a sense of his own importance. His one aim is to achieve African self-government for Kenya before he is too old to enjoy political power. He is something of an orator and is certainly a very plausible one. His political 'demands' are usually devoid of realism and spring from his passionate desire for immediate self-government. The Kenya Europeans would flatly refuse to deal with him as a representative of the Africans."

He says that I am ambitious. This booklet will show whether I am ambitious or not.

I was at school in the United States, at Hampton Institute, Ohio Wesleyan, and Columbia University, from 1927-1936. I found that on the whole, the American people I met, of all races, themselves unable to go to Africa to help the people there, were very anxious to help me so that I could help my own people. While I was being supported by the American people in this way, everything I did there had a meaning to it because of this fundamental encouragement that they were preparing me for this assistance to my own people.

However, today, the emancipation of the Kenya people must be mainly the work of the Africans themselves. And what they see is that a few thousand settlers can call on "home" to support them in maintaining a way of life in Africa which has organised such hate, suspicion and misery, and a growing further and further apart of themselves from other citizens in the British family of nations. Does that "home" also belong to Africans when all Africans' calls for mercy fall always on deaf ears and slammed doors, when that

71

2157

1 5 8

"home" generates means for repression but never peace and unity?

While the requests of the Europeans have been consistently conceded, the representations of the African community have been consistently ignored. This has led the ordinary African to believe that only if he has a government of his own, and not otherwise, can he benefit and advance his country. Africans can only wonder when those who have so consistently advocated Christian morals, harbour hatred and mistrust against those whom they have set out to advance. And they feel that even if all of them are killed, nevertheless the bones of the dead would still be shouting for their land and for justice, civil liberties and their acceptance into the nations of the world.

Talk of Mau Mau atrocities is designed to obscure the issue of the liquidation of Africans and win sympathy for the settlers as representatives of civilisation. I have not wanted to introduce atrocities into this pamphlet because for every "atrocious" that it has been proved the African insurrectionists committed, I can match a score committed by the settlers, the army, the police and the Home Guard. The army set up scoreboards to chalk "kills" of Africans. To the extent that some Africans have reverted to outmoded tribal customs, the responsibility belongs to those who have denied them the opportunities of progress and given them a picture of the civilisation of Europe composed of greed, selfishness and inhuman brutality.

What do the Kenya Africans want? There is a lot of talk about Mau Mau. But in August 1953, General Dedan Kimathi, the Chief of the African fighting forces, made proposals for peace, which appeared in a letter published in the *East African Standard*. I ask the readers of this pamphlet to compare these proposals with those remedies now being practised and judge whether they are a reasonable foundation of lawful co-operation:

72

"Sir—After a long journey going round throughout Africa for three months and also Palestine, I found many things changed and evil increased a great deal.

For the return of peace and the return of a new Kenya, I have told all leaders of the war in the forest areas to stop fighting again from August 1, 1953. General Kahiitina, who is a special leader, is now under arrest for a terrorist attack on Kagunduini which is in the Tetu Location of Chief Muhoya Kagumba of Nyeri.

#### 'ONLY PEACE'

Now it is only peace we want to maintain for the reason that we are people like others, we will find food as always but it is for peace alone, because we cannot live without food.

Myself being in Defence Council of the whole of Africa, Kenya Branch, and also being the President of all the branches, I ask the Government to remove the police and the K. A. R. (Kenya African Rifles) in all areas, if peace and co-operation for all is wanted, and at once the fighting will stop.

Also the European settlers should be stopped from hunting in the forests and immediately racial co-operation will be seen, as needed.

I am explaining clearly that there is no Mau Mau, but the poor man is the Mau Mau and if so, it is only Mau Mau which can finish Mau Mau, and not bombs and other weapons.

Without doubt, the Kenya Government, by driving away people without careful consideration, and by harassing them in the Reserves, now the Mau Mau has increased a thousand times in the forests, and young men and women and even old men are in the forests for fear of being killed or badly beaten or being arrested, as it is the Government's policy and object. And even now I am glad I had many soldiers.

Many Africans say that they were given a chance to follow

73

2158

me in the forest when they were harassed in Nairobi in the same way recently, and every week and month when many people leave Nairobi and Nakuru and small towns they are received in my office to which they run.

1. If people are wantonly attacked in the towns and even in the Reserves, how can they put up with it without running to the forest?
2. If the police and K. A. R. and Home Guards withhold food who can put up with hunger?
3. If there is no political organisation here in Kenya, why will not everyone side with the Mau Mau?
4. If colour discrimination continues in Kenya, who will remain the underdog, for the African has eyes, ears and a brain?
5. If it is better to die than to live in trouble, why should we put up with trouble in our hearts?

#### 'CO-OPERATION'

Now, it is the responsibility of the Government to see whether these things are true or not. The foundation of lawful co-operation is also the foundation of peace, wealth and progress.

God who created everyone helps them and feeds them and protects them from trouble. If we humans do not know what the end of this trouble is going to be, God knew it even before it started. Let us pray to God to grant us peace in our hearts and loving kindness so that the present daily bloodshed may cease.

Why should I not be believed by Government? I am certain I will be believed after next month.  
Pray to GOD!!!

Yours etc.,  
Dedan Kimathi.

74

That is what the people of Kenya want. That is what thousands have died for.

The nominated unofficial Africans in the Kenya Legislative Council have on many occasions pleaded for peace. Do the settlers with money and guns really want peace?

The Parliamentary Delegation which returned from Kenya in January 1954 writes in its report: "Mau Mau intentionally and deliberately seeks to lead the Africans of Kenya *back to the bush and savagery*, not forward into progress." (my italics) Anthropologists, scientists and investigators of all kinds are now writing a lot of articles and producing all kinds of treatises, seeking reasons in the state of mind of the African people for Mau Mau and describing Mau Mau as an example of tribal degeneration and religion. They are sowing nothing but confusion and nonsense. Let the Kenya African people establish the institutions that they are trying to build. Let them have their Independent Schools and the *Kenya Teachers College*, let the African Woman's League and the Kenya Co-operatives and the Kenya National Bank and the Kenya African Union organise themselves. That is the cure for Mau Mau and not a lot of investigations and new theories about "back to the bush."

The Kenya people, without settler domination, would be of infinitely more value and service to the British Commonwealth of Nations than all the mess the settlers have created both in Kenya and in the eyes of the world. The people of Kenya, free from settler domination, would make a powerful contribution to the British people instead of the shame and disgrace that what is happening in Kenya is bringing to them at home and abroad.

Africans do know what they want. Cease-fire negotiations are inevitable. It should be clear by now even to the most reactionary of the settlers that the Kenya Africans will never, never return to the life of the past. They are entangled in the life of the modern world. Their freedom is the freedom of the

75

2159

2 1 6 0

world today. That victory has been won already. Nothing that happens now can alter that. The old East Africa under foreign domination and domestic slavery is dead. That is the truth that is plain for all to see. The beginning of statesmanship and of simple common sense must start from that fact.

Today the most guilty of all are those who cannot see that and are seeking to restore the past.

Here, now, before the people of East and Central Africa, of Britain, Asia, the United States and the whole civilised world, I declare that further bloodshed is useless. I stake my reputation before the British people on the promise that I am able to bring about a cease-fire in Kenya. That can be done within four weeks of my arrival in Kenya. Fears that the released Africans will use their freedom for further revenge are without foundation. Such allegations come from the enemies of peace at any time.

From these negotiations will have to begin. But I can take no part in these negotiations. I have not fought in the Civil War. It is up to the people of Kenya to elect their leaders to be negotiated with.

It is because of the urgency of the situation that I have written this brief booklet. When time allows I shall write a book on the struggle of the people of Kenya which will bring shame to many but at the same time hearten those all over the world who believe in human liberty and progress. That, however, is for the future. The urgent need at present is to stop the bloodshed. And from henceforth the responsibility for it lies with those who will not arrange a cease-fire and negotiate with people who have shed their blood for the elementary right of saying what it is that they are fighting for.

◆ ◆ ◆

#### APPENDIX

The following pages contain faithful reproductions of documents which relate to the situation in Kenya.

To historians and researchers these documents are "primary source material." They are reprinted here for their historical importance.

The documents themselves are in the author's possession.

## CONTENTS OF APPENDIX

### A. WHAT THE SETTLERS WANT

1. Electors' Union Letter, 7th August 1952
2. Electors' Union Newsletter, November, 1952
3. Electors' Union Letter for Collective Punishment
4. Leaflet: "No More Jinking—We Are Here to Stay"
5. Kenya Empire Party Letter, 23rd January, 1953
6. Kenya Empire Party, Application for Membership
7. Letter to Ex-Senior Chief Koinange, 9th October 1953

### B. WHAT THE AFRICANS WANT

1. Petition from Kikuyu Highlands Ex-Squatters Land-owners Assn., September 2, 1947
2. Letter to KAU Delegates in London from the Kericho Branch, KAU, 21st January, 1952
3. New Year's Petition to H.M. Queen Elizabeth from 1000 Kikuyu women, January 13, 1953
4. Letter of Transmission by three women M.P.s
5. KAU Demands, 15th March, 1953
6. Letter to East African Royal Commission from Kipsigs Community, 9th May, 1953
7. Letter to Secretary of State for Colonies from Mbiyu Koinange, 11th May, 1953

### C. WAGE RATES IN KENYA

### D. LETTER FROM AMERICAN CLERGYMEN, January 10, 1955

78

### A. WHAT THE SETTLERS WANT

The documents in this section indicate the aims and policies of the settlers in Kenya.

#### THE ELECTORS' UNION

Box 1975,  
Nairobi,  
7th August, 1952.

The Chairman,  
Elected Members' Organisation,  
Box 1730,  
Nairobi.

Dear Sir,

In enclosing the attached I feel it might be useful to you were I to give you the background to one aspect of the recommendations of the Executive Committee, namely, the neutralisation of political leaders.

The Executive Committee were very much aware of the fact that in the past they had urged on the then Member for Law and Order, Mr. Foster Sutton, the need to neutralise certain African leaders. It is not necessary to mention names.

At that time Mr. Foster Sutton opposed this suggestion on the grounds that the neutralisation of leaders would grant them a very undesirable martyrdom. The Committee then somewhat reluctantly accepted Mr. Foster Sutton's viewpoint. In light of recent events the Executive Committee consider that their opinion of three or four years ago has now been vindicated and that in the case of subversive leaders it is quite clear that steps must be taken in some way for their neutralisation or liquidation.

The Executive Committee furthermore considered that to permit such leaders to continue to operate was a dereliction of the duty of Trusteeship as those who suffered most from the activities of such persons undoubtedly were the mass of decent law abiding Africans.

Yours faithfully,

SIGNED, KENDALL WARD  
EXECUTIVE OFFICER

A photostat of this document appears on the following page.

79

2161

THE ELECTORS' UNION

Box 1975,  
Nairobi.  
7th August, 1952.

The Chairman,  
Elected Members' Organisation,  
Box 1730,  
Nairobi.

Dear Sir,

In enclosing the attached I feel it might be useful to you were I to give you the background to one aspect of the recommendations of the Executive Committee, namely, the neutralisation of political leaders.

The Executive Committee were very much aware of the fact that in the past they had urged on the then Member for Law and Order, Mr. Foster Sutton, the need to neutralise certain African leaders. It is not necessary to mention names.

At that time Mr. Foster Sutton opposed this suggestion on the grounds that the neutralisation of leaders would grant them a very undesirable martyrdom. The Committee then somewhat reluctantly accepted Mr. Foster Sutton's viewpoint. In light of recent events the Executive Committee consider that their opinion of three or four years ago has now been vindicated and that in the case of subversive leaders it is quite clear that steps must be taken in some way for their neutralisation or liquidation.

The Executive Committee furthermore considered that to permit such leaders to continue to operate was a dereliction of the duty of Trusteeship as those who suffered most from the activities of such persons undoubtedly were the mass of decent law abiding Africans.

Yours faithfully,

SIGNED: KENDALL WARD  
EXECUTIVE OFFICER

80

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 10/-

Box 1975,  
Nairobi.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION  
PLEASE CIRCULATE TO A FRIEND  
NOVEMBER 1952

The Electors' Union has represented European interests in this Colony for 8 years. During that period we have experienced many inevitable ups and downs; we have had successes and we have had criticism naturally. Now we can fairly say that our prestige overseas has seldom stood higher. We are on the map. Recently, with a profound sense of responsibility and duty to the community, we have acted with very great restraint—a restraint which has won the admiration of the Secretary of State and of a great section of the British people.

Our policy, outlined in "Kenya Plan", has been vindicated time and time again and never more clearly than in our request, made in 1949, for the appointment of that very Royal Commission which has now been set up.

Our old slogan—"We are here to Stay" criticised at the time, has been reiterated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State. Our policy for African Development has been largely adopted and promoted by Government. In support of the European Elected Members our suggestions for dealing with the present Emergency have been extensively implemented by Government—and we hope more will be.

We have achieved so much that we are determined to achieve more.

We can do this **ONLY BY INCREASED MEMBERSHIP**. Complete solidarity of European opinion is essential. The Annual Conference resolved that a drive for membership must be undertaken at a matter of urgency. Will you play your part as a subscriber and enrol at least five new members or obtain donations for the Electors' Union? It's a good insurance and the premium is low.

This News Letter indicates some of our work—will you pass it on to a friend?

A photostat of this document appears on the following page.

81

2162

# The Electors' Union News Letter

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 10/-

Vol 1975,  
No. 10.

FOR THE PUBLICATION

PLEASE CIRCULATE TO A FRIEND

NOVEMBER 1952

The Electors' Union has represented European interests in this Colony for 8 years. During that period we have experienced many inevitable ups and downs; we have had successes and we have had setbacks, especially in the past few years. But our position amongst the people has never been lower. We are on the up. Recently, with a profound sense of responsibility and duty to the community, we have acted with very great restraint - a restraint which has won the admiration of the Secretary of State and of a great section of the British people.

Our policy, outlined in "Tonga Pina", has been vindicated time and time again and never more clearly than in our request, made in 1949, for the appointment of that very Royal Commission which has now been set up.

Our old slogan - "We are here to stay" - criticised at the time, has been reiterated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State. Our policy for African Development has been largely adopted and promoted by Government. In support of the European Elected Members our suggestions for dealing with the present Emergency have been attractively implemented by Government - and we hope more will be.

We have achieved so much that we are determined to achieve more. We can do this ONLY BY INCREASED MEMBERSHIP.

Complete solidarity of European opinion is essential. The Annual Conference resolved that a drive for membership must be undertaken as a matter of urgency. Will you play your part as a subscriber and enrol at least five new members or obtain donations for the Electors' Union? It's a good insurance and the premium is low.

This News Letter indicates some of our work - will you pass it on to a friend?

82

## THE ELECTORS' UNION COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE KENYA WEEKLY NEWS BY THE HON. MICHAEL BLUNDELL WHICH APPEARED IN THE OCTOBER 24TH ISSUE COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

"Sir,—As there appears to be widespread misunderstanding on the attitude of the Elected Members to the whole question of communal punishment, I am writing to ask whether you would be good enough to publish the following:—

'I am writing to correct a misunderstanding which might arise out of your Editorial in your issue of the 25th September in which you referred to resolutions at the Electors' Union Conference.

European Elected Members have always had the view that collective punishment is a right and proper weapon in certain circumstances and that view is obviously also shared by Government as, for instance, when collective punishment was imposed in recent months for disturbances in the Fort Hall area and arson in South Nyeri. Our views were quite clearly put to Conference by Mr. Slade. There is, therefore, no difference of opinion between Elected Members and the Conference itself in regard to the advisability, in certain circumstances, of the use of collective punishment.

The terms of the particular resolution which was passed at the Conference, however, were so wide that it was impossible for the Elected Members to accept it as it implied that collective punishment was warranted in cases of malicious damage irrespective of the extent to which, in each case, communal responsibility could be established. We felt that although we were, as you stated, only guests at the Conference, it would be quite wrong for us to mislead Conference by tacitly implying that we would act upon, or accept, a resolution when, in our view, the terms of the resolution itself made this impossible.

I have written to you because I do not believe that there was, in this particular instance, any great difference of opinion on the principle of collective punishment, as is implied in your Editorial.'

The above is a copy of a letter which I addressed to a contemporary of yours on the 27th September, 1952.

Yours etc.,  
NAKURU SIGNED MICHAEL BLUNDELL  
OCTOBER 19TH.

A photostat of this document appears on the following page.

83

2163

THE ELECTORS' UNION

COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE KENYA WEEKLY NEWS  
BY THE HON. MICHAEL BLUNDELL WHICH APPEARED IN THE  
OCTOBER 24TH ISSUE

COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

"Sir, - As there appears to be widespread misunderstanding  
on the attitude of the Elected Members to the whole question of  
communal punishment, I am writing to ask whether you would be  
good enough to publish the following:-

"I am writing to correct a misunderstanding which might  
arise out of your Editorial in your issue of the 25th September  
in which you referred to resolutions at the Electors' Union  
Conference.

European Elected Members have always had the view that  
collective punishment is a right and proper weapon in certain  
circumstances and that view is obviously also shared by Government  
as, for instance, when collective punishment was imposed in recent  
months for disturbances in the Fort Hall area and around in South  
Nyeri. Our views were quite clearly put to Conference by Mr. Stole.  
There is, therefore, no difference of opinion between Elected  
Members and the Conference itself in regard to the advisability,  
in certain circumstances, of the use of collective punishment.

The terms of the particular resolution which was passed at  
the Conference, however, were so wide that it was impossible for  
the Elected Members to accept it as it implied that collective  
punishment was warranted in cases of malicious damage irrespective  
of the extent to which, in each case, communal responsibility could  
be established. We felt that although we were, as you stated,  
only guests at the Conference, it would be quite wrong for us to  
mislead Conference by tacitly implying that we would not accept,  
or accept, a resolution which, in our view, the terms of the  
resolution itself made this impossible.

I have written to you because I do not believe that there  
was, in this particular instance, any great difference of opinion  
on the principle of collective punishment, as is implied in your  
Editorial.

The above is a copy of a letter which I addressed to a  
contemporary of yours on the 27th September, 1952.

Yours etc.,

M.K.M.  
OCTOBER 1952.

SIGNED MICHAEL BLUNDELL

**NO MORE JINKING!**

**WE ARE  
HERE TO  
STAY!**



This page and the three pages following reproduce a four-page leaflet  
distributed by settlers in Kenya.

**THEY'VE NEVER MADE UP THEIR MINDS.**

**DO YOU REALISE THAT SUCCESSIVE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE REFUSED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO UNEQUIVOICAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE PERMANENCE OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT AND BRITISH LEADERSHIP IN KENYA?**

**The Devonshire White Paper of 1921 said:**  
"Formerly Kenya is an African territory and H.M. Government think it necessary to record their respectful opinion that the interests of the African people must be paramount, and that if long since those interests and the interests of the immigrant races shall conflict, the latter should prevail."

**Hilton-Young Commission, 1929 (Majority Report).**  
"What the immigrant communities may wish to do is immaterial to us... They also said that the Imperial Government must remain 'in touch' in matters in all the interests of Government."

**Sir Stafford Cripps in 1948 reiterated his 1936 statement:**  
"It is fundamental to Kenyan that we should favour the British Empire as best we can."

**The Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee wrote in 1937:**  
"There is a false demand for 'self-government' which comes from asking British subjects, who are not to be taken from the interest of public opinion at home and to realize their ambition of governing the most populated territories... The Labour Party will not that every young family in matters of education have no support and will regard as laid in the Commons as presently held in view for the same substance."

**This book has just been republished.  
It has not been amended!**

**Mr. Crook Jones, in July 1949, is more hopeful:**  
"Now and then I have met men who have no inkling that they have said 'The plea of the British Government is to put us to hold education and property in Africa and then to subordinate it'. That is a consistent charge against Britain. My, without hesitation, that no Government of any political persuasion has ever intended or desired such a policy... I have no fears for the future of the children of the immigrant workers or of their children's children."

**OUR COMMENT:** Do not let us forget that the former Mr. Crook Jones went to Kenya on the only mission of the Foreign Colonial Bureau, and that Mr. Crook Jones was its Chairman for some time. For we should not return to the fact that the supposed objectives of British colonial policy are invariably opposed to such a conflicting charge?

**NO MORE JIBBERING!**

The time has come to demand from H.M. Government an unequivocal statement that European settlement in Kenya is permanent in Kenya and that the maintenance of British European Leadership is paramount. Political advancement for the African must be won, and won only by merit, ability and an appreciation of responsible British citizenship.

**WE ARE HERE TO STAY -  
AND ON THESE TERMS!**



Every constituency is being asked to support our Executive in pressing for recognition of this status for the European community. Time for evasive statements is past. We as a community have been invited by successive British Governments to make our homes here. In equity we should recognize this claim and so remove the uncertainty and suspicion that failure to face an issue will continue to engender. Evasive statements on the status of the European community have delayed progress, increased ill-informed political agitation and exacerbated racial antagonism.



**WE STAND FOR**

- Permanency of British Settlement.
- British Leadership and Inter-racial co-operation.
- Control over our own affairs.
- Increased European Settlement.
- Liberty of the subject.
- A British East African Dominion.

"The Kenya Empire Party" price 7/6, with cover by the artist throughout the Colony. Buy a copy and help us to GET WHAT YOU WANT!

**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP**

TO: THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
THE ELECTORS UNION,  
BOX 1174, NAIROBI.

I wish to join the ELECTORS UNION. Please put me in touch with my local Branch

NAME

ADDRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE ELECTORS UNION  
PRINTED BY KINGWAY PRESS LTD. NAIROBI

**KENYA EMPIRE PARTY**  
*"Coming out Fighting"*

P.O. Boxes 5039, 852,  
NAIROBI  
23rd January, 1953.

Dear Sir or Madam,

Enclosed you will find a paper setting out the aims and objects of the Kenya Empire Party, to which we invite you to become a member. Should you wish to do so, please utilise the form which is incorporated with the paper setting out the aims of the Society.

The Kenya Empire Party has come into being because it is felt on all sides that good work though the Electors Union has done in the past, it will be impossible in the future for there to be only one Political Organisation to represent the different views of the whole European Community. Nor indeed can it be said that anything like the total number of Europeans are members of the Electors Union.

Every European must surely realise that in a world of constant change it is essential to give allegiance to some political body and that only by doing so can he or she be kept informed of and take part in what is going on. Moreover in all political history individual action has very rarely proved successful whereas collective action has almost INVARIABLY achieved its objects. While on this subject of unity we would like to say this. There is as we know only too well a State of Emergency in Kenya. In times of stress anything likely to promote schism in public thought is to be deplored, and therefore it is not the intention of the Kenya Empire Party to take any official action until the Emergency is ended. We feel that our plain duty in this difficult time is to stand four square behind our Members in their efforts to clear up the present emergency.

However, being certain that the Emergency will be brought to a successful conclusion in the near future, we are thinking ahead and are determined that all the efforts of the Kenya Empire Party must be directed first to ensuring that such a state of affairs can never return to Kenya, and secondly that when we all resume our normal existence once more we are

2166

a strong enough Party to play our role in the settlement of the numerous political problems that are certain to arise.

That these problems will be difficult of solution and will need to be faced with the utmost resolution must be realised by every thinking man and woman in Kenya today.

We therefore invite you to make a close study of the aims of the Kenya Empire Party which appear to us as both simple and direct. The moment the Emergency is ended we intend to call a Conference in Nairobi of all our members where the officers of the Party will be elected, and the necessary mechanism set up to make the Party's work immediately effective.

Meanwhile the pro tem Committee have decided to allow enrolment without any payment of subscriptions for the period of the Emergency. All preliminary expenses are being borne by those who, believing in the necessity of an alternative European Political Party in Kenya, are prepared to finance it through its preliminary stages.

In conclusion, believing that if we wish to make Kenya a land fit for our children to live in we must be prepared not only to devote thought to political issues but to work together for their solution, we appeal to you to join the Kenya Empire Party, and more than that to make a point of attending the first Conference it holds. If the aims of the Party are your views, only by giving it your support can the realisation of these aims be brought about.

**JOIN TODAY TO ENSURE TOMORROW**

Yours faithfully,  
Delamere,  
C. V. Thornton.  
L. E. Vigar.

A photostat of this document appears on the following page.

90

## KENYA EMPIRE PARTY

"Coming out Fighting"

P.O. Boxes 5219,  
522,  
NAIROBI.  
2nd January, 1953.

Dear Sir or Madam,

Enclosed you will find a paper setting out the aims and objects of the Kenya Empire Party, to which we invite you to become a member. Should you wish to do so, please utilize the form which is incorporated with the paper setting out the aims of the Party.

The Kenya Empire Party has come into being because it is felt on all sides that good work though the Electors Union has done in the past, it will be impossible in the future for there to be only one Political Organisation to represent the differing views of the whole European Community. We indeed are to be sad that anything like the total number of Europeans are members of the Electors Union.

Every European must surely realize that in a world of constant change it is essential to give allegiance to some political body and that only by doing so can he or she be kept informed of and take part in what is going on. Moreover in all political activity individual action has very rarely proved successful whereas collective action has almost INVARIABLY achieved its object. While on this subject of unity we would like to say this. There is as we know only too well a State of Emergency in Kenya. In times of stress anything likely to promote schism in public thought is to be deplored, and therefore it is not the intention of the Kenya Empire Party to take any official action until the Emergency is ended. We feel that our plain duty in this difficult time is to stand four square behind our Members in their efforts to clear up the present emergency.

However, being certain that the Emergency will be brought to a successful conclusion in the near future, we are thinking ahead and are determined that all the efforts of the Kenya Empire Party must be directed first to ensuring that such a state of affairs can never return to Kenya, and secondly that when we all resume our normal existence once more we are a strong enough Party to play our role in the settlement of the numerous political problems that are certain to arise.

That these problems will be difficult of solution and will need to be faced with the utmost resolution must be realised by every thinking man and woman in Kenya today.

We therefore invite you to make a close study of the aims of the Kenya Empire Party which appear to us as both simple and direct. The moment the Emergency is ended we intend to call a Conference in Nairobi of all our members where the officers of the Party will be elected, and the necessary mechanism set up to make the Party's work immediately effective.

Meanwhile the pro tem Committee have decided to allow enrolment without any payment of subscriptions for the period of the Emergency. All preliminary expenses are being borne by those who, believing in the necessity of an alternative European Political Party in Kenya, are prepared to finance it through its preliminary stages.

In conclusion, believing that if we wish to make Kenya a land fit for our children to live in we must be prepared not only to devote thought to political issues but to work together for their solution, we appeal to you to join the Kenya Empire Party, and more than that to make a point of attending the first Conference it holds. If the aims of the Party are your views, only by giving it your support can the realisation of these aims be brought about.

**JOIN TODAY TO ENSURE TOMORROW.**

Yours faithfully,  
Delamere,  
C. V. Thornton.  
L. E. Vigar.

P.O. Boxes 5219,  
522,  
NAIROBI.

91

2167

2 1 6 9

**KENYA EMPIRE PARTY**

*"Coming out Fighting"*

P.O. Boxes (5039) Nairobi.  
( 852)

I ..... wish to make application for enrolment in the Kenya Empire Party.

I realise that it is political, and its purpose is to unite all unofficial Europeans in Kenya into one party pledged to the Six Articles hereunder :

1. Complete loyalty to the Crown.
2. To maintain Kenya (and East Africa) as an English-speaking integral part of the British Empire.
3. To maintain European Leadership in Kenya (and East Africa).
4. To obtain Home Rule for Kenya under European Settler Leadership at the earliest possible moment.
5. To maintain effective and permanent representation in England in order that the lies, calumny and ignorance so prevalent there can be combated at once.
6. To link up when the time comes with the Capricorn Society and to fight for Federation of the Six Territories of East and Central Africa.

I recognise the right of the Party to reject my application or to withdraw my membership if I cease to subscribe to its objective as printed above.

Signed .....

Address .....

English Press Ltd.  
This is a photostat of an application form for membership in the Kenya Empire Party.

92

**TRUE COPY:**

The Law Courts,  
NAIROBI.  
9th, October, 1953.

Ex-Senior Chief Koinange,  
c/o The Officer-in-Charge,  
Marsabit Detention Camp.

Sir,

Whereas the Governor, being satisfied that for the purpose of maintaining public order it was necessary to do so, has made a detention order against you under the provisions of the Emergency Regulations, 1952, and whereas the Governor has Powers under Sub-regulation (2) of Regulation 2 of the said Regulations to vary and revoke any such Order and has appointed a Committee, known as the Advisory Committee on Detainees, to advise him in the exercise of such Powers, notice is hereby given you that you will be accorded an opportunity at an early date to appear before the said Committee in support of the petition for your release which you addressed to the Governor.

2. In order to furnish you with such particulars as, in the opinion of the Committee, are necessary to enable you to present your case, you are hereby notified that the allegations against you are to the effect that, up to the date of your arrest, you were an active supporter of Mau Mau and, in particular :—

- (a) Administered an oath of secrecy to some forty persons near Kiambaa in February, 1950;
- (b) Made anti-European Speeches, calculated to embitter race relations, on the following occasions on which you stated that all Europeans ought to be made to leave the country: (i) at a KAU meeting in Nairobi in April 1949 and (ii) At a KAU meeting in Nairobi on the 23.11.1951.
- (c) Made a further anti-European speech, calculated to embitter race relations, at a KAU meeting in Nairobi on the 1st March, 1952, at which you shouted "Where did the Europeans get their land? Did they bring it with them?";

93

2168

- (d) Made a subversive Speech against the Government on the 17th, June 1951, at a reception given in honour of Fred Kubai on the occasion of his release from Prison;
- (e) In a Speech at a KAU meeting in the Fort Hall district on the 24th, June, 1951, you falsely and maliciously accused Government of turning Kikuyu area Akamba out of Masai country in order that Europeans might settle there; and
- (f) At a KAU meeting at Gatundu on the 20th, April, 1952, warned Africans who were Government Servants among your listeners not to report what they heard.
3. The date upon which you may attend before the Committee will be notified to you in due course.
4. The Committee will not hear Advocates.

Signed S. H. Fazan,  
Executive Officer,  
To the Advisory Committee on Detainees.

This letter was addressed to the author's father, Ex-Senior Chief Koinange, in the concentration camp, where he is still interned.

94

#### B. WHAT THE AFRICANS WANT

The documents reproduced in this section show what the Africans suffer in their native land and what they want as human beings.

#### THE KIKUYU HIGHLANDS EX-SQUATTERS LAND-OWNERS ASSOCIATION, CLAIMING FOODSTUFFS CONFISCATED & LANDS DEPRIVED, LIMURU FIELD,

SEPTEMBER 2, 1947,  
KENYA.

The Right Honourable,  
A. Creech Jones Esq.M.P.,  
Secretary of State for the Colonies,

Sir,

Your Petitioners would be very happy and have pleasure, if you make the following and let have with your kindness of getting these questions are answered as under, if you had been received their Petition dated on July 16, 1947, for you had been well understand their sufferings and grievances had been laid upon Your Petitioners by the European Farms:

1. Ask, if you have been received Your Petitioners' Memorandum what is your rightly reported?
2. How long do you wished Your Petitioners should looking on you?
3. How long do you like Your Petitioners roaming in country, foodless and homeless probably like fatherless-motherless children?
4. When and how long would you think fitably shall Your Petitioners received their rights confiscated?
5. When their 9 accuseds still in detention shall they be released?
6. Which cause prohibited Muchiri wa Muigai who had killed by vehicle when Your Petitioners came from Government House and 19 others injuries to get their compensation?
7. When the requested Royal Commissioner shall arrived in Kenya for investigation Your Petitioners grievances?

95

2169

- 8. Which is Your Petitioners' pension for serving European farms more than thirty five years?
- 9. What is thank-offerings on Your Petitioners for working on the farms more than 35 years would be given by the European farms?
- 10. Who shall make compensation Your Petitioners great loss they had had been got?
- 11. How long does Your Petitioners laying in this greatest danger and starving like the wild animals?
- 12. When and which date shall Your Petitioners received their foodstuffs and land had been taken away from?
- 13. When shall Your Petitioners received 21,000 acres which was been recommended by the Land Commission in 1932, requested by them for resting?
- 14. How long time Your Petitioners continuing on hungry state for the foodstuffs and land?

That Your Petitioners humbly request immediately your kindly reported without any delaying. Herewith enclosed a copy of notes of Sir PHILIP MITCHELL'S MEETING WITH YOUR PETITIONERS AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NAIROBI on 1st February, 1947.

Your Petitioners hope to hear from you soonest.  
 Your Petitioners have the honour to be,  
 SIR,  
 Your most humble obedient servant,  
 Squatter Samuel Kibuija  
 Secretary of the Association

KENYA AFRICAN UNION,  
 Kericho Branch,  
 Kimuloi Location No. 3,  
 P.O. KERICHO.  
 21st January, 1952.

Messrs. Mbiyu Koinange & Achieng' Oneko,  
 KAU Delegates in Europe,  
 LONDON.

Dear Sirs,

**RE: GRIEVENCES FROM KIPSIGIS.**

On behalf of the Kipsigis people, We the undersigned hereby describe the Kipsigis grievances which they have on many occasions suffered for same and are still suffering:-

- 1. Kenya, during its brief extence, under the British Imperialism, as a British Colony, has attracted a great deal of public attention, and less adverse criticism. The Crown Colony Government, whereby the Imperial Parliament holds responsibility for the management of Colonies, it is the plain duty of the British people to make Colonial matters their concern. More especially should they direct their interest to the Welfare of the Native Inhabitants of the Colonies, now popularly described as "backward races" whereas in contrary not so much.
- 2. The power to intervene in countries where a *minority* (settlers) are oppressing a *majority* (Africans) and create the kind of instability that leads to trouble; it served to destroy public confidence and to lower the standard of public morality. The effect of injustice is cumulative and it is the multiplication of injustice that always in the end produces those various evils that (security Council) exist to avoid, for out of chaos fresh confidence does not arise.
- 3. We appeal about the land owned by European Settlers at present. The word "Crown Land" seems to be the means by which Europeans settlers built their population, as the facts have shewa. Before Europeans came into this country (about the year 1910) Kipsigis were living from Ng'olno which is now known as Sotik Highlands right up to Kilgoris (Masai) and from Kilgoris to Mare river. The first District Commissioner of Kericho at about 1911-1914 evicted in-

degenious people from all this inhabited parts across Kipsonoi River and from \* of Kilgoris right up to the junction of Mare and \* The people were shifted to Muterakwa area. While evicting people from these areas the Government Officials set fire to their huts as the means to force the people move out quickly. All the goods were burnt; properties were destroyed; the deserted land was then termed as "Crown Lands" after a short time (about 4 years later i.e. 1918) European settlers came into the country i.e. Mr. W. Robinson (who built his club), known as Old Sotik Club and many others flocked in too. Each European settler settled down and employed Africans as squatters with the direct encouragement of Government (Semi slavery) those people were forced to leave.

4. In 1927, Government Officials set fire on our huts as the means to force the people to move out in KIBULGENY AND KAPTITUI AREAS. They burnt huts numbered to 1,641 as per para 3 of this letter, the same thing happened again but part of this land is still inhabited by settlers.

5. In 1940, Government Officials set fire on huts at Tinnet (Eastern Moio) and Wandorobo (Kipsigis) were evicted and have no room to live. The land is unused and reserved for European occupation.

6. In or about the month of December, 1950, all the people living at Kimulot Location No. 3 were served with notices to remove themselves from the said Location without reasons. We refused to remove and were thereby charged under Section 13(2) Chapter 97, of the Native Authority Ordinance, 1948. Judgment was delivered against our favour and we appealed. Our appeal were allowed. Government repeated the same charge which was groundless and is still doing the same.

7. One towering and venomous falsehood, perpetually presumed and replenished is that, while settlement in Kenya was not began by the seizure of land already cultivated by Africans who were evicted from their homes or forced to remain as squatters (semi-slavery).

8. All progress, should be initiated, planned and directed in and from London with Local Opinion and conditions of the Native Inhabitants.

The British public should be contented to lead by the nose, prejudiced, and general theorists, who should lecture

\* The original document is very worn and these few words could not be read by the printer.

and instruct the Kenya Government on points and details as well as of policy from their offices and so long will the Colony continue in peace? The Government of Kenya is only preparing sinister policies to Africans as the facts have shown. It is not mistake to state that the Government is up to mischief.

9. The recent discovery that the Native Lands have proved inadequate to support the population is due to the alienation of too large parts of the African land for white settlement and term it as white highlands. While settlement in Kenya is not an accomplished facts which political actions can destroy. It is not waste of time to argue as though white settlement were a reversible process.

10. The Government of Kenya, after incessant search, has looked for a lame excuse which is a mean trick during November, 1951, and published a book known as "Communique on land tenure policy" which book is incorrect as there was no African who were present when the commission of Inquiry was set up.

In conclusion, it should be remembered that our land has already deprived from us leaving only 1/4 of our land in 1921 up to 1940. Our land comprised of 12 locations but now we have only small patches of land about 3/4 have gone to Europeans. We don't know what we shall use in ten or fifteen years to come if all the unused land is not released for African settlement.

Yours faithfully,

Signed: Kipsoi A. Chemarore

CHAIRMAN

Signed: Epifano Chargwoy Kineto

SECRETARY

KENYA AFRICAN UNION  
KERICHO BRANCH

This has been reproduced from the original in the author's file.

(TRANSLATION)

NAIROBI, KENYA COLONY.  
JANUARY 13, 1953.

TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, ELIZABETH II

We open with New Year's greetings from your loyal citizens, Kenya African women, and beg to submit this petition of our troubles for your sympathetic consideration.

We wish the Royal Family success and happiness. We are not ashamed to let Your Majesty know the troubles inflicted on us by both the ordinary police and the military police, together with the District Commissioners, both in towns and in Kikuyu reserves in particular.

Women and children sleep outside in the bush for fear of the police whom, we are told, are here to protect us during this state of unrest. Some of their actions are inhuman and anti-Christian.

Our husbands have been arrested and detained under the Emergency Regulations and only women have been left to look after their homes, children and holdings.

The police, while patrolling the Native Reserves, constantly commit rape on us, even though some of us are pregnant or have just given birth. Communal slave-labour has been introduced by the Kenya Government, and women are mercilessly collected from their homes to go and work in police camps. There the police commit untold atrocities, such as raping and beating for no reason.

The police are in the habit of beating us. This is done because our husbands are detained under the Emergency Regulations and because the Government does not look after us.

Men and women detained under the Emergency Regulations in these police camps are forced to work as prisoners before facing the magistrate to be tried.

We feel that in these respects the Kenya Government is repeating the practices of Hitler against his enemies in the concentration camps.

Collective punishment has been imposed upon us. In many cases our property and stock have been confiscated and our

100

children are left in a state of famine and without support, while our husbands are in detention camps miles and miles away from us.

The missionaries came to Kenya and taught us Christianity from the Bible, which instructs us not to steal, not to covet, not to commit adultery, and, lastly, which we feel is very important, not to utter false allegations against one another. It also teaches us that he who commits murder at the point of the sword should be killed in the same way.

Kenya African women, most of whom are Christians, are very much worried and are likely to lose confidence in Christian teaching because of the attitude of the Government and missionaries towards us. Neither the missionaries nor the Government seem to care or be moved by the atrocities committed on us.

We understand that the policy of the British Government is to help and encourage Africans in the direction of their self-government. We also understand that the duty of the Government and the police is to dispense justice to all races in Your Majesty's colonies.

But if innocent people suffer the tyranny of collective punishment, communal slave-like forced labor, rapes, indecent assaults and beatings, irrespective as to whether they are guilty or not, one wonders how harmony and goodwill, co-operation and friendship, among the races in Kenya can be created.

As women, we were very glad when we heard that Your Majesty was to reign over us and we deeply hoped that our rights as women would be preserved by you whom we regard as our leader and Queen.

It is sad that at present children are not attending schools, because the Kenya Government has closed our independent schools, which have run for over 22 years without Government support and finance.

We request that Your Majesty appoint a commission of women from the United Kingdom to come and investigate the most grave and unjust situation prevailing in Kenya.

We cannot tolerate any longer the atrocities committed upon us.

We hand over our troubles and difficulties to Your Majesty the Queen, and ask you to remember them and to see that justice is done.

We loyal Kenya African women wish Your Majesty and the Royal Family a long prosperous life during your reign as

101

2172

our Queen. We ask your quick help in alleviating our sorrows.  
Long live the Queen.

This Petition has since been supported by a number of Affidavits by women concerned and we include summaries of some of these. They are too long and numerous for inclusion in full.

**WAMBUI** w/o **KAGOTHO KIBUTHU** of Limuru, Kiambu District, who was beaten by her village Homeguards on 4th January 1953, says that at about 11 a.m. she was met by four homeguards at her home, they ordered her into the house and when she refused they beat her about the face and body. When her young daughter shouted to them to stop, she too was slapped on the face. The party eventually left Wambui unconscious on the ground. At the time of the assault she was eight months pregnant.

Wambui and her husband reported the matter and obtained a doctor's statement as to injuries. Thuo Kamau (the only assailant recognised) was charged with assault. The case was heard at Chura Tribunal Court and Thuo was sentenced to six months imprisonment on 9th January. On 28th January Wambui met the District Officer at Tigoni. He examined her and, after having read the papers which she had relating to the case, he tore them up and released Thuo.

**SULPHIA WANJIRU** w/o **MUNYUA** of Lower Kabete, was raped by African Constables on 4th February, 1953. Sulphia was outside her house with Karugi wa Gicuru at about 3.30 p.m. when they saw Ngugi wa Wainaina guarded by a party of Askaris. Karugi shouted to enquire what had happened. Ngugi replied that he was under arrest but did not know why. After this exchange two Askaris, Clement and Juma searched the house and then all three, Sulphia, Karugi and Ngugi, were taken to the Headman's house. Sulphia was taken out of the house by Juma and he tried to rape her, but she cried out. Juma therefore called Clement and they took her towards the Wangigi Police Post. Some distance from the house Juma knocked her down and raped her. When they arrived at the police post she told her story to two European Officers and she was then taken to hospital and detained for three days. To the best of her knowledge no action has been taken in this matter.

102

**NJERI** d/o **NJEHIA** of Marmaret Forest near Thompsons Falls, was raped on the 27th December, 1952. Njeri, a nine year old girl, went to draw water with her brother and small sister. On the way back the others ran on ahead and Njeri was overtaken by a man she did not know, wearing the belt of a Forest Guard. He forced her into the bush and raped her. Her father reported the matter to his European employer, and then to the police. Njeri identified the man and was then taken to hospital.

**MWAURA** wa **NJUGUNA** of Eldoret, sent back to the reserve on 10th December, 1952. While working on his shamba, Mwaura's wife came to tell him that there were two policemen enquiring for him, he went to the police station and was asked whether he would like to go to his reserve. He replied that he knew no one in the reserve and had no land there. He was then placed in a cell. The following morning he was charged with being a pauper. He told the magistrate that he had a regular monthly order to supply the European Hospital with oranges and that he had two acres of shamba planted with maize and sugar cane and that this provided him with enough to maintain his wife and daughter. He was returned to the cells where he was kept for a further eight days being provided with two slices of bread a day.

He was brought from the cells on 19th December at 4 p.m. and outside was a lorry loaded with all his furniture. His wife and daughter were there. He was told that they were all to be returned to the reserve. He was told that all fares would be paid, but not the carriage for the belongings. He pointed out that he was being returned to the reserve as a pauper and therefore they could hardly expect him to pay for the carriage of the furniture. The European Inspector threatened to hit him unless he kept quiet. He was returned to the cells until midnight and then taken to the station. They entrained for Nairobi with an escort but the belongings were left at the station. They arrived at the District Commissioner's office Kiambu at 12.30 p.m. on 23rd having spent most of the intervening time in cells at Nairobi and Kiambu Police Station. When they left the Commissioner they went towards the market where they met a man whom they had known at Eldoret. Since then Mwaura has been living at this man's house. He has not yet been able to find work, has not been able to harvest the crops from his shamba and has not been able to get his furniture.

103

2173

The above petition of 1000 Kikuyu women was sent on to the Queen by three women Members of Parliament—Miss Jennie Lee, Mrs. Barbara Castle and Mrs. Alice Cullen—with the following letter:

February, 23rd 1953.

Your Most Excellent Majesty Queen Elizabeth.  
Madam,

We are taking the unusual course of approaching Your Majesty directly because of the gravity of the matter which we are bringing to Your attention.

We enclose a petition addressed to Your Majesty to which the names of one thousand Kikuyu women are attached. The originals are in Swahili and Kikuyu; the English translation is included.

Most of these women are illiterate and therefore the names are often in one hand-writing, but in other cases fingerprints have been attached.

We cannot, of course, take responsibility for all the statements made, and some of them seem to us to be extravagantly expressed, but we do think there is a case for an inquiry by a commission of women, as suggested in the document.

The women have been left in their villages without their menfolk, who have been placed in prisons and detention camps. They say that they are so afraid of the police patrols that they and their children are sleeping outside in the bush. They also complain that they are forced to go into the prison camps to work and are treated badly there.

The women, as Your Majesty will see, write with devotion to Yourself as "our leader and Queen", and have confidence that Your Majesty, as the guardian of justice to all races in the colonies, will be concerned about their welfare.

A copy of the petition has been sent to the Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.

Your obedient servants,  
Alice Cullen  
(M.P. Gorbals)  
Barbara Castle  
(M.P. Blackburn, E.)  
Jennie Lee  
(M.P. Cannock)

104

#### THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION

Tele. Address—"KAU".

P.O. Box No. 2026  
Nairobi.

In the name of the people of Kenya we demand:—

#### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

1. The abolition by law of all racial discrimination as being repugnant to morality and civilised standards and contrary to the principles of the United Nations.

#### THE LAND.

2. That the paramount need of the African for land be satisfied. Meanwhile, there must be no further immigration of Europeans or Asians, except on a temporary basis for the purpose of providing personnel for essential services and industries.

#### EDUCATION.

3. The extension of educational facilities including technical facilities by  
(a) establishing institutions of full University status in East Africa in the shortest possible time;  
(b) arranging for a greatly increased number of African students to proceed overseas for higher studies, and the provision of a Fund from which students wishing to go abroad can obtain loans;  
(c) multiplying the number of primary and secondary schools so that in the shortest possible time all African boys and girls shall at least have the benefits of compulsory primary education.

#### THE CONSTITUTION.

4. The immediate introduction of the system of election, not nomination, of all African unofficial members of the Legislative Council.  
5. A Common Roll for all three races.  
6. The reservation of an equal number of seats for Africans and non-Africans on the unofficial side of the Council.  
7. A franchise for Africans based initially on literacy and/or property qualifications, and including women.

105

2174

8. The nomination of equal numbers of Africans and non-Africans on the official side of the Council.

9. The direct election, not nomination, of all African members of the proposed Constitutional Committee for Kenya and that the number of African, Asian and European members of the Committee be equal—failing which, Her Majesty's Government in Britain should be requested to set up an impartial Committee of British constitutional experts.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

10. The election of Africans to all County, District and Municipal Councils and Boards; and the establishment of County, District, Locational and Municipal Councils and Boards on an electoral basis in the African Land Units. An immediate increase in the membership of African Councillors in the Nairobi Municipal Council representing not less than the membership enjoyed by the European community. The same to apply to the Municipal Boards of Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu.

#### TRADE UNIONS.

11. That Trade Unions be allowed to function freely, that registration be optional and not compulsory, and combination of trade unions be permitted.

#### THE DEFENCE FORCES AND CIVIL SERVICE.

12. Full opportunity for Africans to demonstrate their loyalty to Kenya by serving in commissioned ranks in the Defence Forces and in the senior posts in the Civil Service.

#### AGRICULTURE

13. Assistance in the economic development of African farms in the form of loans on easy terms and the provision of Agricultural Schools where appropriate courses can be administered to African farmers.

14. The payment of uniform prices to all producers of primary produce of which the purchase and sale is controlled, and the abrogation of all restrictive practices in the growth of certain crops.

#### EQUAL PAY & INCREASE IN MINIMUM WAGE

15. Equal pay for equal qualifications and work.

16. The immediate increase in the Minimum Wage by 33½% to offset the high cost of living. The Minimum Wage

106

must be related to a Cost of Living Index. There should be adequate housing for thousands of Africans who are reported to be homeless and bedless in the urban areas.

#### FREEDOM OF SPEECH & ASSEMBLY

17. The right of freedom of assembly and speech, without interference by the police or the administration, and the repeal of the relevant sections of the Police Ordinance in accordance with the terms of the United Nations Charter.

18. That the terms of reference of the Royal Commission be widened to include a survey of all lands in Kenya with special reference to the land needs of the African people.

19. The earliest possible repeal of all recent repressive legislation including the Bill for the registration of Societies.

20. The release or immediate trial of all persons arrested or detained since 20th October, 1952.

21. Facilities to enable the independent African press to start functioning again.

22. The removal of all restrictions on the legitimate activities of the Kenya African Union.

23. We request that a conciliation group be set up in Kenya to attempt the solution of the many difficult problems facing all races and that it be composed as follows:—

Chairman to be nominated by His Excellency the Governor. 2 members each from the K.A.U., the Electors' Union and the Kenya Indian Congress, 1 European Elected M.L.C., 1 Indian Elected M.L.C., 1 Arab Elected M.L.C. & 1 African Unofficial M.L.C.

24. We demand the immediate implementation of the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

(W.W.W. Awori)

AG. NATIONAL PRESIDENT

(J.A.Z. Murumbi)

AG. GENERAL SECRETARY

15th March, 1953.  
Nairobi.

107

2175

) 1 7 6

**KIPSIGIS COMMUNITY,  
KIMULOT LOCATION 3,  
BURET  
P.O. LITEIN  
9th May 1953.**

The Secretary,  
The East African Royal Commission,  
Private Bag,  
P.O. KIKUYO

Sir,

Your Petitioners, the undersigned crave your kind permission that you will be good enough to place this humble Petition before the Chairman of H.M. Royal Commission for the consideration of very grave grievances that your Petitioners have experienced for a considerable period, if your petitioners may be permitted to say:—

Your Petitioners herein wish to start with most delicate question which worried the minds of African peoples in this Colony of Kenya and which has now caused terror in some parts of Kenya. Before going any further your Petitioners, with due respect, beg to point out that unless this problem is given very sympathetic consideration the same trouble is definitely happening in this part of the Colony where your Petitioners reside.

**LAND**

Your Petitioners while not trying to cause ill-will between a white man and black man very rightly feels that they are several matters in connexion with the method particularly the distribution of the land which cannot be left unchanged.

1. That the Government of Kenya and Settlers played a lot of havoc in demarcating the land. At the time of white man came to this country, the black man was admittedly very rare and as such he did at the time realise the future danger as far as the land question was concerned. The settler naturally took the most fertile and productive areas for his use thus leaving the bad parts for the black man.

2. That to-day the African population has increased tremendously and it is for this very reason that H.M. The Home

Government has been kind to send out here your Royal Commission to investigate and in action give a true verdict of their mission. It is however shocking that ¾ of the Kipsigis land unit is occupied by white settlers. This means that the west and east parts of the Kipsigis land is being unlawfully taken. While blaming the Settlers on this issue the Kenya Government, it is your Petitioners humble submission must be challenged they have been responsible of all this, and still they are repeating the same mistake even now.

3. Your Petitioners wish with due respect to take you back to one history of the Kipsigis land. The Kipsigis lived from the Mau which is now known as White Highlands right up to Kibigoris (Beyond Stotik Highland). As far back as 1927, the Government evicted people from Kibulgeny, Kap-tindui, Kipkewa, Kapuigeny, Kamongonjet, Timbilili, Tinet, etc., etc. The natives of course moved to Kimulot area. During 1940 again Government turned out the Kipsigis and Wandorobo from Tinet. The strange feature is that Government was expelling peoples' huts including property therein were on fire as means of forcing people to leave.

4. That after these lands had been vacated, they were automatically turned "Crown Lands". It was then from this time when the Kipsigis became squatters up to the year 1945, within the Sotik Highlands and elsewhere. Owing to acute land hunger, in this respect your Petitioners beg to refer you to the evidence given by them before the Kenya Land Commission of 1932.

5. Before coming to the final point your Petitioners have further to state as follows:—

About the month of December 1950, some of the Kipsigis residing in Kimulot Location 3, were served with notices to quit from the said location without an excuse being assigned to their removal. The natives of course refused to obey the order and were subsequently charged under Section 13 (2) Cap 97 of the Native Authority Ordinance 1948. The involved Kipsigis however appealed to the Court of High States thereby winning the case, yet the Government having the power repeated charging these poor fellows and as such having power gave order for the huts to be pulled down. (Copies of Judgments and proceedings which speak for themselves are with the Registrar Supreme Court of Kenya and can be obtained on request for ready reference).

6. Your Petitioners contend that the white settlers have

2 1 7 7

taken too much land. The alienation so arrived at Government and the Settlers of course being totally unfair. Recently some of the Kipsigis attempted to point out to the good Government of Kenya as a result of which they forced to execute bonds so as to keep peace and be of good behaviour. Those who refused to sign the said bonds automatically went to prison for a term of one year with hard labour.

7. It will be remembered that recently when your Commission came round to obtain evidence from the Africans in Kericho, the District Commissioner only chose the Chiefs and few others to meet the members of the Commission the ordinary man who has been exploited left behind. Had the ordinary man been allowed to give evidence, your Petitioners maintain that the Kipsigis land which is now being to the African Highland Produce Company (Settlers' firm) would have been visited and the dispute settled. Mr. Kipsoi Arap Chemarore one of the Petitioner has been served with a notice to quit from the District Commissioner, Kericho. He has also been asked to sell all his trees, Posho Mill and other properties to the African Produce Company.

REASONS WHEREFORE your humble Petitioner pray that Your Royal Commission do come to this disputed land between the Government and the Kipsigis to inspect and direct what to be done. It is important that the Commission ought to come because if nothing is done there is going to be trouble in this area.

SAWE ARAP BUNE      KIPSOI ARAP CHEMARORE  
for and on behalf of Kipsigis Community, Kericho

Kenya African Union,  
107 King Henry's Rd.,  
London, N.W.3.

11th May, 1953.

The Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, D.S.O., P.C., M.P.  
Secretary of State for the Colonies,  
Colonial Office,  
London, S.W.1.

Dear Captain Lyttelton,

Now that you are flying to Kenya, I want to renew our request to Sir Evelyn Baring through you, with the fullest hope that you will give the Kenya African Union an opportunity to play their role for the restoration of peace.

When Sir Evelyn Baring, the Governor of Kenya, was here for consultation with you, I addressed a note to him requesting an opportunity to discuss actions to ameliorate the present situation. Pressure of time, however, did not permit him to grant me an interview.

On Tuesday, 31st March, 1953, in the House of Commons, Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., asked whether you would urge the Kenya Government to accept the offers of the African leaders to take part in the restoration of peace in Kenya, to which you replied, "It is open to any African leader to ask the Kenya Government to permit him to hold a meeting of supporters. No such application has been made by an African leader".

The Kenya African Union of which I am delegate in the United Kingdom sincerely wishes to serve the cause of peace.

In order to help restore peace in Kenya and bring about an atmosphere of good will between the Africans and the Government, I am suggesting that the Kenya African Union be approached for its services and good offices in appealing to all peoples in Kenya, to stop acts of violence. To achieve this, however, it will be necessary for the Government to give us certain assurances. We do not want the Government to misinterpret the psychological effect upon Africans and non-Africans of these assurances. We feel confident that once such assurances are guaranteed, we can succeed in achieving our purpose. As soon as possible after peace and an atmosphere

111

of goodwill have been established we propose that a Round Table Conference of representatives of all the racial communities and Government should be held to review the economic, political and social grievances and disabilities suffered by the Africans, such as the absence of universal adult franchise, of compulsory education and of security of land tenure. But we realise that in order to bring this about, the first essential is the restoration of the status quo ante. The purpose of our appeal to the Government is to allow the Kenya African Union, which is still recognised by the Government as the legal and official political organisation of the Africans, to use its influence in helping to solve the present crisis between those Africans involved in acts of violence and the Government. If the Government agrees in principle to our offer, we propose that the following conditions will have to be agreed upon so as to strengthen our hands in tackling the issue:

- 1) Amnesty to all political prisoners and immediate trial for all Africans alleged to be involved in offences of a criminal nature.
- 2) Restoration of civil liberties—lifting the ban on the African Press, the right to hold meetings (subject to police supervision), the abolition of interference in legitimate trade union and cooperative activities.
- 3) Immediate increase of minimum wage scale which would enable Africans to obtain staple food.
- 4) Return of the squatters and other Africans removed either from settled areas or their areas into the already overcrowded Kikuyu Reserves, and recognition of the principle of "equal pay for equal work".
- 5) Reopening of all Kikuyu Independent schools under their already existing relationship with the Government.
- 6) Restoration of the property confiscated from Africans not proved guilty of a crime before a Court of Law.
- 7) Guarantee of safety to all African men, women and youths; freedom from violence, freedom from house to house round up by the Police unless there is reasonable cause to believe the law has been broken by the people concerned.

These points are essential if the Africans are to be persuaded that attempts at negotiation are genuine and that they may attend gatherings without fear of arrest.

112

We, the leaders of the Kenya African Union, feel confident that if the Government accepts our good offices and gives us an assurance that the above demands will be implemented, we can help to restore peace and goodwill in Kenya within three months from the date we undertake our mission. We ask nothing for ourselves but an opportunity of serving our country and promoting the peace, happiness and prosperity of all the inhabitants of Kenya. We feel confident that Her Majesty's Government can do no less than welcome and accept the offer of the leaders of the Kenya African Union, who alone, among the Africans, enjoy the prestige and respect of all African communities to act as ambassadors of peace and mediators between the Government and those involved in the present unrest. This is no time for recrimination and affixing blame. The immediate need is to stop the bloody warfare and restore peace. If we all—Africans, Asians and Europeans—are to live together safely.

Yours sincerely,

(Mbiyu Koinange)  
Delegate in the United Kingdom of  
THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION

REPLY RECEIVED 4TH JUNE.

Colonial Office, The Church Hse., Gt. Smith St.,  
London, S.W.1.  
3rd June, 1953.

My Ref. E.A.P./C.5.  
Your Ref. ....

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th May regarding the situation in Kenya.

I am,  
Sir,

Mbiyu Koinange, Esq.

Your obedient Servant,  
(H.P. Hall).

113

2178

### C. WAGE RATES IN KENYA

This is the rate of pay for Africans.  
A shilling is equivalent to 14¢ U.S.

Average Wage Rates (per month)	United Kingdom: Kenya		
	1948	1949	1950
Artisans	70s to 200s	70s to 200s	70s to 200s
Drivers	60s to 150s	70s to 250s	60s to 150s
Clerks	50s to 300s	50s to 250s	50s to 300s
Casual Labour (per day)	1s to 4s	1s to 4s (per day)	1s to 4s (per day)
Agricultural Labour		8s per month plus housing and value of farm holding	24s to 60s Resident labour from 7s per month plus housing and value of farm property.

From United Nations  
General Assembly:

General: A/1824:  
5 August 1951

### D. A LETTER FROM AMERICAN CLERGYMEN

Detroit, Michigan  
January 10, 1955

Dear Sir:

Over eight thousands people have been killed in Kenya since the declaration of the Emergency in October 1952. Everyone of these lives is precious and could have been saved to build a new Africa if the Kenya African people were free to speak for themselves, to go to school, to work and to trade like people all over the civilized world.

The story of how Africans want to and can do all this is told in a little book *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves* by Mbiyu Koinange, President of Kenya Teachers College, who was sent by his people to represent them in Europe and to the United Nations. It is a story told by an African who sees Africa as part of the modern community of nations. Chapter after chapter is testimony to the tremendous creative powers that rest within people who are trying to develop themselves and whom once released, would be of such great value to people everywhere.

The booklet will come off the press on January 15. We, the undersigned, plan to bring *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves* to the attention of our congregations on Saturday and Sunday, January 29 and 30, and we are urging others all over the country to do the same. Will you join us in this demonstration of the brotherhood of man, regardless of race, color, creed or distance, and share in this welcome of the African people to their place in the modern world?

Signed:

Rev. A. A. Banks Jr., Second Baptist Church  
Rev. Robert L. Bradby Jr., Greater King  
Solomon Baptist Church  
Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Central Methodist  
Church  
Rev. Tracy M. Pullman, Church of Our  
Father, Unitarian-Universalist  
Rabbi Leon Fram, Temple Israel  
Rev. Jos. Lawrence Roberts, Bethel AME  
Church  
Rev. Horace A. White, Plymouth Congrega-  
tional Church