THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE 1952 EMERGENCY IN KENYA
AND A CONSIDERATION OF SOME OF THE IMMEDIATE RESULTS

by

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ABSTRACT

The rise of the Mau Mau secret society can be attributed to underlying political, social, and economic causes. Politically, it was caused by lack of training of Africans in democratic methods of government and lack of legitimate outlets for political activities. Socially, it was caused by the clash of the old and new civilizations in Kenya; the disruption of tribal institutions and authority; the inadequate educational facilities for Africans; and above all, the pronounced racial discrimination, both legal and customary, dominating society in the Colony. Economically, it was caused by land-hunger, urbanization, poverty and destitution of the African people. The Emergency legislation of October 20, 1952, was passed for the purpose of suppressing the Mau Mau Society and restoring law and order.

By 1958, though law and order had been restored, most of the Emergency legislation was still in effect and though some attempts had been made to alleviate the underlying causes of the disturbances, fundamentally the situation had not changed. The main grievances of the African people have not been dealt with courageously, with the result that the present situation is full of potential danger.
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### Immediate Results of Mau Mau Rebellion

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The writer wishes to express gratitude to Professor A. Cooke of the Department of History, University of British Columbia, for his assistance and encouragement and for the useful material which he brought from Kenya in 1957.
Chapter I

Unnatural deeds
Do breed unnatural troubles.  
Macbeth, Act V Sc 1

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the underlying causes of the disturbances in Kenya which necessitated the declaration of a State of Emergency by the Legislative Council on October 20, 1952. Because these causes were so widespread and affected almost every facet of life in Kenya, for the sake of clarity they will be discussed under three headings: political, social and economic. While the prime object of the emergency legislation was to protect human life and restore law and order, certain attempts were made, by the British Colonial Office, and the Legislative Council in Kenya, from 1952 to 1958, to introduce changes and reforms that, it was hoped, would alleviate the old grievances that had caused the Mau Mau Rebellion and that would prevent the resurgence of terrorism. These changes will be discussed at the conclusion of this thesis, when an attempt will be made to evaluate the present situation in Kenya and to compare it with that of 1952 prior to the Emergency. In this way it will be possible to see how far the underlying causes of Mau Mau have been removed, alleviated or aggravated during the last six years.
It is advisable at this time to explain Mau Mau, the immediate cause of the Emergency Legislation. The United Kingdom Parliamentary Delegation that visited Kenya in January, 1954, described Mau Mau as "a conspiracy, designed to dominate first the Kikuyu tribe and then all other Africans and finally to drive out all other races and seize power in Kenya. It is a political and social conspiracy, a secret society, which uses terrorism to secure obedience where it cannot command willing support or compliance. Mau Mau has progressed from the political oath with which it began through successive oaths each one more violent than its predecessor. . . . Mau Mau intentionally and deliberately seeks to lead the Africans of Kenya back to the bush and savagery, not forward into Progress." The important point to note in this definition is "Mau Mau has progressed from the political oath with which it began." Undoubtedly it had degenerated into a barbarous society but had grown out of legitimate political aspirations and understandable hostility to the white settlers and those Africans who co-operated with them. There are several reasons for regression into a savage cult with obscene ceremonies. Most Africans in Kenya were illiterate and their old tribal morality and taboos had been broken down by superficial contact with European civilization. They were in a state of transition. They were still the slaves of superstition and primitive passions which could only be dispelled or controlled by true education. At the same time a small group of Africans had passed the stage of transition and become for all intents and purposes "Europeans", except that socially and economically they
were not accepted by the Europeans in Kenya. This group, impatient to achieve political rights for their people, endeavoured to get mass support for their political organization. As the illiterate tribesmen and women had no knowledge of such abstract ideas as 'responsibility' in government, 'democracy', 'freedom', 'independence' etc., the educated leaders used 'catch phrases' such as 'the land is ours', 'Kenya belongs to us', to gain support and financial contributions necessary for any political movement. It was inevitable that a host of pseudo-educated petty leaders, self-seekers and subversive elements would infiltrate any legitimate political organization and distort it. However, when the Legislative Council brought in the Emergency Legislation it affected not only Mau Mau and its adherents but every member of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes, all African political organizations and even the African representatives in the Legislative Council. This was unfortunate but understandable, and the whole situation will be discussed in detail at the conclusion of this thesis when an attempt is made to summarize the results of the emergency. Sir Philip Mitchell has recorded in his book, *African Afterthoughts*, what he knew of Mau Mau in the immediate period before his retirement in June 1952. He states that "it certainly appeared from 1949 onward that the country was settling down," but referring to his diary he notes that "a prominent farmer in the Limuru area came to tell me that he was concerned that some of the principal people concerned with K.A.U. were engaged in subversive and seditious activities though on being questioned the farmer admitted he had nothing to go on but rumour
and hearsay." Looking back on his period as Governor of Kenya, Sir Philip recalls the rise of many savage cults which were suppressed by prompt measures. He adds, "Mau Mau is only one of these cults." "In the year preceding 1952," he continues, "I do not recollect that anything definite was known, or at any rate reported, except that the oath obligated those who took it to obey the organizers and if ordered to do so to steal and kill. But enough was known to me to proscribe it [Mau Mau]." In February 1952 Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh stayed at Sagana Lodge, on the border of Kikuyu lands. A wide security check discovered nothing untoward. In March, Sir Philip spent several weeks fishing with Sir Andrew Cohen, Governor of Uganda, in the Thika River in the heart of Kikuyu country, with no guards or arms and was delighted at the friendly attitude of the Kikuyu he met.

Dr. Leakey takes a very different stand on Mau Mau. He says "it was a highly organized enemy with a central council for all Kenya, district executive committees and lesser councils organized down to the small cell." He states that each chief executive had his deputy to take over in case the chiefs were arrested or killed; that Mau Mau had its own courts, police, messengers, spies, and forgers of passes.

Tom Mboya defines Mau Mau as "the child of the political, economic and social frustrations experienced by the African people prior to 1952." Oliver Lyttleton, Secretary of State for the colonies calls Mau Mau "a perverted form of nationalism and a nostalgia for barbarism."
From January 1 to September 15, 1952, certain terrorist acts had taken place amongst the Kikuyu, and these acts were attributed to Mau Mau. Oliver Lyttelton spoke in the House of Commons October 16, and gave the following figures for this period: 25 murders attempted, 14 hut burnings, 12 assaults, 1 church desecrated and several attacks on missions. In the Nyeri area, attempts had been made by unknown terrorists to burn certain tribal elders and Christian schoolmasters in their homes. As the authorities could not apprehend the guilty parties, and the Kikuyu would not assist the police to find or identify them, collective punishment was imposed on all inhabitants in the area. After September 15, further acts of violence occurred; cattle were maimed and slaughtered, two European women were murdered, and amongst the many Africans killed was Senior Chief Waruhiu. All these incidents led to the Emergency Legislation of October 20, 1952.

Before proceeding to an examination of the underlying causes of the troubles that necessitated the Emergency Legislation, a short survey of the whole colony would help to elucidate the situation and serve as background information for the more detailed study to follow.

The geographical position of Kenya has influenced her history considerably. From the point of view of imperial defence Kenya is in a very strategic position. According to Admiral Conolly, Kenya had proved very useful during World War II and Britain "hoped to build a great naval base at Mombasa and a great
port at Mikandani to take the place of the base in Egypt if she should ever lose it.  

Mombasa now has eight deep water berths and more are under construction. The British Government has undertaken "a commitment of several million pounds to build permanent barracks in Kenya for two British Battalions that are needed for defense over a very wide region." In March 1958, the new international airport at Embakasi, just outside Nairobi, was opened, capable of accommodating the largest modern aircraft. £450,000 towards its cost came from the United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and £250,000 from the Ministry of Transport and Aviation.

Kenya's geographical position in relation to her neighbours has influenced her political development and as time goes on will influence it even more. She has as neighbours Somalia, an Italian Trust Area to be independent in 1960, Ethiopia and Sudan, already independent, Uganda, Tanganyika, with growing African national parties, so that from every side Kenya's Africans see encouraging progress of independent African countries.

The topography of Kenya has influenced the racial composition of the population. The north-east section is inhabited by the more backward tribes and is thinly populated because nearly three-fifths of this area of approximately 150,000 square miles is arid and unproductive. The coast province is hot and low lying and has been largely populated by East Indians, Goans and Arabs, or "Asians" as they are commonly called in Kenya. They are the traders, the skilled artisans, and while living mainly
LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE UGANDA RAILWAY.
with the Uasin Gishu and Magadi branch lines shown by dotted lines.
at the coast have spread to the towns and trading areas throughout the colony. Until quite recently there was considerable animosity between the Asians and the Africans. The former were very jealous of their technical knowledge and while employing Africans for menial work, carefully refrained from teaching them any skilled trades. But recently there has been a tendency for Asians and Africans to draw together, bound by a common animosity for the European. In the Legislative Council after 1949, Asians have supported Africans very consistently.

In the central part of Kenya the population pattern is more complicated. Here live the majority of the white settlers and it is the climate and topography that have determined this settlement. Maps I and II will explain the situation. Map I shows a longitudinal section of the Uganda Railway running from Mombasa to Kisumu. The tremendous elevation of the land is indicated, rising from sea level at Mombasa to over 9000 feet on the Uasin Gishu branch line in the West. Map II shows the "White Highlands," an irregular island surrounded by native land units and dotted with Crown forest areas. The equator runs just south of Meru, through Thomson Falls and the White Highlands, but owing to the elevation the climate is salubrious for the white man. The water supply and fertility of the land in this area make it desirable farm and ranch land. It is important to understand the situation in this central portion of Kenya as it is here that live, not only the majority of the white settlers, but over one million Kikuyu tribesmen. Of all tribes in Kenya, the Kikuyu were the
most politically conscious, the most educated, the most implicated in Mau Mau and the most closely associated (geographically), with the white settler.

When the British settlers first came to Kenya in the late 19th and early 20th century, there were 9000 square miles of land in this central area that were "unoccupied except for intermittent grazing by bands of wandering Masai tribesmen." This "intermittent grazing" was the Masai method of pasturing their herds and maintaining the fertility of their soil and the land was not, therefore, really unoccupied by their standards. Bordering on the Masai pastures were the Kikuyu lands, described by Francis Hall, agent for the Imperial East Africa Company in 1900, as valleys with running streams, good pasture grass, some swamps, but "all is cultivated and looks like one vast garden." This is not the place to go into the details of the struggle with the Masai and their eventual removal first to the Laikapia area and from thence to the present Masai land south of the railway towards the Tanganyika border, nor can the eviction of the Nandi, or the expropriation of Kikuyu land be discussed now, but here were sown the seeds for racial tension and bitter dispute. Because of these land grievances it was possible later for Kikuyu leaders to gain wide support for any movement designed to substantiate African claims to land in the White Highlands and for Mau Mau leaders to whip up a frenzy of hatred for white settlers and Africans who were 'loyal' to white men and the government.
In 1906 Lord Elgin, Colonial Secretary, approved the setting aside of a vaguely defined area, between Kiu and Fort Ternam, as land for the exclusive use of Europeans. This marked the beginning of the great "White Highlands" dispute. The boundaries of this area were defined by the Carter Commission in 1933, but even today the question of the right of exclusive white ownership is a vexed one and one over which there is intense bitter feeling.  

The White Highlands today comprise 12,348 square miles of farm and ranch land which is alienated to white settlers only on 999 year leases, subject to the following conditions: alienation of farms over 5000 acres in extent requires consent of the Governor of Kenya, alienation of those over 7500 acres requires the consent of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is customary for these leases to be sold at auction. Payments are due annually on January 1, and are computed as follows: rate of payments for the first period up till December 31, 1960, is 20£ an acre:

rate of payments for the 2nd period up till December 31, 1975
is 1% of the unimproved value in 1960

rate of payments for the 3rd period up till December 31, 2005
is 2% of the unimproved value in 1975

rate of payments for the 4th period up to December 31 every 30 years is 3% of the unimproved value.

Other conditions of lease are significant. No European may allow any non-European to be a manager of a farm or estate; to occupy any farm or estate; to be in control of any leased land in this restricted area without the consent of the governor-in-council.
The "White Highlands", where the farms average from 600 to 1500 acres\textsuperscript{34} are in close proximity to the Kikuyu land units where in 1930 land holdings averaged 4.72 acres per head\textsuperscript{35} and in 1952 even less because of the high natural increase of the Kikuyu tribe.\textsuperscript{36} The contrast of the sparcely populated fertile White Highlands with the overcrowded eroded Kikuyu lands is a constant thorn in the African flesh. Also it must be remembered that in 1952 there were 200,000 African farm labourers working on the highland farms. As these labourers were, in many cases, seasonal workers and the labour turnover was high, it can be safely estimated that at least a quarter of a million Africans were familiar with the White Highland farms and even the most simple African could not help noticing the contrast with his own reserve, and the more advanced Africans resented bitterly the discriminatory legislation that perpetuated the situation.

This discriminatory land legislation has increased racial ill feeling which has, indeed, coloured all the history of Kenya. But the foundation of racialism is not only economic it is also social. The white settlers have always considered themselves superior to the Africans and Asians, not for economic or cultural reasons but for purely social ones. The settlers have developed a way of life in Kenya based on "colour bar",\textsuperscript{37} and there is no social intercourse between the races. In 1952 there were segregated schools, hospitals, hotels and restaurants. There were different wage rates for members of different races doing similar work, not only in private industry, but in the civil service. Speaking in the Legislative Council in Kenya in 1949,
A. B. Patel, elected Asian member, said that those who claim to lead refer to "Indians as a problem and Africans as a commodity like cotton or coffee, and hence no racial co-operation is possible." Till 1948 notices appeared outside motion picture theatres stating the picture was "unsuitable for children and Africans," and African senior servants going on leave were given passes with only 3rd class tickets on the railway. An African domestic servant or farm labourer, of any age, was, and still is, referred to as a "boy". This racial discrimination was a real grievance in 1952 and was felt and resented more particularly by the educated African, from whose ranks came the leaders of the African political movements.

The political situation must now be discussed briefly. In 1952 Kenya was administered by the Governor, the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. Since 1946, in the Executive Council certain members have been made responsible to the Governor for the activities of a certain department or group of departments. Till 1952, a single European represented African interests, but in that year for the first time an African was nominated to the Executive Council to fulfil this duty. The Legislative Council was composed of the Governor as President, the Speaker, 26 official members and 28 unofficial members. The official members were partly ex-officio and partly appointed. All the unofficial members were elected (the Europeans since 1923) except the six Africans. Great care was taken up till 1948 to preserve the official majority, which actually meant
that control of the Legislative Council was in the hands of the
Governor. But in 1948 the Council was reorganized, African
representation was increased to four and the unofficial members
were given the majority. In his communication from the chair, June 8, 1948, the President of the Council, Sir Philip Mitchell,
explained the progressive step forward that had been taken in
giving control of finance and legislation (subject only to the
reserve powers of the Governor). He expressed a hope that there
would be no "party politics", no grouping of the unofficial mem­
ers into an "opposition" to the government, as the executive
could only act with the consent of the majority. In 1952
African representation was increased to six. To summarize, the
situation in 1952 was as follows: 14 elected Europeans repres­
tented 52,400 Europeans; 6 elected Asians represented 144,000
Asians, 2 Arabs representing 31,600 Arabs, and 6 nominated Afri­
cans who spoke for 5,815,000 Africans. It must also be pointed
out that the 24 official members of the council were Europeans,
as were, of course, the Governor and the Speaker. Therefore it
can be said that Kenya was governed by Europeans, but the fact
that there were six Asians and six Africans present in the Council
gave these racial groups a taste of political power which was
very important.

Government at the local level consisted of Municipal
Boards in the large towns of Mombasa, Eldoret, Kisumu and Kitali,
a municipal council in Nakuru and a city council in Nairobi;
county councils and district councils in the settled areas;
26 African District Councils in the predominantly African areas. Considering the argument of this thesis, it is important to estimate to what extent the African was being prepared for responsibility in government, both local and national. In 1952 he had no responsibility in the central government and very little on the local level. This subject, because of its great importance, will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter.
Footnotes to Chapter I

1 According to Jomo Kenyatta there is no such word in any African language. Dr. Leakey also knows no meaning for the word. The word 'Mau Mau' was apparently first used in the *East African Standard*.


3 All members of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes had to pay special taxes and carry passes restricting movement. They were only granted the franchise if they could prove active support of the government during the Emergency. All meetings in the central province were prohibited.

4 No political organization was allowed on a wider than district level.

5 No African member of the Legislative Council was allowed to address a meeting outside his constituency. Police permits for all meetings had to be obtained.

6 Governor of Kenya from 1944 to 1952.


8 Situated in the White Highlands surrounded by Kikuyu land units. See map, to face page 7 and page 8.

9 Kenya African Union, the chief African political organization.


14 General Secretary of Kenya Federation of Labour and Leader of the African Elected Members in the Kenya Legislative Council.


17 Ibid., column 389.

18 Ibid., vol. 501, column 1339.

19 Chief Waruhiu was a Kikuyu, a successful farmer, and very loyal to the government and sympathetic to the missionaries.


21 Since the Suez incident Mombasa's importance has increased.


23 In the 1958 elections 626,000 Africans cast their votes, and 50% of the elected Africans belonged to the Uganda National Congress party whose aim is independence.

24 In the 1958 elections the Tanganyika African National Union Party won a great victory. The Party stands for non-racial government and African nationalism.

25 They have been kept segregated from Europeans and Africans in schools, hospitals, etc., and different wage scale rates apply to them, separate from Europeans and Africans. This discriminatory legislation has fostered ill feeling between the races.


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27 White settlement has largely followed the railway.

27a An area, first set aside in 1902, for exclusive white settlement.

28 There were other tribes in this area such as Nandi and Kikuyu but the 1899 smallpox epidemic and the famine of that year had wiped out three-quarters of the Kikuyu tribe alone.


31 In 1933 the Carter Commission found that 109½ square miles of land had been expropriated from the Kikuyu and some compensation was made.

32 *Africa Digest*, March–April, 1955, quotes the *Times*, Feb. 2, 1955, where it was stated the settlers had met at Kibate and resolved to do their utmost and "if necessary even to fight to retain land which we consider ours by every moral and legal right."


36 The Kikuyu have always been a prolific tribe, unlike the Masai, who used to steal Kikuyu women because their own women were so often barren. When the Masai were driven off their lands they were given vast tracks averaging 189.04 acres per head, but the Kikuyu were "crowded out" and receded up the hills, no new land being found for them. This explains the fact that they are relatively more bitter than the Masai.

37 W. McGregor Ross in 1926 cites racialism as one of the greatest causes of trouble in Kenya (*Kenya from Within*, p. 453). It is also emphasized by the Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya, 1954 Cmd. 9081, p. 13, and by the Royal Commission of 1953-55, Cmd. 9475, p. 433.


39 Ibid., Vol. 32, col. 1352.

40 Ibid., Vol. 32, col. 193, under written answers to questions.

41 Africans were appointed from a list submitted by the Native Local Councils.


43 The 1953 political arrangements were considered to be temporary to be reviewed within a year by an inter-racial conference.
which would discuss further advances. Owing to the Emergency this was never held.
Chapter II

But, in these cases,
We still have judgement here; that we but teach
Bloody instructions, which being taught, return
To plague the inventor.

Macbeth Act I Sc 7

The preparation for participation in national government usually takes place at the local level, but this does not seem to have been altogether the case in Kenya. In fact, there were two separate areas of training for the African politician, and two separate types of politician evolved. In the first place there were the paramount chiefs and headmen who, appointed by the British in the early days from the more influential tribesmen, grew to exercise considerable power, and whose loyalty was primarily to the British. After this simple beginning of the delegation of authority, the British proceeded to inaugurate the Local Native Councils in 1925, which later developed into the African District Councils, which, in turn, acting somewhat like electoral colleges, listed the names of Africans from whom the Governor nominated members to the Legislative Council after 1945.¹

There was here very little opportunity for the development of what might be called an African political party with an independent program or platform and loyalty to the African people. In the second place, the more advanced Africans, usually members of the Kikuyu tribe, or de-tribalized Kikuyu,² watching the Europeans, both in their political activities in the Legislative Council
and their political associations outside the Council, learned what political methods were effective. Barred from any legitimate political activity in the Legislative Council until 1945 by the ruling of the British Colonial Office and the intransigent attitude of the Europeans in Kenya, and from any position in the Local Councils because of their independent attitude and African loyalty, they drifted into independent organizations where considerable political training was acquired. Owing to the almost complete language barrier it was hard for the Europeans to know what was really going on in these independent Kikuyu organizations.

The first formal delegation of authority to Africans was made in 1902 when the Village Headman's Ordinance was passed. Certain Africans with standing in their tribe were appointed chiefs or headmen but "parochial tribalism" was carefully fostered; that is, authority was delegated to chiefs only on a tribal basis and this policy was adhered to later when the Native Authority Ordinances were passed in 1912 and again in 1924. The chief was selected partly for his influence on his tribe and partly for his willingness to co-operate with the British. He was often, though not necessarily, a Christian and usually spoke English. At first he was paid a small salary but later it was quite substantial. He was a man set apart because of his powers, his exemption from certain duties and his economic status. He was responsible for law and order, he could prohibit any meeting of over five people if he thought it might lead to a breach of the peace. It was his duty to call out the labour from the reserve
for commercial purposes, such as control of floods, repair of roads and bridges and to supply porters for government officials or labour for moving government goods.\(^7\) He had to see that taxes were paid and prevent evasion; not always an easy task. From the very nature of his work it was inevitable that though he had to be obeyed he was not necessarily popular and more and more the chiefs became identified with the authority of the white man. In 1919 the October Labour Circular was issued\(^8\) by the governor of Kenya, in which it was stated that headmen and chiefs "must render all possible lawful assistance"\(^9\) in obtaining forced labour from the reserves and the names of those who were not successful were to be handed to the governor.\(^10\) Hence chiefs who did not press the young men on the reserves were reprimanded by the authorities for laxness in their duties, whereas those who did, earned the approbrium of the Africans and alienated themselves from their people. This can be illustrated from incidents that took place in the early twenties. In 1922 a young Kikuyu, Harry Thuku, was arrested and subsequently deported for making inflammatory and seditious speeches to the Kikuyu. Quotations from his speech will illustrate the breach that had widened between the chiefs, representing British authority and the independent Africans suffering from grievances.

I have come here to see you. The Europeans and the District Commissioners and missionaries and the chiefs have lied to you. . . . Hearken, neither the chiefs nor the Europeans have given you the slightest assistance. . . . I desire if the Europeans tell you to do any sort of work at all, that you tell them that Harry Thuku has refused to allow you to make camps, or to make roads,
or to work in the station or for the Public Works Department, or to give out food for porters or firewood. . . . Tell ye these words to the Europeans, District Commissioners, missionaries and to the Chiefs. People, do not work at all for the Europeans, District Commissioners and missionaries.

Harry Thuku had thousands of followers and great influence amongst the Kikuyu. In this speech he associated together, not once but many times, "Europeans, District Commissioners, missionaries and Chiefs." It was this association in the minds of the Africans that led to the breach between the chiefs, representing constituted authority and the African patriots. The delegation of authority to chiefs and headmen did not, in any way, train Africans for political activity, especially as most of the chiefs were elderly men.

In 1925 the Local Native Councils were inaugurated and though there was some extension of this power in 1937 no appreciable change was made until 1950. These Councils did not supersede the chiefs and headmen but were separate tribal institutions and, again, were on a purely tribal basis. In January 1926, shortly after the inauguration of the councils, the Acting Governor of Kenya, E. B. Denham, toured the native reserves and issued a report in which he gave his impressions of the new councils in Nyanza, Kitui District and Kikuyu province and commented on conditions in these areas. He seemed well pleased with the councils and the cheerfulness of the natives, but reported bad roads, lack of irrigation and poor educational facilities. He recounted one story of a Church Missionary Society teacher in Kikuyu Province who,
for lack of funds to build a school, had taught "under a tree" for two years. He found the Councils were already busy with local problems and tackling them with energy. In Nyanza, for example, the Council asked for further innoculation of cattle and it was disclosed that the African farmers had innoculated 27,781 cattle in the last six months, paying 2/6d an injection. At Kitui, owing to shortage of land, the council tried to negotiate, through the District Commissioner, to lease some grazing rights on the Yatta Plain Crown Lands. In Kikuyu Province, where there were five Local Native Councils, the interest was centered on expansion of educational and medical facilities and the Kiambu Council had voted to levy 5/- on every adult male towards these services, if the District Commissioner could get the government to match the amount. The acting governor described an "election" for some of the members of one of the newly inaugurated councils and, since it is important to determine how far these Councils were contributing towards the training and development of future African politicians, his observations are pertinent. The District Commissioner was the chairman and guided the work of the council. The natives called out the names of candidates who then stood in line for "election." In turn, each native present took a long cane and touched the shoulder of the candidate he favoured. A District Officer kept track of the "votes" thus cast and the winners were announced. This very primitive method of election did not give any sound training in democratic methods. Long before the white man came to Kenya
the Kikuyu had selected the heads of the village groups who con-
stituted the District Councils and whose chosen leader sat on
the National Council presided over by the most revered of the
elders, \(^{13}\) so that this system of representative government was
not new. But the new democratic method of election was not
 taught and therefore little development or training was accom-
plished, though the knowledge of procedure taught and the experi-
ence gained in organization and presentation of material was
useful.

In 1932, Lord Moyne reported on the twenty-three Local
Native Councils; this was seven years after E.B. Denham's report
and there had been time for some development. He reported that
the District Commissioner was still chairman and still guided the
work of the Council. No advance in elections had been made, the
educational level of the Africans was still very low (lower than
in Uganda) but he found the Councils were willingly assessing the
Africans for public service where government aid had been insuf-
ficient. He pointed out that the Africans paid \(37.5\) per cent of
the total revenue of the Colony through direct taxes and "have
long paid an equal contribution towards the general revenue." \(^{15}\)
There was therefore a responsibility for taxation being assumed
by the Local Native Council without having been granted any real
political responsibility.

In 1948 another report \(^{16}\) on African local government was
presented urging reorganization and the delegation of more
responsibility. By 1950 each council consisted of twenty members, thirteen of whom were elected and seven nominated. Voting was still carried on by "show of hands." Before elections, large "harazas" or meetings were held at which anyone present could nominate a man or woman to stand for council. All names were written down. The completed list was read aloud and voting on each name took place by "show of hands." The names of those receiving the most votes were submitted to the District Commissioner and Divisional Chief who selected thirty men or women whom they considered suitable. From these thirty names, the Provincial Commissioner selected thirteen, and these were gazetted. This was a very indirect system of "voting" and left a great opportunity for screening out all undesirable elements. Whether these elements were undesirable from the British point of view or from the Chief's personal point of view was not always easy to decide. But from the African nationalist point of view these indirect elections made it almost impossible to elect a "nationalist" loyal to Africans, and hence the breach between local African government and African independent political movements widened.

It was to these 26 Councils, in 1950, that the draft of the African District Council Bill was presented for consideration before being introduced into the Legislative Council by C. E. Mortimer. Under this Bill, the African District Councils were to replace the Local Native Councils and to be given more power. For the first time the concept of "parochial tribalism" was not adhered to strictly, for clause 19 gave the African District
Councils the right to co-operate on specific projects with District Councils in other areas. The significance of this was shown in the title "African District" instead of "Local Native". The new councils were given more power and therefore more responsibility and more opportunity for political training.

Clause 22 of the bill gave them the right to pass by-laws relating to agriculture, water rights, and veterinary work in consultation with the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister for Health and Local Government. They could prohibit the sale or manufacture of liquor, the carrying of weapons or staging of dances. They could regulate public meetings, impose taxes on produce and exports, borrow money on the security of council property or revenue. Clause 21, subsection 28, was perhaps the most important and the most controversial, it granted the councils the right to "establish and run schools in their areas. The Local Native Councils had only had control over buildings and equipment, bursaries and scholarships. B. A. Ohanga, speaking in the debate, said that he considered this section of the Bill the most important because only their own control of education would satisfy Africans. J. Jeremiah regretted that all members of the African District Councils were not to be elected and urged that definite rules for election should be incorporated into the bill. He added that he believed the trouble with the old Native Local Councils had been that, with the District Commissioner as Chairman, there had grown up a feeling that the councils were his affair and something divorced from the Africans. He feared that since the African District Councils were still not elected and the
District Commissioner still was Chairman the same unhealthy feeling would persist. In deference to his argument an amendment was passed to the effect that each African District Council could elect an African deputy chairman for a one-year term.

No further reforms of African local government were introduced before the Emergency, though in 1946 the governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, nominated two Africans to the Nairobi municipal council, but till 1952 there were no Africans or Asians on any County Council in rural areas.

From the foregoing discussion of African participation in local government, three conclusions may be drawn: that African representation was highly selective and left a great section of the population playing no part in this sphere of government, either from lack of qualifications, or of desire to participate; that such government as there was gave a very limited training; and that the very nature of the local government kept the Africans in a state of parochial tribalism and drove a wedge between those loyal to the British and those loyal to their own people.

In the central government of Kenya there was even less African participation and consequently less opportunity for political training. There was no African representative until 1945 when Eliud Mathu was first nominated to the Legislative Council where he sat till 1957 when he was defeated at the first African elections ever held in Kenya. During the twelve years Eliud Mathu developed as a speaker and a thinker; by 1950 he was
quite an accomplished parliamentarian because he had had training and experience. During the last four years he was in the Council, he was rarely called to order by the speaker and his statements of fact were accepted by the elected members, but this was not the case with the less experienced African members who had only been in the Council since 1948. During the debate, September 25, 1952, on the first Emergency Bill, introduced by J. Whyatt, Member for Law and Order, five Africans spoke against the bill. All except Eliud Mathu showed inexperience in speaking. J.M.O. Tameno made a long muddled speech which caused laughter. F.W. Odede showed inexperience by wandering off the point and having to be called to order. In April 1957, when the first elected African members made their maiden speeches in the Legislative Council their lack of experience was very apparent. The Sunday Post comments on the "depressingly low standard of debate." Eric Windley, Minister for African Affairs, is quoted in the same paper as saying he found "nothing to praise" in O. Odenga's speech and that it was "demagogic", "distorted", "prejudiced" and that O. Odenga's attitude was negative, and one of black obstinate refusal to "recognize all that the Kenya government had done over the years for the advancement of the African population." The only speech that showed experience and polish was that of Tom Mboya who, though young, had had experience in the Kenya Federation of Labour.

In 1957 the defeat of Eliud Mathu at the polls showed that the electorate leaned to the rising African national leaders,
who were in many cases inexperienced, and away from the more moderate elements who had served either in the African District Councils or as nominated members of the Legislative Council, as such men were looked on as disloyal to the African people.

Lacking opportunities to gain political experience either in local or central government affairs, Africans loyal to their own people sought to gain experience elsewhere. The members of the Kikuyu tribe were the leaders and the mainstay of almost every independent African political movement. Because of their proximity to Nairobi and their close association (in the role of servant or labourer) with the Europeans, they had excellent opportunities for gaining political experience "second hand." They observed the Europeans' political activities, and at first in a crude way, and later with more acuteness, fashioned their independent struggles on those they observed. For this reason, the European political struggles must be considered and an attempt made to show what the African learned from these struggles and how he put this knowledge into practice.

From 1907, when the European settlers were first granted representation in the Legislative Council, they worked ceaselessly for two goals. The first, and more immediate, was the gaining of a majority of the Council seats for their members. The second was the ultimate attainning of self-government for the colony of Kenya, with control of the government in their own hands. The first step forward was taken in 1920, when, as a reward for
services rendered to the Mother Country in the war of 1914 - 1918, permission was granted for elections to be held in Kenya, and the settlers elected to the Legislative Council eleven members, who sat on the unofficial side of the chamber and, while able to debate and make their wishes heard, and even to influence the government, had as yet no real power. Because of their minority they could never defeat an unpopular bill, they could merely vote against it and register their protest. In 1927, after considerable controversy, five Indians took their seats in the Legislative Council, and in 1944 one African nominated member joined them. At first, this introduction of representatives of the other two racial groups into the Legislative Council did not deter the settlers from their goal of control of the Council, but it complicated matters and introduced a racial issue into politics. In 1948 the settlers won the majority in the Council and at the Session in June of that year the standing was as follows: 7 official members, 12 ex-officio members totalling 19 for the official side of the Council, 11 elected Europeans, 5 elected Indians, 1 elected Arab and 4 nominated Africans, totalling 21 for the unofficial side of the Council. However, the 11 elected Europeans were in a precarious position because, though they could out-vote the 7 official members there were the 11-non-European members who could vote with the official members, though this was not likely to happen. At this time another problem arose for the Europeans. While preserving their majority over the official members, it was now
imperative that they preserve their majority over the non-European members of the Council. In 1948 the majority was slight, 11 to 10, but it was preserved until 1952 when parity was grudgingly accepted and the figures stood at 14 Europeans, 6 Africans, 6 Asians and 2 Arabs; i.e. 14 Europeans and 14 non-Europeans. In 1954, under the Lyttelton Constitution, parity was again preserved, in fact the balance was so nicely maintained that the official side of the Council (28 members) exactly balanced the 28 unofficial members, and the 14 European members exactly balanced the 14 non-European members. Africans, who for years had watched the settlers in their ceaseless efforts to gain a majority and then to maintain parity in the Council, started similar tactics in 1957. After the first African elections were held in Kenya, the 8 elected members immediately demanded 15 additional members so as to give the Africans a majority over all other races in the Council; i.e. 23 Africans as opposed to 21 non-Africans consisting of 14 Europeans, 6 Asians, and 1 Arab. In 1958, when Allen Lennox Boyd went to Kenya because of the constitutional crisis, he said, "The Constitutional arrangements introduced by my predecessor have now become unworkable." Under the new constitution "imposed" by him African representation was increased to 14, giving them parity with the Europeans, but the majority of the council was enjoyed by the non-Europeans, and the "specially elected" members were to be drawn equally from each racial group, thus not altering the racial composition of the Legislative Council.
The second goal of the Europeans, self-government, with the Europeans as the dominant race has never been attained and in 1958 is further from realization than ever before though it is still the avowed aim of some of the settlers. Michael Blundell, 44 spoke in Nakuru in March 1956 and said,

The present experiment, if successful, was the beginning of the transfer of responsibility from the people of Britain to the people of Kenya. Of course, there must be a European majority and European control.45

In 1954 when the Lyttleton Constitution was introduced, though the representation of both Europeans and non-Europeans was increased, so was the number of official members increased to 28, so that the European aim of dominating the Council and working for independence was actually retarded. In 1958, self-government had become the definite policy of the African elected members. 46 One of their other demands, that of a common electoral roll, if ever granted, would, because of the preponderant number of Africans in Kenya over all races combined, give them the dominant position in the government.

The effect of the Mau Mau rebellion and the Emergency on the political situation in Kenya has been somewhat unexpected. Apart from the Emergency Legislation which is of a temporary nature, the Africans have been granted great political advances since 1952. As Sir Thomas Dugdale 47 said in 1957, "out of the evil of the Kenya Emergency great good has been wrested."
Hence it can be seen that the lesson taught by the Europeans in their struggle for control of the Legislative Council, for dominance over the Africans, and parity with all non-Europeans in the Council has been well learnt by the African politicians and is being applied to practical politics today. But there were other political lessons taught, however inadvertently, by the Europeans. These were the lessons showing the value of direct action outside the Legislative Council as seen in the work of the Convention of Associations, in the powerful influence on British policy that could be exercised by numerically powerful organizations, by personal contact, and even by a show of force.

The Convention of Associations started in 1910 when eight different settler groups and two Boards of Trade united to work for the common good of the colonists. It held annual meetings to which all settlers were invited. Actually, few settlers attended, for there was a certain amount of apathy. There was an attempt made to hold the meetings to coincide with the races in Nairobi, so as to attract the less interested settlers who might be in town. But often not more than a hundred attended, and an influential clique came to run the Convention; somewhat reminiscent of the "Family Compact" in Canadian history. When Sir Henry Belfield became governor of Kenya in 1916 he was invited to open the "session" of the Convention and intimated in his speech that people wishing to approach him on matters of importance to the colony might do so through the Convention. A tradition
grew up. In 1919, General Northey said in his opening address to the Legislative Council,

\[
\text{The Convention of Associations seems to be your most representative body and I shall hope to be invited to attend its future meetings, with my heads of departments and others to advise and discuss; hear and put forward reasonable views.}
\]

Later the Convention, growing in power, actually cross-examined government officials on matters of British policy and reprimanded the chief Native Commissioner, G. V. Maxwell, and his assistant District Commissioners for not sufficiently encouraging natives to work off their reserves and for the settlers. In 1925 a local paper said the Convention "has won the respect of successive Governors . . . and is not without considerable influence now on the fortunes of government departments and officials."

When the first elections were held in Kenya in 1919 to elect eleven Europeans to the Legislative Council, provision was also made to elect two Indians. Considering the European and Indian population at this time, the meagre representation for the latter caused ill feeling and unrest amongst the Asian colonists, whose feelings had already been wounded by a recommendation of segregation, on sanitary grounds, made in 1913 by Professor W. Simpson and an attempt to implement this recommendation in 1919. Feelings ran very high in the colony, and the Convention of Association sent a delegation to Britain to try to exert pressure on the government to withdraw permission for two Indians to sit in the Council. In September 1922 a compromise
solution was worked out by the Hon. E. W. Wood and Earl Winterton that it was hoped would not only satisfy the Europeans and Indians in Kenya, but the government of India who had also sent a delegation to London. The main terms of the agreement were a common electoral roll, qualifications for the Indian electorate that would limit their franchise to about 10% of the Indian population, 11 European members, 4 Indian members, no segregation of the two races and no change in the immigration policy. This compromise was bitterly resented by the Europeans and it was then that the convention of associations decided to resort to direct action to gain their objectives. The convention led a "crusade", in an atmosphere of racial hysteria, to save white civilization and the Christian religion from the Asiatic menace. To win British support they purported to be concerned about Indian influence on the natives, which, they said, "would be disastrous morally, physically, intellectually and economically." Indians were described as commercial parasites preying on the natives and encouraging crime by receiving stolen goods. Remembering Professor Simpson's recommendation for segregation on sanitary grounds, the spokesmen for the Convention emphasized that the Indians' "filth and depravity" would pervert the natives. At one stage of the campaign they asserted that the Indians were "directed from Moscow," at another time they intimated that the whole was a plot laid in India to turn Kenya into an Indian State. The East African Women's League cabled the Queen, "imploring protection for our women and children from the terrible Asiatic menace that threatens to overwhelm us." The Bishop of Mombasa,
addressing a public meeting, said it would be "fatal to give India the government here when our native races were beginning to realize that they had a future before them." The Convention of Associations decided to send a delegation to England, under Lord Delamere, to try to get the Wood - Winterton agreement rescinded, a difficult matter because it had been approved by the Cabinet. Fearing the outcome, the Convention secretly prepared for rebellion. A central vigilance committee was established with small committees in each district. A check of arms and munitions was made. Ex-generals, colonels and army personnel were persuaded to take command if the delegates failed to effect a change of policy. The Governor was to be kidnapped and held at a lonely farm sixty miles from Nairobi.

In the meantime, the British Government, realizing "that the policy proposed in the Wood - Winterton report would not satisfy parties in Kenya" received British and Indian delegations from Kenya: the Governor of Kenya; the Rev. Dr. J. W. Arthur, to represent the missionaries view on native interests involved in the controversy; and a delegation from India headed by the Right Hon. Brinivasa Sastri to represent what might be described as Indian National interests involved in the controversy. The Convention of Associations succeeded in having the Wood - Winterton agreement rescinded, but the new British policy was very unexpected. In their efforts to disparage the Indians in Kenya, the Convention delegates had emphasized their danger to the native population. The opening words of the general
statement of policy\textsuperscript{62} laid down in Part II of the Memorandum are almost ironic:

\begin{quote}
It is a matter for satisfaction that, however irreconcilable the views of the European and Indian communities in Kenya on many points may be, there is one point on which both are agreed, namely, the importance of safeguarding the interests of the African natives.
\end{quote}

The Memorandum proceeded to state clearly, "Kenya is an African Territory" and that the interests of African natives must be paramount.\textsuperscript{63} Other matters settled were the substitution of a communal franchise for the common electoral roll, provision for the election of five Indians, one Arab and eleven Europeans to the Legislative Council, abandonment of segregation of Indians in townships but retention of native segregation, and restriction of Indian immigration on economic\textsuperscript{64} rather than racial grounds. It took all possible efforts by Lord Delamere\textsuperscript{65} and General Smuts to get the Convention of Associations in Kenya to accept this new British policy and to call off the planned rebellion. It was clear, however, as Lord Delamere pointed out, that the Convention of Associations had achieved some compromises and had contributed towards the change in Britain's policy. Actually this instance of influencing British policy was not an isolated one. Twice Britain dropped plans to impose income tax on the settlers. In 1920, Britain actually rescinded the Income Tax Ordinance after the settlers had resorted to direct action in the form of civil disobedience. Again in 1932 the imposition of income tax was sanctioned by the British Government but was
again withdrawn after the "protests of the European community."  

Just as the Europeans organized the Convention of Associations because they did not have any influence in the Legislative Council till after 1919, and no real power till 1948, so the Africans, who did not participate in the Local Native Councils for reasons previously explained, and who had neither influence nor power in the Legislative Council until 1958, resorted to independent political organizations. The Europeans felt a certain sense of frustration because of their lack of effective political power and a general feeling of insecurity owing to the vacillating policy of the British Government, and their position as a tiny white minority in a predominantly African country. These feelings of frustration and insecurity often led the Convention of Associations and the settlers in general to behave in a somewhat bellicose manner, even advocating civil disobedience and force. The same sense of frustration and insecurity, felt more intensely by the Africans because of special circumstances, influenced the African independent organizations making their actions often appear immoderate and culminating in the extreme violence of Mau Mau which has been described as "the terrorist wing of the Kikuyu political movement of which the Kenya African Union was the orderly expression."

In 1922 the first independent African political organization, the East Africa Association, was founded by Harry Thuku a fiery speaker and member of the Kikuyu tribe. The reasons
for the rise of this organization were mainly economic grievances, so that, had there been any legitimate political African party at that time, the grievances could have been carried to the Legislative Council and acted on, for they were very real. The main grievance stemmed from the fact that in 1919 a soldier-settlement scheme got under way in Kenya and 250 small farms of 160 acres were offered free of purchase price, and 1053 large farms of up to 5000 acres were granted on easy terms to ex-soldiers. A considerable amount of this land came from the Nandi reserve and consequently resentment flared and the people flocked to the East African Association which emphasized the "stealing of land by the Europeans." A second grievance was connected with the squatters. A squatter was an African who, in return for a specified acreage to cultivate, materials to build a hut and the right to keep a certain number of cattle, worked 180 days a year for a small wage, at any time when the farmer needed his services. The system had worked fairly satisfactorily in the early days, but by 1919 the squatter population had increased, together with the number of cattle, while the available land allotted to the squatter had remained static. Hence there was overcrowding and land exhaustion. The owners of the land started a movement to expel surplus squatter population back to the already overcrowded reserves, and insisted that the number of stock be cut down, either by sale or removed to the reserves. This brought great hardship to the squatter, as family units were split up and there was no chance of obtaining land on the reserves so that the only alternatives were to "double up" with relatives, become
a labourer for an African farmer or seek work in the towns. A third grievance was the extension of forced labour beyond that usually demanded for communal work on the reserves, or emergency work. After the first World War, with the increase of white settlers, a great expansion of railway branch lines was undertaken and labour was encouraged and even forced to work on these projects. Labour recruiters went on the reserves persuading, sometimes forcefully and sometimes with bribery, the young men to leave the reserves for work. The last important grievance leading to the establishment of the East Africa Association was the hated Kipandi. This was a card that had to be carried at all times by every adult African. If he were found without it he was subject to fine or imprisonment. If he lost it, damaged it, failed to show it on being asked for it by lawful authority, he could be fined. On his kipandi was written a record of his wages and remarks by his employer. When applying for the kipandi he was fingerprinted so that in case of desertion either from government or private labour contract, he could be traced by the police. There were also endless little expenses and vexations relating to the kipandi; for instance, if the container that had held it were lost, a new one cost 1/-; a new kipandi cost 4/-. The kipandi and all contracts were written in English.

All these grievances, together with the very low wages, gave the organizers of the East Africa Association fertile ground on which to work. Great numbers of Africans joined the Association and contributed financially to it and many others flocked to Harry Thuku's meeting and repeated the prayer for
his welfare which G. V. Maxwell considered so "dangerous" because of the evidence of religious fanaticism. In March, 1922, Harry Thuku was arrested and Governor Northey signed the order for his deportation. While being held at the police lines in Nairobi, his faithful followers, mostly Kikuyu tribesmen, gathered in thousands in Nairobi. There was no violence, according to J. C. Bently, Acting Commissioner of Police, but after an all-night vigil outside the police lines, and a day spent with song and speeches, the huge crowd became sullen and a few raucous prostitutes tried to goad the men into action. Detachments of the King's African Rifles were brought up as reserves for the police. Suddenly, without orders, the police opened fire and sixteen men and two women were killed and a great many wounded. After this incident the East Africa Association was banned, but stories of the shooting spread through the Reserve, resentment grew, and the grievances remained.

After the banning of the East Africa Association, a new organization sprang up amongst the Kikuyu, known as the Kikuyu Central Association. It was the old grievances that stimulated its growth, but there were some immediate problems, connected with education, that occupied the attention of the K.C.A. Till 1911, missionaries provided the only education for Africans in Kenya. After that date the missionaries received government grants towards their schools, and after 1924 the Local Native Councils gave financial assistance, but there was no secular education for Africans. The Kikuyu people had almost as great a hunger for education as they had for land. Though they had
to pay the missionaries for tuition and, if it were a boarding school, for board, and though the child had to leave the tribe, change his ways, often work in the mission garden or on the mission farm, or, if a day pupil, often walk for miles to school, still, to learn to read and write was considered to be worth any sacrifice. Almost every great African leader has been to a mission school.

But conflict arose between the missionaries' teachings and tribal custom. Though the missionaries had no objection to the boys being circumcised, they adamently insisted that no girl could be a Christian pupil at a mission school if she submitted to clitoridectomy, and no teacher could instruct in a mission, or even a bush school, who did not condemn the practice. But tribal law and tradition held that an uncircumcised girl could never become a full member of the tribe or be eligible for marriage. Other clashes arose. Though polygamy was clearly condoned in the Old Testament, and had always been practiced by the Kikuyu, it was strictly forbidden by the missionaries, who insisted that an African, on becoming a church member, must put aside all but his first wife. After being taught in the mission schools that all men were the children of God and equal in His sight, the African thought that church membership and Christian education would make him the equal of the European. But he found this was not so. In the little churches he was expected to sit at the back. In the schools he could study only with other Africans. He could not attend a white secondary school nor could be hope for the good position, on leaving school, that
the settler's child could obtain.

From these frustrations and contradictions grew up the Kikuyu Independent Schools and the Independent African Churches, for the Kikuyu have always been a deeply religious people and when they became Christians they were barred from the old tribal religion, but because of the contradictions previously mentioned, they often lost their church membership also. It was these people who turned to the Independent Churches where they could retain the best of their old life, together with the comfort and hope offered by their new religion. The Kikuyu Orthodox Church fostered the Kikuyu Independent Schools, while the Kikuyu Pentecostal Church supported the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association. Naturally the missionaries strenuously opposed both the churches and the schools and in 1929 succeeded in having many of them closed down.

The Kikuyu Central Association had a very unusual president, Jomo Kenyatta, who objected to these closures. Jomo Kenyatta was a Kikuyu who as a boy attended a mission school. There, because of his slightly almond shaped eyes, and because he worked in the laundry, he was nicknamed "John Chinaman" -- later, when he was baptised he was given the name of Johnstone. Apparently he was quite a brilliant boy. As a young man he worked for the gas and light department in Nairobi, reading meters, and later acted as Kikuyu interpreter for the Supreme Court in Kenya. There he must have learned a certain amount
about law and court procedure. Being intelligent and ambitious, he must have noticed the contrast between the life of the Europeans in Nairobi and its suburbs and that of his family and friends on the Kikuyu reserve or in the overcrowded town location. He became associated with the Kikuyu Central Association and very shortly became its President. At this time he changed his name to Jomo Kenyatta.

In March 1929, Jomo Kenyatta went to England to present the case of the Kikuyu Central Association and to bring the facts concerning land, circumcision, and the Independent Schools before the British Government. He had interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland. He carried on a long correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed numerous meetings, discussed African problems with prominent men and finally won permission for the establishment of the Independent Schools, on condition the Africans provided the land and money for the buildings and teachers' salaries. Having won these concessions, he returned to Kenya in September to work for the development of the Independent Schools and an African Teachers' Training College at Githunguri. The development of this College was at first largely the work of Mbiyu Koinange, who had received his M.A. from Columbia University in the United States and was the son of the old Senior Chief Koinange. When Mbiyu Koinange first returned to Kenya he had looked for a teaching position, but on being offered a salary one-half the amount a white man would have been offered for the same work, he refused, bitterly asserting
that his education in the United States had not cost him half of what it cost a white man. From then on he turned his attention to the Independent schools and the Teacher Training College of which he became the first President, while Jomo Kenyatta returned to Europe where he remained for fifteen years.

During the Second World War the Kikuyu Central Association was suppressed for allegedly conspiring with the Italians, but Africans who had served with the army abroad returned to spread many new ideas amongst their people, ideas that were not conducive to keeping the Africans satisfied without any independent political organization to voice their aspirations and work for the removal of their grievances. In 1944, E. Maihui, A. Ghanga, J. Jeremiah, and J.J. arap Chemallan organized the Kenya African Union, an organization that was to take in all Kenya's Africans and was not specifically a Kikuyu organization though, naturally, the more advanced Kikuyu joined it in great numbers. The aims of the Union, as stated in the Constitution, were as follows:

(a) to unite the African people of Kenya;
(b) to prepare the way for the introduction of democracy in Kenya;
(c) to defend and promote the interests of the African people by organizing, educating, and leading them in the struggle for better working conditions, housing, etc.;
(d) to fight for equal rights for all Africans and to break down racial barriers;
(e) to strive for the extension to all African adults the right to vote, to be elected to the East African Central Assembly, the Kenya Legislative Council, Local government, and other representative bodies;

(f) to publish a political newspaper;

(g) to raise and administer the funds necessary to effect these objects;

(h) to fight for freedom of the press, assembly and movement.

This does not seem to be a very revolutionary document, but it does state clearly the political aims and mentions some of the grievances the K.A.U. hoped to remove.

In 1945 the first annual convention was held, followed in 1946 by one in Nairobi to which sixty delegates came and thousands of visitors from all over Kenya. A. Gicharu was elected President. In 1947 the 3rd annual convention met in Nairobi, and Jomo Kenyatta, who had returned to Kenya, attended. Delegates came from all the principal tribes, even from the Masai, and adopted the constitution. A program of desired reforms was drawn up and sent to the Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell. The exact strength of the K.A.U. in 1947 is not known, but by 1950 there were over 100,000 members who paid dues of 5/-.

The Convention elected Jomo Kenyatta the new President and adopted a declaration of six aims. Again African self-government was stressed, but the words "the rights of all racial minorities being safeguarded" were added. Demands were made for the
immediate provision of more seats in the Legislative Council for Africans; for compulsory education for all African children; for the abolition of the Kipandi; for the opening of the White Highlands to Africans; and for equal pay for equal work.

By March, 1948, Kenyatta had become such a powerful speaker and organizer for the K.A.U. that the settlers requested that he be deported, but since K.A.U. was legal at that time, and Kenyatta kept to strictly constitutional methods, their request was not granted.

Unable to make any headway in Kenya to get grievances redressed, the K.A.U. sent Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng Oneka to England to interview the Secretary of State for the Colonies. They arrived on November 6, 1951; but by January 30 they had not been received. Questioned in the House of Commons as to why Alan Lennox-Boyd, Minister of State for the Colonies had not received them, Oliver Lyttelton replied "The Minister will always be prepared to meet members of Parliament, but he must retain discretion about which delegation he meets and judge whether they are representative or not." This statement was very significant. Delegates from the Convention of Association had been received in 1922 and violence had been averted. But a delegation from the K.A.U. was not received in 1951 and violence broke out in Kenya in 1952 and it was alleged that members of K.A.U. were implicated.
During the spring and summer of 1952, the Europeans in the Legislative Council seemed confident and assured, but the Africans, judged by their speeches, became more and more agitated. In February the African members were deeply concerned about the imposition of collective punishment and during the long debate the Africans and Asians struggled against the motion to impose it. The usually restrained Eliud Mathu made a last desperate appeal ending almost in a threat. He said if it took 400 years in England to remove collective punishment from the statutes "it will not take that long in Kenya. You cannot keep us down." But when the vote on the motion was taken, the Africans and Asians voting together lost. In April came the debate on the County Council Bill, and the Europeans moved the appointment of three Africans or Asians to a Council of thirty. Again Africans and Asians opposed the small indirect representation, but the European majority passed the bill.

In the same month, during the debate on the registering of African pig owners, instead of licensing them like Europeans, Eliud Mathu ended his speech with a pertinent but bitter remark:

It is most unfortunate that government turns a very deaf ear to sincere representations made by Africans in his Council ... without any reason at all except perpetuation of the principles of racial discrimination.

Those were unusually strong words for Eliud Mathu to use in the Legislative Council. In July, the session was marked by farewell speeches to Sir Philip Mitchell, the retiring governor, and a
friendly atmosphere pervaded the House. Eliud Mathu, speaking for all the African members, thanked Sir Philip for what he had done for their people, especially in getting African representation increased and in establishing Makererie College in Uganda. But during the oral question period a discordant note was again struck when E. R. Davies, Minister for African Affairs, refused to give out the figures for the votes cast for the African members of the Council, thus once again emphasizing what Eliud Mathu had referred to as the "perpetuation of the principle of racial discrimination."

In the summer of 1952 disorders had taken place and many deeds of violence had been committed, or attempted, by members of the Mau Mau society. Speaking of these deeds in the Legislative Council in September, E. R. Davies, Minister for African Affairs, said, "It is odd that these murders are nearly always connected with government servants or people attempting to maintain law and order." The Mau Mau attacks in Nyeri, that took place in May, were on "a headman", "an ex-chief" a "chief's messenger" and a "location councillor." In Fort Hall those attacked were "a headman", a "chief", chief's askaris, and an agricultural instructor; later in the debate mention is made of attacks on "chiefs", "tax-collectors" and "police informers." It has been shown earlier in this thesis that Africans, co-operating with the government or forces of law and order, were looked on as disloyal to their own people. This fact possibly explains the murders that the Minister for African
Affairs considered "so odd." Member for the Coast Province, M. V. Cooke, did not consider these murders odd or even unexpected.

In 1948, amid jeers and sneers from the other side of the Council, I introduced a motion, and Mr. Mathu another, calling the attention of government to the state of affairs there, and saying it must inevitably lead to serious unrest unless those legitimate grievances of the people were redressed.

He went on to quote Burke, "when peaceful methods fail, force remains; when force fails, nothing remains."

Meanwhile in the British House of Commons there was a sense of urgency as early as July. During the debate on Colonial affairs and the economic conditions in Kenya, James Griffiths urged that at least a gesture should be made in connection with land "to ward off an explosion" and Oliver Lyttelton replied that a "far-reaching inquiry into all the social and economic implications is called for and called for urgently."

But in Kenya the Year Book and East African Guide for 1952 carried the following announcement.

Available Crown land, suitable for farming, is now being held for post-war settlement, applications by intending settlers should be made to the Commissioner for European Settlement, Lugard Av. Nairobi, or Commissioner, East Africa Office, London.

The political causes of the Mau Mau insurrection might be summarized as follows: Africans having been given little or no responsibility in government, either local or central,
during the last forty years, emulated the Europeans and struggled for their political associations which from their very nature and leadership often tended to run counter to the aims of Europeans in Kenya. For this and other reasons these successive political organizations were suppressed, leaving 5½ million Africans in 1952 in a state of parochial tribalism with only indirect representation on the 26 African District Councils and six appointed African representatives in the Legislative Council. It might be said that the Africans in 1952 had only the semblance without the substance of political power, both locally and centrally. As seen through African eyes, the situation might be described as lawful government on the one side representing the interests of the European settlers, and the Kenya African Union on the other representing the interests of the 5½ million Africans. With the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta and 25 other leaders on September 21, 1952, and the suppression of the K.A.U. in 1953, the lawful government was faced with 5½ million (over 1,000,000 Kikuyu) leaderless and unorganized Africans. From statements issued by the Department of Information in Kenya, the Mau Mau acts of violence and oath taking intensified in the winter of 1952 and throughout 1953. It might be that Mau Mau was filling the political vacuum to the detriment of both Africans and Europeans.
Footnotes to Chapter II

1 At this time there was only one African, Eliud Mathu, and one European to represent Africans. Prior to 1934 one missionary represented African interests. After Lord Moyne pointed out the desirability of having other than missionary representatives, two Europeans were appointed after 1934.

2 A great percentage of the African leaders came from the Kikuyu tribe; to mention only a few, Eliud Mathu, M. Koinange, J. Kenyatta, H. Thuku. Tom Mboya is one of the exceptions, he is a Luo.

3 Dr. L. S. Leakey is one of the few white men in Kenya who speaks Kikuyu. The Supreme Court in Nairobi has used both Jomo Kenyatta and his brother as interpreters. Today it has been recommended that every District Commissioner learn one African language. Dr. Leakey says there has always been encouragement given to any junior officer to learn a native language and that premiums of £50 were offered to those who spoke one, but that very few men learned a language because it has always been British policy to constantly shift men from one appointment to another, rarely leaving an officer in one district for as long as two years, so that the learning of a language becomes almost impossible.


5 "It is futile to look for keen and efficient rulers when their salaries are quite insufficient to enable them to maintain their proper status." Cmd. 2573, pages 23-4, 1926. Chiefs wages in 1952. Kenya, Legislative Council Debates, vol. 47, col. 175:

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Special grade - £276-348

6 They were not obliged to act as porters or to take part in forced labour. Cmd. 2464.

7 Cmd. 2464, p. 8.


9 Loc. cit.
10 The situation was aggravated in 1925 when the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, gave permission for the recruiting of 4000 men for forced labour on the Thika-Nyeri railway extension. Cmd. 2464.


12 Tours in Native Reserves and Native Development in Kenya, January 1926, Cmd. 2573.


15 Ibid., pages 26, 27.

16 Cmd. 7715.

17 By 1948 a few women had been elected to Councils. Cmd. 7715.

18 Chief Waruhiu, murdered in 1952 by Mau Mau terrorists was a divisional chief.


20 Minister for Health and Local Government in Kenya.

21 Loc. cit.

22 Loc. cit.

23 Certain tribal dances, especially by the age groups of young men were frowned on by the missionaries and often prohibited by the Councils.

24 Controversial in the light of the Independent schools that by 1950 were suspect and by 1952 closed down by order of government.


26 African representative in the Legislative Council.

27 African representative in the Legislative Council.

29 Commonwealth Survey 1957, page 319. Figures for the Elections March 9-11, 1957. 126,508 registered African electors - 78.5% voted. The eight sitting members of the Legislative Council ran and only two were elected. Of the six new ones, three have served on local government bodies.

30 Ibid., Vol. 50, col. 7.

31 Eliud Mathu, J.M.O. Tamino, F.W. Odede, M. Gikonyo, W.W.W. Awori; the sixth member did not speak.

32 In 1952 the six nominated Africans were actually elected by vote of the African District Councils acting as electoral colleges. E. Mathu, possibly sensing the breach between the nominated members and the Africans asked E.R. Davis, member for African Affairs, to announce the number of votes cast for each. The latter refused. Mathu, knowing the democratic procedure of scrutineering the counting of ballots, probably saw the danger of this discriminatory treatment of African votes. Legislative Council Debates, Kenya, Vol. 49, col. 5, oral question 11.

33 Weekly paper published in Nairobi, April 14, 1957.

34 Tom Mboya has travelled in Europe, Africa, India, Pakistan and the United States of America. He has been local representative for the I.C.F.T.U. He has studied at Ruskin College, Oxford. In 1951 he worked as Health Inspector for Nairobi City Council.

35 The Kikuyu reserve is within 5 miles of Nairobi and joins the white suburbs and the White Highlands. The Kikuyu are the vegetable traders, the domestic servants and the labourers in Nairobi and until 1952 formed the majority of the farm labourers on the White Highland farms.

36 In 1907 two settlers were nominated to the Legislative Council. One of these was Lord Delamere, who had been president of the Colonist Association in 1905. It was the constant work and petitions of this Association that had resulted in the establishment of a Legislative Council for the first time in 1906.


38 The seven official members held the following portfolio: Law and Order, Development, Finance, African Affairs, Agriculture and Resources, Education, Health and Local government. Before 1948 there had been 21 on the official side of the House, and 19 on the unofficial side. In 1948, two more Africans were nominated.
This constitution, called after Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was experimental until elections could be held to confirm its acceptance. A crisis arose in 1957, after the African elections, when the newly elected members refused to be bound by the constitution or to accept ministerial positions allocated to their race. The European and Asian ministers handed their resignations to the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, so as to free the Secretary of State for the Colonies from any obligation to preserve the constitution.


The main arrangement under the Lennox Boyd Constitution were as follows:
1. The old Executive Council was abolished.
2. The Legislative Council to consist of 14 elected Africans, 14 elected Europeans, 6 elected Asians, 2 elected Arabs.
12 specially elected members, 4 from each race, to be elected by the entire Legislative Council voting as an electoral college for members nominated by a member of the council and seconded by 4 other members.
3. Council of Ministers consisting of 4 Europeans, 2 Africans 2 Asians, with the addition of Assistant ministers in the ratio of 2 Europeans, 2 Africans and 2 Asians.
4. Council of State, a body designed to curb any discriminatory legislation.

Elected member of the Legislative Council, Kenya.


Statement of aims by Tom Mboya in Tribune, December 12, 1958, made in London during his visit to see the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The aims were: self-government as soon as possible; enough African seats in the Legislative Council to give them parity with all other racial groups; a common electoral roll; half of the nominated official members to be Africans elected by the Legislative Council; lifting of the Emergency legislation.


49 Governor of Kenya, 1919-1922, when he was recalled.

50 Ross, op. cit., p. 173.

51 *Kenya Observer*, March 11, 1925.


53 European population, 9,651; Indian 22,822; African (estimated) 2½ million.

54 Under-secretary of State for the Colonies.

55 Under-secretary of State for India.

56 Cmd. 1922, p. 7.


58 Ross, op. cit., p. 348.

59 Loc. cit.


61 Cmd. 1922, p. 9.

62 Loc. cit.

63 Ibid., p. 10.

64 Grinevasa Sastri described this compromise as "subtly cynical."

65 Lord Delamere emphasised that points have been won; the communal franchise, the restricted immigration, and the declaration that the "White Highlands" were to remain white. He feared that insurrection would be bad for the economy of Kenya and frighten away much needed capital.

66 The South African government, with her own Indian problem, had taken a keen interest in the controversy in Kenya and had been very sympathetic to the settlers. Lord Delamere had been to South Africa on his way to England and had enlisted General Smuts' support.

68 Described in Report for Native Affairs, 1932, p. 47, as "media for making known the policy of Government."

69 Under the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, Africans were given parity with European unofficial members in the Legislative Council. This actually gave them "influence", not "power."

70 It was reported in the Times, London, February 2, 1955, that the settlers had met at Kibate as a result of a statement by a conservative M.P., C.J. Alport, in the House of Commons that the White Highlands were "a political and economic anachronism," and resolved to do their utmost and "if necessary to fight" to retain land which "we consider ours by every moral and legal right."

71 Illustrated by a speech by E. Mathu in Legislative Council, Kenya, February 1952, in which he ends by saying, when the motion is put, "I am certainly going to lose", but he has made a verbal protest, all he can do. Vol. 46, col. 107.

72 This feeling was encouraged by the fact that there had been constant alienation of native land (1911 from the Masai, 1915 and 1920 from the Lumbina and Nandi reserves respectively; 1920 the reserves had not been gazetted and natives were still "Tenants at Will of the Crown;" and the 1929 Passfield Pledge of "Land for Land" was broken in 1932 when land was taken from the North Kavirondo Reserve when gold was found there.

73 A backward civilization in conflict with modern civilization; racial discrimination both social and legal.


75 Cmd.no. 1691, p. 5, "The effect of Thuku's speech is that a large number of people believe that Harry Thuku is stronger than government." Report by F.M. Lamb, District Commissioner.

76 At first there was no fixed acreage for the squatter's use, and it varied with different farmers. The 1947 Ordinance, section 5, regulated the amount a new squatter could use, but in May 1950, the amendment to the Resident Labourers Bill was passed making it an offence punishable by fine for both farmer and labourer if more than ½ an acre were allotted. Legislative Debates, Kenya, May 16, 1950. The wage in 1950 was 15/- a month but was less in the 20's.

77 Most tribes in Kenya counted their wealth in number of cattle and as cattle were used exclusively for "bride-price" it was essential to keep large numbers as, if a wife proved unsatisfactory and had to be returned, the "bride-price" cattle had to be paid back.
78 The family unit was all important to the Kikuyus. No individual, but only a family unit, could offer prayers to Ngai, the Supreme Being, on such occasions as birth, initiation, marriage and death.

79 In 1919-20 European population increased by 70 per cent. Aaronovitch, S., Crisis in Kenya, London, Lawrence and Wishart 1947, p. 75.


81 "The kipandi system is hated by every African in the land." Statement by E. Mathu, in Legislative Council, Kenya, Jan. 11, 1946. Because kipandi is restricted to Africans it is a symbol of racial discrimination.

82 Speaking of labour contracts, Archdeacon Beecher said in Legislative Council, April 19, 1944, "I feel it highly desirable that the schedule should make provision for a Swahili or vernacular edition of the contract."

83 "Thou Lord Jehovah, our God, it is thou who has set apart to be our master and guide, Harry Thuku; may he be chief of us all. Guard him from evil and bad works. Also guard the elders who are under him both now and hereafter in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen. Cmd. 1691, p. 6.

84 Ibid., p. 4. G.V. Maxwell was Chief Native Commissioner.

85 A group of delapidated buildings off Government St., Nairobi.

86 In 1932 secular Native Council Schools opened at Nyeri for the Kikuyu and at Kakamega for the Kavirondo tribes.

87 Children were the traditional herdsmen for goats and cattle and to lose their services was often a real hardship for the family.

88 The missionaries objected to the elaborate tribal ceremonies connected with circumcision.

89 These were small branch schools often in charge of Christian natives.

90 The Independent schools would take no government grants thus remaining free from government supervision. They were supported solely by the Kikuyu people.

91 "Jomo" means "burning spear" in Kikuyu, and "Kenyatta" evidently has some symbolic connection with the Kikuyu name for Mt. Kenya, the holy mountain, "Kere-Nyaga" meaning Mountain of brightness.
92 Since the schools were to be independent of government aid they were to be also independent of government supervision.

93 Kenyatta's age group, this is, the young men initiated at the same time and commonly called "the 40's" contributed heavily to the expenses of the college.

94 Many of these years were spent in England. He studied anthropology at the London School of Economics, and wrote Facing Mt. Kenya under Prof. Malinowsky. He also instructed at the London School of Oriental Languages and in the army during the war. He travelled extensively on the continent and spent some time in Moscow. Cyril Bryner, in Current History (Vol. 25, no. 143, July 1953) says it is hard to tell whether Kenyatta speaks "with the voice of Moscow or the London School of Economics." p. 46.

95 E. Mathu was already a nominated member of the Legislative Council and the other three men were nominated in 1948.


97 The East African Standard, February 8, 1946, gave a full account of this Convention.


99 As a result of African pressure in the last ten years, more seats in the Legislative Council have been granted, compulsory education in towns is being advocated, the kipandi was abolished, it is suggested in responsible quarters that unused sections of the White Highlands be leased to Africans and equal pay for equal work has now been introduced into the civil service. Cmd.no. 9475. East Africa Royal Commission Report. Sir Hugh Dow recommends "There should be machinery established which will permit the leasing of land free from restrictions imposed by tribal or racial reservations." p. 60. United Kingdom Parliamentary delegation Report 1957 led by Sir Thomas Dugdale "There is nothing to prevent the Boards . . . from permitting the leasing of suitable lands in the White Highlands to African tenant farmers," page 753. Cited in Commonwealth Survey Vol. 3, no. 12, 1957.

100 Secretary of State for the Colonies. He had been away when the delegation arrived.


102 Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 46, col. 83. E. Mathu had moved that collective punishment was inequitable.

103 Ibid., col. 142.

105 Ibid., vol. 49, col. 20.

106 There had been 23 murders committed up till September 15 and many deeds of violence.


108 Ibid., cols. 31 and 52.

109 Ibid., Vol. 50, col. 60-61.


111 page 46 of the Year Book.

112 President of K.A.U.

113 On March 25, 1953, the Lari massacre took place and 97 people were killed.

114 The 4th or Platoon Oath, the most terrible, was administered to more Africans during this time, taking the place of the mild 1st oath.
Chapter III

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
And with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff,
which weighs upon the heart?

Macbeth, Act 5 Sc II

The political grievances leading to the rise of the Mau Mau secret society were fairly definite and possible to evaluate. There were political leaders who stated their policies; there were organizations with written constitutions and statements of aims; there were reports presented to the House of Commons; there were careful painstaking members of Commissions who investigated given situations and made recommendations, and all these could be studied. But the social grievances causing the rise of the Mau Mau Society were more nebulous and much harder to determine. Nonetheless, they were just as important; in fact, they were more deep and more fundamental and consequently much more difficult to eradicate. They affected the minds of the African people, their philosophical outlook on life, their religious feelings, their ancient traditions, their new aspirations; in short, they affected the things of the spirit. Just as it is harder to find the causes of a mental illness than those of a physical disease, so it is harder to determine the spiritual wounds of the African people than
the economic grievances so obvious in the slum locations in Nairobi. Over three hundred years ago, Shakespeare's Macbeth utters the desperate cry "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased, pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow." Today, all over Kenya, attempts are being made, at the rehabilitation centres for "hard core" Mau Mau members, to "minister to a mind diseased", but can they pluck from the African's memory the "rooted sorrow", the deep underlying social grievances that have twisted these minds and conditioned them to receive the abnormal hate-drenched teachings of Mau Mau?

As the Mau Mau secret society principally affected the Kikuyu tribe, and the first mild oath was probably taken by the vast majority of the Kikuyu, both men and women, this chapter will be mainly devoted to the social grievances of the Kikuyu. The words "social grievances" have been used reluctantly for want of a better expression, to describe the spiritual wounds, the "deep rooted sorrows", the baffling frustrations of this tribe in a state of transition from one culture to another. These grievances cannot altogether be eradicated by reform legislation, but they undoubtedly contributed to the Emergency situation in 1952. In order to understand these grievances, first the traditional tribal life of the Kikuyu will be considered, and then the Kikuyu's contacts with the white man and his civilization and the resulting changes, clashes and contradictions leading to the rise of the Mau Mau secret society.
The Kikuyu is the largest tribe in Kenya (1,180,000 members), and rapidly growing. Their reserve touches the White Highlands and runs within five miles of Nairobi. They have been more closely associated with Europeans and for a longer time, than any other tribe in Kenya and they were one of the first tribes to be in contact with the missionaries. Of all the tribesmen, they were considered the best workers, the best servants and the most easily taught. They have always been a religious people. They have absorbed the alien culture of the white man more quickly than any other tribe in Kenya and therefore enjoy "high prestige in the eyes of most Africans" in Kenya," though not necessarily popularity.

The tribal life of the Kikuyu was highly organized and closely associated with religion and land, but though there was a legend that in the early days the people were ruled by a king, they have, as far as anyone remembers, never had either a king or a chief. They were, like most forest dwellers, highly individualistic. The family unit was very important and was represented on the village council which in turn chose representatives to sit on the district council. The national, or tribal, council consisted of the elders from the districts and was presided over by the oldest and most revered man. All members of each alternate generation were called 'Mwangi' and 'Maina', and from those over 40 years old were chosen the elders. A change took place every generation, or at intervals of about 40 years, when a tremendous ceremonial festival was
held called 'iturka'; the last was held around 1898. The fact that the one due around 1938 was never held, owing to the breakdown of tribal customs, may have contributed to the unrest at that time. The religion of the tribe was distinct from that of the individual. The Supreme Being was Ngai, whose resting place was Mount Kenya, and prayers were offered to him for tribal welfare. This religion was closely associated with the locality inhabited by the Kikuyu and with the land where the ancestors were buried. Hence the sacred character of land. Individuals could not pray to Ngai but if visited by personal misfortune, or desirous of personal success in love or some material venture, they visited medicine men. This distinction between tribal and individual religion had a great bearing on the recent events in Kenya, because when the men left the tribe or reserve to seek work, they were cast off, as it were, from the care of the Supreme Being and left to rely on that of the medicine man. The power of the Elders was due not so much to their position of authority as to the fact that they were associated with tribal religion. The only entry into the tribe was through certain traditional ceremonies for age groups. As the elders felt their control of the young men weakening, they tended to emphasize the importance of the ceremonies attending birth and death and to make the initiation ceremonies ever more rigorous.

The ceremonies that marked every great event in the life of the Kikuyu tribesmen and women provided an endless source of excitement and interest. Knowledge of ceremonial,
rules and traditions had to be taught, usually in the form of song, but often through definite instruction by the elders. For weeks before the initiation ceremonies, boys and girls were separately trained and taught what was essential for each to know for the future tribal life. Though training was very rigorous and the rites called for great feats of endurance, a feeling of accomplishment, of oneness with the tribe, of security, was engendered. Young men did not take part in tribal government until they were forty, but from the age of 16 to 40 belonged to the young men's association; that is, the association of warriors and hunters, who spent their time very much as Europeans undergoing their years of compulsory military service do; that is, in training for war, in disciplinary activities and in fostering a spirit of comradeship. This was also the period for courtship and marriage. But with the introduction of European ways and the end of tribal warfare, and the frowning upon and, indeed, prohibition of military training, the young men were left at a loose end with only courtship and marriage to fill their time. It was considered inappropriate for a young man to labour on a "shamba" and tradition was hard to break. The war dances that had been part of the military training were prohibited and the dances connected with courtship were so openly sexual in character that the missionaries, through the Christian chiefs, had them suppressed. The influence of the Europeans on the young men of the tribe was largely negative. Much that was customary and exciting was prohibited and there were few legitimate avenues into which to canalize "animal
spirits" and the "combative instinct."

It is customary for Europeans to deplore the hard work done, and the great weights carried, by the Kikuyu women and to imply that they were merely beasts of burden. This was not altogether so, though they did, and still do, work very hard. Besides grinding maize, collecting fuel, preparing food, caring for the children and thatching the huts, they also cultivated the plots or shambas. But they had certain rights, one of the chief ones being a share in the land. A husband had to allot a separate hut and shamba to each wife. This plot was hers. From it she provided her share of the food for her husband and food for herself and her children, and she could do what she liked with any surplus. This close association with the land tended to make the Kikuyu women very conservative and somewhat withdrawn from the men. In fact, as the men moved away from the reserves, a certain enmity grew up between the sexes, as the women stayed tenaciously struggling with the traditional agricultural hazards of weather, pests, and disease. It was she, and often only she, who stood between her children and starvation; and it was she, by her efforts on the land, who acted as a sort of "pension scheme" for those male relatives who, too old or sick to continue working in the towns, returned to the reserve and family plot tended by the women. But her life was not all hard work. She had many privileges and freedoms that gave her some happiness and security. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey has pointed out that the prime purpose of a Kikuyu woman is to
become a mother. If, as a girl, she was desirable, she would have no difficulty in obtaining a husband, and though marriages were elaborately arranged with Bride-price\(^1\) and land and traditional gifts and ceremonies\(^2\) involved, it was never the custom to force a girl into a distasteful match. But if she were plain, or merely one of the surplus women of the tribe, she might find herself faced with disaster; that is, no children, no shamba, no security and no standing in the tribe. She could in such circumstances, take things into her own hands. Selecting a married man who seemed desirable and had more land than his wives needed, she could go to his hut at night. If accepted, and not turned out, she became his wife and a hut was raised for her and a shamba allotted and she joined the family clan. If unaccepted she was not humiliated publicly; no one knew, for the husband's hut was not shared by any wife, and she could try again. If a woman were a young widow it was customary, as in old Biblical times, for the husband's brother to take her to wife.

Though all land was individually owned by the Kikuyu, the family land, or githaka as it was called, was loosely divided into shambas for wives and relatives. Before the white man came, and in the early days of the Colony, shifting cultivation was practiced; that is, a piece of land was cropped for several years, but when the fertility of the land was shown to be in danger it was left fallow, to return to native grasses, shrubs and weeds that held the moisture preventing erosion, and later was grazed by cattle that manured the soil, while a new
piece of land was cleared and cropped. According to many authorities, Kikuyu agricultural practices were not altogether bad. In fact, given a sufficient quantity of land the fertility was maintained and crops for family food were adequate (except in years of drought). By a process of trial and error the Kikuyu, who have always been great agriculturists, had discovered that a variety of crops such as maize, beans, peas and sweet potatoes, all planted together, gave a continuous supply of varied food and had the added advantage of never leaving the soil bare during the rains, thus preventing erosion. Of course large yields were not attained and there was little or no surplus, but needs were few.

Having dealt with the tribal life of the Kikuyu with special reference to religion, customs, division of labour and agriculture, it is now important to show how certain contacts with Europeans broke down this traditional tribal life, substituting a transitional way of life, which being in a state of flux could move rapidly in any direction. The direction it took led to the 1952 Emergency and the situation in Kenya today.

One of the African's first and most enduring contacts with the white people was with the missionaries. In the early days of the Imperial East Africa Company, and during the construction of the railway, there were fleeting contacts with the white people. But they were mainly for trade or barter and were short. Some of these contacts were not very satisfactory and there were numerous incidents in which natives or Europeans
were killed, and conflict broke out over possessions; sometimes it was the white man's railway supplies, sometimes it was the natives' cattle or women, and often there was trouble about land. But these early contacts did not have the lasting influence, such as that with the missionaries.

The missionaries went to Kenya primarily to convert the natives to Christianity, but they also offered formal education, medical assistance and the white man's knowledge in general. The Kikuyu were curious. They noticed that the white man had tremendous power. They were impressed with the railway, with machines, with guns, with medicine and with the white man's evident superiority. In a test of strength between an elder and a white man the latter won. Even the medicine men were sometimes discredited. There was a general feeling that the white man's knowledge and religion would lead to power, and therefore were desirable. At the mission schools, the Kikuyu learned many things directly, such as the principles of Christianity, white men's morality and manners, rudiments of hygiene and sanitation, new methods in agriculture and to read and write and do simple arithmetic. While much of what they learned at school clashed with the old tribal traditions and caused conflicts, that was inevitable and was one of the hardships experienced by a backward people in a state of transition from one culture to another. What they learned indirectly, that is by observation and experience, really affected the whole outlook of the Kikuyu people.
The Kikuyu noticed that there was a great difference between the lives that many missionaries led and advocated and those led by the settlers, yet both professed the same religion. It appeared that the white man could disregard the teachings of Christianity with impunity and not only escape punishment but thrive. It also appeared that while the lives led by the missionaries were different from those of the settlers, there were certain general similarities that seemed to belong to the white race. The missionary, like most white men, had land, was a "master" and had power. In most cases land was attached to the mission. Many of the Protestant missions had natives settle on, and work, their land, for it was otherwise hard to make contacts with the tribesmen, but once attracted, either by wages or a bit of land to cultivate, they could be taught Christianity. The Roman Catholic missions also acquired land, and as is their custom, their missions had to be self-supporting, so they developed vineyards and coffee plantations and natives were encouraged to join the Orders as lay brothers and as such did most of the manual labour. While many of the missionaries were loved for their simple kindness and friendliness, others were respected for their power, either as doctors, teachers, or employers, or because of their connection with the government.

The close association of missions and government, which was most obvious to Africans in the intensified control exercised by European missions over the lower level of education was itself becoming
by the end of the period a positive danger to the church. For during the very years in which the alliance was taking shape, nationalism was making its appearance in East Africa.  

The missions received grants-in-aid for their schools from the government since 1911, and when government officials came to the district they treated the missionaries as equals and with respect so that missionaries and the government officials were closely associated in the African's mind. In the schools the missionaries taught loyalty and respect for law, order and the authorities. They also disparaged much of the tribal teachings and prevented their converts from participating in native customs. "My parents," said Parmenus Mockerie, objected to my going to a missionary school, as by so doing, I had to abstain from associating with them in the social life of the village. Things such as communal dances, drinking parties, and several social items performed by the village community were considered incompatible with Christianity." But thousands of Africans gave up these associations with the tribe because of the great advantages gained at school. It must not be understood by this that all Africans at the mission schools were self-seekers, many became sincere Christians and loyal subjects but there was a large element that realized the advantages of both medicine and education could only be obtained by going to the mission schools and undoubtedly this group tended to be hypocritical and developed a disastrous form of reasoning to the effect that, since there was no other way of getting these advantages, they should get all they could from the aliens and
use it for the good of the Africans. This undoubtedly undermined the morality taught by the missionaries.

Since the Mau Mau disturbances there has been a great searching of heart by missionaries because of the fact that so many Mau Mau leaders had been professing Christians and trained in missionary schools. Yet the whole movement was definitely tinged with anti-missionary zeal. There were certain unfortunate circumstances that perhaps accounted for this; and these have been discussed, but will now be summarized. First there was the missionary's close association with education. There has been great dissatisfaction on the part of the Africans with their education because of the fact that it has not proceeded quickly enough; that less money proportionately was spent on African education than on European; that schools were segregated; that there was no universal education, even in the towns; and that when the African graduated there were not the same opportunities for him as for white children. Actually the missionaries were not altogether to blame for the situation, the authorities were partly culpable but the African resentment turned on the missionaries because their part was more obvious. Second, there was the identification of the missionary with the white race and its authority. The contact with missionaries which, at first, it was thought would only have good results, both for the native and the European, actually, though inadvertently, contributed to the troubles of 1952.
By the imposition of the hut and poll tax, thousands of natives were forced off the reserves into closer contact with white civilization, with all the dislocation, contradictions and frustrations that this entailed. The purpose of the hut and, later, the poll tax was two-fold: to collect revenue and, more particularly, to force the native away from his home and to work for the white man. As long as there was no tax to pay there was no driving necessity for cash and hence no economic pressure forcing the native off the reserve and into the labour market. The results of these taxes were to disrupt home life and morality, and to create a vast urban population with no security and divorced from all steadying influences, which readily became a prey to criminal and subversive forces.

The hut tax was first introduced in 1901 when a flat rate of 2 rupees was charged on every native hut, but the tax was payable in cash, kind or labour, and in the simple economy existing in Kenya at that time, and the somewhat haphazard methods of collection, it did not affect the Africans very seriously. In 1902 the tax was raised to 3 rupees. The principle at the back of the hut tax was, that if a man were wealthy he would inevitably have more than one wife and therefore more than one hut, so the tax was supposed to be graduated according to ability to pay. That is, a man with 10 huts would pay 30 rupees, but he would have 10 wives, each working her "shamba" or allotment, and innumerable children, the older of whom were economic assets. But in some cases this tax worked hardship. For
instance, a man might have 10 huts, 5 occupied by young strong wives and their children, but the others might be occupied by aged or sick relatives, a widowed mother or a sick wife incapable of work. In this case the conscientious men paid the tax to help those who needed assistance while the irresponsible, heartless men, simply drove the dependents away and demolished the huts. Two other alternatives were open to him: he could bribe the "hut counter" to overlook the extra huts or he could force some of the women to share huts. This latter measure would be not only very unpopular, leading to quarrels, but would also interfere with tribal custom and morality as a husband visited each wife in her hut. She never came to him, except to serve him and his guests food. In 1907, there was a shortage of labour and Lord Delamere said "we have got to come to legal methods and force the natives to work," that is, to work off the reserves for the settlers. In 1910, Hut Ordinance No. 2 stated that not only every hut must pay a tax of 3 rupees but every adult male, 16 years old and over on the reserve must pay 3 rupees also. This is the first poll tax and its aim was quite openly to force the young men to seek work off the reserves. But the labour supply did not improve much. There was not yet severe overcrowding on the reserves and the reserve land was still productive. Shifting agricultural cultivation was still practiced and except in times of drought there was sufficient food. Though tribal wars had ceased, and with them the drain on population, there were still epidemics of European diseases together with indigenous diseases
and high infant mortality that kept the population down, so that there was, as yet, no driving economic force to make the young men leave the reserves. Though some went out of curiosity, boredom, or because of an economic setback, there were not enough workers to fill the demand. In 1915 the tax was raised to 5 rupees. After the war a terrible epidemic of Spanish influenza carried off hundreds of thousands of natives and the labour situation for the settlers became critical, especially as the soldier settlement schemes and new projects started by the returned men needed more and more labour. In 1919 Governor Northey issued the October 21 Circular:

The white man must be paramount . . . for the good of the country and his own welfare he [the native] must be brought out to work . . . . Our policy . . . should be to encourage voluntary work . . . but to provide power to legislate to prevent idleness. 40

There followed a few years of open compulsion when government officials, chiefs and headmen, pressed the natives on the reserves to "volunteer" for work and to sign labour contracts with the settlers. Recruiting "agents with native touts circulate through the reserves and endeavour by persuasion or other means to induce natives to sign contracts." 41 The situation became so shocking that the churches protested 42 that "the authorization of government officers to act as recruiting agents for the European farmers opened wide the door to almost any abuse," 43 and added that "in spite of all assurances natives, including women, were already being forced into the labour market by the policy of encouragement" and they felt that the tax increase was imposed
for the same purpose.

In 1922, after the currency change to shillings, the tax was set at 12/- and a few years later, since none of this hut or poll tax\(^44\) came back to the Local Native Councils, these bodies imposed on the Africans a further tax of from 1/- to 2/-. In 1932 Lord Moyne recommended\(^45\) abolition of the hut tax and the substitution of a single poll tax, which he suggested might be 6/-. He considered the native paid more than his share of taxation and added\(^46\) "if further revenue is to be raised it ought to be from the non-native."

The importance of these hut and poll taxes and forced labour is, that they forced the native into closer association with the whites. As the *East African Standard* put it, November 23, 1949, "The only way we can get the natives to work hard is to put up taxation until they find it hard to raise the money unless they work for it." But it is what happened to the native, after he was forced out to work, that influenced the course of events in Kenya, culminating in the activities of the Mau Mau secret society in 1952.

When an African left the reserve, he left behind all the security of the known life, all the ties of his religion, all the friendship of his clan. He entered an alien world where he got work, probably on contract for six months or a 1, 3 or 5-year period. During all that time he was completely out of contact with his family and more especially with his women. He was, quite suddenly, plunged into a world of men.\(^{46a}\) He was,
therefore, removed from the steadying influence of a wife, sweetheart or mother, who, close to the soil, remained conservative. Almost the only women he met in the town were a few Kikuyu, trading vegetables, an occasional "ayah" or nurse, and the town prostitutes. In the case of the married man who left his family and went to earn money, the situation was worse than for a single man. He was not home to perform the essential family ceremonies, at which only he could preside; his young children forgot him and there was no one to teach the boys what they should know; and on his unexpected return at rare intervals to the reserve it was quite likely that he found another man installed in his place. It is a known fact that a broken home breeds delinquents. The children of the broken homes of the thirties are the adults of today -- the problem young men of Nairobi. It was, however, almost impossible to take a wife to town, for employers (who often provided housing) provided space for only a single man. But in the locations it was not a case of a single room or even a single bed, it was a case of a share in a room or a bed. In 1937 housing conditions in Nairobi were so bad that a report stated

the worst housing in Kenya is in Nairobi and during the year conditions, far from improving became worse. . . . The chief sanitary inspector, Medical Department, . . . said the structure (of one housing unit) was made out of all sorts of things, such as old tins, old pieces of corrugated iron or stone. It consisted of three rooms of the average height of 4 ft. 6 inches, one 8 x 9 ft., another 6 x 7 ft., and the other 8 x 6 ft. There was no chimney, no latrine accommodation and no window.

Yet employed Africans were living there because they could find
nowhere else to live. Conditions were similar in Mombasa, for servants of a dairy owner were found sleeping among the cattle in filthy conditions. For the privilege of sleeping in a cramped, dirty hut, a man had to pay 5/- a month out of a total wage of 24/- a month if he were a skilled railway worker or 15/- a month if he were an unskilled worker. There is a vivid description given by Sir Hugh Dow in 1955 of conditions in Nairobi, "... employed Africans sleeping under verandahs in River Rd. in noisome and dangerous shacks in the swamp, in busses parked by the roadside, and 14 to a room in Pumwani, two to a bed, the rest on the floor," and in Mombasa, "60 persons found sleeping in one temporary single-storeyed house." From these quotations from official reports it can be seen that for fifteen years before the 1952 Emergency, there was a steady worsening of conditions in the towns. But the matter was evidently not taken seriously before the troubles of 1952, for in 1949 there were 10,000 Africans needing housing in Nairobi, but schemes for the erection of buildings to give only 4500 bed spaces were planned. In 1951 the situation had worsened; 10,000 "bed spaces" were needed but, though two new building schemes were started that year, none was completed. Then came the Emergency and by August 1953, after the exodus of Kikuyu from the Rift Valley and elsewhere, 20,000 Africans needed housing in Nairobi. It was impossible for men to exist under such conditions and not be dissatisfied and resentful. Such slums are the breeding places of immorality and crime.
It is the isolation and frustration of African town dwellers who feel . . . they are denied the rights and advantages which members of other races enjoy, which are the major causes of the crime, immorality and drunkenness rife in many East African towns. 57

As long as the African tax increased, while wages lagged behind and cost of living soared; as long as the pressure of population in the reserves forced the African into the towns, the men had to seek work and live under the conditions described. Had the wages been adequate, and credit available, Africans might have built their own homes and thus developed a feeling of security. 59

But there was no security in the towns, for if a man were sick or injured, or when he grew old, there was no social assistance. This was one of the reasons that the town African always kept "one foot in the Reserve." The women on the reserve with their huts and their shambas were the "health insurance" and "pension schemes" for the neglected African proletariat. The sick went home to share the meagre food produced with such effort by the women. The wife, often grown apart from her husband, whom she had only seen at rare intervals, often resented his return. It was another mouth to feed, and if he returned with tuberculosis as so often happened, he brought trouble to the whole family.

One type of employment that brought the African into very close contact with the white population was that of domestic service, either in private houses or in hotels and clubs. All "house-boys" as they are called in Kenya, are male, though not necessarily "boys", and their contact with their European masters
or mistresses was more intimate than that of the industrial worker. In the houses, though their sleeping quarters were usually at the end of the garden, they came to know their employers very well. Mona MacMillan says,

... they cook and provide their own food ... and look upon their wages as a lump sum to be spent on some specially desired article, a wife, pay the taxes, or be taken home to the wives and children on the Reserves; it is not something to live on. So they spend as little as they can on daily bread, but are glad to pilfer luxuries like sugar and tea from the house. Every housewife locks up her stores.

Here again contact with the European teaches the African. He notices the luxury in the house, for even a simple home by European standards is luxurious to the African, and the food that he prepares and the drinks that he serves contrast vividly with his own fare. The servants in the fashionable clubs such as the Rift Valley Farmers Club at Nakuru, the Muthaiga or Nairobi club, wear long white robes and go barefoot. In the latter two clubs, which are extremely luxurious, with marble pillars, courtyards and fountains, they also wear scarlet embroidered jackets. During work hours they move in an air of unprecedented luxury, wearing fabulous clothes (from an African point of view), and serving food and "sundowners" that even impress the average visitor from England, but after work they go to their quarters, or to the location to listen to the African nationalists, the labour organizers, or even to the subversive whisperings of the Mau Mau adherents.
The African having been brought in contact with the new civilization, either by missionary contacts or through pressure of settlers and government authorities to get him to leave the reserve and work for the Europeans, found himself in a confusing world, where while he could serve a European in his house he could not visit him there; where he could work anywhere in a town but could live only in a "location"; where he could work for the government but only in certain categories and for certain pay; where he could receive education and be treated in a hospital, but only in a segregated institution. This did not confuse the uneducated native, but it did not take him long to learn from the more educated and ambitious Africans that this dividing force was racialism. It is this force that has had a marked influence on African development in Kenya, and it has been constantly referred to by members of the Legislative Council in Kenya, by members of the House of Commons and by members of many different Commissions investigating conditions in Kenya. Nearly thirty years ago when Lord Moyne was asked to report on certain questions in Kenya it is obvious from the terms of reference that racial discrimination in Kenya was being considered by the Colonial Office, for the financial commissioner was asked to ascertain if there were a "fair balance of taxation and benefits" between various racial communities with special reference to the amount of money spent on the native and the non-native community. Lord Moyne's observations on the native share of taxation have already been referred to, but his comments on
European taxation at the time, indicates the discriminatory nature of taxation in Kenya in 1932.

Comparing the burden of taxation throughout the world with that borne by the European population of Kenya, it is evident that the latter enjoys the amenities of civilization in return for a relatively light scale of contribution.

Very early in his report, Lord Moyne points out,

the gradual attainment of a higher level of education and civilization by the African is being accompanied by a claim to equal treatment with the Asian . . . . there is a racial discrimination between African and Asian clerical classes and government service. It is a reasoned claim that entrance should be based on examination and promotions on merit.

In the course of his investigation he uncovered a considerable amount of discrimination against Africans. He notes that while Africans are not permitted to grow coffee, £13,000 was spent in control of coffee plant diseases and research in connection with this almost exclusively European crop. He noticed that while the local Native Councils raised from the natives £8497 to spend on native agricultural and veterinary work, the expenditure on corresponding services for Europeans was made from central funds. He carried out an exhaustive study of import duties paid on various goods by Europeans, Indians and Africans. It was shown that while the Europeans paid £109,500 duty in 1931 on brandy, gin, whiskey, liqueurs and wines, the Africans paid £122,600 on such essentials as cotton goods and blankets, and on investigating the freight rates he discovered that Africans
were paying freight on these same goods at category I rates, i.e. equal to that on articles of high value, fragility or perishability. In the field of health he discovered that the total spent on European services in the Coast, Nyanza and Kikuyu provinces was £18,605 as against £84,381 on native services, a ratio of roughly 1:4, but the population ratio of the two races was roughly 1:200.

Twenty years later a very similar situation prevailed. The recommendations of Lord Moyne and the facts that he brought to light in his brilliant report had had very little influence in Kenya. In 1948 in the Legislative Council there was discussion of taxation. J. F. G. Troughton, Financial Secretary, said that "last year we had a surplus of revenue over expenditure of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million ... and that in 1948 the position is more satisfactory still," but he suggested that the African Poll Tax should be increased by 1/- to compensate for the reduced customs rates. He argued that the Poll Tax had not been increased since 1942 (when the Hut Tax had been abolished and a single poll tax imposed) and though he admitted the Africans paid considerable customs duties, and the Native Councils had increased rates "out of all proportion," still he felt the increase advisable as it would bring in £45,000. At the same time he announced,

it would be possible to maintain the reduction in income tax . . . for one more year . . . and no change in income tax rates is therefore proposed.70

The next year, the subject of income tax again came up for debate
and the minister of finance said he would "oppose that [income tax] increase tooth and nail." In the field of import duties on which Lord Moyne had carried out exhaustive studies, two changes were brought in during 1949 which affected Africans. The first was a change from 60 per cent duty on second-hand clothing to 22 per cent to bring it "more in line with other clothing," and the second was the dropping of the 15 per cent duty on commercial, agricultural and industrial vehicles weighing less than 3000 lbs. (This affected bicycles, extensively used by Africans.) These changes were progressive but what was extraordinary was that such articles as second hand clothing and bicycles had been paying duties of 60 and 15 per cent respectively till 1949.

It was not until 1952, the year of the Emergency, that the first step was taken to iron out the racial discrimination in the civil service when a few African civil servants who had been in category C were raised to category B, which previously had been the preserve of Asians, and a few Asians were raised from category B to category A, the European preserve. Oliver Lyttelton refers to the "system by which Africans and Asians in the senior civil service, with similar qualifications receive only 2/3 of the salaries paid to their European counterparts." But Lord Moyne's recommendation that racial discrimination be removed from the civil service was not implemented until 1955 and not until 14,648 people had lost their lives.
Another field in which racial discrimination was very noticeable before the Emergency was in the restrictions imposed on the growing of certain crops by Africans. Oliver Lyttelton, explaining these restrictions said, "the reason Africans were not permitted to grow vital crops, cash crops such as coffee, tea, sisal and pyrethrum was that the population must be made to concentrate on subsistence crops." This was indeed the policy in Kenya, but by the end of World War II it was realized that subsistence farming was leading to economic ruin, for with the ever growing African population and the static amount of land and its deterioration, natives were facing a future of starvation, and this would inevitably lead to disturbances, so a new policy was evolved for the developing of industries to absorb the surplus population and the limited growing of cash crops. Coffee was the most valuable export crop in Kenya and during the last war immense profits were made by the European coffee planters who, short of labour at the beginning of the war, managed to get coffee and tea put on the 'essential food list' and in this way got forced labour for their plantations at very attractive wages of 8/- to 14/- a month. Even after the war, profits were good as the following chart and corresponding rates of wages will show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Prices of Coffee per ton</th>
<th>Wages per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>£400</td>
<td>17/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>23/68¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>24/25¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Naturally, Africans wanted to grow coffee, but it was a difficult and slow crop to grow, subject to innumerable pests, and the agricultural authorities enforced very strict control over its culture. Before anyone could grow coffee he had to obtain an expensive licence for 100 bushes and agree to abide by all regulations and sell only through the European-controlled Coffee Board. European coffee planters, whose estates varied from fifty to several hundred acres did not find these regulations onerous, but for an African starting out with very limited capital it was hard, as with their small plot of land, only part of which could be put down to coffee, the cost of the licence was heavy as was that of the sprays, dusts, and other methods of pest control. Elsbeth Huxley tells, in 1947, of one African chief in the Embu district, who had four acres under coffee, more than any of the other 116 African coffee growers in that region; but the European coffee growers did not like the Africans sharing the coffee market. In 1950, an African coffee planter, by name Koinanga, who had his land eight miles out of Nairobi, had been prohibited from growing coffee but had taken his case to court and had won. One of the main European arguments against allowing Africans to grow coffee had been that they would be unable to handle such a delicate crop and would not only allow infection to spread to the European plantations but would inevitably produce such low grade coffee that they would ruin the good reputation of Kenya coffee on the world market. However, neither prediction has come true and more and more Africans are now growing coffee.
and it is being handled by the Coffee Board and exported along with that grown by Europeans. It is tempting to speculate how the history of Kenya might have been changed if the growing of cash crops, particularly coffee, had been fostered amongst the Embu, Meru and Kikuyu twenty years ago as it had been by Charles Dundas amongst the Chagga tribe in Tanganyika.

Though the discriminatory legislation against Africans growing valuable cash crops had disappeared by 1952, the damage had been done and instead of thousands of contented, prosperous Africans growing pyrethrum, tea, and coffee, there were just a few thousand starting on this new adventure and many thousands of others, sullen and frustrated, hungry and suspicious, a ready prey for Mau Mau.

Though education has been discussed briefly in its relation to missionaries and anti-mission feeling, it must now be dealt with more comprehensively, because it was in the field of education that racialism is so marked in Kenya. There were four principal races in the Colony and each race had its own schools run on different lines and with different objectives. One of the few things that all four types of schools had in common was that education was not free.

European education was modelled on the English system and was compulsory since 1941, for all children between the age of 7 and 15, but not free. European schools were, in most cases, boarding schools because of the scattered European population, and those for boys were modelled on the English Public Schools
while those for girls followed the English private school pattern. There were also government day schools in the towns. The boarding schools were quite expensive and quite exclusive, and boys were prepared for examinations that would admit them to British universities or the Civil or Colonial service. In 1952, a great stir was caused by the fact that an Asian boy, who had attended school in England, applied for admittance to one of the white schools in Kenya and was not accepted because of his race. The future of better race relations in Kenya depends largely on the school children of today. The older generation of Europeans was a product of the days when the white man ruled without question and his superiority over natives was taken for granted. These were the people who controlled the educational policies in the European schools and who influenced their children and perpetuated the feeling of racial superiority. If there is to be any hope for the future welfare of Kenya it must come from the school children, both European and African. Elsbeth Huxley, who represents the settler viewpoint in Kenya said,

Everyone knows that bad education often leads to bigotry. It's amongst the poor whites (both in South Africa and the Southern States) that the creed of the colour bar is most fervently upheld. Surely then, the interests of the African demand that European children brought up in Africa should have the very best education they can possibly by given (even if much more is spent on it, per head, than on African education, surely . . . this is inevitable.

But the "best education" that she refers to, does not necessarily lead to better race relations. A glance at the European schools
will illustrate this point. In these schools no course was
given in African history nor was any Swahili or any native
language taught. No attempt was made to teach the students
anything about the African race or to familiarize them with
colonial problems of politics, land or population, or any of
those things that most deeply affect the future of the colony.
Most teachers were brought out from England and their know­
ledge of things African was confined to 'Livingstone and
Stanley,' 'Zulu wars,' 'Pigmies,' 'Hottentots,' native dances,
big game hunting etc. Most of them had never met an African
and certainly once installed as a teacher in a European school,
would not be likely to meet any except the house-boys or gar­
deners. Elsbeth Huxley suggested that Africans who had been
educated in England should be invited to lecture on African
problems, customs, etc. to European school children, so that the
latter would have a chance of seeing and hearing an African "as
well or better educated than the child's own parents or teach­
ers."

She also suggested children could be taken to visit
reserves and study race problems, and have contact with Africans
in debates, sports, Boy Scout activities, etc., so as to break
down the prejudice that the child had absorbed at home. She
recommends the teaching of Swahili or a native language. But
the tendency in the European schools has not been in this direc­
tion. The white children were educated in an 'all white' atmos­
phere and left the school much more fitted to live in England
than in Kenya, from whose problems they have been isolated but
with whose problems they must not only live but cope.
As regards Asian and Arab schools these were divided very largely on religious grounds but in the case of the Arab Moslem schools there was no segregation. An African Moslem was admitted without question. (A sad comparison with Christian schools.) Education for Asians was compulsory in towns only, owing to the small, scattered nature of the Asian rural population throughout the Colony.

African education was not compulsory and not free. In 1950 many changes were recommended by Bishop Beecher, but far from removing differences between African and European schools they tended to intensify them. He said that while education must be based "on Christian principles and conducted with adequate inspection and supervision," there must be "emphasis on the acquisition of practical aptitudes and skills," as the schools must provide "our skilled technicians, agriculturists and teachers so essential to the economic development of this country." Here was possibly the influence of South Africa with the emphasis on technical training for the African as against academic training for the European. It was recommended that the schooling should be divided into three 4-year periods. In the first or Primary, for which a child must pay 15/- a year, teaching was in the vernacular. During the Intermediated 4-year period (fees 45/- per annum) the teaching of Swahili was introduced. In the Secondary 4-year course (101/- fee) English was taught. This was a heavy language load in comparison to the European schools, but necessary if the African, after graduation, was to
take his place in a world where both Swahili and English were necessary. There were three main grievances, all racial, connected with education in Kenya prior to the Emergency. The first was the discriminatory allocation of money to the education of different racial groups. Two examples will serve to illustrate this. In 1949 the Development and Reconstruction Authority recommended the following amounts be spent on educational buildings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Arab</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£670,700</td>
<td>£636,500</td>
<td>£85,000</td>
<td>£818,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later additional contributions were made as follows:

| £880,600 | £90,000 | ---     | £20,000 |

Considering the racial composition of the population was roughly 1 European to 120 Africans, and remembering that the proportion of children in the African communities is higher than amongst Europeans because of the shorter life expectancy and the higher birthrate, these figures are revealing. The second example is the comparative expenditure on the education of a child of each race in 1947: European £50, Asian £8.15/-, African less than £1. The second grievance was that all children did not write the same examinations. African and Asian children wrote the Kenya African or Kenya Asian examination. The Asians latterly have complained that there was discrimination in the examination system, for the percentage of Asian passes was lower than that of European. Whether there is any truth in their complaint is hard to find out, but the fact that even examinations were
different for different races left the administration open to criticism. The third grievance was in connection with scholarships. In 1948 a loan fund was established for students wishing to go abroad for higher education. Since its inception, till 1955, the following number of loans has been granted: European, 15; Asian, 27; African, 3. In 1950 it was suggested in the Legislative Council that loans for students studying overseas be made available to those who could offer property, life insurance or housing as security. These terms would naturally exclude the African. The matter was taken up by both African and Asian members and they urged that an African student who could not offer such security, could obtain a loan offering as security his guarantee to work, on his return to Kenya, at any job offered until the loan was repaid. But this suggestion was not accepted, on the grounds that the student would be a minor and, as such, not responsible. The matter was then referred to committee.

The educational situation in 1952 might be summarized as follows: though considerable progress in the number of African schools and trained teachers was evident, the progress was slow. Educated Africans who had been abroad knew that Great Britain only introduced free compulsory education in 1870 and by 1900 illiteracy had been practically wiped out. More recently, the fight against illiteracy had been equally successful. There was a feeling that no determined effort was being made in Kenya. As Mona MacMillan said in 1952, "Kenya has certainly neglected the education of its Africans." If Kenya is to be a multi-
racial state, multi-racial education should be in operation. Little foundation has been laid in the past for this change. Political progress has run ahead of social change. It was these continuing instances of racialism that created such deep mental scars by 1952.

"Racial discrimination and the frustration it engenders must be eradicated," said Tom Mboya, writing of the future of race relations. Racialism as it influenced politics, taxation, civil service, crop growing and education, could be improved to some extent by legislation, though little had been done by 1952, except in the removal of restrictions from the growing of certain cash crops by Africans. But the form of racialism that was, perhaps, most damaging to future co-operation of the races was the personal behaviour of white settlers to Africans and Asians. The Africans are now so sensitive of insults that "it imposes an impossibly high standard of manners on every member of the [European] race." Actually, it was not so much a matter of good manners, for they will always fail in moments of temper or sudden provocation; what was needed was a complete change of attitude. The settlers had, over the years, accumulated against themselves a vast store of suspicion and even hatred from the other races, both African and Asian. Elsbeth Huxley recounted conversations held with Indians at a party given in 1947 by Governor Battershill in Tanganyika, which illustrated how these suspicions of the Kenya settlers had even spilled over the border of the Colony. "We want nothing to do with that
country [Kenya] . . . we dread this cold wind from the North.

. . . Kenya ideas, Kenya customs will reach down to contaminate us. . . . Let Kenya keep away," said one guest, while another Indian added, "I went to Nairobi with a European for a meeting, to the same meeting, our status was the same. He stayed at a good hotel. I could not go there, even for a cup of tea." In Uganda, the same attitude was prevalent, "we fear that the Kenya settlers will succeed in their demand for self-government and then reach out to dominate us," an African told Elsbeth Huxley, who added, "the attitude of all races towards Kenya seems acrimonious. Africans fear some unspecified mysterious coup by the Kenya settlers." If this was the feeling outside Kenya in 1947 it was even more intense in the Colony. African and Asian members of the Legislative Council, leaders of the Kenya African Union, and Indian Congress, African authors, all refer repeatedly to the white settlers' superior attitude and the social colour bar. As one African put it, "at half-past four, the curtain falls," meaning that though Africans and Asians work with Europeans during office hours, at 4.30 p.m. all contact is ended. Jomo Kenyatta said he had never been asked into a white home in Kenya as a social equal. Even the new United Kenya Club, which started after the Emergency, was a somewhat self-conscious multi-racial experiment, a sort of Rotary Club, that holds lunch meetings in Nairobi for all races. It was attended only by men, and after lunch "the curtain falls." It has been suggested that the white settlers feared racial social equality would lead to miscegenation and the 'degeneration' of the white
race. That may happen, but if better relations are not estab-
lished soon between the races it may lead to the extermination
of the white race in Africa, or at least the evacuation of that
race from the continent. In the correspondence between Marjory
Perham and Elsbeth Huxley on the subject of racial contacts,
the question of the low cultural level of the Africans and their
different ideas of sexual morality was referred to as a possible
reason for keeping the races apart. But Elsbeth Huxley pointed
out that "one of the pleasantest parts of life in Kenya is that
white women can and do live entirely by themselves on isolated
farms and go where they like without worrying about a 'fate worse
than death'," but she added

In the minds of many white people in Africa a
simple equation is fixed. It is:
social intercourse = mixed marriages = degeneration
of the white race. 109

That was the foundation of the whole racial situation, the belief
in the superiority of the white race "fixed" in the minds of the
Europeans. In the Report of the East Africa Royal Commission
it was recommended that "there must be more rapid progress in
Kenya towards destroying the colour bar," 110 and the same thing
was said by Tom Mboya, leader of the African Elected Members.
"Half measures or compromise on basic principles will aggravate
the situation and make it impossible to produce a solution. It
is a race against time." 111

But time was running out in 1952 when all these social
grievances culminated in the troubles leading to the Emergency.
The smashing of the old tribal religious restraints, the isolation
and frustrations of the slum areas in the towns, the dissatisfaction with the progress of education, and the running sore of racial insults all helped to create a race of sullen, bewildered men. Just as the shock of the devastation and starvation of World War I, the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles, the economic depression in Germany, readied the German people to support Hitler, even his concentration camps and gas chambers, so the fifty years of steadily deteriorating conditions made the Africans susceptible to the teachings of Mau Mau.
Footnotes to Chapter III

1 The Kenya Government asked Dr. J. C. Carothers, late Medical Officer for Kenya and in charge of psychiatric work at Mathari Mental Hospital and H. M. Prison, Nairobi, to return and make a study of the psychology of Mau Mau, to help in its treatment.

2 The Embu and Meru tribes were so similar to the Kikuyu that the Government of Kenya applied the "special legislation" to all three tribes.

3 Dr. Carothers says in *The Psychology of Mau Mau,* (Nairobi, Government Printers, 1954), p. 16, "The first Oath, though latterly more violent in its implications, was relatively mild and lacking in brutality." There is lack of agreement on the exact terms of the oath but its purpose seems to have been to bind the Africans together against the Europeans and Missionaries and to recover the land.


5 In the rehabilitation centres for Mau Mau members, priests, psychologists, and councillors are employed.

6 Most of the labourers on the White Highland Farms were Kikuyu and today many farmers "who most regret the loss of their Kikuyu employees" (ibid., p. 20) would like to have them back. During the Emergency they were driven back to the reserve and to detention camps for screening.

7 The Wakamba tribe have always considered their magical powers greater than those of the Kikuyu.


9 The Kiama gia itora.


11 As a child, Kenyatta took part in this ceremony in which his father and uncle played important roles. At this ceremony, when the new elders were ushered into office, sacrifices were offered and great oaths taken binding the new rulers together for the tribal good. Bracelets were placed on the right wrist and right ankle of each elder. These were made of strips of skin taken from the sacrificed animal and dipped in the animal's blood and stomach contents. The "Constitution" was then sung, so that all would know it and great festivities with beer drinking and dancing followed.
This perhaps explains why so many Kikuyu mounting the temporary gallows for execution after 1952 clutched a little soil in their hands.

Many of the young people were being drawn to the new alien religion and education of the Europeans.

This possibly explains why an educated but nationalistic Kikuyu, like Kenyatta, defends the ceremonies so staunchly.

Young men's work consisted of land clearing, but with the end of shifting cultivation this work ended; of raising the new huts, but with the increasing hut tax, this work was curtailed; and hunting, but with restricted reserves this was dying out; and certain crops were planted by the men, though they did not cultivate them; and cattle were tended by men. A "shamba" was a cultivated plot.

This was usually paid in cattle, but recently money has been substituted.

Even a mock "stealing of the protesting bride" by the groom's age-group comrades was acted out very realistically, the girl "surprised" in her shamba had to scream for help.

Such men as Lord Lugard, Lord Hailey and Dr. Leakey, all agree that native Kikuyu agricultural practices were successful.

Europeans advocated the planting of the common potato instead of the sweet potato, because of its large yield. But the results have been bad. Though a large yield has been obtained, and much surplus has been sold for cash, it has been bad for the natives. The tubers have not the food value of the sweet potato and its foliage is neither palatable nor nutritious for man or stock as is that of the sweet potato. Unlike the sweet potato, the foliage dies down in dry weather and the tubers are dug all at the same time, thus exposing the soil to erosion. The sweet potato foliage makes a green mulch covering the soil.

During the Mau Mau troubles many Christian Africans remained faithful in spite of great danger.

Many boys leaving the mission school went as houseboys to the settlers.

The Scottish Mission had been granted 64,000 acres freehold at Kibwezi (Cmd. 2747, 1926). Dr. Henry Scott planned a self-supporting missionary community on 300 acres at Kikuyu (R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, London, Longmans Green and Co., 1952, p. 173). The Consolata Fathers had vast coffee estates at Nyeri granted to them after the first World War.
Chief Waruhiu had such love for his early missionary teacher that he had him buried in his own garden and always cared for the grave.


During the forced labour troubles of 1919 the missions took a strong stand against this evil. "In these circumstances... missions were finding it increasingly difficult to teach loyalty to the Government." Ibid., p. 250.

Perham, Marjory (Ed.) Ten Africans, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1936, p. 162. The story of P. Mockerie, told by himself. Mockerie was educated at Dr. Arthur's school for the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu, and later he taught there. He attended Makerere College in Uganda and later went to Ruskin College, Oxford. He was at first loyal to the Missions, but not later; after representing the Kikuyu Central Association in England and being rebuffed, he became more nationalistic and antagonistic to the European. In short, he became a rebel.

Report of the Committee on African Education, Sessional Paper I, 1950. Kenya. Bishop Beecher, chairman of the Committee refers to the "large body of evidence which points to a breakdown in moral standards in African society in recent years and to the comparative inability of the school product to put matters right", paragraph 244. An African told the writer that when at a Mission school he and the other boys had to work with the cows and they used to drink the milk given them for the calves because they got so little milk themselves.


Kenya has been troubled before with wild anti-white and anti-missionary sects. One of the troubles seems to have been the translation into the vernacular of the Old Testament. Natives who read of "prophets", "chosen people", "sacrifices", and the extermination of the tribes of Caanan, became inflamed, and it was a short step to seeing themselves as the chosen people, led by some native prophet, and followed by excited crowds turning their energies against the white "alien tribes" and the missionaries as the priests of Baal. One such society was the "Dini Ya Misembwa" (the faith of the spells), which arose in the Rift Valley, 1950.

The rapid rise and popularity of the Kikuyu Independent Schools for which the Africans had to pay, proves this.

In the Report of the Committee on African Education, 1950, para. 238, Bishop Beecher, the chairman, said, "African witnesses preferred not to discuss any priority other than the immediate opening and aiding of more primary schools." He also talks of the "tremendous pressure for more and more primary schools."
28 In the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Legislative Council Debates, 2nd series (Nairobi, Government Printers, 1950), vol. 37, col. 253-4, May 16, 1950, in answer to an oral question regarding the amount spent on education for the different racial groups, the following figures were given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Arab</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-1949</td>
<td>£997,512</td>
<td>£679,067</td>
<td>£60,390</td>
<td>£1,054,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Population 1954: 45,000 150,000 - 5,750,000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Madan (Asian member) commented "Never was so much spent on so few at the expense of so many." (Ibid., col. 107)

29 Europeans had universal compulsory education, age 7-15. Asians had it in the towns. Africans did not have it at all. Ibid., col. 226.

30 Dr. L.S.B. Leakey blames the missionaries for teaching theology rather than pure Christianity.

31 Sir Hugh Dow, Chairman of East Africa Royal Commission, 1953-55, said (p. 165) "One of the most pitiful features of East Africa today is that at every stage of the educational ladder large numbers of children who are capable of and desirous of climbing higher are forced off it, and we trace to this cause much of the frustration which embitters their general outlook later in life." He adds that three quarters of all the education was still in the hands of the missionaries. In 1957 Sir Thomas Dugdale in the Report to the United Kingdom, Parliamentary delegation, August 20, 1957, said, "The time is fast approaching when the government will find it necessary to provide most, if not all, of the schools."

32 In 1952, 188 Independent Schools were closed, by order of the Governor; 60 of these are "considered redundant" and 58 have been re-opened under Missionary Society control. As there was great African resentment at the closing of these schools, their re-opening under Mission control added to the anti-mission feeling and the further identification of missionaries with government authority. At first these re-opened schools were boycotted, but gradually the African children, rather than be without any education, are returning to them. Colonial Reports - Kenya, 1953. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954, p. 64.


34 It was found easier to count huts than population as natives had a great antipathy to being enumerated; so much so that there have been no accurate vital statistics in Kenya until recently, and all figures have been estimated.

35 It also interfered with a special form of polyandry. A
Kikuyu woman had the right to invite any of her husband's guests or "age-group" to her hut for the night, and providing her husband knew about it, it was not considered to be adultery. Only secret liaisons were condemned as adultery. This caused great conflicts and misunderstandings with the missionaries, for when the ten commandments were translated into Kikuyu, they used the vernacular word, with its special meaning, for adultery.


37 The age of 16 was chosen because actual ages of Africans were not known, but 16 was the initiation, i.e. manhood, age. No census of vital statistics of Africans was made till 1948.

38 Hailey, W., African Survey, p. 570.

39 Governor Northey once said when being urged by some settlers to support them, "Gentlemen, remember, I was born in South Africa."


41 Ibid., p. 342.

42 The Bishop's Memorandum.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funds transferred from Government to Native Councils</th>
<th>Revenue Collected direct by Native administration</th>
<th>Total Revenue Native Administration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hut Tax Other Sources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya None</td>
<td>£16,586</td>
<td>£19,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika £126,207 None</td>
<td>18,707</td>
<td>144,914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Population</th>
<th>Native Population</th>
<th>Total land area Sq. miles</th>
<th>Native Reserves Sq. miles</th>
<th>Alienated land in trust for natives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya 12,529</td>
<td>2,549,300</td>
<td>202,320</td>
<td>48,297</td>
<td>all 3,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika 5,274</td>
<td>4,319,000</td>
<td>373,494</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>for natives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 Cmd. 4093

46 Ibid., p. 27
In 1942 there were seven men to every woman in Nairobi, according to Aaronovitch, *Crisis in Kenya*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1947, p. 101.

As illiteracy rates were very high amongst the men, and over 90% illiterate women, letters were almost out of the question.

In 1933, 62% of all able-bodied men worked off the Kikuyu reserve and 74% of the men worked off the Nandi Reserve (Mair, L., *Native Policies in Africa*, London, Geo. Routledge and Sons, 1936, p. 295). In 1942 the percentage of men working off the Kikuyu and Nandi reserves ran as high as 77.37% and 85% respectively (Huxley E., and Perham M., *Race and Politics in Kenya*, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1955, p. 87).

According to the Attorney General of Kenya, 96% of all crime in the colony was committed by Africans and 57% of this crime was committed in one town, Nairobi. (It must, however, be remembered that much of this crime consisted of tax evasion and offenses connected with passes, kipandi, breaking of contracts, etc.). *Kenya, Legislative Council Debates*, 1949, Vol. 35, col. 179.

In 1949, B.A. Ohanga, said that he had been shown one of the new housing projects in Nairobi and all accommodation was for single men, while most workers are married. *Ibid.*, col. 140.


*East Africa Royal Commission* 1953-55, Cmd. 9475.

One of the African locations in Nairobi.


"Adequate native reserves indeed can take . . . the place of trade unions and help the native maintain a proper standard of wages." Cmd. 3234, p. 65.


Population at this time was about 4½ million Africans; population
today is about \( \frac{53}{5} \) million Africans, but the area of the reserve is the same and the land in worse condition.

59 Many did erect shacks at Maparani, a slum village of 7000 Africans just outside Nairobi, and at Kariobangi housing 12,600. But in 1953 the Emergency Forces razed all the shacks to the ground, because it was alleged they were harbouring Mau Mau suspects. No compensation for this destruction was paid the owners and congestion became worse in Nairobi.


61 The Muthaiga is the settler's club and like the old Norfolk Hotel whose place it took, has been the scene of some extravagant parties illustrating what Tom Mboya calls the "cost of high living." The "Nairobi" is the business men's club.

62 Parmenus Mockerie was a houseboy and in his autobiography in Ten Africans, edited by M. Perham, he tells of cutting his bare foot on a broken bottle and afterwards deciding to wear shoes. "But my European master prevented me from entering his house wearing shoes in the same manner as Europeans. I gave up the position as house servant because I was not allowed to wear shoes." (p. 163) It is significant that he refers to himself as "house-servant" not "house-boy." Today he is a nationalist.

62a "How is it I am expected to be a minister here but I cannot be a D.O., a D.C., or a P.C.?” said Oginga Odinga, M.L.C. in his maiden speech. Quoted in Sunday Post, April 14, 1957, Kenya.


64 Ibid., p. 27.
65 Ibid., p. 4.
66 Ibid., p. 34.

67 Ibid. The full table of duties is given in Appendix L, Schedule 3, p. 69.

68 Ibid., Appendix 1, Schedule 5, p. 92.


70 Ibid., Vol. 35, col. 68.

same work that the British Administrative Assistant performed for £50 a month.


74 Value of coffee export in 1929 was £1,140,389, all European grown in Kenya. In Uganda, Native coffee exports valued at £170,408; no European coffee. Cmd. 3234, Appendix VI, 1955, Kenya, Economic Survey, gives coffee as the most important crop and "mainly European," p. 2.

75 Aaronovitch, Crisis in Kenya, p. 105. The following figures are also given: In 1944, 20,969 conscripted labourers were working, 10,265 on sisal, 4394 on essential foods and pyrethrum and 1060 on sugar. Wages were 8/- a month for short contracts and 14/- for longer terms.

76 The Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1942 took control out of the hands of the Kenya Essential Undertaking Board and had tea and coffee removed from the essential food list.

77 House of Commons Debates, Vol. 509, col. 1279. Figures for 1949 cost of coffee from Legislative Council Debates, Kenya, Vol. 34, col. 48. In that year a subsidy of £15 an acre was granted in the form of a loan because of a bad crop. No figures for wages that year were given.


79 House of Commons Debates, 1950, November 3.

80 Excellent coffee is grown by the Chagga tribe in Tanganyika, and they are prosperous, yet it was only about 20 years ago that Charles Dundas, while District Commissioner there, got them to start growing coffee.


82 House of Commons Debates, vol. 509, col. 444.

83 It must be remembered that E.S. Grogan, the man who had personally flogged a rickshaw boy on the steps of the Court House in Nairobi in 1907 for no greater offence than insolence, was still an elected member of the Legislative Council in 1953. In that year he said "Hang the traitors and confiscate all the
Kikuyu land." The attitude of this generation is shown by statements made in the Legislative Council in 1949 (vol. 32, col. 1177). Major Keyser, speaking on education said, "it is a waste of money in my opinion to have a B. Sc. in engineering punching tickets in a bus in Nairobi . . . or a matriculated boy working with a hoe."

Hope-Jones (Loc. cit.) said it is "tragic to have a race of partial B. A.'s too proud . . . to use their hands . . . too proud to get down to the sort of job that is required." According to Marjory Perham, who for years sat on the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Colonial Education, "the European communities have both the power and the will to look after their own education," Perham and Huxley, Race and Politics in Kenya, p. 219.

84 There is no poor white class in Kenya.

85 Huxley and Perham, op. cit., p. 215. E. Huxley seems to be under the impression that expensive education must necessarily be good, also that race relations depend on one race only. For racial co-operation both races must play their part.

86 Today, a few European schools have started to teach this lingua franca.


88 Huxley and Perham, op. cit., p. 216.

89 Arabs complained that in many coastal areas there were only Christian mission schools and devout Muslims hesitated to send their children to them.


91 Ibid., paragraph 252.

92 All fees were payable ahead and due on January 1, the same date as the Poll Tax. This worked hardship. Fees were roughly equal to 1 month's wages, for in 1947, 84% of African males in industry earned less than 50/- a month. R.W. Logan, "The Status of the African," Current History, July 1953, p. 2.

93 Government communications are printed in English and Swahili if concerned with natives, as are government contracts. Many newspapers are in Swahili.

95 Logan, op. cit., p. 2.


97 Africa Digest, Jan-Feb., 1955, p. 17.

98 When a subject becomes racially delicate it is often referred to a select committee, thus removing it from public debate and entrusting it to an all-European committee.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Program</th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of African Schools</td>
<td>2,291</td>
<td>3,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of African Pupils</td>
<td>208,581</td>
<td>439,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School pupils</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>3,060</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(16 passed School certificate exams
233 passed.)

Primary and Intermediate teachers in training
758  2,951

Actual number of teachers at work
4,994  9,431


102 The Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1958 has made some attempt to hedge against discriminatory legislation by creating the "Council of State," a body with powers of delay, revision and reference. Its purpose is to guard against "differentiating legislation" which, if passed by the Legislative Council can be "reserved for the Queen's pleasure." The Council of State is to have a multi-racial composition.

103 Elsbeth Huxley, The Sorcerer's Apprentice, p. 57.

104 Ibid., p. 127.

105 Ibid., p. 289.

106 Frederick Nganga, K.A.E. newspaper editor.


108 Huxley and Perham, Ibid.

109 Ibid., p. 213.

110 Cmd. 9081, para. 66.
Chapter IV

Now minutely revolts upbraid his faith-breach;
Those he commands, move only in command,
Nothing in Love; now does he feel his title
Hang loose about him, like a giant's robe
Upon a dwarfish thief.

Macbeth, Act 5 Sc. II

If the social grievances acted as a conditioner of the African people, making them receptive to the teachings of the Mau Mau secret society, the economic grievances acted as a whip to drive them on the road to violence. For when men are hungry, ill clothed and without hope, judgement is dulled. Any future seems more supportable than the present. It is proposed to divide the economic grievances into two categories. Those that arose as a result of labour conditions and those that resulted from agrarian problems.

In the decade prior to the Emergency, labour conditions in Kenya were comparable to those in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. There was no statutory minimum wage, no factory act, no unions of any size or importance, and an almost inexhaustible supply of unskilled, illiterate and semi-literate labour. But there were two ways in which the situation in the Colony differed from that in Great Britain: the labour force was mainly composed of members of an alien race and the Government of Kenya saw fit from time to time to pass legislation compelling labourers to
work. The "Compulsory Labour Regulations Ordinance" was passed in 1932 and the "African Labour for Essential Undertakings Regulation" was put in force from 1944 to 1946. In 1949 there was such an increase of "spivs, drones and mikora (or criminal element) in the towns, especially Nairobi, that again legislation was introduced to force the African to work and the "Voluntarily Unemployed Persons Bill\(^1\) was brought in in 1949 for a two-year experimental period. Under the provisions of this bill, any able-bodied adult African who had no visible and regular means of livelihood, and who was unemployed for more than seven days, was to report to a labour exchange and be sent to assigned work. If he did not report, but was suspected of evading work\(^2\) he could be arrested without warrant (if on the reserve, by a chief). He could then either be detained for seven days in a Reception Camp till his case was investigated, or, if immediately investigated and found to be unemployed, he could be sent to approved employment of national importance for a period of not more than six months. The introduction of this bill caused considerable bitterness in the legislative Council and was attacked by Eliud Mathu, A.P. Patel, J. Jeremiah and other African and Asian members who tried by every means to get the passage defeated, or at least delayed, but to no avail. This combination of unregulated labour and compulsion led to low wages and bad conditions.

In 1944, Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said "it is the plain task of everyone
connected with the Colonial Office to see that the standards are raised, as they are admittedly too low. He had just quoted the wages paid to Africans for essential services during the war, which were 14/- a month plus rations for 30 standard tasks of heavy labour, and 10/- a month plus rations for 30 standard tasks of light labour. Actually the wages referred to were for long contract work; if the labourers were working on a short contract the wages were 2/- less per month. In 1947 almost 50 per cent of the adult African males employed in industry in Kenya earned less than 30/- a month and 84 per cent earned less than 50/-.

Wages in Kenya 1947

160,000 adult African males in industry
(excluding agriculture)
88,000 received cash wages of 30/- or under per month
30,000 received cash wages of 31/- to 40/-
17,000 received cash wages of 41/- to 50/-

In 1948 the first full census ever held in East Africa was taken and after that date some new facts came to light. It was shown that the "effective working life of African adults appears to be shorter than that of adults in other countries," and that 40 per cent of the population was under 16 years old. It was also noted that tuberculosis, that sure indicator of bad labour and living conditions, was increasing. A comparison was made of the per capita earnings of Africans in Kenya, Uganda and the Union of South Africa, and they were found for all wage-earners and those on the reserves to average per annum £3.3.0.
£11. 6/- and £24. respectively. Before the census was taken it had not been known that Kenya had one of the lowest per capita earnings for Africans anywhere on the continent. Sir Philip Mitchell described labour in Kenya as based on the "wasteful use of unskilled, undernourished and generally unhealthy labourers." Naturally, this kind of labour raised a considerable problem for employers and there were constant complaints of the poor output by Africans and the abnormally high labour turnover. In fact, many employers said that almost as soon as a labourer was trained sufficiently to handle a job he left, and the training of a new man had to start, and that it took three or four Africans to do the work that could be performed by one white man; But as there was no unskilled white labouring class in Kenya, all such work was performed by Africans. In the following chart a comparison of European, Asian and African wages for 1952 is given. The percentage of men working in the different wage categories gives an indication of how the majority of each race was paid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages 1952</th>
<th>per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>European</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asian</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9% receive up to £599</td>
<td>13.3% up to £179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.5% -- £600 - 1199</td>
<td>45.4% £180 - 359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.2% £1200 - 1799</td>
<td>7.5% £360 - 539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2% £1800 - 2899</td>
<td>4.3% £540 - 719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1% £2490 - 2999</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1% £3400 and over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost of living Dec. 31,</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952 = 240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on base of 100 = 1939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953 = 248</td>
<td>December 31, 1956, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retail price index for goods</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainly bought by Africans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953 = 324</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Retail prices of food, certain items</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>.60¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>4/24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaki drill</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress material</td>
<td>7/50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraffin</td>
<td>10/69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 1/8 gal. tin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wages</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No general average given)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69% made between 65/- and 199/- a month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5% made over 200/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26% made under 65/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83% get between 35/- and 69/- including house and rations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes, Poll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi and Mombasa 23/-</td>
<td>25/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In African areas 17/-</td>
<td>19/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varies from 6 - 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Kikuyu tax</td>
<td>20/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, wages are only half the picture, and to get a better idea of their real value the cost of living figures must also be considered. Taking 1939 as the base of 100, cost of living in general in Nairobi, by December 31, 1952, had risen to 240,\(^9\) which represents an increase of 240\%. But the retail price index of goods mainly consumed by Africans in Mombasa, had risen by the same date to 325.\(^{10}\) By 1952 a statutory minimum wage had been introduced in towns only, but it was based on "requirements of a single male adult worker with a very small margin\(^{11}\) above physical subsistence."\(^{12}\) It was set at the following figures: for Mombasa, 63/-; Nairobi 59/50\%; and in other towns from 52/- to 57/- a month.\(^{13}\) Examining the 1947 figures, showing that 84 per cent of the workers earned less than 50/- a month, and the 1952 average for Nairobi and Mombasa of 61/25\%, there was not a very appreciable increase if the sharp rise in the cost of living already referred to was considered. But in the light of these figures, it becomes apparent that the minimum wage in the towns was not enough to live on, not even for a single man. In 1952, in the Legislative Council, the African members urged that the minimum wage be increased by one-third in order to combat the influence of Mau Mau agitators. But nothing was done until five years later, and not until after all the horrors and misery of the Mau Mau Rebellion.

From these facts the conclusion can be drawn that the urban African worker, even the single man, was definitely under-
paid before the Emergency. With wages covering only the bare necessities of life it was natural that the urban African worker often lived "on his wits." This inevitably brought him into contact with undesirable criminal elements and his moral deterioration was accelerated by periods spent in jail or detention camps. From petty thieving and gambling the African progressed to robbery with violence, intimidation and gang tactics. From there it was but a step to Mau Mau. The slums around Nairobi were the haunts of Mau Mau gangs.

Apart from the low wages, the lack of factory legislation and inspection was also a contributing factor towards the discontent of the workers. In 1950 the first Factory Act was introduced. It was stated in the Legislative Council that the proposed terms of the Act had been circulated to industrialists and Chambers of Commerce, and that they had received favourable comment. It was indeed a 'flexible' Act and was not to come into operation for thirteen months so as to give industrialists time to make the necessary changes. There were, in 1950, 3500 factories operating in Kenya, employing 60,000 men. In 1949 the fatal accident rate had risen 600 per cent and many of these deaths could have been avoided if safety legislation had been in effect. Part V of the Act refers to the lack of protection for workers from dangerous machinery, and states, "dangerous machines must be fenced," but that this provision would not be enforced for a while so as to give employers time to make the necessary alterations. As regards health and
cleanliness, certain classes and descriptions of factories' were to be exempted and regulations concerning overcrowding would not be enforced for four years. (Part IV, cl. 14.) This Factory Act, while it was a step in the right direction, was a very small step, and as most of its provisions were not to take effect till the summer of 1951 and some not till 1954, it did not do much to alleviate bad conditions leading to discontent. It was easy for an agitator to spread his ideas amongst workers in a factory, especially as the employers could not understand the vernacular spoken, but it was easier still to circulate these ideas because of the exceptionally high rate of labour turnover.

A very interesting experiment was carried out in Kenya by a large firm with branches both in England and in the Colony. The experiment was to try to find out if more labour output could be got from African workers, and if the very high rate of labour turnover could be eliminated. The firm decided to give wages above the average, a five day week, holidays with pay after one year's work, quarters for married men, day schools and night classes for children and adults respectively. The results of the experiment were encouraging. The labour turnover was extremely low and it was stated "individual Africans have reached standards every bit as high as European workers." Overall production has doubled in the last six years and is expected to reach 75 per cent of that in the United Kingdom in the next six years.
Though the towns, with their congested slum areas, and bad working conditions, were natural breeding grounds for the Mau Mau secret society, it was also operative in the country areas; not only those areas near Nairobi, but in the heart of the Highlands, so that rural labour conditions must also be considered as a factor contributing to the situation in 1952. Conditions on the farms, even the worst, were preferable to those in the towns. Rural wages were about half of urban wages in 1952 and 50 per cent of all employed men were in agriculture. Though the cash wage was lower and, in the case of the squatter, he usually only worked for wages for 240 days a year, there were perquisites such as rations and living quarters, though these might only be "posho" (maize meal) and materials wherewith to build a hut. Agricultural labourers were of three types: Those who lived on the reserves and worked occasionally by the day or at rush periods of employment; those who lived on the farms and worked the year round, or for stated periods, for wages; and those who were called "squatters" and who worked, usually for 240 days in the year, when required to do so by the landlord, and received not only pay for these days of work, but certain rights such as a patch of arable ground, grazing rights for so many cattle or sheep, and a "homestead" on which to build a hut. There were also other perquisites such as schooling, simple medicine, etc., but these depended on the landowner or his wife. There were advantages of the squatter form of labour. The squatter and his family were together, he could even have several wives and their families with him, so that the old
customs could be maintained. There was companionship and even some community life. Their little native-type huts, each with a plot of land, made them feel at home. They had some stake in the farm, they had their own sheep and crops, and the women and children could often make 1/- a day extra, though at harvest time, when this work was most easy to get, they were often most busy with their own shambas. Many landlords who knew their squatters well, and liked them, were genuinely mystified as to why their men should have either actually taken the Mau Mau oath or at least consorted and sympathised with Mau Mau, and why there seemed to be a smouldering resentment and sullen attitude often flaring into something much worse.

It is proposed to examine the general conditions governing resident labour on white farms, and then look into the particular application of these conditions on three of the better type of farms in Kenya belonging to Major Frank Joyce, Michael Blundell, M.L.C., and Sir Philip Mitchell. Writing of the squatter system, Sir Philip said,

In the early days, and to a considerable extent even now, they [the Africans] sought only part-time employment and obtained only part-time wages; for the rest they relied either upon their own native lands or upon cultivation and grazing put at their disposal, in lieu of wages, by the farm owner. The farmer, for his part, found the system convenient and thought it provided cheap labour. The system has served a useful purpose and at its best has considerable merit, but as farming methods improve, farming becomes more intensive; farms are fenced and stock diseases are controlled, the defects and abuses of this type of relationship between farmers and farm labourers have become
accentuated. . . . the trouble lies in that the squatter's social and economic position is, in an agrarian sense, unsound, since it cannot absorb the natural increase of his family nor afford him the desirable security and stability and as at present organized, it puts a premium on the maximum possible exploitation of the parts of the farm assigned to him.25

In 1937, the Resident Labourers Ordinance was passed and, with slight amendments added, has been in force ever since. In this Ordinance it was expressly stated that a squatter could only live and work on a white farm after signing a contract for a specified number of years; or if an employer gave him permission to reside on the farm as a pensioner after many years of service; or if he had a permit allowing him to work up to 14 days on the farm. Conditions of the contract, regarding wages, amount of arable land to be allowed to each family, the extent of grazing rights, the number of stock permissible, were drawn up in each area by the District or County Council and therefore varied with different localities, but there was an overall similarity, both in conditions and general policy,27 mainly because these Councils were "politically elected bodies and are almost exclusively representative of the interests of employers."28 Points in which contracts were similar were mainly the number of days labour a year expected, which was usually 240, and the imposition of fines for breach of contract. But particulars as regards number of acres allotted and number and variety of stock permissible, varied. For instance, in the early 40's in some districts there was no restriction as to the amount of arable land a squatter could cultivate, save only
the permission of the landowner. In some cases the farmer had
great sections of uncleared or unused land, and would allot it
to squatters to clear and cultivate, as this was a cheap method
of getting the land into use, or he might turn over to Africans
considerable acreages for grazing. In these latter cases there
was not always any restriction made on the number of cattle to
be kept. But this did not apply in the more settled areas.
Later, around 1945, there were more general rules made for
limiting the amount of land and cattle. Restrictions varied
from 2 to 5 acres of arable land (occasionally only 1/2 an acre
was given) and from no cattle to 2 or 4, and from no sheep to
15, and usually no goats allowed at all. In 1946 the Nakuru
District Council limited arable land to 2 1/2 acres per squatter
family, and 15 sheep but no cattle or goats. These restric-
tions worked hardships on the squatters and made for a con-
siderable feeling of insecurity. Land that they had cultivated
for years, and in some cases actually cleared, was taken back
by the owner and surplus cattle had to be disposed of, or in
some cases was actually confiscated. At the same time income
from crops and cattle was considerably reduced and no increase
in cash wages was given. In 1946 a serious situation arose
amongst the Kikuyu squatters in the White Highlands. Disturbed
at the reduction in arable land and the number of cattle allowed,
and the resulting decrease in income, and alarmed at the prospect
of insecurity in the future when further reductions might be
introduced, they refused to sign the contracts that came up for
renewal. Officers of the Administration and Labour Department tried to argue with them and persuade them to sign, but after months of deadlock many left rather than sign on again under the new conditions, and joined the floating, rootless African population referred to previously as a fertile breeding ground for subversive activities. In 1950 an amendment to the Resident Labourers' Ordinance was introduced into the Legislative Council.

Up to this time, if a farmer was found allowing his squatters to use more land than was stated in the contract, he was fined. This had given rise to a disturbing situation; farmers had been "spying" on each other when they suspected infringement of the Council's regulations. But when the case came before a magistrate (often a personal friend of the farmer) he was loath to convict for what might have been an oversight or a kindness. The amendment, which was passed, stated that in future both farmer and squatter would be fined. This amendment is symptomatic of the general policy of tightening restrictions on the amount of arable land and cattle a squatter could have.

Having considered the general condition of squatter labour, the particular situation on three farms in different areas of Kenya will be examined.

Major Frank Joyce owned a 20,000-acre dairy farm, fifty miles south of Nairobi. It was a successful farm and in 1947 was shipping daily 900 gallons of pasteurized milk to the high-priced fluid milk market in Nairobi and Mombasa. His squatters worked 240 days in the year for him and were paid 7/-
a month for a child, or "fag" who assisted in feeding the calves, rounding up cows, etc., 25/- for a herdsman, 36/- for a stable manager. A certain number of men, not squatters, were employed on a yearly basis at from 35/- to 60/- a month in the dairy. This was skilled, responsible work, as it entailed absolute cleanliness, required a knowledge of pasteurization and machinery, and of sterilization of equipment. Besides the cash wages, the squatter received a ration of "posho" (maize meal), beans and salt, and meat once a week; a small plot of land to cultivate, the privilege of buying milk cheaply, and the opportunity to send his child to school in return for 2/6d yearly fee. The chief foreman on the farm was an African and considering that Major Joyce had retired and his daughter, Ann, "ran" the farm, holding a daily noon-hour conference with this man, he must have been an extraordinarily efficient foreman. But he was helped by the fact that the Wakamba, who made up the entire labour force on this farm, have always been skilled cattle men. The squatters had a co-operative store and, through a chief, controlled their own affairs. This farm, while making excellent profits for the Joyce's, proved that it was not impossible to give better conditions and that Africans could take positions of responsibility and trust. The 5,600 acres allotted to the squatters was not so productive as the Joyce's section of the farm, but nonetheless they supported between 1200 and 1500 people (about 200 men, nearly 400 women and about 800 children), which works out at about 4 acres per head. This does not
indicate too bad methods of farming. But again there was the problem of low wages for Africans. While African men working in the pasteurization plant were receiving 60/- a month, a European assistant was receiving £30 a month, yet he was not a manager. There was also the problem of insecurity. If a squatter were dismissed, he lost not only his wages but his house, his land, and his grazing rights, and had to sell his cattle at a forced sale, as there was nowhere to take them. Adjoining the Joyce's farm, separated only by a hedge at one place, was the Wakamba reserve. One of the most poverty-stricken, eroded districts in Kenya, whose people subsisted largely on relief. The Wakamba cattle, stunted and undernourished, contrasted vividly with the Joyce's sleek Holstein milk cows, as did the dry, gray, eroded soil with his good tilth. The difference is partly explained by the fact that Major Joyce used scientific farming methods, crop rotation, fertilization of land and a careful grazing program, and there was no overstocking. The Wakamba cattle had to subsist on pastures so poor that even to keep alive they had to eat the grass to the roots. No grazing program was possible because of the shortage of land. It was not just a matter of good and bad farming methods, as the Member for African Affairs, W. Davies said, "We have in Mackakos (Wakamba Reserve) far too many cattle, but also too many people. If you look at the relationship of the people to the cattle there are far too few cattle for the people."\(^{37a}\) Major Joyce's family had 14,400 acres, each squatter family had about 28 acres and each
Wakamba family on the reserve had but a fraction of this. These contrasts were not missed by intelligent Africans who did not fail to point them out to those who did not see them. Resentment spread. Even a child suffers when he feel insecure and resents what he feels is injustice.

Michael Blundell's farm was in the "White Highlands" and the contract that his squatters signed was a cause for controversy in the House of Commons\textsuperscript{38} in 1952. The terms of the contract were as follows: the period of work was for 3 years, and could not be terminated earlier by the squatter; each squatter was allowed not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres on which he might grow maize, potatoes and vegetables; he was allowed to keep 15 sheep but no cattle; he was given materials with which to build a hut; wages were 12/- a month and each boy in the family over 16 years of age could either work for 12/- a month or leave the farm. In 1952, a clause to the effect that women and children were to work when the farmer required their services, was dropped from the contract.

Sir Philip Mitchell's farm\textsuperscript{39} was at Ndiloi, about thirty miles northwest of Kisumu. It was not a paying proposition. He told his squatters he could not pay them better wages until the farm began to make profits. It was, in fact, what is known in Canada as a "play-boy" or "hobby farm."\textsuperscript{40} He had ten squatters and their families, all Kikuyu; in all, about eighty people including children and aged relatives. The contract stipulated
two acres of arable land and fifteen sheep for each family. They also kept poultry and most of the men were paid 1/- a day, one man earning 5/-, and other members of the family could work for 1/- a day when ever they wished. Apparently there was no restriction as to what they could grow and large quantities of maize were grown, the surplus being sold for cash. In 1953, during the Emergency, every Kikuyu squatter had to be 'screened' and photographed before he could remain on a white farm, and every one (except an aged pensioner) of Sir Philip's men refused to be photographed, even though he showed them his own passport photo and explained personally to them that it was essential and that their refusal not only meant deportation back to the Reserve on which they had no stake, but also a period of detention in jail for refusal to comply with a government order. Though they told him they were sorry to leave, still they stubbornly refused to comply and all went to jail. There were mixed reasons for this refusal, some of the men might have been implicated in Mau Mau and feared identification. 41 Some innocent ones feared reprisals from Mau Mau gangs if they stayed. Some primitive ones feared photography in general, and some, remembering the past, the kipandi, the forced labour etc., feared this was but another trick by the government to get them into servitude. Whatever the motives for refusal, the results were grave; not only for the men who, separated from their families, went to jail, but for Kenya, for another little group of men nursing an injury, came in contact with agitators, criminals, and eventually Mau Mau gangs.
While their wives, uprooted from the soil, forced from the little huts that had been "home" for so many years, returned to suffer with their children on the reserve. These dispossessed women, faced with hunger and lack of security, drew closer to the men and for the first time a bond was forged between Kikuyu men and women. This, perhaps, explains why so many women were found in the Mau Mau secret society, even becoming what was later called "hard core" Mau Mau.

These particular instances have been cited because these three farms were privately-owned and in different areas of the Colony and used almost exclusively squatter labour. Two of them might be described as hobby farms, and the Joyce's as a paying proposition. There were other commercial farms (see chart, p.122) owned by the sisal or tea and coffee planters, on which no squatter labour was used. The treatment of agricultural labour on the Brooke Bond Tea plantation at Kericho will serve to illustrate some of the best conditions for agricultural labourers in the Colony. The workers lived with their families in model houses with windows and doors. They were given rations including not only meat every day, but 1 pint of whole milk as well. Adults were paid 30/- a month and boys 10/- a week. The boys worked at "tasks"; that is, so much work to be completed from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. without a break. Their work consisted of picking tea and hoeing. The hoeing was done by new boys for six months before they graduated to picking. At 3 P.M. they were free, and a school was provided by the Company, but after 7 hours continuous work very few attended classes, in fact not more than fifty out

Page XI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wages on Sotik Highland Tea Estate</th>
<th>Wages laid down by Labour Dept. for the area:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered Adults</td>
<td>Ticket no.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>males</td>
<td>ticket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>28/-</td>
<td>1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>30/-</td>
<td>7 -12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>34/-</td>
<td>13-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-24</td>
<td>38/-</td>
<td>19-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unregistered Adults</td>
<td>males</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>26/-</td>
<td>25-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>28/-</td>
<td>31-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>32/-</td>
<td>next twelve tickets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-29</td>
<td>34/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Women</td>
<td>20/-</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile labour</td>
<td>14/-</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>14/-</td>
<td>1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>17/-</td>
<td>7-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>20/-</td>
<td>13-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19-24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these wages is added money in kind in the form of food, conservatively valued at shs. 20/- and consisting of the following rations:

Maize meal (daily) ......................... 2 lbs
or Maize meal (daily) plus .......... 1½ lbs
(weekly) English potatoes ............. 6 lbs
Milk (some estates only) daily ........ 1 pint
Sugar (weekly) .......................... 8 oz.
Beans (weekly) ........................... 8 oz.
Common salt (weekly) .................... 8 oz.
Report - continued.

Juveniles are issued with half the rations of maize meal. Workers may grow their own vegetables for personal consumption and are given small plots of land of about \( \frac{1}{4} \) to \( \frac{1}{2} \) acre each. Rations are issued only to actual working members in each family.

Housing

Mostly small round mud-plastered huts. Houses usually 14' x 10' regardless of how big is a worker's family. Some estates allow workers to build their own huts and married workers welcome such opportunities.

Inspection

Conducted by Labour Department personnel regularly, but the inspector is accompanied by the employer or his representative so that workers find it difficult to lodge complaints.

Tribal Segregation

Many employers keep members of different tribes in different camps. Workers have repeatedly expressed their disapproval of this policy.

Work Tasks

Tea: Pluckers are supposed to pluck from 70 to 100 lbs daily for which they receive 2-3 cents a lb. Pluckers are at liberty to increase their daily output. About 5 lbs of green tea amounts to 1 lb of finished tea.
of a thousand boys. This may have been partly due to the low standard of the teaching. The Company raised the wages 1/- a month for each year of work completed. The fact that many Africans were receiving 40/- a month plus rations and house, proves that they had been employed for ten years. The conditions and wages were good compared with the 20/- a month paid to sisal workers during the second World War, and the 23/68¢ paid on the coffee plantations in 1951. Brooke Bond found that the better conditions enjoyed by their workers paid in both output and stability of labour. But, as is the case for all wage labour, there was little security for the worker and wages were not big enough to allow for saving, even if the Africans had been inclined to save. As there was no social legislation in Kenya, unless a man kept "one foot in the reserve" he had no insurance either for sickness or for old age.

There was another aspect of the whole agricultural labour situation that should be emphasized. Besides the disturbing sense of insecurity and the ever-present poverty, there was the constant picture before the African labourer of the enjoyable, carefree life in the "White Highlands;" the hunting with the hounds, the long, leisurely days of fishing in the clear trout streams, the afternoon teaparties on the beautiful green lawns in the spacious gardens with their formal flower beds, tennis courts and swimming pools, the late afternoon drives to the Club for "sundowners", and all this enjoyed by a white man who lived on land that the African cultivated; land that the African
could never lease or buy, even if he had the money; land that he was sure was rightfully his.\textsuperscript{45}

Our fight for the land will never cease.
It is ours, and it will be ours, for ever and ever.
We do not fear those who speak behind our backs,
If they scorn us, they will not be here for ever.\textsuperscript{46}

Thus chanted thousands of Africans at meetings of the Kenya African Union in the troubled years before it was banned in 1953. The effect of the men singing and the endless reiteration of the theme that the land 'is ours', the note of bravado, 'we do not fear', the suggestion of racial bitterness, 'they scorn us', and the inevitableness, implied in the repetition of the words 'for ever', was more moving and did more to arouse and incite the Africans than any number of political speeches. For generations the Kikuyu had been taught through the medium of singing.\textsuperscript{47}

Songs of this type -- and there were hundreds -- circulated at this time, some more inflammatory, some blasphemous, and some sad, were sung often to the tune of popular hymns learnt at the Mission schools, but none more effective than the one quoted, especially when sung by a landless, drifting town population.

In contrast with the Africans' feeling about the land, was the settlers' often repeated statement that the White Highlands, that island in a sea of African reserves, was "ours by every moral and legal right."

So strong was their determination to keep everything within the Highlands' boundary to themselves that even the temporary use of the empty Kuruman ranch
in this area by the Veterinary Department as a holding ground to quarantine African sale stock was bitterly opposed. . . . African leaders of cultivating tribes surrounding the Highlands and particularly those of the overcrowded areas of Kikuyu, Kamba, Nyanza and the small communities like Elgeyo, clinging to the walls of the Rift Valley for their livelihood, have been anxious to lease for their people underdeveloped areas within the Highlands, and have been prepared to accept proper conditions of agricultural control. Instead of considering whether such arrangements can be utilized to assist the rehabilitation of lands (49) in these reserves the Highland Board has preferred to preserve the Highlands intact for Europeans and government policy has been to bring out additional European settlers. 50

In the light of these two irreconcilable attitudes a solution of the land problem seems almost out of the question.

Before an examination in detail is given of the two opposing points of view, the general system of land control in Kenya must be explained. The land, by 1952, was divided into three categories: Native lands, Crown lands, and Masai lands. The Native lands were divided into nine units administered under the Native Land Trust Ordinance. The land is held for the natives who ordinarily resided in those areas. The Crown lands, administered under the Crown Lands Ordinance, comprised the Native reserves where the exclusive rights of different tribes were recognized; the Native Settlement Areas, districts in which natives could be re-settled, either in groups or as individuals; Native Leasehold areas where Africans could lease land; Communal Reserves, which could be used by both African and Arab communities; and lastly the Highlands. This area, being the
area over which there was most controversy, and colloquially known as the 'White Highlands', was controlled entirely by the "Highland Board", the majority of whose members were elected by the European Elected members of the Legislative Council. As the majority of the European members were residents of the Highlands the whole control revolved in a closed circle. The settlers elected the Legislative Council members, who elected the Highland Board, which controlled the Highlands where the settlers lived. When the boundaries of the White Highlands were defined by the Carter Commission it was stated that "no person other than a European shall be entitled to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in such areas, or to occupy land therein." To further safeguard this exclusive European right to the land it was established that no land could be transferred without the consent of the Governor. But even that guarantee was not considered sufficient, for a possibility that non-Europeans might infiltrate through the back door as managers was circumvented.

In every lease there shall be implied a covenant that he (the leasee) shall not without the consent of the Governor in Council appoint or allow a non-European to be a manager or otherwise occupy or be in control of the land leased.

Neither Africans nor Indians have ever been reconciled to the discriminatory regulations pertaining to the White Highlands. In 1943 the Hon. F. Cavendish-Bentenck, M.L.C., wrote an article entitled "Indians and the Kenya Highlands," which concluded with the following: "It has taken no less than 33 years of protracted negotiations and meticulous investigations
to arrive at an equitable and I venture to hope 'final' settlement. Let us therefore accept the position."\textsuperscript{55} The Indians claim that the very existence of the White Highlands as constituted contravenes the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, signed by the United States, Belgium, the United Kingdom and five Dominions, France, Italy, Japan and Portugal, when it was stated that nationals, under the control of any of the signatory powers "shall enjoy without distinction the same treatment and the same rights as the nationals of the Power exercising authority in their territories."\textsuperscript{56}

The third land category was the Masai lands, which were deeded to the tribe by Treaty. In 1904 the Masai, who had roamed the lands from just west of Nairobi to, and including, the Great Rift Valley, long before the white man and his railway came, were moved out of the Rift Valley and established on two reserves, Laikipia in the north, and one south of the Railway bordering on Tanganyika, with a half-mile-wide corridor linking the two, to be used for communication and more especially cattle moving. The Reserves were granted by treaty to the tribes for "as long as the Masai as a race shall exist."\textsuperscript{57}

But by 1911 there were other plans for Laikipia. The land was fertile and desirable farm land and the Masai were only using it for grazing. It was claimed that Masai cattle which were moved over the connecting corridor from north to south spread disease to the white man's cattle on the Rift Valley farms. At this time there was a powerful young Masai chief in Laikipia,
called Legalishu, whose control over the northern reserve was feared and resented by the ageing Lenana in the South. It was therefore not hard for the settlers to persuade Lenana to urge all the Masai to come south. However, the reserve in the south was not large enough to accommodate all the Masai cattle so another area to the southwest, which was almost unoccupied owing to the fact that tribesmen had been carried off by smallpox and their cattle by rinderpest, was offered to the Masai in exchange for the Laikipia area. A delegation of cautious Masai cattlemen came to inspect the new area but pronounced it unsuitable both as to soil and water. A long controversy followed. Legalishu said they would move only if they must. In 1911 Lenana died and his dying wish urged the Masai to obey the British authorities. This facilitated matters. L. Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, ordered the Masai to leave Laikipia and join the rest of the tribe in the south. The move got under way. But some of the more powerful chiefs refused to move and applied for an injunction to prevent their eviction from lands promised them by treaty. In December, 1913, the Court ruled that "as the Masai were a foreign nation and not British subjects . . . the Courts had no jurisdiction to enforce engagements between sovereign parties founded on treaties." The new area to the south, known later as Masailand, was very extensive, 15,250 square miles, but though the soil was not good and there was a great shortage of water, the Masai have prospered and there has been very little serious trouble, their only desire being to be left alone. This matter of the Masai lands has been taken
up in some detail, because this area and the White Highlands were the only two agricultural areas in Kenya that were found by the 1953-55 Royal Commission to be still under-developed, and as such were areas for special recommendation which will be referred to later at the close of this thesis.

One of the main troubles in Kenya lies in the fact that over half the total area of land is desert or semi-desert, and 5000 square miles are occupied by lakes. The chart facing this page will illustrate the situation. The most fertile land is in the Rift Valley Province which has the smallest native population (having the semi-desert Northern Province) with only 285,828 natives. The next most fertile provinces are Nyanza and the Central Province, each with a teeming African population of 1,854,234 and 1,259,830 respectively. Without numerous irrigation schemes, vast road development and further tsetse eradication there is not much more land that can be opened up for development. It is therefore not surprising that the land-hungry Africans turn their eyes on the White Highlands where 50 per cent of the land is still underdeveloped.

From the racial standpoint, the settler has no legitimate case for keeping the Highlands white, but from the economic point of view he has a case. When the white man first came to settle in Kenya he came with the firm belief that though for some time the Colony would be ruled from the Colonial Office, it would eventually gain self-government under settler rule. He also understood that there would be an inexhaustible supply of
Appendix III  Land Classification
(all areas very approximate)

150,000 sq. miles.
Northern Province & Unclassified

52,000 sq. mi. Native Areas

Masai 15,250 sq.mi.
Forest 720 sq.mi.

16,000 sq. mi. Gazetted Highlands including 9300 sq. mi. of six settled areas *

Forest 4000 sq.mi.

5000 sq.mi. 1900 sq. mi.
Lakes Townships, freehold etc.

* The six areas are
Naivasha - 1519 sq. miles
Laikipia - 2543 " "
Nanyuki - 1247 " "
Nakuau - 1494 " "
Vasin gishu - 1431 " "
Trans Naoia - 977 " "

cheap African labour. He took up land, invested money, borrowed money, planned and worked and developed, in many cases, excellent farms and thriving agricultural industries.\(^6^4\) In 1952 non-African agriculture contributed £20,000,000 to the national income. The settler has come to love the country of his adoption. He has established himself, built up his permanent home (there was no idea of temporary settlement with later retirement to England), and developed a deep patriotism for the country. But all this has been built on the two assumptions that he will employ Africans on his land and that he will eventually rule.

Like most farmers, the settler was conservative and, engrossed in the day-to-day struggle with crops and pests, weather and labour, he tended not to notice the tremendous changes that were taking place around him. Living in his small white world, speaking only English, he knew little of what was taking place on the reserve and in the mind of the African. His only contact with the latter was with him as a labourer and this was not always a happy relationship. A farmer, especially a good one, always tends to be impatient with his labour. Farm work, contrary to the general belief, takes a great deal of not only hard work but thought and initiative. The good farm manager planning his crops or his breeding program, developing his dairy herd or experimenting with his feeding ration, time and again has his hopes frustrated by some foolish or thoughtless act by a labourer who knows, and often cares, nothing for the long range plan. If a labourer was a white man, the worst that could
happen was that he was dismissed and the farm manager got a name for being a difficult man to work for. But if the labourer was an African, as was the case in Kenya, an element of racial feeling entered the picture. The labourer's stupidity or lack of initiative was blamed on his race and the situation became tense. This was what happened in Kenya. For the successful cattle man to see the scrubby, diseased, native cattle, was actually painful; for him to carefully dip and innoculate his own cattle only to have the native cattle, undipped and not innoculated, mix with his clean stock because an African cut a fence on purpose, or left a gate open by accident, was little short of disaster, especially if a scrubby, infected bull bred some of the promising young registered heifers. For these and other reasons the settlers' attitude to the African farmer has not always been either sympathetic or constructive.

In relation to the size of the African's holdings, and considering the shortage of good farming land in Kenya, the settlers' farms were very extensive. In the early days grants of 100,000 or even 300,000 acres were made, and grants of 5000 acres were very common. In October, 1926, a statement was presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies showing Crown grants of land over 5000 acres in extent. The list is long; some of the information is presented here because it shows light on the land distribution in the Colony at that time:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Office Number</th>
<th>Rent paid</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Present Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>1250 sh.</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Elmenteita</td>
<td>Lord Delamere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>458</td>
<td>1124</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>Nforo</td>
<td>has been sub-divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>469</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>5,110</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>473</td>
<td>665.62</td>
<td>10,650</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>487</td>
<td>6250</td>
<td>17,851</td>
<td>Elburgon</td>
<td>Lord Delemere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>495</td>
<td>351.06</td>
<td>5,617</td>
<td>Ravine</td>
<td>Estates &amp; Investments Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>531</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Molo</td>
<td>(formerly Major E.S. Grogan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>10,281</td>
<td>Elburru</td>
<td>Lord Delemere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1183</td>
<td>312.50</td>
<td>7,518</td>
<td>Nandi</td>
<td>F. S. Clarke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>914</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>64,000</td>
<td>Kibwezi</td>
<td>Scottish Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2627)</td>
<td>682)</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>Ol'Bolossat</td>
<td>Lord Delamere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2628)</td>
<td>1232)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1020</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>6,927</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>Lord Delamere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average rent paid was 13¢68 per acre per annum

The settlers have not been faced with the same land problems as have the Africans. They have never been short of land and every opportunity has been given them to acquire land either free or on easy terms with little or no restrictions as to the amount of land they could acquire, and even in 1958 there was still a considerable amount of land in the Highlands available for purchase. Help was given not only to enable the settler to
acquire land but long term credit was available for the purchasing of stock, implements, and improvements. The Land Bank lent money at 5% interest up to £7500, or 60% of the value of the farm. White settlers have also received assistance by way of special training centres which prepare and train future farmers. There is one such centre at Njoro, the Egerton Farm School. Here 500 future farmers have been trained for a period of eight months followed by four months spent as a pupil farmer on a farm. The men and their wives live at the Egerton School and while the men undergo training the wives get accustomed to the new surroundings and climate. Besides the assistance already mentioned, settlers have been represented in the Legislative Council since 1920 by their own elected members, many of whom were land owners themselves, and it has not been difficult for them to get protection and help for European farming through such things as favourable freight rates, subsidies, import duties and labour regulations.

There was, therefore, but one really serious problem facing the white land-owner in Kenya and this problem has increased as the years have passed. It is the problem of security. With the rising tide of African nationalism, the fast growing political power of the Africans, it seems reasonable to assume in spite of no clear statement ever having been made on the subject by the British Government, that Kenya will be an African-rulled territory in the not too distant future. This spectre has developed a last-ditch-fight attitude amongst many of the
settlers. Marjory Perham describes the settler situation as

... one of great danger, even of siege, but it is a siege of the high citadel of privilege and domination which they occupied easily in circumstances which are rapidly passing away, a process which cannot be reversed and can hardly be delayed in the world of 1956. Courage and defiance from behind the walls of this citadel shut out realities more effectively than dangers and are not appropriate to the situation.

As each year passes, the settlers become more obsessed with the insecurity of their tenure.

This feeling was not new to the African. In connection with land there have been two problems that have worried the African individual, have been faced by the African community, and, indeed, have been recognized by almost every Commission, from the 1920 Land Tenure Commission to the 1953-5 East Africa Royal Commission. These two problems were the security of tenure of the land that the African used, and the adequacy of the land available for his use.

When the white man first came to settle in Kenya at the turn of the century, he knew nothing of African land tenure or customary procedures in connection with land purchase. The language barrier made it very difficult to discover the true situation, even had great efforts been made, which they were not. It was presumed that land was owned by the tribes and that a chief had the right to negotiate a sale and it was further presumed that uncultivated land was unowned and unused. These misconceptions led to great troubles later. One of the first pieces
of legislation in connection with native land was the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 in which, besides vesting all lands in the Crown, it was stated that no land was to be bought or leased that was actually in possession of a native, though a lease might be granted to a white man of a tract of land on which a native village was situated. In such a case the village was to be left undisturbed in native possession "as long as actually occupied." This often led to difficult situations. The natives did not always realize that they were surrounded. They spread out of the village, pasturing stock or collecting firewood and clashes occurred. They left the village temporarily to rest their land, as was their custom, and to crop land elsewhere, only to find on their later return that their village had been expropriated and there was no redress. The settler, seeing it unoccupied for a period of time, had legally (as he thought) taken the land. Sometimes for years the natives lived on in their village fully convinced that the white man on the surrounding land was merely a squatter and no actual change in ownership had occurred. The important point was that the native gradually began to feel very insecure. In 1915 all private ownership of land by natives was abolished by the Crown Land Ordinance of that year, which made all reserves the property of the Crown and led to the ruling in 1921 that all natives were "tenants at will of the Crown." By the end of the first World War alienation of land to white settlers had, in the words of Lord Hailey, "got out of hand." The rapid spread of white farms, the fencing of thousands of acres of
land, gave rise to a feeling amongst the natives of ever increasing insecurity and fear for the future. In the 1920's there were serious native disturbances. In 1923 came the famous White Paper recognizing the paramountcy of Native interests. In 1924 the East Africa Commission felt it desirable to give some sense of security to the natives and as a result of their recommendations all reserves were gazetted and 43,500 square miles were set aside for native use. But the native feared that changes might be brought in, for if the white man could decide this today he could also change his mind tomorrow. In 1929 Lord Passfield, Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave a solemn pledge that the reserves would not be diminished. If ever land were taken away in one area, for roads, public utilities, etc., an equal portion of land would be added to the reserve. This was followed in 1930 by the Native Land Trust Ordinance no. 9, which not only mapped the boundaries of the reserves but stated categorically that reserves were for the use and benefit of natives "for ever." This was a great step forward in the direction of giving the natives that feeling of security so much needed.

In 1931 gold was discovered at Kakamega even while the Morris Carter Land Commission was investigating the situation in Kenya. There was great excitement and people poured into the district eager to find gold and stake claims. Kakamega is in the North Kairrondo reserve which has a very dense African population. The natives, suspicious of the sudden influx of white
men who seemed to be particularly interested in land and rivers, found it difficult to understand that while the land was theirs "for ever", the minerals under the ground belonged to the Crown. In view of the economic depression at the time, the finding of gold was welcomed by the Government of Kenya and they appointed Sir Albert Kitson to investigate the situation. He reported that the gold fields covered an area of roughly 420 square miles out of a total area in the North Kairrondo reserve of 2394 square miles and that the gold followed the rivers. An amendment to the Native Land Trust Ordinance was rushed through the Legislative Council to the effect that land in the reserve could be "temporarily excluded" or leased for mining, and that Natives would be compensated. "I am afraid" said the Chief Native Commissioner, "that we have got to hurt their feelings. We have got to wound their susceptibilities and in some cases, I am afraid we may even have to violate some of their most cherished and sacred traditions if we have to move natives from land on which, according to their own inalienable law, they have a right to live, and settle them on land from which the owner has indisputable right to eject them." The most tragic result of this whole unfortunate affair was that an Imperial pledge had been broken and native confidence in the government was seriously shaken and the feeling of insecurity intensified. Both Lord Lugard and Lord Passfield, who strongly opposed the betrayal of native interests, showed that land alienated to Europeans and bordering on the North Kairrondo reserve could have been bought
and given to the displaced natives to honour the "land for land pledge." But this was not done. As Julian Huxley\(^87\) said, "gold, not natives, was paramount."

The Morris Carter Land Commission,\(^88\) which had set out to investigate "the present and prospective needs of natives in the matter of land,"\(^89\) while coming to certain conclusions as to the present needs did very little as regards future needs. As regards the former, 1474 square miles of land were granted to natives in satisfaction of claims brought by them\(^90\) before the commission; of these 896 square miles were granted for economic needs, 259 square miles of temporary reserves were opened up, and 939 square miles of land were thrown open for natives to lease. As regards the land leased to the gold mining interests in the North Kairrondo, an unsatisfactory arrangement was made. Some of the forest reserves on the reserve were given to the dispossessed natives and an area of forest reserve outside was added to the reserve. This arrangement, while it saved the settlers from surrendering any of their land, was unsatisfactory because the more forest land that is denuded, the more the water level falls,\(^91\) and the more arid becomes the land. In connection with the finding of land to provide for the future needs of the natives nothing was accomplished. At this time there was no accurate knowledge of how many Africans there were and it was not realized until after the first census in 1948 how many there were and how rapidly they were increasing.
There were two ways that the agricultural needs of the ever-increasing African population could be met, though neither would provide an adequate amount of land. The first was to open land in the White Highlands, in undeveloped areas, for African settlement. But any move in this direction has always been resolutely resisted by the settlers and was never even considered before the Emergency. The second possibility was to open up new land through tsetse eradication, irrigation, water-hole boring, swamp draining, etc., and to improve existing land by construction of dams, prevention of further erosion, and restoration of already eroded land to a state of fertility. These projects necessitated the spending of a great deal of money, especially as erosion had become very extensive; in some areas all top soil had been washed away and it was impossible to produce on the dead, infertile soil remaining. In 1946, recognizing the seriousness of the situation, the Kenya Government set aside £11 million for a ten-year development program and more than half of this total sum was earmarked to be spent on the projects just mentioned. There was other money available from the Betterment Funds, which were made up of almost 30 per cent of the cesses collected by the African District Councils on certain produce such as maize. The other 70 per cent was used for hospitals, schools, roads, etc. Further funds came from the Development and Reconstruction Authority whose aim was to save the soil and reform African farming methods. Elsbeth Huxley describes some excellent work being done by D.A.R.A. in 1947 on the Kavirondo Reserve, where an African boys' school
was being run in conjunction with a dairy farm where the boys were trained; there was also a veterinary station, a teachers' training centre, a lecture hall and a library, all under the same auspices.

Some of the projects for improving African land such as those for increasing water supply, caused little trouble, but the improvement of eroded land was a real problem. If the land were grazing land as in the Wakamba Reserve, the main difficulty was in getting the native to reduce the number of his stock. The possession of cattle was not merely an economic matter but social prestige and age-old customs were also involved. However, constant education, the establishment of abattoirs, and cattle sales, have accomplished a little and such resettlement schemes as the one at Makueni, which has drawn off from the reserve about 1000 Wakamba families with their stock, have helped considerably, though this latter scheme has proved very expensive. The land is so poor in this area that it took 125 acres to support one family, and after water bore holes had been drilled and tsetse eradication completed, it had cost an average of £400 to settle each family. In the agricultural lands like the Kikuyu areas, the government has tried paying a subsidy of 20/- an acre to any African who would put his land down to a grass ley, but there was not much response, for 20/- would not feed a family for long and a grass ley meant the land was out of production for a considerable time. One of the projects undertaken to prevent erosion and to try to improve eroded land
was terracing. The Kikuyu, especially, did not take kindly to this, partly because agitators\textsuperscript{95} came in to persuade them to stop work and hinted that as soon as the land was terraced the whites intended to take it; and partly because the work was compulsory unpaid communal labour done largely by the women who were already very overworked. Terracing was not easy work, especially when it was all hand labour. To add to the troubles the work was often ordered done at inappropriate times,\textsuperscript{96} so that the work, in some cases, cut across crops almost ready to harvest and at times prevented harvesting. But in spite of these difficulties, 6900 miles of terracing was done in 1946 by communal labour in the Kiambu and Fort Hall area and an almost equal amount in 1947.\textsuperscript{92}

Since it was realized that the African need for more land was not being met adequately, attention was turned to the possibility of intensifying production on what land he had. This constituted almost a revolution in government agricultural policy. Up to the second World War this policy had been to keep the African as a subsistence farmer depending on wages for actual cash needed. After the war there was a great change of thought. The emphasis shifted from subsistence farming to the raising of cash crops. It had become apparent that the prosperity of Kenya depended on the relative prosperity of the entire population and the backwardness of African agriculture was undermining the entire economy. This backwardness was due partly to the restrictions on cash crop producing and partly to the
lack of credit. If a progressive African wanted to develop his farming operations or to branch out into the production of a cash crop, or to buy machinery or better stock, it was almost impossible for him to obtain a loan. Private loans were almost out of the question, except short term loans at exorbitant rates of interest from money-lenders. Theoretically the Land Bank could be utilized by a member of any race, but as W. K. Horne, Speaker in the Legislative Council, said in 1948, "I would take it the Land Bank Ordinance only works on the security of land tenure and that it is not designed for Africans. That is the real answer is it not?"

J. F. Troughton, Minister of Finance, answered, "That is correct, sir." Up to this time no African had qualified for a Land Bank loan. In 1949 the Development Fund put aside £10,000, and the African District Councils another £10,000, from which Africans could borrow. As Eliud Mathu said in 1948, "Unless he [the African farmer] has help financially, either from a credit co-operative society, or from a state bank, like the Land Bank," poor agricultural practices must continue.

The situation of the European and African in relation to land in 1952 might be summarized as follows: The European had secure tenure, adequate land for present and future use, ample easy credit and every assistance with which to start and to expand farming operations, so that by 1952 European agriculture contributed £20,000,000 to the national income. On the
other hand, the African had not enough land for present or future use, and lacking security of tenure he was unable to get credit. Having for years been discouraged from anything except subsistence farming or wage labour, he was either a dissatisfied or a dispossessed subsistence farmer. He had no sense of security, no pride of ownership, no stake in the country. In other words, he was an easy prey for the genuine political organizer or the unscrupulous agitator. Therefore it can be said that the land situation in Kenya was another link in the long chain of economic circumstances leading to the rise of the Mau Mau secret society.
Footnotes to Chapter IV


2 Working on the reserve on his own land did not constitute "work" unless engaged in cash crop farming.


4 *Loc. cit.*


6 There were two periods of high death rate amongst Africans: one in infancy from malnutrition (infant mortality rate was 184 per 1000, "one of the highest rates in the world"), and one in early adult life, "perhaps the result of tuberculosis." *East Africa Royal Commission*, p. 466, 1953-55. Cmd. 9475.

6a *East Africa Royal Commission Report*, 1953-55, p. 36. All these facts quoted are taken from the same source. Cmd. 9475.


8 *Colonial Report, Kenya*, 1953, p. 16. African wages were given in shillings but for the purpose of comparison have been here converted into pounds.


10 *Loc. cit.*

11 In the *Report of the Cost of Living Committee, Kenya*, 1954, is given on page 5 a comparison of African and European cost of living. Using the figure of 100 as the total spent by each race, this is then broken down into the amount spent on essentials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and other items</td>
<td>Food, liquor, tobacco, amusements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and soap</td>
<td>Household expenses, fuel, light, water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>Chemist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household articles</td>
<td>Wages and papers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

African and European costs in shillings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and other items</td>
<td>Food, liquor, tobacco, amusements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and soap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Household articles</td>
<td>Wages and papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__</td>
<td>__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be seen that while provision is made for amusements, chemist, papers, transportation etc. for the European, no such provision is possible on African wages. The "very small margin" would not run to things considered essential by Europeans.


14 A minimum wage was brought in line (Jan. 1 1957) with the government's new policy of increasing wages so that a man could keep his wife and family with him in town. The new wage in Nairobi was to be 85/- + 20/- housing allowance as against the 1952 figure of 59/50¢. The increase was therefore 54/50¢. Whether this would cover the expenses of a wife and children (especially with the wife off the reserve; there was no insurance for old age or sickness) is doubtful, considering that in the same period the cost of living had risen from 240 to 279 and African taxes had risen from 23/- in 1953 to 25/- in 1956, and the Kikuyu special tax over and above the one just quoted had risen from 20/- in 1953 to 25/- in 1956. Colonial Report, Kenya, 1956, p. 11.

Excerpts taken from:
Memorandum on Living Costs of African Workers in Port of Mombasa.
Presented by: The Employers' Representatives of the Mombasa Dockworkers' Joint Industrial Council.

(A request is made for an increase in wages. Figures to follow were based on requirements of a family of five.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Average 40/- a month</th>
<th>Shs. 40/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat 32 lb per month @ 1/50 lb.</td>
<td>41.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posho, 120 &quot; &quot; &quot; /35 &quot;</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea, 1½ &quot; &quot; &quot; 6/70 &quot;</td>
<td>10.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar 28 &quot; &quot; &quot; /60 &quot;</td>
<td>16.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice 32 &quot; &quot; &quot; 1/10 &quot;</td>
<td>35.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking fat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tins &quot; &quot; &quot; 4/80 &quot;</td>
<td>9.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh vegetables</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maize and beans</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, 56 pints &quot; /45</td>
<td>25.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread, 28 loaves &quot; /50</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water - either from a tap @ 7/- a month or bought by the tin @ 7/- a month (roughly)</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous, matches, paraffin, soap, vim(cleanser)</td>
<td>20.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>345/95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N.B. nothing allowed for transportation household goods, etc.)
Average wage of dockworker: Shs. 120/-

Signed: Employee Representatives of J.I.C.
S. T. Omari          K. Mohamed
F. D. Nyapola        J. Mohamed
K. Mulewa

15 Theft was the most common crime. By 1952 most of the houses in Nairobi had bars on the windows.


17 The East Africa Royal Commission, 1953-55, recommended that "responsible African opinion must be associated with any machinery set up to regulate wages or conditions."

18 Report of the Carpenter Committee on Wages, par. 296, cited in Cmd. 9475, p. 150. (The name of the firm is not given.)

2% earned up to 30/- a month
24% earned between 35/- and 39/-
22% " 40/- and 44/-
16% " 45/- and 49/-

20 Fifty per cent of squatters were Kikuyu.

21 During the Emergency when Kikuyu squatters were expelled from the Highlands farms it was often found that there were almost double the number of women to men.

22 Joyce bought his farm after the first World War on Soldier Settlement scheme.

23 Blundell was Minister of Agriculture in Kenya government and leader of European Elected Members.

24 Mitchell is the late Governor of Kenya and has now retired at Ndiloi.


27 During the last decade the policy has been to curtail land and stock allowed to the squatter and to try to transform him into a wage-labourer.

28 East African Royal Commission, 1953-55, p. 163. Till 1952 no African or Asian was on a County Council; in April of that year the County Council Bill was passed allowing for appointments of 3 Africans or Asians to a Council of 30 members. Kenya, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 47, col. 142.
29 It was found that the vast numbers of cattle kept were over-grazing and, near watering places, erosion was taking place because of cattle stamping out the turf. Also goats were very destructive of young trees, and sheep - because of their ability to crop close, ruined the pastures.

30 These restrictions regarding number of cattle, especially prohibition of goats, were to prevent ruination of land through over-grazing, but the restriction on arable acreage had not this laudable motive. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

31 The 1946 average income for squatters in Nakuru district cash wages, 187/-, income from crops 358/-, income from stock 198/-. This was before the imposition of the new regulations. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

32 A true agriculturist has an almost reverent feeling for land he has personally cleared. When the Japanese farmers were removed from their Fraser Valley farms in the second World War, the older generation who had actually cleared their land was most upset. As they put it, theirs had been the first hands to touch that soil.

33 There seems to have been reasonable grounds for their alarm for in 1953 the Nakuru District Council passed new regulations restricting arable land to 1½ acres and no stock of any kind to be kept. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

34 They could not go back to the reserves, except in a few cases to relatives, as they had no land there. Some migrated to the Arusha and Moshi areas in Tanganyika.

35 May 16, 1950.

36 This farm has been described in detail by several writers, the following facts are drawn from *Introducing East Africa*, by M. MacMillan, and *Last Chance in Africa* by N. Farson.

37 "The ultimate solution to the problem of supervision in this country [Kenya] lies ... in the emergence of a foreman class from among the African workers." Carpenter Committee on Wages, par. 305, cited in Cmd. 9475, p. 152.


39 All information about this farm taken from *African After-thoughts*, by Sir Philip Mitchell.
40 The attitude of the Canadian farmer to the "Hobby Farmer" is a mixture of scorn, amusement and resentment. The Canadian feels he is competing unfairly with the so-called "dirt farmer" who is trying to make his living and the luxury on these farms is resented. If this is true in Canada it is easy to imagine the resentment felt by the African squatter farmer.

41 Sir Philip liked and trusted the men and some of them had been born on the farm.

42 Only boys who had attained the height of 4 feet were employed.


44 From the 1954 Agricultural census of the White Highlands it appears that 13% of the owners of commercial farms do not derive their main income from farming, and 60% of the owners of farms under 500 acres. Mboya, T., *The Kenya Question - An African Answer*, London, Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1956, p. 27.

45 Charles Dundas tells of an occasion when he was District Commissioner and was asked to investigate some cases of illegal squatting by Kikuyu on land in the White Highlands. When he told the Kikuyu that they must go as they could not squat on a white farm, the Kikuyu replied very seriously that it was the white farmer who was squatting on their ancient githaka and requested that Charles Dundas remove him. (Told in *African Cross Roads*, by Charles Dundas (London, MacMillan & Co., 1955), p. 63.


47 See reference to the itikwa ceremony earlier in this thesis.

48 Sheets of "hymns" were mentioned at the Trial of Jomo Kenyatta and L.S.B. Leakey, interpreter for the Court, translated some, including the following pathetic song. There was some controversy over the exact meaning of "Haraka". The defence claimed it was a Nairobi slang word for police, meaning "hurry". Apparently the police often shouted "Haraka" to prisoners when loading them in the "black Maria." Dr. Leakey did not know the slang word and translated it as "haste."

**Hymn 27**

I go to Nairobi, and I find haste [Haraka]  
When I return to Kikuyu, I am of Mau Mau*  
Chorus: What shall I do, what shall I do  
To be free of my sorrow?

I will give money to search for light
And when it is found I shall be like a big beer gourd.
    Chorus: What shall I do, what shall I do
    To be free of my sorrow?

Let us all work hard together we of the house of Mumbi
And hold ourselves together like the corner stone.
    Chorus: What shall I do, what shall I do
    To be free of my sorrow?

* There was also controversy over the words "I am of Mau Mau," the Prosecution thought this meant they joined Mau Mau; the Defence thought it meant "I am accused of belonging to Mau Mau." Mumbi is the Kikuyu Eve. Montague Slater, The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta, London, Secker and Warburg, 1955, pp. 91-92.

49 When attempts are being made to bring back to fertility, exhausted lands, they often have to be planted to grass or legume leys and not cropped or pastured for some years, therefore land is needed temporarily elsewhere for stock and food crops.


51 All facts regarding land tenure taken from East Africa Royal Commission Report; chapter on Land.

52 Cmd. 4556, cited in ibid., p. 59.

53 Loc. cit.

54 Ibid., p. 365.

55 Page 15. European rights to the Highlands had been guaranteed or restated in 1906 by Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1923, by Cmd. 1922, "Indians in Kenya," p. 15; 1927 by the Memorandum "Future Policy in Regard to East Africa;" 1932 by the Morris Carter Land Commission 1938 by Crown Land Ordinance 1955 by East Africa Royal Commission, Cmd. 9475, which recommends no change, in existing titles.

56 Cavendish-Bentinck, F. Indians and the Kenya Highlands, Nairobi, East Africa Standard, 1943, p. 10. (Pamphlet)

57 Leys, N., Kenya, London, Hogarth Press, 1926, p. 117, also quoted in Ross, Kenya from Within, p. 135. The latter says that the Commissioner, Donald Stewart, who negotiated the treaty, informed the Secretary of State that he had inserted this phrase because he feared settlers would want the Laikipia area after the Masai had improved it, just as they had desired the Rift Valley. His forethought did not save the Masai. The Masai
had moved the first time without much disturbance and the reasons for this are interesting. In 1895 some camp porters of a survey crew had carried off some Masai girls. The Masai moran (warriors) had retaliated and slaughtered 450 Swahili and Kikuyu porters. An Englishman, Andrew Dick, outraged at the slaughter had single-handed with a rifle taken revenge on a group of Masai. He was eventually killed. When an official enquiry was held it was established that the Masai had been within their rights and no punishment was imposed. This impartial treatment had so impressed the Masai, especially their powerful Chief and medicine man, Lenana, that the Masai had trusted and been friendly with the British. There were also three old Masai legends that helped the British. The first said that a large flock of white birds would drive the Masai from their traditional pasture grounds; the second said a long, harmless snake would come from the sea and wriggle across their lands to Lake Nyanza; the third said that if they rebelled, their tribe would die out.

58 Ross, Kenya from Within, p. 138.

59 In 1931 each Masai had an average of 198.04 acres of land. Leys, Last Chance in Kenya, p. 171.

60 One of the few troubles that have occurred with the Masai has been in connection with porter service, both during peace and wartime. They will not act as porters as they consider it beneath their dignity. They resent any interference on their reserve whether it be for veterinary work or education and they are very suspicious of any move that they fear may lead to loss of their land. According to Sir Hugh Dow, Chairman of the East Africa Royal Commission, 1953-55, the Masai recently refused to let professional forestry officers develop a potential £2 million forest project for their benefit because of their "fear of further alienation and resentment at past treatment in matters of land." Cmd. 9475, p. 383.

61 Ibid., p. 347.


64 Kenya, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 54, col. 260, 1953. It has been often pointed out that the agricultural contribution is a joint effort of management and labour, i.e., white farmer and African labourer.

65 An African, with no pasture and hungry cattle, could cut a fence into a good pasture and before it was discovered his stock would have had a good feed.
It is always hard to get uneducated people to take advantage of inoculation. In 1952 there were serious riots at Fort Hall when 400 women went to jail for resisting veterinary officers' efforts to inoculate cattle. In some areas even the construction of cattle dips has caused alarm. In the Fraser Valley of British Columbia, the Provincial Government instituted recently free vaccination for stock against brucellosis but hundreds of farmers refused to take advantage of it until the government prohibited the sale of young breeding stock except accompanied by a vaccination certificate.

Cmd. 2747. Figures taken from pages 4 to 10.

A cent is 1/100 of a shilling in Kenya. 1 sh. equals roughly 25¢.


Gordon-Brown, ed., Year Book and Guide to East Africa, p. 46. On a 999 year lease the settler paid only 20¢ an acre for the first 15 years.

No restrictions regarding farms up to 5000 acres in extent. To lease farms over 5000 acres required the consent of the Governor. To lease farms over 7500 acres required consent of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

House of Commons Debates, Vol. 503, July 17, 1952, col. 2422. Oliver Lyttelton said he believed there were about 200,000 acres still available for white settlement in the Highlands -- land still available was mentioned in Cmd. 9475, p. 343.

The European Settlement Board purchases large farms, often going concerns. These it either resells to prospective purchasers or subdivides and then resells (Legislative Council Debates, Kenya, Vol. 34, col. 35.). The European Settlement Scheme had brought out 226 approved farmers from England and had settled by January 27, 1949, all but 67 at a cost of £1,600,000 (mostly in the form of recoverable commitments). Ibid., Vol. 31, col. 9. V.S. Cooke, M.L.C., said it had cost £1,200,000 to settle 250 farmers and he thought the cost high. Ibid., Vol. 34, col. 35.

The Land Bank evaluates the farm.

Elsbeth Huxley visited the Egerton School in 1947 and in her book Sorcerer's Apprentice, p. 330, describes the wives' conversations over morning tea. One is disappointed because she has not seen "lions and naked savages and all that," and
another complains of "the dust on the roads, its dreadful; and when it rains, the mud!" Apparently they are not trained in any farm work and it is interesting to speculate how suitable such women will be as farmer's wives.

76 In 1944 a subsidy of £7 per acre of coffee was voted and in 1949 £15 per acre, to be paid in the form of a loan because crops had been poor. Kenya, Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 34, col. 48. In 1942 labour was conscripted for essential foodstuffs and industry. Duties of from 10% to 64% above normal rate have been imposed on wheat, wheat flour, butter, sugar and maize grown by non-Africans (Lord Hailey, African Survey, p. 139), and butter has also been given an export bounty (loc. cit.). In 1942 the Increased Production of Crops Ordinance was passed, fixing prices and granting subsidies for non-African farmers.

1943 subsidy paid for breaking up new land £90,000
subsidy paid on fertilizer £20,000
(Kenya - White Man's Country? Report to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, p. 20.)

77 It is not strictly correct to use the word 'owner' as all property is leased in Kenya, mostly for 999 years, but leases are sold at auctions.

78 Mboya, The Kenya Question, Foreword by M. Perham, p. 3.

79 Around 1900 it was generally believed that all blacks were savages and that they had no laws or customs worth considering. Today, anthropologists are often employed, even by missionaries, to elucidate the situation.

80 The Kikuyu tribe had no chiefs. They had hereditary estates called 'githaka.' They had also bought land from the Dorobba.


82 East Africa Papers Relating to Native Disturbances in Kenya, March 1922, Cmd. 1691.

83 Cmd. 1922.

84 Gold was found in the river beds. Negley Farson tells of two placer miners at this time who in their efforts to wash gold dammed up a stream in the hills and diverted the water into another small valley. They remarked that it would give the natives a surprise next morning to find their stream had vanished. The "surprise" would be more likely to be a tragedy for stock and native family alike. Farson, Last Chance in Africa, p. 249.

85 Kenya is very poor in minerals.
86 Dilley, M. R., British Policy in Kenya Colony, New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937, p. 268. Natives were to be moved onto land belonging to other natives. Leases to the mining companies were for 33 or 99 years.


88 The report was issued as Cmd. 4556.


90 Actually the Africans claimed far more but were unable to substantiate their claims.

91 The water level is dropping in Kenya and it is a great source of worry to the government. Bore holes that have supplied water for years have in many cases run dry.

92 Actually there were about 200,000 acres not alienated and if these were divided into 10 acre plots, only 20,000 families could be accommodated, even presuming the land were suitable for intensive farming which was by no means certain.


94 In 1953 questions were asked in the Kenya Legislative Council regarding some expenditures authorized by D.A.R.A. Vol. 57, col. 124, oral question 139. "Was the estimate for the chief secretary's new house approved by D.A.R.A.? Yes, on Jan. 31, 1952. What did the house cost when finished? £15,309. What was the number of prisoner days spent on tennis court, gardens and patios? 931 days. Were the gate-house and guest house approved by D.A.R.A.? Yes."

95 Many of these were known as the "40 group", i.e. the same age group as Jomo Kenyatta.

96 Legislative Council Debates, Kenya, Vol. 35, col. 139. B.A. Ohanga, M.L.C., said that in Nyanza Province the District Commissioner had ordered trenching done when acres of maize and beans were almost ready for harvesting. The crop in the area was partly lost and great suffering followed. He ended his speech with a significant remark "to reserve large areas of fertile land needlessly without being made productive, while there are people who can work them and make them productive, who go without land, is a system that cannot be supported."


99 Had serious efforts been made during the last 25 years to foster an African middle class, and had some social recognition been given this class, a very different situation might have developed in Kenya in 1952, and a much more reassuring future might be expected. This situation has been recognized by the 1953-55 Royal Commission, but the application of the recommendations may have come too late.
Chapter V

This even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
To our own lips.

Macbeth, Act I sc. 7

In the twenty-five troubled years preceding the Emergency in Kenya, certain Ordinances were promulgated that were discriminatory against Africans and that contributed greatly to African discontent. They have provided African nationalists and African agitators alike with much fuel to feed the smouldering fires of African resentment which burst into flame in 1952.

One of the advantages of civilization that the native understood and appreciated was the introduction of elemental justice. The processes of the law were often too complicated for him to comprehend, and consequently he often misunderstood the long, intricate pattern of justice as cases slowly percolated from court to court. But simple justice, what was fair, was appreciated. British law, where it has been translated to the Colonies has been a boon; but the law as it is practiced in England today, has evolved over the centuries, and for this reason some of the processes of the law as operated many years or even
centuries ago, were applied in African territories. An instance of this is the application of collective punishment. J. Wyatt, Attorney General, on February 20, 1952, said that collective punishment, which was very usual in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "is applied in every Colonial dependency in Africa," today.

In 1930 the Collective Punishment Ordinance no. 54, was promulgated and was incorporated into the laws of Kenya. "It is so indisputably racial that one wonders how it ever entered our Statute Book, even in 1930," said Eliud Mathu. Because this law has been applied so often during the twenty-five years before the Emergency, it is important to examine it in some detail because it caused extreme bitterness of feeling and was resented by both the educated African who understood the fine points of justice and who recognized the openly racial character of this legislation, and the illiterate natives who suffered under this ordinance. Section 2 of the Ordinance specified occasions when it was legitimate for the Governor to impose a collective fine. When certain misdemeanors had occurred in an area, such as theft, and the culprit could not be found, or a graver offence had been committed and the criminal could not be apprehended by the police, if, after due enquiry, it was shown that the inhabitants of the area had failed to prevent the escape of the criminal, or suppressed evidence that might lead to his arrest, or "failed to restore stolen property suspected to have entered within the limits of their area," then a collective fine could be levied on
the entire community. This was extremely onerous. The implications of this section of the Ordinance can best be appreciated by examining a hypothetical case. Let it be supposed that a certain man stole and hid his booty, and that some neighbour suspected the theft and had an idea where the booty was hidden. If he went to the authorities and informed on the thief he would not only be betraying a neighbour or relative but also, and more particularly, an African to the white authorities. If the culprit were, as a result of this information, arrested, the informer would certainly fear reprisals. On the other hand, if he said nothing, closed his eyes to indications of theft, decided it was the duty of the police to apprehend a thief, he ran the risk of bringing down a collective fine on his whole community. He was certainly on the very uncomfortable horns of a dilemma. With the growing feeling of African solidarity as opposed to the authority of the alien white men, he would probably feel that to suffer with his own people was preferable to being victimized by them and branded as an informer.

Section 3 of the Ordinance referred to a more serious situation that might arise if "persons are found wounded or unlawfully killed in an area." Again a hypothetical situation might illustrate the difficulties arising on such an occasion. Let it be supposed that an African, possibly an askari, was found dead on the reserve or, even more serious, a white official's body was discovered in some brush, by a native. Sounds of a scuffle had been heard. There were footmarks leading in a
certain direction. A bloodstained panga belonging to such and such a man was seen lying in a ravine close by. What would the native do? If he ran out at the first sound of trouble he would later, most certainly, be summoned as a witness. If he followed the footmarks to the hut of a neighbour and then informed the police, or if he recovered the panga and delivered it to the authorities, he would be questioned as to how he came into possession of the weapon and would have to implicate the real owner so as to clear himself. The African would, in most cases, do and say nothing and the result would be the imposition of wholesale punishment on the people of the entire community. Section 9 stated that once collective punishment had been imposed by order of the Governor, there was no appeal, and Section 10 stated the Governor must inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies when collective punishment had been imposed.

In 1948 the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance no. 59 was promulgated. As in most primitive societies "cattle rustling" as it was called in Canada in the pioneer days, was very prevalent. But when cattle are very highly prized and poverty is extensive it becomes serious. By 1948 the situation was serious in Kenya, and this new Ordinance was promulgated. In cases of suspicion falling on a stock thief and the thief could not be found, a collective fine could be levied on his sub-tribe, tribe, or village "where such stock or produce be found." If the stolen animal were actually discovered in a native area, even though no one admitted the theft, the entire tribe or village could be fined.
The same year, 1948, Police Ordinance 79 was issued. Under Section 53, it stated that if additional police had to be sent to a certain area because of riots or disturbances, the cost of the extra police was to be borne by the inhabitants of the area, regardless of how many instigators of the disturbances or ringleaders of the riot had been apprehended and convicted. Of all these three ordinances this was probably the one that caused the greatest bitterness and outraged most the sense of fair play. In 1951 there had been disturbances in the Fort Hall area regarding cattle innoculation. A great number of women had resisted the police and tried to prevent their animals from being inoculated. The police had broken up the demonstration to enable the veterinary surgeons to proceed with the innoculations and 400 women had been jailed. A collective fine was then imposed on the area to pay for the cost of the extra police that had been needed, not only to restore order but to maintain it in the area for some considerable time. It was claimed by E. Mathu that the women had been punished twice for the same crime, first by the period in jail and then by the collective fine, which though it was only imposed on adult males, was felt by the entire family.

In the same year there had been Suk riots in the Baringo District of the Northern Province, allegedly instigated by Lukas Pkiech. There were many convictions, 22 men were convicted for murder and 115 convicted for lesser crimes, yet the entire Suk population in the area had to pay a collective fine to defray
the expenses of the extra police because it was alleged that Lukes Pkeich had been at large in the area for two months before the riots and no Suk tribesmen had reported his whereabouts to the police.

These ordinances relating to collective punishment not only aroused feelings of frustration and hatred amongst the simple people but could be, and were, used as excellent propaganda material by not only unscrupulous agitators but genuine African patriots seeking to unite their people. The sense of a common grievance united men of all tribes, for it is unfortunately true that hate of a common enemy can weld together a disunited people just as effectively as, perhaps more so than, love of a great cause.

On August 9, 1949, the Voluntary Unemployed Persons' Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council. The part of the Bill over which there was the most heated debate, and to change which E. Mathu introduced an amendment which was duly defeated by the European majority, was that clause which allowed the arrest of a man without warrant by any administrative officer, or if on a Reserve, by a chief, who had "reason to believe" the man was evading employment. Many of the unemployed were criminals living on their wits or by violence and hiding in the slum areas of Nairobi or on the crowded Reserves. But many were honestly out of work, or seeking a change of employment, or enjoying one of those periods of leisure between jobs that are
so dear to the African, and that often extend beyond what is economically reasonable, considering his circumstances. However, the arrest without warrant affected both the criminal and the honest man. After being arrested the man was sent to a "Reception Camp" for seven days usually spent in forced labour, while his case was being investigated; he could then be sent for six months work at approved employment, that is, civilian work in the army, or work for the East Africa High Commission or for the Kenya or local government. However, the importance of this Bill was that it was contrary to present practice of British justice, it was applied only to Africans, and was introduced in 1949 at a time when there was no Emergency.

On September 25, 1952, under the shadow of Mau Mau, but almost a month before the declaration of the Emergency, eight bills were introduced into the Legislative Council by J. Wyatt, the member for Law and Order. All had been previously discussed with Oliver Lyttelton, but had not been shown to the African members of the Council for their consideration until September 22, just three days earlier. At the opening of the debate, J. Wyatt stated that these bills were introduced because of the alarming situation in part of the Colony but that they were "a departure from the principles which are normally applicable to our jurisprudence." The first bill introduced provided that a witness to a crime need not appear personally in Court to face the accused or to be cross examined, but that if the witness feared reprisals he might give a statement to an
Assistant Superintendent of Police. Two such statements made by two different witnesses could constitute evidence for conviction, though such conviction had to be reviewed by the Supreme Court before it went into effect. E.J.C. Neep, Q.C., stated that in his opinion this Bill opened the door for "informers and vendettas." He urged that if it must be passed, some qualifying clause should be added to the effect that it should apply only to cases involving Mau Mau crimes, for as at present constituted it could be applied to crimes of arson, offences against the penal code, and violations of the Societies Act. He said that some of the clauses of the Bill were, from the point of view of British Justice, "grotesque." The Bill was passed. There were, possibly, extenuating circumstances for the passing of the Bill, had its application been restricted as E.J.C. Neep had suggested, for during the summer and early fall of 1952, one hundred charges had had to be dropped because witnesses had disappeared or changed their stories. There had obviously been strong indications of intimidation. But the waiving of the "principles of our jurisprudence" was a big price to pay for written statements by terrified African witnesses or the convictions attained as a result of these statements.

In conclusion it may be said that the introduction of discriminatory legislation such as that imposing collective punishment, arrest without warrant and the substitution of written statements for living witnesses had ill effects in Kenya. An unjust law bred contempt for the law. A discriminatory law bred
racial hatred and disrespect for the law. If the law applied only to Africans, it was the instrument, not of justice, but of oppression; oppression by the alien race. These unjust laws aroused resentment and racial tension and contributed to the lawlessness of Mau Mau and to the lack of co-operation with the forces of law and order. The Mau Mau society was a lawless organization that employed terroristic acts of barbarism to intimidate those that it could not subvert. Any African with a genuine respect for law and justice could not possibly join such a society. But when Africans saw the way in which justice was often administered in Kenya, when they realized there was one law for Settler and another for the African, respect melted away and they were much more prone to join Mau Mau. It has been stated that probably a majority of the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru were either oath-takers or sympathisers with Mau Mau. It must be remembered that these tribes lived in the closest proximity to the White Highlands and Nairobi. They therefore had a greater opportunity than any other tribe of realizing that the whites enjoyed different justice to that which they received.
Footnotes to Chapter V

1 The judicial system in Kenya is as follows:

1. The *Supreme Court* consists of a Chief Justice and seven 'puisne Judges.'

2. Throughout the Colony there are *Subordinate Courts* presided over by magistrates of two types:
   1. Resident magistrates with legal training of which there are eight in the Colony.
   2. Administrative officers having no legal training.

These courts try cases between whites; between whites and natives (especially cases between masters and servants and cases connected with stock theft); and certain serious cases involving natives.

3. *Native Tribunals* which try purely African cases, and were instituted in 1913. Tribunal functionaries are appointed. The procedure is roughly as follows:

   The accused and complainant sit before an audience and each tells his story to the "judge" who is advised by the elders, court clerk and other native notables. There is no formality about the accused or complainant's recital and each can interrupt, comment, or question the other. Proceedings are in the native vernacular so that no interpreter is necessary. Because of the presence of an audience consisting of friends, relatives and tribesmen, perjury is not common. Native customs are considered and native oaths can be ordered taken. Sometimes the accused may have to take a solemn oath on an ancestor's grave. The Tribunal could try minor criminal cases arising out of native law or custom, could order imprisonment up to six months (such orders had to be signed by the District Commissioner). Certain Native Tribunals can act as "courts of appeal" from lesser tribunals.

The Native Tribunal is under supervision and control of the District Commissioner and Provincial Commissioner. Appeals can go to District Commissioners and Provincial Commissioners and even to the Supreme Court, though up till 1954 no case ever went to the Supreme Court.

Native Tribunals can try cases involving Arabs if the latter agrees, and this is often done in the Coast Province. Advocates and legal practitioners are debarred from appearing in any Native Tribunal or before District Commissioners or Provincial Commissioners in cases of appeal.
Number of Native Tribunals in Kenya, 1954:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Province</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masai District</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Frontier</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkans</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1939-45 a policy was followed of excluding from appointments "Government Africans" and most Chiefs and headmen were removed. In 1948 Court Registrars were instituted in Fort Hall and Kiambu. They were trained for ten days at the Jeanes School. A few cases of bribery occurred and a few irregularities regarding fines, but on the whole the Tribunals were a real contribution towards native education. There is trial by jury for whites only and capital punishment for murder, treason, and rape. Non-European capital offences are tried by a Judge, advised by assessors, but the latter have no authority over the Judge. [Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya for the year 1955, p. 84.]

Information for this footnote obtained from:
(1) Lectures I and II delivered at the Jeanes School, P. O. Lower Kabete, May, 1954.
(3) Report by H. G. Busche, Legal adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1934, Cmd. 4623.


3 Ibid., col. 57. Ordinance incorporated in Chapter 98 of Laws of Kenya.

4 Loc. cit.

5 Ibid., col. 58.

6 The 1930 law for the individual punishment of stock and produce theft was extremely rigorous. The following table will show the punishments meted out. In 1933 the laws requiring a fine of ten times the value of the stolen goods was rescinded. The sentences stated in the table were imposed by Administrative officers sitting as Magistrates and are reminiscent of British sentences for stealing in the early nineteenth century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Order in Confirmation *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft of stock value 40/-</td>
<td>3 years and fine of 400/-</td>
<td>18 months and fine of 400/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misappropriation of stock value 60/-</td>
<td>21 months and fine of 600/-</td>
<td>12 months and fine of 600/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of stock value 80/-</td>
<td>5 years and fine of 800/-</td>
<td>1 year and fine of 800/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of maize value 10/-</td>
<td>3 years and fine of 100/-</td>
<td>1 year and fine of 100/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of maize value 1/-</td>
<td>1 year and fine of 30/-</td>
<td>1 month and fine of 10/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Any sentence of more than 6 months imprisonment had to be confirmed by the High Court.

7 It has been shown earlier in this thesis that at the time of the first outbreaks of violence in 1952, most of the acts were perpetrated against "loyal" Africans, police, etc. With the growth of the Mau Mau secret society reprisals were swift and terrible.

8 Loc. cit.

9 Native police had control on reserves.

10 A panga is a broad, flat, sharp metal instrument used for breaking land and slashing scrub. It was used extensively by Mau Mau as a weapon.

11 Even in civilized communities in Canada it is often difficult to get men and women to act as witnesses, even in traffic accidents. The writer was told by the police that many more convictions could be obtained if witnesses would volunteer and give evidence.

12 There is a parallel case in British Columbia today (1959). The police are trying to discover the murder of the Paul family. The Pauls were Mennonites. Members of the Mennonite community have told the police that even if they knew the murderer and saw him standing before them, they would not denounce him because the murder was the "will of God." In Canada no collective punishment is imposed on the entire community for this lack of cooperation as it would have been imposed in Kenya for the last 29 years.
13 Chapter 206 of the Laws of Kenya.

14 Cattle thieving has usually been dealt with harshly but not collectively. In the early days in England cattle thieves were branded "M" for malefactor, on the palm of the hand. In Lancaster Castle there is still the old vice in which the hand was held for the branding. In Czarist Russia a horse-thief was usually beaten to death by the peasants. In pioneer days in Canada cattle-thieves were often lynched. There have been cases of "cattle rustling" quite recently in British Columbia. They occurred during the "hungry thirties" of the depression years, and again after World War II when there were cases of cattle being stolen off the ranges up-country and smuggled down to the coast for sale. Today there is an R.C.M.P. check point at Flood, that narrow part of the valley traversed by only one highway running east to west, and every truck carrying cattle has to stop there and a certificate proving legal possession of the cattle has to be presented.

15 It was pointed out by E. Mathu (Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 46, col. 59) that this legislation was discriminatory against Africans for when there was a serious strike in Nairobi and extra police had had to be called in, no collective fine was imposed on the Europeans to pay for the extra expense.

16 Innoculation is often feared by primitive people, and apparently some cattle in very poor condition had suffered. Even in British Columbia in the last 6 years the Government has had to bring pressure to bear on farmers to force them to take advantage of the free brucellosis vaccination of young stock. They have prohibited the sale of stock, except for slaughter, without an accompanying vaccination certificate.

17 Women did not as a rule have to do with cattle; that was men's work. It was believed that in this case men had pushed the women forward to resist, for political reasons. At one time E. Mathu had persuaded the women to accept innoculation for the good of their stock and not to resist, only to have his work undone by some trouble-makers in the area. After the women were jailed and a collective fine had been imposed, the agitators, armed with this welcome propaganda ammunition, stirred up more resentment and bitterness.

18 Every adult male was charged 1/6 a month.

19 An agitator sought by the police.

20 B. A. Ohanga, M.L.C. said, "collective punishment is primitive, oppressive, inequitable and discriminatory." He was supported in the Legislative Council by all African and most Asian members and S.V.Cooke (Vol. 47, col. 107).

21 Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 33, col. 35. This Bill is quite similar to the old English Elizabethan Vagrancy Laws.
The affected areas were Nairobi and its environments, Laikipia, Fort Hall and the Kikuyu Reserve.

Loc. cit.

Nominated official member of the Council.

An Act passed in 1952 requiring the registration of any Society with more than ten members.

As the Mau Mau got bolder, oaths were forcibly administered. But in its incipient stage thousands joined of their own free will and it was at this stage, before it got out of hand, that many of the better type of Africans joined. It was rumoured in Nairobi that even Eliud Mathu was suspect, or "tainted" as it was called.

The first mild oaths were not too different from those of any nationalist organization, though the ceremony and ritual were peculiar to the Kikuyu.
Chapter VI

We have scotch'd the snake, not killed it:
She'll close and be herself again; whilst our poor malice
Remains in danger of her former tooth.

Macbeth, Act III Sc. 2

It is not the purpose of this thesis to deal with the many events connected with the Mau Mau uprising and its suppres­sion. They are but tragic incidents in a tragic history. But just as the savagery of the Mau Mau terrorists at first horrified the Europeans and then intensified their determination, not only to stamp out the lawless society but to seek to prevent any political power slipping from their hands into those of the African nationalists, so the ruthless suppression of Mau Mau and its sympathisers and the harsh restrictive measures put into operation against the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru tribes, and in some cases against all Africans, gave rise to further African bitterness, sullenness, and racial hatred. It might be said that the post-Mau Mau situation is even more critical than in 1952. It is as if salt had been rubbed into every wound, European as well as African. Certainly the Mau Mau troubles caused a great searching of heart on the part of both the British Government and the Kenya Government and there have been some far reaching changes. The fact that two new constitution, both wedded to the principle of multi-racialism, have been introduced in the
last six years; that African direct elections have been held for the first time in the Colony; and that a revolution in the traditional policy towards African land tenure has been set in motion is significant. But the principle of multi-racial government, as envisioned for Kenya, presupposes a multi-racial society and this is where there is an alarming absence of progress. African political development depends on African literacy and the development of an educated class, but this cannot be achieved over night. Too little was done in the last fifty years when time, unlike today, was not of the essence. A small African elite there is, and this elite even cuts across tribal barriers, which is a hopeful sign for African nationalism, but it is small and self-conscious and embittered and needs most careful handling which it is not receiving at the hands of the settlers. There are two alternatives facing Kenya today: the development of a multi-racial society moving in a spirit of racial co-operation towards membership in the Commonwealth or, if this is not successful, if the races cannot work together for their mutual good, then there is only the possibility in the future of an African-controlled state run by, and for, Africans. The European position is untenable unless there is co-operation with the 5½ million Africans. They could not stay depending only on military support. How they will fare in an African-dominated state is uncertain, but if this state is achieved in spite of the settlers' rigid opposition, it cannot be expected to be sympathetic to the handful of Europeans who have resisted African
aspirations. Whether such a state would join the Commonwealth is debatable, and if it should elect to stay independent it will be wooed from behind the Iron Curtain the more effectively because of the memory of injustices suffered during the struggle for freedom. Before the 1952 Emergency, affairs in Kenya were largely the concern of Great Britain, the settlers, and the Kenya Africans. Today the situation has changed. Kenya is a cog in the huge African national wheel that is turning slowly but inexorably and gathering momentum with each turn. The situation has, in fact, become more intense in the Colony and more interlocked with the situation all over Africa.

The political, social, economic and judicial reasons for the rise of the Mau Mau society, the terroristic arm of the African national movement, have been discussed, and it has been shown how these aspects of the situation in Kenya led to the crisis of 1952. In this chapter the results of the Mau Mau rebellion will be examined and an attempt will be made to evaluate the changes that have been introduced and to estimate just how far they have solved, or are in the process of solving, the outstanding problems inherited from the period prior to 1952. In every case the changes brought in have been half measures and as such have not touched the root of the problem. The door has been unbolted, it is ajar, but the night-chain is on. Politically, Africans have been granted the franchise, but plural vote, qualitative franchise and the communal role have still left control in European hands. A multi-racial experiment
has been instituted but the balance of power between African and European elected members is so exact as to intensify racial feeling. Socially, much has been done to increase African education but schools are still segregated and positions open to graduates are still paid according to colour and not ability so that the good done on the one hand is neutralized on the other. Tremendous efforts have been made to rehabilitate members of Mau Mau, to substitute the power of Christianity for the power of the Mau Mau oath, but when the detainees are released they go into a world where Christianity is not practiced. If the churches fail these people again they will turn "back to the ritual which rightly or wrongly they believed had brought them safely through dangers in the past." Economically, reforms have been instituted, especially in relation to increase in wages, better housing projects, villageization, land consolidation and the granting to Africans of security of land tenure. But again, these are half measures. Wages are still divided into racial categories. New African housing has been built and more projects are under construction, but in the race between population and housing the former is winning and the overcrowded slum situation persists. While security of tenure is being given to the Africans in the form of registered ownership of consolidated land holdings and ten-acre farms, the White Highlands with the vast settlers' estates remain as a psychological irritant, a constant reminder of the racial foundation of the land problem. These aspects of Kenya after the Emergency having been referred to briefly will now be examined in some detail.
When the Mau Mau troubles erupted in 1952, political changes were already under consideration and changes were brought in in May. The number of Official Members of the Legislative Council was raised by ten, but the unofficial members retained the majority by the addition of three extra Elected Europeans, one Asian and two African representatives. On the unofficial side of the Council, racial balance was once again carefully maintained as the fourteen Europeans exactly balanced the fourteen non-Europeans. These changes were, however, only to be temporary until a multi-racial conference could be held within a year to decide on changes agreeable to all races. It is to the credit of the British Government that, in spite of the Emergency, projects for reform were not dropped, though with the tense racial situation the all-race conference was postponed. In January 1954, a Parliamentary delegation visited Kenya to investigate the situation on the spot. They spent less than a month in the Colony but submitted a comprehensive and critical report. The delegates agreed that the government has not the "full support and loyalty and confidence of the majorities in all the racial communities," and went on to state "we believe, however, it is necessary to provide an outlet for African political thought." They then recommended that discussions should begin on the possibility of holding African elections and urged that Africans should be encouraged to join political organizations to fill the vacuum left by the banning of the Kenya African Union. In February 1954, after receiving
this report, Oliver Lyttelton went to Kenya and on March 9 addressed the Legislative Council explaining the new constitution that was to come into force on April 13. This constitution introduced the principle of multi-racialism in government, and was the first tangible result of the Mau Mau troubles. It had been realized that European domination could not continue. The most important change was the institution of the Council of Ministers which was to be the "principle organ of government" and to "exercise a collective responsibility for decisions on government policy." That is, elements of all races were to be associated with government policy and in this way multi-racial responsibility was introduced, though the Africans were represented by only one man. There were to be six official members, two nominated members and six unofficial members. The unofficial members were allotted by race; three Europeans, two Asians, and one African. Again racial parity is maintained—three Europeans and three non-Europeans. The arrangement was resented by the Africans who felt that in relation to their numbers, one minister out of fourteen was inadequate. However, the constitution came into effect with the provision that it was to be experimental until June 30, 1955, or until six months after the end of the Emergency, and that there would be no change in the racial composition of the council of ministers or in the balance of official and unofficial members, until 1960, and that no consideration of any alteration of the communal basis for franchise was to be considered until 1960. The Executive Council was not abolished but
had very little power. The Legislative Council remained as constituted in 1952 except that certain members became Ministers.

In October, 1956, the European and Asian elections were held, and after the new council met, certain recommendations were made for changes in the composition, both of the Legislative Council and the Council of Ministers. The object of these recommendations was to strengthen the unofficial side of both Councils, thus giving more power into the hands of the settlers. This move was deeply resented by the Africans because the changes were to become effective before the African elections, and they realized that the settlers, while throwing them the crumbs of extra representatives, were making a concerted effort to control the Legislative Council and the Council of Ministers through an unofficial majority.

In these constitutional changes could be seen some of the first results of the 1952 situation. The racial feeling heightened. The British Government, fearing the intransigence of the settlers, sought to restore the official majority and associate all races in the government. But settler determination to keep power, and African resentment, caused the experiment to break down.

The next great political experiment was the holding of African elections in line with the 1954 recommendations of the Parliamentary Delegation. Preparations for the holding of
these elections had got under way as early as February 25, 1955, when the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, appointed W. F. Coutts, Commissioner, to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into the best system under which Africans were to elect their representatives. This investigation was not easy, and the granting of the franchise to Africans was not simple, because the majority of Africans were illiterate; the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru tribesmen (one-fifth of the African population) were living under close restrictions; any hesitancy on the part of the authorities to apply the principles of democracy was promptly interpreted by the African Nationalists as a sign of bad faith; and the Europeans felt that the franchise would open the door to African domination and that under the circumstances every effort should be made to either attain indirect elections or if that failed, to have as restricted a franchise as possible. The Coutts enquiry was certainly exhaustive, for the Commission heard 1540 witnesses give oral evidence, received 120 memoranda, travelled 5800 miles by road and 1000 miles by air and sat from February 25, 1955, till August 2 of that year. All six African M.L.C.'s sat with the Commission as did 18 chiefs and 46 other Africans at different places on the itinerary. This was one of the first Commissions in the history of Kenya with which Africans were so largely associated and to which such a preponderant number of Africans came forward as witnesses. The explanation for this may be partly found in a recommendation made as early as February 1954 by E.A. Vasey,
which he marked 'secret' and which dealt with future African elections. In paragraph 2 he stated "unless we can furnish some legitimate channels for the expression of African opinion, it will continue to formulate underground and only come to the surface through a series of explosions." In paragraph 4 he said,

... we shall be steadily pressed for an increase in the number of African representative members in the Legislative Council. ... I think we should say that there could be no question of increasing the number of African representatives." I would like to suggest for consideration that a useful psychological and practical gesture, which would have its effect both during the present Emergency and in the years immediately before us, would be to announce at the earliest possible moment that the African representative members, who at present cover areas known as constituencies, will for the 1956-60 Legislative Council Session be elected directly by the Africans of those constituencies on a limited Voters' Roll. I would suggest that the elders of the various tribes, African District Councillors, etc., should be called together to decide the basis of qualifications for Africans to be placed on the Voters' Roll, thus leaving it to the more responsible Africans to tackle this important point. This would mean that, if there was a dispute because certain groups of people were not allowed to vote, the dispute would be between African and African and not between the Government and the African. The energies of politically-minded people of the tribes other than the Kikuyu would be fully taken up in the settlement of the Voters' Roll."

This, in fact, was the policy followed by F. W. Coutts, and explains in part the number of chiefs associated with the Commission and the presence of the M.L.C.'s. The results were what E. A. Vasey expected. Disputes were between African and African but what he did not apparently anticipate was that the very limited franchise and the plural voting was not popular and the odium fell, partly on the government, but very largely on
the African M.L.C's, the Chiefs, and the Elders. The disastrous results, from the European point of view, were seen at the 1957 elections. But one of the appointed African representatives in the Legislative Council was elected and a slate of what E.A. Vasey referred to as the "wrong type of African," was returned. Out of a total of 5,902,000 Africans, 126,508 were registered and 79 per cent cast their votes to elect eight members of the Legislative Council.

From now on politics in Kenya took a very different turn. The African representatives who, up till now, had debated determinedly and often bitterly in the Legislative Council; had worked for reforms for their people and had attempted to block undesirable legislation; but who had never caused any real trouble to the settlers, were replaced by a militant group who, with the eyes of their people on them, seized the initiative. The banning of K.A.U. and the repressive measures employed against all politically articulate Africans as a result of the rise of Mau Mau, had frightened away the more timorous leaders, many of the moderates, the traditionally minded, the half-hearted supporters and the office seekers, and left only the most courageous and most aggressive leaders to carry on. This was one of the first direct results of the Emergency.

Upon election, the eight African M.L.C.'s immediately demanded fifteen extra seats in the Legislative Council and each refused to take office as a minister so that the portfolio
of Community Development was unfilled.\textsuperscript{37} This caused the breakdown of the multi-racial Lyttelton Constitution. In October 1957, Alan Lennox-Boyd went to Kenya to try to resolve the difficulties, but no racial co-operation could be attained and to facilitate his work the European and Asian Ministers resigned and he "imposed" a new constitution.\textsuperscript{39} He granted considerable concessions to the Africans, granting them six extra seats in the Legislative Council\[40\] so that for the first time the non-Europeans had a majority of the unofficial members of the Council\[41\] though extra officials were nominated so that the official members regained control.\textsuperscript{42} However, the Lennox-Boyd Constitution introduced one change that was so repugnant to the Africans that trouble followed. This change was the provision for twelve specially elected members of the Legislative Council. There were to be four from each race elected by the Council, sitting as an electoral college. A "Special Member" had to be nominated by a member of the Legislative Council and supported by four other members. But since the whole Council (including the official members) could vote, the African Special Members could actually be elected by Europeans. Wanyutu Waweru, M.B.E.,\textsuperscript{43} nominated the African members. The aggressive African members immediately denounced those who ran for special seats\textsuperscript{44} as "Quizlings, black-Europeans, stooges" and a libel suit followed. This libel suit had wide repercussions and the African M.L.C.'s not only became heroes at home\textsuperscript{46} but received support from other parts\textsuperscript{47} of Africa, so that they emerged from the court poorer, but immeasurably
strengthened for their future struggle. The elected Africans were definitely a new type in the Legislative Council. This intensification of African national feeling, fanning out beyond the Kikuyu tribe, was largely a result of the Emergency, for the restrictive measures and harshness had developed solidarity and the fighting spirit of the settlers had given rise to a similar uncompromising spirit of attack amongst the African leaders that from now on characterized African politics in Kenya.

The reason that the "special seats" had been so strenuously fought by the Africans was that Alan Lennox-Boyd had stated that while absolutely no increase of communally elected members of the Council would be considered for a ten-year period the number of 'special members' might be revised. From the African nationalist point of view this was fraught with potential danger, for at any time the preponderance of Africans and Asians on the unofficial side of the Council could be offset by the addition of any number of special members. It was this feature of the constitution that so delighted the reactionary element amongst the settlers and injudicious statements fanned African opposition.

The second feature of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution that was vigorously opposed and boycotted, was the Council of Ministers. This was not a new feature. It had been taken over from the Lyttelton Constitution except that the number of ministers was increased from six to eight, the Africans and the Europeans each getting one extra seat, and six assistant ministers, two
from each race, were appointed. But Africans objected to their small representation. Because of their boycott, both of the special seats and the Council of Ministers, the Lennox-Boyd Constitution was barely functioning.

A constitutional innovation introduced in 1958 was the Council of State. This was composed of a chairman and ten nominated members. Its purpose was to guard against "differentiating legislation." Any legislation that savoured of racial discrimination could 'be reserved for the Queen's pleasure.' Ten years ago this feature might not have been suspect, as it would have been understood that it was instituted to guard the interests of political minorities, i.e. Asians and Africans. But since the Emergency, racial feeling had height­ened, and almost any move by the Conservative Government in England was suspect by the African nationalists. They felt that the purpose of the Council of State was to guard the inter­ests of racial minorities, especially the Europeans, and to act as a check on the Legislative Council, which, if the Africans ever got the common roll for elections, would be under their control. As it stood, the Council of State could weigh and consider any piece of legislation that might have a racial slant. As almost all legislation might to a greater or less degree affect the interests of one of the three races, whether such legislation dealt with franchise, land, education, wages, trade unions, etc., it stands to reason that the Council of State would be able to act as a check on the implementation of almost all legislation.
In November 1958, the African Elected members demanded the end of special member seats, the Council of Ministers and the Council of State; in other words the abrogation of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, which they are continuing to boycott. They further demanded fifteen additional African members of the Legislative Council, and a Round Table conference of all races under an independent Chairman to discuss the introduction of the common roll for elections to instigate what Tom Mboya calls "ultimate development of a democracy based on individual equality." After many interviews with Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor of Kenya, Tom Mboya left Kenya on November 23 for London, having been assured by Alan Lennox-Boyd that he would be received. But on November 24 Alan Lennox-Boyd said in the House of Commons,

I cannot agree to the proposals relating to the increase in the number of African Constituency Elected Members, abolition of the specially elected seats and abolition of the Council of State. ... one important feature of a mature society is a readiness to accord weight and respect to the opinions and interests of numerically smaller groups and a complementary confidence on the part of such groups. ... It is therefore to the promotion of a sense of nationhood that we must advance and I can conceive of no more potent instrument to this end than the development of a multi-racial or non-racial Council of Ministers.

The political situation therefore at the end of December 1958, stood as follows: The African elected members were adamant in their demands and boycotting the government. The settlers under the leadership of Group Capt. L.R. Briggs were pleased with the Lennox-Boyd Constitution; Alan Lennox-Boyd
was determined the Constitution should stay for ten years. The most depressing aspect of this whole deadlock is that Alan Lennox-Boyd has made no statement about the ultimate future of Kenya, so that he has not given the Africans "a glimmer of light at the end of their tunnel, where at present there is none." Comparing this situation with that in 1952, one is struck by the fact that basically there is no change. If Mau Mau was the "direct consequence of accumulated frustrations," there seems to be a grave possibility of another eruption. But, since the Emergency, every aspect of the situation has intensified -- the Africans more aggressive and uncompromising, the Europeans nervous but determined, the Secretary of State making policies as it were "from day to day" with no clear statement of ultimate objective. Thus Europeans and Africans have hope, but no certainty, and therefore are both more determined than ever to take things into their own hands. The solution of the political problem is of prime importance if the future of Kenya is to be satisfactory. But this political future depends on the human factor. If the Europeans and Africans could learn to trust each other and co-operate there would be less fear for the future so that the solution of the political problem depends on the development of certain social conditions in Kenya.

It has been shown in Chapter III that the underlying social causes of the Mau Mau rebellion leading to the Emergency of 1952 could be divided into three categories: the clash of
the old African way of life with modern civilization leading to the breakdown of tribal traditions and authority and the emergence of a new African society; the inadequate education of the African during the last fifty years leading to a society predominantly illiterate or semi-educated, led by a small cultured African elite; and the steady development of racialism. Each of these aspects of Kenya society will now be examined to see in what way each has been affected by the Mau Mau rebellion and the Emergency.

As regards the clash of old and new civilizations, it has not been possible to counteract in six years the trouble arising from this situation. But one great change has been brought in, though it is too early to evaluate the results. During the Mau Mau troubles, for security reasons Kikuyu families were moved into villages which were surrounded by a type of stockade. The removal of Kikuyu was largely compulsory and has necessitated a complete break with the individual character of their old tribal life. Once established in one of these villages many amenities of life were brought to the Kikuyu, such as sanitation, water from a tap, better schooling, and community life. These villages are teaching new ideas of social responsibility. It has also been found easier to influence the people than when they were scattered. News sheets of a definite educational pattern can be circulated and radio broadcasts can be directed through central loud speakers. These forms of government propaganda are seeking
to break down old ways of thinking and to re-educate the African to play his part in a changing world. At first there was great opposition to the villageization and the villages were regarded as new forms of detention camp, but gradually the security they provided and the amenities have won over the people. It is too early to predict the ultimate results but there seems to be some hope of success. One danger from the settler point of view lies in the fact that if it is easier for the authorities to spread ideas in these villages, so will it be easier for the African nationalists.

Tribal authority has definitely received a set-back in the last six years. While the restrictions directed largely against the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru have tended to weld together these tribes, and villageization and new African locations accentuate tribal grouping, the use of loyalty certificates, issued to those that took an active part on the side of the Europeans during the Emergency, has tended to set apart natives in authority and mark them as agents of the Europeans. There is, since the African elections of 1958, a clear line drawn between tribal authorities that have worked with the Europeans during the years of repression and the young national leaders who oppose the Europeans. A certain glamour is attached to the latter who represent the new and admired civilization and whose every move is considered from the point of view of impressing the African electorate, both those who actually voted and those potential common roll voters of the future.
Contacts with native authorities during the Emergency were not always happy. The Kikuyu Home Guard were left very much to their own devices to "mop up" on the reserves. Native police were used to round up men for screening, load them in trucks and guard them in "pens" at detention camps. Chiefs were used to watch and report on those released from rehabilitation camps and returned to Reserves. All these things tended to make Africans associate native authorities with European oppression. The African's admiration, amounting almost to adoration, for such figures as Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya is very significant. The contacts with Europeans during the height of the Emergency were also not very happy. It is difficult to build up a feeling of racial co-operation, prerequisite for a multi-racial society when for three or four years after 1952 almost every white man and woman seen by an African was carrying a revolver. Lately, the more sophisticated Africans have noticed that the Europeans are not united; some like E. A. Vasey have seen the writing on the wall and genuinely wish to work together with the Africans; others talk of multi-racialism and still others want to keep control in White hands.

In the sphere of education great steps forward have been taken. There is evident an almost feverish haste to make up for lost time. Immense sums of money have been allocated to education. In 1956, sixteen per cent of the budget was spent on education. In 1946 there were 2,264 African schools in Kenya, but in 1956 there were 3,527. The number of teachers
rose from 4994 to 9718 in the same period. More scholarships have been granted, 210 students were enrolled at the Royal Technical College in Nairobi. The Jeanes School in Kabete is doing excellent work. The government aims to provide eight years primary schooling for every African child, but until funds and teachers are available it is hoped to start a pilot scheme in Nairobi in 1958. But it is almost impossible to accomplish in a few years what should have been tackled during two generations. In the meantime a new, serious problem has arisen. There are thousands of children who are waifs as a result of the Emergency and the mass screening and detentions. Many have been placed in institutions but many ran wild in the streets of Nairobi, short of food and clothing and with nowhere to sleep. In one detention camp there were 400 children of three years and under, and from January to October 1955 they had died at the rate of twenty a month. There were girls of eleven and twelve years of age sentenced to hard labour; one child of 11 was given seven years. The Senior Rehabilitation Assistant reported on June 27, 1955, that 100 long-term juvenile convicts continued their work at Kamiti of building mud brick constructions and pise houses in the prison. The future problem of educating these children will be almost superhuman and whether they will ever become happy, useful members of society is problematical, for their young lives must have been twisted, warped and hardened by their experiences.

Almost all African grievances before the Mau Mau
rebellion, whether they were social, economic or political, were interlocked by racialism; therefore it is particularly important that a change should have been effected. On the positive side it is to be noted that since 1955, as a result of the East Africa Salaries Commission, it was decided that civil servants were to be paid according to work and ability and not according to race and colour; that certain hotels and restaurants have opened their doors to Asians and Africans; that great success has attended the efforts made at Nakuru to effect racial co-operation, especially in games; that today there are Asians and Africans on every municipal and county council; that Makerere medical graduates are now licensed to practice in Kenya; that some churches have ordained African ministers. As Sir Hugh Dow said in his report, "only people can make a community and the first thing is for all to work together and to be equal in status." But a complete change of heart could not take place in six years even had there been a concerted effort made to re-educate the settler. The churches could not undertake the work for they also were tainted with racialism. It is no more easy to re-educate a hard-core racialist than it is to rehabilitate a hard-core Mau Mau. Yet some success has been attained in the latter work, but little or nothing has been attempted in the former. The excesses of Mau Mau prompted the authorities to work to reform the adherents of that society, but the same excesses helped to confirm the settlers in their comfortable belief in racial superiority. Today, six years after the
declaration of the Emergency there are still such glaring
eamples of racialism as the following: schools and hospitals
still segregated; school examination papers are different
for each race; the "rule of three-fifths" still applied to
almost every form of employment; the colour bar still observed
in better-class hotels and restaurants. To eradicate racialism
is a long, slow process and it needs co-operation of all races.
There are, however, some very hopeful signs. The young
Mackerere graduates are bent on breaking down the colour bar,
and make concerted efforts to enter white hotels and restaurants.
Many are employed by the big international companies such as
Shell or Standard Vacuum, at good salaries, and are taught so
they can take over white men's jobs. Tom Mboya never lets a
case of racial discrimination pass unchallenged. The growth
of the Trade Union movement, in spite of opposition from many
quarters, is doing excellent work breaking down racialism.
The fact that the Kenya Unions are affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U;
that men like Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the
British Trade Union Congress, visited Kenya; that the U.C.F.T.U.
sent J. Bury as a representative to Kenya in 1953; and that
these men are white but they are "brothers" to African trade
unionists is very important. Another group of people that has
helped to break down racialism is the various Labour Party
M.P.'s who have visited Kenya and fought the African's battles
on the floor of the House of Commons.

If the racial situation feeds on hope, the economic situ-
ation has shown definite progress, particularly in connection
with land, which for years has been a running sore. As early as September 24, 1953, it was planned in Kenya to accelerate agricultural development on the African land units to take care of the Kikuyu when they came out from the detention camps. R.J.M. Swynnerton, Assistant Director of Agriculture, was appointed to investigate the situation and draw up a five-year development plan and for the next eight months he investigated and then submitted his report. At the same time, from January 1953 to February 1954, the East Africa Royal Commission also investigated this very important subject and in January 1954, a Parliamentary delegation visited Kenya and looked into the land problem. This recognition of the seriousness of the land problem was a direct result of the powerful Kenya African Union and the terrorist Mau Mau which, each in its own way, had brought this subject to the urgent attention of the authorities. In November 1951, Sir Philip Mitchell had sent a Dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies urging that something concrete be done, "the whole problem is so serious, complex and controversial that it demands examination by very high authority." But for thirteen months Oliver Lyttelton had pigeon-holed the report. It was not till after the Mau Mau rebellion that the British Government appointed the Royal Commission and the Kenya Government instructed the Assistant Director of Agriculture to start investigations. Only the more revolutionary recommendations made by Sir Hugh Dow and the practical application of R.J.M. Swynnerton's plan will be discussed. Both are the direct
result of Mau Mau and the latter has effected a minor revolu-

tion.

Sir Hugh recommended: individual ownership of African lands with registration of their titles; the breaking down as much as possible of tribal barriers; the restoration of African confidence in the white man's policies; the urgent need for more roads and irrigation to open up land; After a full consideration of all possible available lands in Kenya, Sir High came to the conclusion that there were only two areas in which land of high potential agricultural value was not already being utilized -- the White Highlands and the Masai lands. In connection with the former he recommended "there should be no disturbance of existing titles to land . . . [but] there should be machinery established which will permit the leasing of land free from restrictions imposed by tribal or racial reservation." As regards Masai lands, "we recommend that the government should . . . seek powers that will enable it, after private negotiations have failed, to bring land into productive use under ordered settlement, having carried out a process of adjudication of private rights." . . . " Laws, treaties or agreements . . . may require modification." It would appear that only those areas of the White Highlands that are not in use, but being held for future settlement, are to be thrown open to African leasees but Masai land that is not fully utilized is to be considered. The Governor of Kenya, commenting in February 1956 on the recommendations, accepted
the recommendation regarding Masai lands with "reservations" saying that "compulsion" might be "unwise" except in special circumstances. So far the Kenya Government has not attempted to implicate either of these highly controversial recommendations and possibly with good reason, since they affect two of the most intransigent sectors of Kenya society. But as regards the recommendation for the private ownership of land by Africans, much has been done. This was also recommended by R.J.M. Swynnerton. The first step in the plan was the survey of all lands. The second stage was the consolidation of fragmentary holdings into economic land units. This was accomplished by exchange of fragments, but it has taken a considerable amount of negotiation and education. This work has been extraordinarily successful especially in the Central Province where the five year plan, envisaged by R.J.M. Swynnerton, was practically completed by August 1958. Once the consolidation was completed the African was allowed to register his ownership of the land for a fee of 200/- and a fee of 10/- per acre was charged for the survey and consolidation planning. A further scheme, proposed by R.J.M. Swynnerton, was for the acquisition of ten-acre plots of land by landless Africans. Land for this purpose was to be acquired by irrigation, swamp draining and tsetse-fly eradication on land unfit for farming and possibly later from unused portions of the White Highlands and Masai lands. There is one danger in the whole scheme of African farm ownership. An African may now borrow, giving his land as security, and R.J.M. Swynnerton expressly states that with this
privilege goes the possibility of "being sold up" if he defaults. Sale of individual African land may only take place between Africans but the possibility of powerful mortgage companies acquiring vast tracts of land is alarming. R.J.M. Swynnerton particularly emphasized the intensification of African agriculture and the full utilization of African land units. A ten-acre plot was planned to support a family and give an income comparable to an industrial wage. This productivity was to be accomplished by education, expert advice, the application of scientific knowledge to crops, soil care, fertilization and marketing, and by shifting the emphasis from subsistence farming to cash crops, especially tea, coffee and pyrethrum, which were until recently, profitable European monopolies.

It can therefore be said that the Mau Mau rebellion, by bringing the seriousness of the land and agricultural problem before the authorities did accomplish major changes, at first for the Kikuyu in the Central Province and eventually for all Kenya. As regards the conditions of agricultural workers, some attempt has been made to tackle this problem. Most of the Kikuyu were moved off the Highland Farms during the Emergency and their place was taken by machinery, where possible, and by Kipsigis tribesmen. "The Emergency disturbed the balance of labour between the settled areas and the African land units and the return of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribesmen is upsetting the pattern once again." This situation will take time to adjust and has been complicated by the fact that
tremendous public works projects were accomplished with detainee and convict labour and that there is a current trade recession. It is now (1958) government policy to introduce statutory minimum wages for agriculture on a district basis, starting with areas where wages are most depressed. A most significant event is the arrangement made in August 1958 for a representative of the International Plantation Workers' Federation to visit Nairobi to help the Kenya Federation of Labour organize an Agricultural Workers' Union. While the government policy has been tacitly accepted by the settlers, H.M. Collinson, President of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, immediately made clear the stand of that body. He said a strong, stable Employers' Union must prevent the Agricultural Workers' union becoming a "force for evil" and described the proposed union as "powerful and possibly corrupt." The condemnation of the Union before it was even organized shows the settlers' attitude and the great struggle ahead. Once again government policy is running ahead of settler sentiment and it appears that settler re-education must precede any radical reform.

Turning from agricultural wages to urban wages one sees more tangible improvements. The Report of the Carpenter Committee in 1953 has helped and the structure of the minimum wage has now been revised to allow for the needs of a family, and housing projects also aim at room space for a family. But as yet very little progress has been made in the latter owing to shortage of funds. According to the Annual Medical Department
report for 1956, thirty-two semi-detached five-room houses have been constructed at Kericho for African tenant purchasers at a cost of £20,000; in Nairobi under the tenant purchase scheme 350 Africans have been provided for, while Mombasa has accommodated 4000 people. This is, of course, only one housing scheme. The Colonial Development Corporation has lent £2,000,000 since the Emergency to the Kenya Housing Authority to help ease the situation.

The infant Trade Union movement in Kenya is certainly playing a relatively large role in attempting to effect improvements and iron out genuine grievances, but it has been handicapped by the Emergency. African Trade Union members were so suspect that if a man picked up for screening was found to be carrying a union card, it went hard with him. However, the Government has officially recognized the Kenya Federation of Labour and has stated its policy in favour of the growth of Trade Unions. The Unions are one of the most hopeful signs for the future well-being of the Colony for they are not only educational but develop individual responsibility and cooperation. But the fact that they struggle to improve working conditions and wages; to raise the dignity of the African worker; to break down colour bar; and that they not only are spread throughout the Colony but have international support makes them unpopular with the reactionary elements. There is fear that, lacking a Colony-wide political organization, politicians may try to use the Trade Union movement. "The African trade union leaders have never made any effort to use
the Trade Union movement as a political weapon," said J.D. Akumu, General Secretary of the Mombasa Dock Workers' Union. But the fear remains, and will, until a Colony-wide political party is permitted.

There is one grave aftermath of the Rebellion and the Emergency that must be considered. It has been shown in Chapter V that there occurred in Kenya certain departures from the regular procedure of British justice which weakened African respect for law and, in this way, encouraged lawlessness so evident in the Mau Mau society. After the declaration of the Emergency, the tendency to use extra-legal methods for the restoration of law and order increased. The judicial treatment of Africans certainly did not encourage African confidence, either in the settler or in British justice, and has given rise to one of the prime problems facing the authorities today: that of the restoration of confidence between the races. As Sir Hugh Dow said, what is needed is "a policy which can replace mutual fear by mutual hope."  

At the time of the Declaration of the Emergency there was an atmosphere of panic and alarm not conducive to justice. In November, Colonel Grogan, speaking in the Legislative Council set the tone by saying "Hang the rascals for treason and confis cate all the land of the Kikuyu." Early in 1954 Humphrey Slade, M.L.C. for Abadare, said "In times of Emergency it is better that ten innocent people should be punished than one guilty man should escape."
"There appears to be a deplorable lack of equality before the law as between Europeans and Africans . . . . Perhaps the most serious failure of justice in Kenya is the failure to ensure discipline among some Europeans.\textsuperscript{144} Some Christian Kikuyu who had been detained but released on guarantee of their innocence by church leaders, said, "when declaring to camp officials that they had not taken a Mau Mau oath were called liars and told to go away and think again. Some detainees have been subjected to violence as an 'aid' to confession."\textsuperscript{145}

It is, however, not necessary to give more particular instances,\textsuperscript{146} but a few generalizations are in order. The number of Africans hanged for crimes other than murder was very high. Of the 1068 men hanged, 320 were hanged for possessing arms or ammunition, 200 were hanged for consorting with terrorists, and only 200 for actual murder.\textsuperscript{147} During operations, 10,534 men were killed as against 2664 captured or wounded -- a high ratio of deaths to captures. During the winter of 1954-5, two significant things happened. Colonel Young\textsuperscript{148} resigned as Commissioner of Police in Kenya and the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, on issuing an amnesty to terrorists who would surrender, expressed his sorrow "for the bad things that had been done in some cases by those who had helped the government . . . we must be sure that none of us who are allied together against this movement oppress people. The Government is fighting Mau Mau for the sake of the rule of law."
he continued there would be "no further prosecutions\textsuperscript{150} for past offences committed by members of the security forces in the course of service, but from this moment onward any of you or any other person who commits any offence will be prosecuted with the full strength of the law." It was, in short, a double amnesty: for the terrorists, and for the security forces.

During the Emergency special discriminatory legislation was applied to African members of the Legislative Council, preventing them from addressing a group of more than three of their constituency members. Eliud Mathu introduced a motion to the effect that "this Council is of the opinion that African members of the Legislative Council should be free to hold meetings with their people."\textsuperscript{151} On a division of the Council, the motion was lost. Only one European, S.V. Cooke, voted with the Africans and Asians in favour. This restriction was not eased till 1955 when African M.L.C.'s were allowed to address district meetings after obtaining a police permit, and is still not entirely lifted today.\textsuperscript{152} These restrictions are a direct result of the Mau Mau rebellion and the fear of Africans that it engendered. But the continuation of such restrictions is causing a desperate feeling of frustration. "It is necessary to provide an outlet for African political thought."\textsuperscript{153} Today, six years after the Emergency,\textsuperscript{154} there is less opportunity\textsuperscript{155} for expression than there was in 1952. African politicians, who are now elected, resent this injustice.
Suspected injustice is almost as damaging to good racial relations in the Colony as is a proven case. For six years a suspicion of miscarriage of justice has hung over the case of Jomo Kenyatta, and today this suspicion has flared up, fed by the unexpected confession of the chief witness for the prosecution, Rawson Macharia. The suspicions circumstances surrounding the trial were as follows: On November 17, 1952, Superintendent K.R.T. Goodale applied for a warrant to arrest Jomo Kenyatta, to the recently appointed District Commissioner at Kapenguria, 280 miles away from Nairobi. This little village is in a sparsely populated northern area of the Rift Valley Province inhabited by backward Suk tribesmen. There was no suitable court house in the village and the trial had to be held in a school building and witnesses had to be brought from Nairobi. The prosecution and the defence took on a racial character from the start, for, apart from D.N. Pritt, Q.C., from London, all the defence team were non-Europeans.

On April 8, 1953, the magistrate delivered judgment on Jomo Kenyatta. Speaking of the chief witness for the prosecution, Rawson Macharia, he said, "Although my finding of fact means that I disbelieve ten witnesses for the Defence and believe one witness for the prosecution, I have no hesitation in doing so. Rawson Macharia gave his evidence well." Rawson Macharia was the only witness who claimed to have actually seen Kenyatta administering a Mau Mau oath. He described in detail the whole ceremony and how Kenyatta had tried to force him to
take the oath at Kiamwange on March 16, 1950. But he explained that being a Christian he would not take the oath and Kenyatta had made him promise never to reveal what he had seen and then let him go. For two years he "hid these things in his bosom."

On November 22, 1958, Macharia swore an affidavit: "I admit that my said evidence was false . . . in particularly with regard to an alleged initiation ceremony on March 16, 1950. . . . I state unequivocally that there was no such meeting or ceremony." Macharia also swore that other witnesses for the prosecution had been bribed and produced a letter, marked 'secret', allegedly written from the Attorney General's Chambers, Nairobi, November 19, 1952, offering him an air passage to the United Kingdom, a two-year course in local government at a university at £1,000, subsistence for his family for two years at £250, provision for his family in case of his death, a government job at the end of his two-year course. Within two weeks of giving evidence Macharia did fly to London, where he took a two-year course. On his return he did have several government jobs, none of which he could hold. He has since been set up in a beer shop but again has not been successful.

In January, 1959, the Attorney General instituted criminal proceedings against Macharia for swearing a false affidavit. He is to stand trial and to be defended by D.N. Pritt, Q.C. What this new trial will reveal no one can tell. But the damage has been done. The whole subject of justice has been raised anew. Kenyatta, having served his seven years, has been brought to Kitale in connection with Macharia's trial. Once
again in Kenya, since the Emergency, there has been no fundamental change. Justice is still tinged with racialism and there is still a close association between the administrative and the judicial functionaries, which with the present anti-government feeling does not make for confidence in justice.

The foregoing summary of the situation after 1952, and during the last six years of the Emergency, has shown that though minor reforms were instigated no fundamental changes were brought in. Only courageous basic reform can save Kenya. First, the goal must be stated unequivocally, whether Kenya is ultimately to be an African-ruled state or not, so that all parties concerned know what the future holds in store. Political reforms must be bold. Constitutional democracy must not be discredited, it must be non-racial and virile if it is to be effective and capable of handling any eventuality. Land reform must be basic. The cancer of the White Highlands must be removed, and a prosperous African farming class must be developed side by side with a self-respecting, satisfied urban population. What has been known for years as the 'African problem', the difficulty of the African adjusting to the alien civilization and alien rule, and developing a knowledge and understanding of western institutions, is liable to change in the not too distant future, to the problem of settlers adjusting to the new conditions of an African-dominated state. From being the rulers of Kenya, and the privileged minority, the settlers will have to adjust to the position of the ruled
and the un-privileged. There will be a new crisis in Kenya, easier to solve than the old one, because there is no European expanding population to complicate the situation. Those Europeans who cannot adjust do not, like the Africans, have to stay in a state of hopeless frustration and sullen discontent. They can leave and be welcomed elsewhere. So much depends on the direction in which events will turn in the next decade. Considering the trend in the rest of the continent it is no longer possible to hold back the rising tide of African nationalism. The settlers can say "No Ghana here," but their words will be as ineffective as those of King Canute.

There is an interesting historical analogy between the situation in Kenya after 1952 and that in Russia after 1905. After the Revolution of 1905, only courageous basic political and sweeping land reforms could have saved Russia from the debacle of October 1917. The Duma, instituted in 1906, over the years was discredited and emasculated, so that by 1917 it could play no effective part in warding off the Revolution. At the same time one man, Stolypin, saw the writing on the wall and urged sweeping land reforms to develop a prosperous peasantry. He was strenuously opposed, both by the reactionaries who felt he was going too far and undermining the privileges of the landed aristocracy, and the revolutionaries who felt he would cut the ground from under their feet. In 1911 he was shot. Reforms lagged, and in 1917 the slogan, "land for the peasant, bread for the worker," fell on fruitful
soil. Must this happen in Kenya?

Six years ago occurred the first serious rebellion in Kenya. Its roots lay deep in the soil of Colonial history. Of the shoots that rose above the ground some were twisted, distorted, and diseased. For the last six years there has been a great tidying up, a slashing and burning, a new cultivating of and feeding of the soil. After the long, cold winter the tree of African nationalism is shooting up again. Will the tender young shoots be drawn up straight and clean by the life-giving sun of freedom? Will they grow green and healthy, watered by the warm rain of racial co-operation? Will they be able to resist disease and pests and grow strong, aided by the kindly hand of understanding? Or will they be warped and twisted, bruised and broken by the heavy heel of racialism?
Footnotes to Chapter VI

1 They have worked to try to keep the European majority in the Legislative Council, to strengthen the unofficial majority and to resist any thought of introducing a common franchise role.


3 The Kenya Government had instituted three important investigations: The committee to investigate the general economy of the Highlands under G.L. Troup; the committee to investigate wages under F. Carpenter; and the investigation of African Agriculture by R.J.M. Swnynerton. Other committees working in Kenya have been: the committee investigating the need for establishing some form of Social Security, the committee investigating central housing, the Coutts committee on African franchise.

4 The "Lyttelton Constitution" 1954, the "Lennox-Boyd Constitution" 1958.

5 First held in March 1957.

6 The policy now is to encourage private ownership and to foster "villageization" of tribes.

6a Sir Thomas Dugdale, leader of the Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya in 1957 said that it was advisable to give eight years primary education to every African child but that that would take till 1985 to accomplish as both money and personnel were lacking, "such a delay cannot be accepted," he added [Commonwealth Survey, 1957, p. 753.], so that universal African education should at least be instituted in Nairobi.

6b Since so many Kikuyu leaders have been detained and because of restrictions on voting and candidates, no Kikuyu were elected in 1957 elections; other tribal leaders are getting positions of power. Three Luo have been elected but T. Mboya (a Luo) is most tactful with Kikuyu, has constantly urged the lifting of restrictions on the tribe, and personally went to Kitale March, 1959, to greet Jomo Kenyatta as a hero, when he was brought from Lokitaung, Northern Province, for the Rawson Macharia trial. The African Elected Members' Organization stated Sept. 23, 1955, that they would "press for Kenyatta's release and return to normal life together with all those others that are imprisoned, detained or restricted." Africa Digest, Nov-Dec., 1958, p. 92.
7 African Nationalism is still hampered by the ban on all political associations on a wider than district level. Hence there is the "Nairobi Peoples Convention Party", and "Nairobi African Congress Party," etc.

8 Quotation from the *Kenya Weekly News*, Ap. 5, 1957, p.5, that illustrates this point: "The Secretary of State for the Colonies is unlikely to be impressed by the African members' silly and impertinent declaration that the Lyttelton Constitution is null and void." Referring to a statement issued by the African elected members to the effect that they regretted that absolute democracy could not be achieved at once, the article continues, "presumably it means a form of government based on universal adult suffrage - in other words an African state in which all political power would be in the hands of Africans. It is not a prospect likely to eliminate fear and suspicion among members of other racial groups. It would inevitably mean the end of civilization in Kenya and a reversion to the Dark Ages."

9 Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, African elected member, speaking in Nairobi, said "the European is afraid we are getting the spear ready and we think the European is getting the pistol ready, and this is creating suspicion. The *Times*, Jan. 10, 1959.

10 African nationalists are hoping it may later be possible to form an East African Federation, composed of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, but in all these territories, save Tanganyika, there is great bitterness and race hatred. In September 1958 a Pan African Conference was held at Mwanza, Tanganyika, to co-ordinate nationalist efforts and programs of political organizations. Delegates had gone from Kenya, including Francis J. Khamasi, M.L.C. and president of the Mombasa African Democratic Union, who was elected chairman of the conference. A Freedom Charter was adopted, condemning colonialism, white-settlerism, multi-racialism, apartheid etc., and calling for support for African Nationalism, the Declaration of Human Rights, the U.N. Charter, Trade Unions, etc. F.J.K. Khamasi returned considerably invigorated but noticing the contrast of all these countries' delegates who represented National parties and himself who represented only a district party because of the Emergency Legislation that still stands in Kenya today.

11 Since December 1951 the following countries have gained independence: Libya, Dec. 24 1951; Sudan, Jan. 1, 1956; Morocco, March 2, 1956; Tunisia, March 20, 1956; Ghana, March 6, 1957; Guinea, Sept. 28, 1958. The winter of 1958-59 has seen riots in the Belgian Congo and the winning of concessions from Belgium. French colonies are moving towards independence though 17 have elected to remain with the French Community of Nations. Somalia and Nigeria are to be independent by 1960. At the Accra Conference in Dec. 1958, T. Mboya was elected chairman.
12 Except in the Civil Service since 1955.

13 Van der Post, L. *Dark Eyes in Africa*, p. 144. A new secret society has appeared, the Kiama Kia Muingi, 478 members have been prosecuted and 289 detained by Sept. 1958.

14 Composition of the Legislative Council May 1952.

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<td>European 14 (an increase of 3)</td>
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<td>Asian 6</td>
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<td>African 8</td>
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16 Cmd. 9081. The report covered government, prisons, wages, colour bar, land, education, justice, etc.

17 Cmd. 9081, p. 9, and page 10.

18 In January, 1954, there were no political organizations allowed. In 1955 Africans were allowed to organize at the district level.

19 Cmd. 9103, p. 2.

20 Chief Secretary; Minister of Legal Affairs; Minister for African Affairs; Minister for Internal Security and Defence; Minister for Education, Labour and Lands; Minister for Commerce and Industry.

21 Minister for Finance and Development, Minister for Forest Development, Game and Fisheries.

22 Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources. Minister for Local Government, Health and Housing. Minister Without Portfolio -- all these three were Europeans. Minister for Works, I.E. Nathoo, and Minister without Portfolio, A.P. Patel, held by Asians.

23 The Emergency has not ended yet (March 1959), but the Constitution broke down and was changed, 1958.

24 It consisted of the Ministers and three appointed members. It could approve draft legislation and review death sentences.

25 The addition of two Africans and two Corporate European representatives.

26 The addition of one African and one European.

27 To be held in March, 1957.
28 The Kenya Guild was founded and made strong representation to the Commission on this subject.

29 There were five Embu women witnesses.


31 It was evident that E.A. Vasey realized the seriousness of the situation.

32 Ibid., p. 1, paragraph 5.

33 Final arrangements for voting were as follows:

1. Voting to be direct and secret.
2. There are ten qualifications for a voter dealing with education: service with Army or police; 5 years service on a A.D.C.; or 10 years service in responsible position on a farm, in commerce, government service or private service; civil or military decoration or badge from Women's Club; or tribal rank such as elder; income of £120 or property worth £500. If a voter qualified under one point he got 1 vote. If he qualified under any three other points he got 3 more votes, total 4.

2. Women had votes as well as men.

4. In the central Province special restrictions prevailed such as no woman to vote unless she had proved herself an active fighter against Mau Mau. Candidates from the land units to be selected by Chiefs and locational councils. Voters to have one vote only. All voters had to apply to be put on the voters' list and complete a form with 15 separate pieces of information, and take an oath of allegiance to the Crown. Information taken from *Report of the Commissioner Appointed to Enquire into Methods for the Selection of African Representatives to the Legislative Council*. Nairobi, 1955; and *Sessional Paper No. 39*, Nairobi, 1956.

34 Vasey, *loc. cit.*

35 *African Elected Members*, March 1957. The Hon. B. Mate (Central Province), T. J. Mboya (Nairobi Area), D.T. arap Moi (Rift Valley Province), J.M. Muimi (Akamba), M. Muliro (Nyanza North), R.G. Ngala (Coast Province), A.O. Odinga (Nyanza Central), L.G. Oguda (Nyanza South). Over thirty African candidates had run in the elections in spite of stiff qualifications such as an income of £240 per annum or property worth £700; owner of a village or property, or son of an owner of a village or property in the electoral district for which he is running; never been sentenced to "imprisonment (by whatever name called) for any term whatsoever." [W.F.Coutts' *Report*, p. 71]

36 Apart from the qualifications necessary for a voter, the fact that he had to fill in a form and sign it frightened many primitive people.
37 B.A. Ohanga had been defeated in March 1957 and the only African on the Council of Ministers was the Hon. Wanyutu Waweru, M.B.E. who sat as a nominated Parliamentary Secretary. A minister was paid £3500 salary so that to refuse to take office took courage.

38 Secretary of State for the Colonies, replacing Oliver Lyttelton.

39 Usually called the Lennox-Boyd Constitution.

40 Elections to fill these extra seats were to be held in March, 1958.

41 The numbers stood at 14 Europeans, 14 Africans, 6 Asians, 2 Arab. As the Asians are drawing more closely to the Africans this is serious for the Europeans.

42 Hence the Europeans have lost the majority to the non-Europeans and the unofficial side of the Council has lost control to the official side of the Council.

43 He had been a nominated member of the Legislative Council for 3½ years. He had never been elected. He was one of the Parliamentary Secretaries.

44 One of the Europeans nominated for 'special seat' was E.A. Vasey, one of the liberal ministers, but by a joint vote of the Legislative Council he was defeated.

45 The following were charged with "criminal libel and conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor" by the Attorney General: T. Mboya, O. Odinga, M. Muliro, J. Muimi, L. Oguda, D. arap Moi, R. Ngala; they were found guilty and fined £75 each. [Lesson in Libel, by A. Rake, in Africa South, October-Dec. 1958]

46 To show support, Kenya Africans boycotted busses, tobacco and "English beer."

47 They received support from Tanganyika African National Congress, Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, and Zanzibar African National Congress.

48 During "Operation Anvil" (the mass screening of Nairobi Africans in 1954) Kikuyu trade unionists, especially executive members, were detained. The Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U.) worked for the release of those whom they considered innocent, regardless of tribal affiliation. From a letter by T. Mboya to the General Secretary I.C.F.T.U., 24 Rue du Lombard, Brussels, Belgium, dated June 15, 1954.
49 Addressing the Indian Congress, Mombasa, 1956, E.A.Vasey said, "what sort of example are we going to set the African voter? Are we going to make him believe that political extremism is the only way to political progress, or are we going to show that we, ourselves, believe that moderation and co-operation are the only possible paths." *African Digest*, Sept-Oct., 1956, p. 44. Group Captain Briggs, M.L.C. speaking at Nanyuki, 1958, said "good government no longer provided the political motive force, but rather lust for personal power and the unprincipled use of racial hatred and racial discrimination in reverse was the weapon. The European community was not easily alarmed, but it might well become angry if the government did not face up to what was clearly an obvious threat." *Ibid.*, Jan.-Feb. 1959, p. 134.

50 This was agreed to by the Asians.

51 These ten members were to represent all races but in no set proportion and were to be appointed from persons outside the Legislative Council.

52 In December 1958 Michael Blundell returned from England and said he was 'delighted and greatly encouraged' by the increasing appreciation by the British of Kenya's problems. He added "The Conservatives expressed full support for the Lennox-Boyd Constitution and assured me that no member of the Conservative Party was in agreement with any policy of domination in Kenya by any one racial group." *Africa Digest*, Jan-Feb. 1959, p. 134.

53 This had been promised by James Griffiths, Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1951, to be held in 1960. This implementation of the promise might mean a way out in the face of Lennox-Boyd's determination to let his constitution run till 1968.

54 Major F.H.Sprott, Chairman of the Kenya Party Conference in Nairobi, July 1958 (the party stands for the ideals of the Capricorn Society) said "within the framework of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, the next modification should establish a qualitative common roll to elect members to seats in the Legislative Council occupied at present by the Specially Elected Members." *Ibid.*, Sept-Oct., 1958, p. 51.

55 N.S. Mangat, M.L.C., said, addressing the Indian Congress meeting, 1956, "A way can be found whereby a common electoral roll can be introduced on a qualitative basis to be run concurrently with the communal rolls." *Ibid.*, Sept.-Oct., 1956, p.43.

56 T. Mboya had discussed these demands with Sir Evelyn Baring but was informed that the matter had been referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and that no reply had yet been received.
Tom Mboya was going to the All-African People's Conference at Accra December 8 to 13, on his return from London. There he was elected Chairman, a tremendous honour for a 29-year-old East African. He warned the conference, "we will not tolerate any interference with the development of an African personality or any attempt by any country, and I say any, and I mean any, country to undermine the independence we are fighting for. If the power blocs have nothing to do but fight, that is their business, let them do it outside Africa." Africa Special Report, February 1959, p. 5. This statement echoed Dr. Nkrumah. Dr. Gikonyo Kiano was also at the Conference representing the new "Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa" (P.A.F.M.E.C.A.) and stated "white and Asian residents will have to accept African citizenship first if they want to live there [in the proposed Central and East Africa Federation] as citizens." Africa Special Report, p. 6. Both Mboya and Kiano returned to Kenya considerably heartened by the Conference.

It must be remembered that no African National party is allowed in Kenya today. T. Mboya said "maintaining discipline among our supporters is extremely difficult since our right to hold meetings and make organizations is severely restricted." Observer, Dec. 14, 1958.

Dr. Gikenyo Kiano, M.L.C. (one of the six extra African members elected in 1958 and a United States educated Kikuyu) said "We want to make it very clear to the people of this country that by 1960 this country of ours will have a certain measure of self-government. This will involve a constitutional change under which the people who are in the Council of Ministers will be responsible directly to the elected members of the Legislative Council." He added, "We have determined that nobody shall cast a vote unless all have the vote." The Times, January 10, 1959.

In the 1958 elections Group Captain Briggs' party was most successful at the polls. They interpreted the new constitution as meaning "No Ghana here". "A Constitution for Kenya," Overseas Quarterly, vol. I, no. 2, June 1958, p. 46. Sir Charles Markham, M.L.C., said, Dec. 1958, "We have got to face some crises in the future that will be unpleasant. We have got to face the future as one tribe - the Europeans ... we have our own kith and kin in the Government." Tribune, Dec. 5, 1958, p. 12.

A new secret society has emerged amongst the Kikuyu called the Kiama Kia Muimgi. According to Peace News it is a

64 According to J. Bury, East Africa Representative of I.C.F.T.U., 1953-5, who knows T. Mboya well, Mboya is very resolute and uncompromising and finds it almost impossible to admit he ever makes a mistake. He is extremely brilliant, capable, and dedicated, but very vain. He is full of fun with a great sense of humour. J. Bury tells of an incident in the Union Office. A girl stenographer was given the key to the petty cash box, but Mboya was not. He considered this an insult to his honour and Bury had the greatest difficulty explaining that since the girl used the cash she must be personally responsible and alone have a key.

65 The fear for the future lies in the fact that the Africans in Kenya are not really ready to rule.

In Kiambu 272 villages were established.
In Fort Hall 235
In Nyeri 169
In Embu 128
In Meru 80

67 In *Country Life*, October 10, 1957, p. 708, there is an excellent picture of one of these villages showing the thatched huts and stockade. In 1955 the villages were badly overcrowded often holding over a thousand people.

68 Water was piped into the Fort Hall villages and "the consequent cleanliness and happiness in the homes concerned was remarkable." Kenya, *Medical Department Annual Report*, 1956, p. 15.

69 Kenya Department of Information controls African broadcasts, which are featured for 5 or 6 hours a day in 7 African languages and Arabic. The Department of Information has distributed radio sets and sends mobile vans to market places to broadcast vernacular programs. *Kenya Progress and Problems*, p.14.

70 According to Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, *Sessional Paper No. 1*, 1958-9, p. 5, "selected farmers have been allowed to leave their villages to live on their consolidated holdings." This statement issued as late as 1958 seems to substantiate the idea of "detention."

71 Every member of these tribes had to carry a green card on which was written his tribal affiliation and his work record.
During screening of Africans in Nairobi or elsewhere every member of Kikuyu, Embu or Meru tribes was automatically detained for examination and classification as black (incorrigible), grey (suspect), or white (loyal).

72 In the locations and on the estates Africans are divided according to tribe. Africans have objected to this. (J.H. Gaya, Report: Plantation Research, Kenya, May-Oct., 1955)

73 Those who could prove active support for the government during the Emergency were issued these certificates. They enabled members of Kikuyu, Embu or Meru tribes to vote in African elections.

74 "Many Africans detest and condemn Mau Mau, but hardly any of them sympathize with the government against which it is struggling." Tom Mboya, The Kenya Question, p. 17.

75 There is a similarity between the Africans and American teenagers who consider the older generation out-dated and admire the "Elvis Presleys."

76 Fitted with wire cages.

77 This is the word used in Kenya, even by authorities, for the different sections of a detention camp where suspects are held for questioning.

78 The African locations in Nairobi were surrounded by ten-feet-high barbed wire fences; by 7 p.m. every African had to be behind the wire. Entrances were guarded by native police. Mr. Small, District Commissioner for Nairobi, told J. Bury: "All these damn Africans understand is barbed wire."

79 Though Kenyatta has been doing hard labour for seven years, he is not forgotten and has become almost a legendary figure. In March 1959 he was brought to Kitale to the trial of Rawson Macharia and was given a tremendous welcome by men of all tribes.

80 In any part of Kenya declared a "special area" white men may shoot to kill merely on suspicion.

81 Major Sprott supports him.

82 Kenya Progress and Problems, British Information Services, April 1958, p. 11.

83 Ibid., p. 12.

84 163 students studying in the United Kingdom, 1957-8, receive government grants.

85 A multi-racial college opened in 1956.

87 A side light on this problem is to be seen in British Columbia. Most of the children at present in the New Denver School for Doukhobor children are the children of the detainees on Peer's Island. Attempts are being made in Kenya to rehabilitate children. There is a large camp for this purpose at Wamumu, there are fifty Youth Clubs in the Central Province, and Boy Scout and Girl Guide work is helping, but "the number of children in need of care and protection ... is likely to build up." Statement of Government Policy, *Sessional Paper I*, 1958-59, p. 20.

88 Held in July, 1955, with Sir David Lidbury as Chairman.

89 Women were also to receive equal pay for equal work.

90 Cmd. 9475, p. 211.

91 A Kikuyu minister last year went to take a parish in England.

92 Cmd. 9475, p. 211.

93 Most church congregations are segregated.

94 "Institutional arrangements that emphasize race must be abandoned." Sir Hugh Dow's recommendation, Cmd. 9475, p. 433. "It is to be understood that the isolation of the races in East Africa must be overcome." *Ibid.*, p. 194.

95 "Kenya Asians Protest Against Discrimination in Education," *African and Colonial World and the Indian*, April, 1958, p. 17. Asians point out that only 31% of Asians pass the Preliminary Examination, while 80-90% of the Europeans pass. Examinations are different for Asians, Europeans and Africans.

96 The rule is that an Asian gets 3/5 the salary of a European for the same work and an African 3/5 of what the Asian gets.


98 Asked to work with a Commission that was going to tour Kenya, Mboya said he would only go provided he could stay in the same hotels with the white Commissioners.

99 Resolutions passed by the Association of Municipalities in East Africa:
   1. Jan. 7, 1955. "No direct representative Committee (a negotiation committee) be accorded to the Kenya Local Government Workers' Union or any other local Union."
2. March 23, 1955. When arranging relations with African employees Municipal Authorities should act "so that the Trade Union Movement as now embodied in African staff matters is not recognized." T. Mboya, The Kenya Question, p. 43. In 1958 J.D. Akumu, general secretary of Mombasa Dock Workers' Union, said police permits were necessary for every Union meeting, tape recorders take down every speech. Docks, Railways and busses are "essential services," so strikes are impossible. Troops are called out in case of any strike.

100 Fenner Brockway has consistently fought the battles of all Colonial peoples, in the House of Commons, as have Leslie Hale, Barbara Castle, etc.

101 Cmd. 9475. Chairman of Commission was Sir Hugh Dow; other members were Sally Herbert Frenkel, Arthur Gaitskell, Rowland S. Hudson, Daniel T. Jack, Kidala Makwaia, Frank Sykes.


103 Ibid., p. 2.

104 A Griffiths said "Quite frankly -- I speak with restraint--that delay is unpardonable." House of Commons Debates, Vol. 509, col. 1220.


106 Cmd. 9475, p. 60. This opened up possibilities not only for Africans to buy land in the White Highlands, but for whites to buy in the Reserves. As a safeguard he proposed that the Governor's consent should be necessary for inter-racial transfer of land, and that land leased should be subject to regulations relating to good farming practices.

107 The suggestion was that the Masai should be approached very carefully and offered water, of which they are very short, through irrigation systems, extra bore holes, etc. in return for leasing of part of their lands for settlement by those from the congested areas.

108 Cmd. 9475, p. 58.

109 Good pastoral land can usually be made to produce more heavily through intensive cultivation but the Masai are pastoralists and scorn those who cultivate the soil. They are a proud, self-sufficient tribe, utterly unimpressed with white civilization. They desire only to be left alone. They distrust the white man and scorn him.
110 Despatches from the Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and from the Administrator of the East Africa High Commission Commenting on the East Africa Royal Commission Report, 1953-55, July 1956, p. 20 (Cmd. 9801.)

111 Land was surveyed by photography from the air and also on the ground. The latter caused much trouble as the natives were deeply suspicious, as always, that the survey was preparatory to taking away their land.

112 Under the individual hereditary githaka system amongst the Kikuyu, land had been divided amongst descendents until in some cases a man had only \( \frac{1}{2} \) acre of land in one area. Through purchase, occupation, and negotiation, he had often managed to acquire little patches all over the reserve so that half his, or his wife's, work-time was spent in walking to and from the plots, and half the land was wasted in boundaries which it was customary to make with m'toka lilies.

113 The authorities concentrated on the Central Province, not because the density of population was here the worst, because there was more population per square mile in Nyanza where little has been attempted to date, but because it was here that the Kikuyu had made their stand, first through their organizations like K.A.U. and later through Mau Mau. Also the fact that thousands of Kikuyu were in jail, detention camps or dead, made the consolidation easier. 1955 all Terrorist lands were confiscated.

114 Africans can now get loans for this. £50,000 had been paid in fees by August, 1958.

115 Two major projects are at Mwen Tebere in Embu district and at Perkerra at Baringo, 1000 acres and 1200 acres have been reclaimed respectively. Mau Mau detainees provided the labour.

116 A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture (Swynnerton), p. 9.


118 Sir Philip Mitchell's despatch of Nov. 1951, was ignored until after the Emergency, yet it was the basis not only for the East African Royal Commission, but for the Swynnerton Report.
These tribesmen are much more primitive than the Kikuyu and are not nearly such good workers.


The magnificent new airport at Embakasi has been constructed by this labour and is known as 'the finest hand-made airport in the World.' Lack of funds had held up its construction but free convict labour made it possible. Irrigation and draining projects were also done by this labour, hence the backlog of public works has been cleared away.


A farm owners' association similar to the one in England.

*East Africa Standard, August 15, 1958.*

It is government policy to foster strong Trade Unions *Sessional Paper I, 1958-9, p. 14.*

F. Carpenter was Labour Commissioner. His sympathies lay with the settlers, he was a land owner himself, and he felt Africans had progressed quite far enough.

Minimum wage was arrived at as follows: The cost of the amount of food, clothing, fuel and light, and cleaning materials needed by a single man established what was called the Poverty Datum Line, $3 1/3rd of this cost was added, plus 2/- for taxes. The Formula P.D.L. + $3 1/3% + 2/- = minimum wage.

This is an extremely important reform as it may prevent broken homes in the future.

Page 20 of the Report.

In 1952, twenty thousand Africans were bedless in Nairobi.

*Commonwealth Survey, June 10, 1958, p. 475.*

The 1952 troubles were largely responsible for its growth. As the shocking conditions in Kenya became known outside the country the I.C.F.T.U. realized that there was a grave danger of communist penetration. To ensure that the Trade Union movement in Kenya got organized on a sound anti-communist basis they sent James Bury to East Africa in 1953, to organize the movement and associate it with the I.C.F.T.U. As a Canadian he was selected because it was feared a British Trade Union man might be suspect by the Africans and an American might be suspect by the English settlers.
Any African organization is distrusted. The fact that in 1953 the Union headquarters was at Kaburi House, on the notorious River Road, the old headquarters of the K.A.U., added to the suspicions of the authorities. There was Mau Mau infiltration in the Unions but not communist, according to J. Bury and Sir Vincent Tewson.

During Operation Anvil, 39 Trade Union leaders were picked up and classified after screening, most were rated "black", which meant permanent detention. After the Federation of Labour pressed for re-screening the Ministry of Labour sanctioned re-investigation of Trade Union leaders, and found 17 "white" and released them at once.

Especially in the handling of funds and keeping books. The Unions are trying to develop a sense of integrity in connection with public funds. This is very difficult as Africans have little experience with money. The Kenya Society Act insists on having all Union books open for inspection at any time. Any irregularities can cause cancellation of registration.

They are supported by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (the Kenya Unions are affiliated with this body); The International Transport Workers' Federation; The British Trade Union Congress; the American A.F.L.-C.I.O. (they presented through Geo. Meaney a cheque for $35,000 to Tom Mboya to help build the new Kenya Federation of Labour new headquarters); the I.L.O.

The Hon. E. S. Grogan, M.L.C., famous for his settler support and fire-eating speeches invited Tom Mboya and James Bury to dinner at an exclusive Nairobi Hotel, 1954. The hotel observed colour bar but permitted Mboya to the dining room because of his host, Col. Grogan.

On his visit to London, August 1958.

Mr. Justice Cram, Kenya Supreme Court Judge, said on May 5, 1955, "The Kikuyu Home Guard is an illegal body. Looking at the evidence there exists a system of Guard Posts manned by Headmen and Chiefs, and there are interrogation centres and prisons where the Queen's subjects, whether innocent or guilty, are led by armed men without warrants, detained and as it seems tortured, until they confess to alleged crimes and then led further to trial on the sole evidence of these confessions. It is time the court declared any such systems illegal and should come to an end, these dens emptied of their victims and those chiefs exercising arbitrary power checked and warned." Truth About Kenya, (Eileen Fletcher, London, 1956), p. 4.

Cmd. 9475, p. 387.
Sir Philip Mitchell said in *African Afterthoughts* (p. 262), that the first news of the rebellion he got in England was a large type headline in an August paper, "Night of the Long Knives in Kenya," and was mostly about the "fears of massacre" which the reporter ascribed to the British settlers. The impression from this and subsequent reports was that "there had been or was about to be a general rising and massacre." He returned to Kenya on October 22, and found "very little had in fact happened," and the "12 murders that had occurred . . . slight evidence of an anti-European rising." *Ibid.*, p. 266.

There has been almost identical reporting in March 6, 1959, *Province*, about Rhodesia, "Africans Plan White Massacre,"

But by April 1 not one white man had been murdered but most leaders of the African National Congress were arrested and nearly 50 Africans had been killed by the security forces.

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142 *Times*, Nov. 27, 1952.


144 *Times*, Oct. 29, 1954, the legal correspondent writing.


146 There were several notorious cases in Kenya during the Emergency:

1. The case of Captain G.S.L. Griffiths charged with murder, Nov. 24, 1955, of an African forestry worker, Ndegwa, whom he had first shot with a Bren gun and then killed with 2 shots from his revolver. It came out at the trial that Griffiths had been anxious to increase the score of killings for his company and had paid 5/- a head for killings. A score board was kept in the mess. Griffiths was acquitted. (R.K.Pankhurst, *Kenya*, p. 106.)

2. The case of Kamau s/o Gichina who, accused of theft from a guardhouse, died of injuries allegedly the result of torture inflicted by police while questioning this detainee. A.C.Harrison, the Magistrate, sentenced the two police inspectors to 18 months hard labour and the Chief Inspector and District Officer were fined £25 and £10 respectively. The East Africa Supreme Court altered the £10 fine to 6 months hard labour and increased the 18 months sentence to 3½ years.


3. The case of Jonathan Njenga, a trade unionist who was seriously shot in his office by a European Reserve Officer April 24, 1954. The officer was never even tried but after Njenga's case was taken up by the Kenya Federation of Labour, the I.C.F.T.U., and the British T.U.C., the Kenya Government paid him compensation. T. Mboya, *The Kenya Question*, p. 147.
There had been disagreement over responsibility for law and order, the government claiming that the Provincial and District Commissioners were responsible. It was generally believed that Colonel Young had disapproved of the way things were handled, because of the close association of judicial and police powers.

Africa Digest, Jan-Feb., 1955, p. 15.

Parliamentary Delegation 1954 noted Kenya police brutality. There had been 130 prosecutions of police for brutality. Settlers had started a fund, collecting £3000, to pay legal expenses of all members of security forces accused of atrocities. Cmd. 9081, p. 8.


Today, no political meetings are yet allowed in Central Province. The following were the conditions for an African M.L.C. to hold a meeting of the Mombasa African Democratic Union, in Mombasa, 1958. (1) Only licenced speakers allowed to speak, (2) police to make tape-recordings, (3) questions on subjects not on the agenda not to be answered, (4) no speech made elsewhere to be read or interpreted, (5) no recitations or songs, (6) no political speeches. Tribune, December 5, 1958, p. 12. Mombasa is 300 miles from Kikuyu land.

Cmd. 9081, p. 10.

In October 1958 the Legislative Council rejected a motion to end the State of Emergency, but agreed to end it "as soon as possible." The presence of the Kiama Kia Muingi society was given as a reason for continuing the Emergency, though this society is said to be passive and to advocate civil disobedience.

After the Emergency in Nyasaland, March 1959, the Kenya Government arrested 34 African leaders including the organizing secretary, Elijah O. Agar, and general secretary, Joseph Mathenge, of the Naironi Peoples Convention Party of which Tom Mboya is President. They also suppressed the Party's paper "Uhuru."

President of Kenya African Union with headquarters in Nairobi.

Who was also a magistrate. Because the warrant was issued here, the trial would be held here.

Mau Mau troubles and the Kikuyu were almost exclusively in the Central Province.
159 It is alleged that he may be a communist or "fellow-traveller." He went from England to view the Moscow trials and returned to defend the Stalinist methods.

160 A Punjabi barrister, Kapila; a Sikh, Jaswant Singh; a Goan, De Souza; a Jamaican, D. Thompson; an African, H.O. Davies; an Indian, Chaman Lall. Most of the Defence being non-white, could not stay in the only hotel at Kitale because of colour bar. Kitale was the nearest town to Kapenguria, and all participants had to drive the 24 miles daily as there was no accommodation at Kapenguria.

161 Kenyatta was convicted of managing Mau Mau and administering oaths and sentenced to 7 years hard labour. On release he is to be restricted to the Kapenguria area for life and never to take part in any political activity.


163 For some unaccountable reason the savage oath administrators had not killed him, nor had Mau Mau murdered him after he was released by Kenyatta.

163a Africa Digest, Jan.-Feb., 1959, p. 135.

164 Manchester Guardian, Jan. 6, 1959. On April 4, B.B.C. news announced Macharia had been sentenced to 21 months; no further details given.

165 Today there is always the danger of communist infiltration. The situation in Kenya, with no national legitimate political expression allowed and a vast dissatisfied urban population, and the unpopularity of the forces of law and order, is tailor-made for communism. So far they have little influence but they will certainly try "to fish in these muddy waters."

166 All racial restrictions must be removed and the size of estates should be limited; countries such as Poland, Pakistan and India have limited the size of land holdings.

167 There is such fear of the rapid increase of the African population that Sir Hugh Dow recommended the teaching of birth control methods. It is still government policy to encourage Europeans with capital to come to Kenya and take up land.

168 Racialists could go to the Union of South Africa and good farmers would be welcome in Australia, New Zealand, or Canada.

169 The successive electoral laws eventually resulted in a Duma acceptable to the Czar.
170 As a result of his reforms, 2,000,000 families, or 22.7% of the peasantry of Russia was settled on privately owned farms. But the large estates remained to irk the land-hungry peasant.

171 While attending the theatre in Kiev he was shot by a revolutionary who was at the same time a secret police agent. It was rumoured that the secret police knew of the intended assassination and closed their eyes. As the Czar was also at the theatre precautions must have been taken.
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*Reports marked * have been extensively used in this thesis.


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Secondary Material - Books


Useful information well documented from primary sources. Communist approach.


Author was Governor of Kenya, 1925-31. Imperialist approach.


Useful information on labour. Anti-imperialist.


An account of constitutional changes 1948-58.


Roman Catholic point of view. Identifies Mau Mau with Communism.


Sensational -- pro-settler.


Scholarly, detailed, very useful. Excellent bibliography; unbiased but sympathetic to Africans.

*All books marked * have been extensively used in this thesis.*

Author had experience as Native Administrator. First hand knowledge of Central Province and Kikuyu. Sympathetic to Africans.


Valuable reference book on almost every subject. The revised edition, 1957, was used for recent events.


Articles by different men who attended a conference sponsored by Johns Hopkins University. Article on Kenya's strategic value by Admiral R. L. Conolly.


Sections on Kenya useful because well documented. Left wing approach.


Excellent account of social and economic conditions in East Africa.


A biography of Lord Delamere. Useful but very biased in favour of the settlers.

A reprint of the old series of letters giving the two points of view. Re-assessment brings it up to date. Valuable book.


Useful chapter on education and missionaries.


Useful background material on Kikuyu. Gives an insight into the author. Somewhat idealized account of "Gikuyu" before the white men came.


Tells of grievances leading to Mau Mau from African viewpoint.


Gives aims of Mau Mau; seems to exaggerate the importance of the society - but since they killed Leakey's brother it is understandable. Is apologetic for the settler. Has an original approach to missionary activities.


Excellent picture of social conditions. Sympathetic to Africans. Critical of government policy.


Useful background of Mau Mau and chapter on African organizations; gives constructive criticism.


Superficial and sensational but presents settler attitude during the Emergency.
Useful on Masai and education. Pro African.

A bitter attack on settler rule. Worth reading.

Useful on land commissions in Kenya. Sympathetic to Africans.

Discerning and informative on social conditions. Good map.


Only small section on Kenya but useful for social conditions.

Author was Governor of Kenya, 1944-52 and worked for forty years in Colonial service. Has keen perception. Sympathetic to Africans. Antagonistic to settlers and *East African Standard*.

Presents the African viewpoint.

Detailed study of social life of this tribe.

A good chapter on labour and native industries in East Africa. Useful statistics.


A critical unbiased study of missions.


Excellent history from the African point of view.


Good information about recent events with many quotations but as the source of very few of the latter is given they could not be used. Anti-imperialist.


A simple, explanatory history written for Africans.


Each African tells his own story of the influence of colonialism on his life. Section by P. Mockerie was useful.


Introduction sympathetic to Kenyatta. Verbatim account of much of the evidence. Useful.

Written in the form of answers to controversial questions. Good chapters on Mau Mau, missionary influence and racialism. Sympathetic to Africans.


Prepared by a study group of the South African Institute of International Affairs under Major-General Sir Francis de Guingend. Gives general information on climate, industry, etc., but relates Kenya to the Central Africa Federation and the Union of South Africa.

**Pamphlets**


**Serials**

*Africa Digest.*

July-Aug. 1956 — Kenya Section, pp. 6 – 12.
Nov. -Dec. 1958 " " pp. 91-93.

*Africa and Colonial World and the Indian.* June 1956, p. 7; April 1958, p. 17.


Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 1950-52.


Unpublished Material

Personal interview with J. Bury, March 17, 1959.


Mboya, T. Copy of his letter dated June 15, 1954, Nairobi,
to J. H. Oldenbrock, General Secretary, I.C.F.T.U., Brussels.


Mboya, T., General Secretary, Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions, Memorandum to the I.C.F.T.U. and the British T. U. Congress, August 1954. (Confidential report.)

