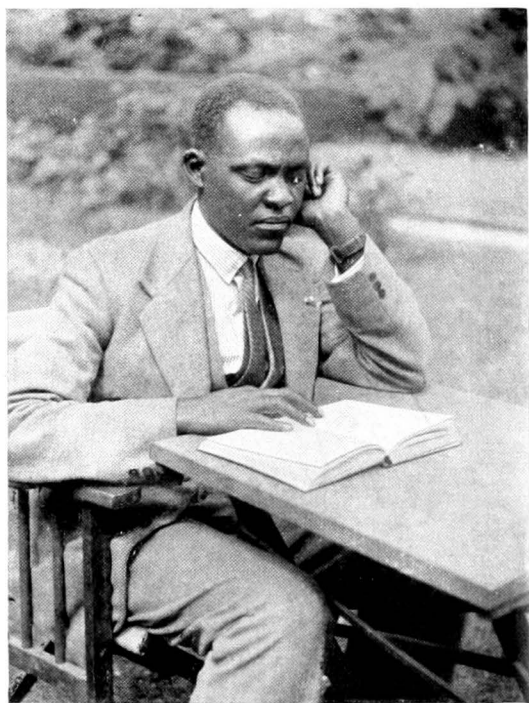


AN AFRICAN SPEAKS FOR HIS PEOPLE



**AN AFRICAN SPEAKS
FOR HIS PEOPLE**

PARMENAS GITHENDU MOCKERIE

With a Foreword by
PROFESSOR JULIAN HUXLEY



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FOREWORD

IT cannot be often that a native African from the centre of the Dark Continent gives a picture of his own community and of the system of government of his white rulers as it appears to him; but that is the intriguing and valuable opportunity provided by this book for the English reader.

Mr. Mockerie is a young Kikuyu who has been in Europe for two years. He has used the command of our language thus acquired to write this volume to tell us how a native of Kenya looks at the world, and what he feels about the administration under which he has to live.

I personally have found his story not only extremely interesting, but extremely salutary. It is one thing to look critically at a social structure from outside, another thing to be admitted to the feelings of those who must live within its framework—here I recommend the account of what it means for a black man to work on a white plantation (Chapter VI). It is a shock to find that the best-intentioned acts of a paternalistic government may be regarded as—may, indeed, in certain aspects *be*—unjust; witness the results of the Kenya Government's prohibition of sugar manufacture by the Kikuyus on the ground (in some ways justified) that the sugar was used to make strong liquor, with a consequent great

increase of drunkenness. It is a surprise to most people to learn that many East African tribes were democratic in constitution, and that the new system of rule by native chiefs, imposed by Government, is to them a step backward, while they regard the native government of Uganda, often held up as a model of indirect rule, as savouring of tyranny. It is salutary to discover how the registration system for natives (as oppressive in its way as that of Soviet Russia) and the restrictions on public meetings and political gatherings appear to an African who has seen the degree of freedom obtaining in England: here I may refer the reader to the account in Chapter VI: of the formalities required of the group of enquiring Kikuyus who sought to raise funds for an enquiry into the folk-lore and customs of their own tribe. It still comes with something of a shock, even to one who has been in Central Africa, to read of wages of 10s. a month, and an extra shock to be reminded that a month in African business parlance does not mean twenty-four working days (or even twenty, as with the five-day week), but thirty working days, generally of nine hours each.

The author has interesting things to say on a number of other points: the suppression of dances by the missionaries, with the consequence that the Christian native finds the time hanging very heavily on his hands in the evenings: the rival progress and differing attitudes of Christianity and Islam in Kenya.: the reaction of the native African to the situation arising out of the discovery of gold in the

Kakamega gold-field in Kenya, the most lamentable consequence of which has been a disposition, not confined it seems to the natives of Kenya but spreading also through neighbouring territories, to mistrust the white man's word. Then there is the under-nourishment of the Kikuyus, many of whom now get, it seems, even less meat than they used to : considering the information available in the report on Diet in East Africa issued some years ago by the Medical Research Council, in which it was pointed out that the one-sided vegetarianism of the Kikuyu tribe was having a number of ill-effects, this is a real scandal.

However, a foreword must not anticipate too much, and I will end by commending the reading of the book to all those (luckily still numerous in this country) who like to hear both sides of a question. We have heard the views of the Kenya administrators, the settlers, the missionaries, the Hindu community, upon the colony and its government: we have not heard those of the native population, who outnumber the whites by nearly 200 to 1, and whites and browns together by 50 to 1 : or at least we have only heard those views at second hand, filtered and inevitably distorted by passage through a white man's mind. Here are those views unfiltered and undistorted. They will not, of course, necessarily be the views of Africans of other tribes, nor of all those of the same tribe: but they are authentic.

In conclusion, I would especially draw attention to the chapter on Education. There is a widespread

belief that the native African is constitutionally inferior in his mind to the European, and this belief has undoubtedly coloured many African educational policies. Whether that belief is in any sense correct or not, we cannot yet say. But what we can say is that the native African is capable of profiting by education to a degree which is far beyond that which the true believers in the whites' racial superiority used to think possible. Mr. Mockerie is in his own person a witness to that.

Education, in the broadest sense, is one of the keystones of African progress. There is a pathetic hunger for education in the hearts of thousands of Africans. If they feel that they are being fobbed off with a second-rate or even a second-best education, good enough for blacks but not for whites, there will—and rightly—be trouble. I said that Mr. Mockerie was himself a proof of the innate capacity of the African. I ought perhaps to add that this volume is most definitely his personal production. A group of English friends have corrected a few slips of grammar, deleted some repetitions, and suggested a few minor rearrangements: otherwise both plan and execution are his own.

JULIAN S. HUXLEY

King's College, London.
July 1933.

CHAPTER I

A VISIT TO EUROPE

It was in January 1931 that I left Kahuhia, Fort Hall, in Kenya, where I was a teacher, and went to Uganda to take a teachers' refresher course at Makerere College. After a few days' stay I became interested in what was happening in the palace of the King of Uganda, and I became acquainted with one of the ministers of the Buganda Government. An arrangement was made for me to visit the Lukiko (Parliament) and the administrative départements. The department which interested me most was the Treasury, because it was the first time I had seen an African entrusted with the public finances. The books were produced so that I could see how these African ministers were able to handle the business. As I could not speak Luganda, my whole conversation was in English. The treasurer took me to his official residence for tea, and as he himself had been to Europe, our conversation was not confined to problems in Africa. In February I had no idea that I should so soon find myself in that Europe of which the treasurer was talking.

In April I received a telegram from the Kikuyu Central Association, an African society among the Kikuyu people, saying that I was requested to pro-

ceed to England to represent the Kikuyu people before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa, which was sitting in London. I showed the telegram to the head teacher of our department, and we both went to see the Director of Education to inform him of the situation. I had only a fortnight before sailing. I returned home to see the Executive of the Association, and found that it had decided the main points of its memorandum to the Select Committee, and had left the details to Mr J. Kenyatta, the other delegate, and myself, to develop as we thought best.

On April 28th we left Nairobi by train to take a steamer for England. The Association had appointed delegates from different parts within and outside the Kikuyu Province to accompany us to Nairobi Station. A crowd of a thousand people came to see us off. It was very difficult for all the town workers to buy platform tickets which cost 10 cents (one shilling is 100 cents) because they had spent their last month's earnings, and most of them would be in debt, expecting to repay when they got their wages at the end of the month. But those who were able to get the tickets came on to the platform and stood in rows five deep. The President of the Association, then Mr Joseph Kang'ethe, gave a short talk to the crowd, explaining to the people the reasons why the K.C.A. had decided to send their delegates to England. Among the crowd were a few Indians and a white detective. One of the Indians discouraged me while I was shaking hands with

people on the platform by saying to me, "How can these poor people succeed in their struggles; don't they realise that only money talks?" This made me think that the Indian was an enemy of our cause, but I realised later when I arrived in England that he was trying to give me a hint. I replied to him that although money talks, the committee, which we were going to see, treat the representatives of the poor in the same manner as those of the rich. He may have had some experience of British politics in the past of which I had no knowledge. After we had made a farewell speech to the crowd and taken snapshots, the train left for Mombasa and from there we took the steamer to England. On our way in the train we ordered supper and asked for a table to be provided in the dining-car for both of us. The steward told us that as we were Africans (we were travelling second class) we were not entitled to use the dining-car, which was reserved for Europeans. He said that the meal could be brought to our carriage and we could eat it there. I said to him that we would not mind being served in the carriage, as the important thing was not the dining-car, but to see that our stomachs were not empty. I asked the steward how much we would pay, and he answered that our supper would cost us four shillings each, the same amount as that paid by the Europeans. He added that we would be served after them. It was very late when he brought the supper, and when I tasted the soup it made me feel sick, as it was very cold, being what was left after the Europeans had

been served ; and afterwards I could not fall asleep because I felt hungry, for although I had paid for the supper I did not eat it.

Next morning we arrived at Mombasa. Here we met a good number of Mombasa people who had come to meet us and who took us to a house where rooms were reserved for us. They hired a taxi and took us round the town and along the shore. The two days we spent before we sailed were unpleasant on account of the lowland heat, and I had to take baths as many times as possible in order to cool my body. Our Mombasa friends accompanied us to the Italian steamer, *Mazzini*, and we left Kenya on May 2nd, 1931. When we called at Magadoxo, an Italian Somaliland seaport, we went on the shore and tried to get a taxi to take us about the town. We could only find one, which we tried to get into, but the driver told us that it was reserved for European passengers, so we walked on and came to a street which was guarded by policemen who prevented us going through it, because the only people who could go through were Europeans. We turned another corner where, fortunately, we met two Kenya Africans, one a Kikuyu and the other a Swahili. We retired to an Abyssinian restaurant which was being used for a party. These Abyssinians invited us to join the party, and provided us with refreshments before we left for the boat.

I was pleasantly surprised at the relations between Europeans and Africans at Massawa, an Italian Colony on the Red Sea, where I found Africans

mixed with Italians in Italian hotels; this was the first time I had seen Europeans catering for Africans in their hotels. Here, too, we made the acquaintance of an Abyssinian, who took us to the Abyssinian quarters in order to see their social life. The intensity of the heat prevailing in this part of the world made drinking almost an act of worship. Here, in our cabin, we were joined by an Abyssinian Christian priest who was going to the Scandinavian countries of Europe for conferences. This man could speak Italian, German, Swedish (his Bible was in Swedish) and a little French; but as he could not speak English we had to get an Italian nun who was on the boat—and who could speak my mother tongue, Kikuyu—to translate our questions into Italian to the Abyssinian.

I found African porters speaking Italian whenever we called at Italian ports. In British East Africa you are not likely to find porters able to speak English, since even if they have been fortunate enough to get some schooling they have not been taught anything but their native tongue. Some African soldiers from Massawa who were on the boat could converse in Italian among themselves.

On the boat we were well treated by the European passengers except by a missionary who had been in Kikuyu for sixteen years and was going to Italy for furlough. We had a little quarrel with him when he told us to stand up when a European was strolling on the deck beside us. We told him we were not acquainted with some of the passengers, and if we

stood up whenever a European was passing we should get tired before we got to our destination. At this reply he became very angry and began to rail against African societies, how they collect funds and organise themselves and become independent of the missionaries. Next morning, when I found he refrained from speaking to me, I reminded him of the Biblical phrase "Let not the sun go down upon your anger." From this time onwards we were friendly until we left the boat. When we were crossing the English Channel I began to feel cold, as I had no warm clothes. I had no overcoat, since I thought that the climate of Europe would be like that of Africa, where I had never possessed such a thing as a thick coat. After a few days' stay in London we learnt that the Joint Select Committee would not see any more witnesses on East African problems. The hint that I was given by an Indian at Nairobi Station that only money talks began to revive in my mind. To my surprise we received an intimation from the secretary of the Committee that the hearing of witnesses had been closed. Nevertheless, we submitted the K.C.A.'s memorandum in which were embodied the wrongs from which Kenya Africans were suffering.

The position was as follows: the British Government invited African, European and Asiatic witnesses from East Africa to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee which was considering the federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika under a High Commissioner. Nine African witnesses were

officially required, three from each territory. Some of these witnesses were nominated by the African people, but in Kenya the African witnesses were Government officials nominated by the Government, in spite of the fact that Indian and European witnesses were non-officials appointed by their own people. The Kikuyu Central Association, since they had knowledge of the Government nominees and of how they were dictated to by their own superior officials, decided to send Mr Kenyatta and me to England to express the point of view of the African community of Kenya. It is curious that when the memoranda which were submitted to the Committee from different individuals were published in the official Blue Book our memorandum¹ was not included.

We approached some of our British sympathisers and a meeting was organised in one of the committee rooms of the House of Commons by the Union of Democratic Control, at which we both spoke. It was well attended by people interested in African problems, and there were some members of the Joint Select Committee who questioned us about the points we raised. After the Committee had issued its report, the same Union organised another meeting at the House of Commons under the chairmanship of Lord Anderson, who expressed his sympathetic attitude towards our cause. At this meeting Mr C. R. Buxton, M.P., who was a member of the Joint

¹ This Memorandum is reproduced in the appendix at the end of this book.

Select Committee, reviewed the Report on Closer Union in East Africa, after which Mr Kenyatta and I expressed our criticisms of the report.

A young imperialist who was in the audience came to talk with me in the corridor of the House of Commons after the meeting. He wished that there had been a Kenya European to answer the questions we raised at the meeting. In his conversation he was frank in telling me that social and political equality between Europeans and Africans were inconceivable. I asked him whether a man could be considered just who, having accepted the responsibility of a family, discriminated between his children, giving some good food and the others bad. His reply was that Africans should be taught on their own lines, and that he was disgusted when he saw Africans speaking in the House of Commons, which was a place for white men. We departed courteously, and he said he would like to have more talk with me about negro problems.

In August 1931 we attended the Fabian Summer School at Farnham, in Surrey, where both of us were asked to give a talk on East Africa to the school. On the same day as our talk, Dr. Drummond Shiels, then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave a lecture. During question and discussion time, it was pointed out that, in Kenya, African societies were not free to hold meetings on political and economic matters unless the organisers had a written permit endorsed by a European officer, on which the nature, place and duration of the meetings was

specified; and how Europeans and Indian communities were free to meet without Government interference. Dr. Shiels seemed to regard this statement as rather an exaggeration, as he could not believe that such a thing could happen under a democratic Government. I admired one of his remarks, that if facts were known, things would be put right, and it encouraged me to believe that soon our British sympathisers would do their best to get African conditions alleviated and black folk treated in the same manner as white.

In October I left London for Birmingham, to study at Fircroft College for Working Men, one of the Selly Oak colleges grouped round the original Quaker Settlement of Woodbrooke. Here I began to learn something of international relationships, as my fellow-students were composed of Africans from West Africa, Egypt and South Africa, of Asiatics, Americans, Australians, and of Europeans from Iceland, Scandinavian countries, France and Germany, as well as from England. The feeling of friendship between the white and coloured students was remarkably good. As long as I stayed there I could not feel lonely, and I associated more with the white students than my countrymen. Some prejudiced people believe that coloured people, owing to differences in colour and culture, should be treated differently from white men. I did not find any difficulty in living with white men, as those with whom I came into contact became my friends. I only had a little difficulty when I was spending my

1932 summer vacation in Denmark. In Copenhagen four Americans tried to prevent me from being served in a restaurant, but a Danish manager told them that they could leave the restaurant if they objected to my presence. This does not mean that all Americans whom I met treated me badly. I met some of them, including a negro lady from New Orleans who was giving a lecture on Negro Culture at the International High School at Elsinore, Denmark, and I made friends with them. When I was leaving the school Mr Peter Maniche, the Principal of the school, asked the guests, most of whom were English and some American, to sing a farewell song, "For he's a jolly good fellow," for me. These Americans joined in the farewell song wholeheartedly. Such friendship made it clear to me that colour prejudice is not inherited, but exists only among narrow-minded people who cannot feel that all men should be friends.

What white children think of black children can be simply illustrated by what I have seen in visiting a school in England. At this school the children were asked beforehand whether they would mind my visiting it. All of them said that they would not like to see me. I was allowed to visit in spite of their objection. They must have read books which deal with so-called savages, pigmies, and cannibals in Africa, and came to the conclusion that all Africans eat people. One of the children asked me what a savage would look like. Their schoolmaster remarked that a savage could not speak English. A good

number of questions about Africa were fired at me, and they seemed satisfied with my replies. While I was passing between classes I heard one of the children saying, "he is as tall as our teacher, but darky." After my visit they were asked to write a short account of what they thought of me. In their writing they stated how they saw my fingers, nails, hair, teeth, physique and my manner of dressing, and stated in a complimentary way how they were pleased to see me. Before I went to the school they had wrong impressions about Africans, as they had read books which were not qualified to show how climatic conditions in tropical countries have made the skin of the inhabitants look different from that of those who live in cold countries. Reading such books, which do not emphasise that coloured people are human as well as white, the children grow up having colour prejudice which no religious instruction ever removes once it has taken hold in their minds. This makes it impossible to change their attitude when they come in contact with coloured people. When I was in Denmark I saw a little girl about eight years of age whose parents were living near the house where I was a guest. She used to come and visit the children of my host, but whenever she met me she ran away, because her mother used to tell her that if she did not behave well she would bring a chimney-cleaner, who was represented as a black man.

CHAPTER II

LIFE IN KENYA

A DESCRIPTION of what Kenya Africans used to believe before the advent of Christianity is difficult, because beliefs varied in different tribes. Those of the Kikuyu tribe (which is one of the Bantu tribes) who have not changed their religion, believe that God has two forms, a black and a white. When someone wants to pray, he says "Black God, and White God, help me." God to him seems to bring misfortune to anyone who breaks the tribal customs or tribal moral codes, but he is forgiven when he offers sacrifices to God by killing sheep and brewing beer. A misfortune which affects the whole community is not attributed to the misbehaviour of an individual, but to the anger of God. Phenomena such as lack of rain, pestilence and tribal warfare occur because the nation as a whole has angered God through its negligence of tribal responsibility toward Him. The national sacrifices were not offered in a church or mosque, but in a special place sanctified by the generation in power. At this place there is a big tree which is considered as an altar. The tree is left standing there permanently until the life of the generation which has the right to conduct national affairs has been superseded by the new generation.

A sheep which is brought to the altar is paid for in rotation by the villagers within the district in which the sacrificial place is situated. If a person refuses to give his sheep for the sacrifice when he is requested to do so by the village community, his property is confiscated.

Every year when the millet or wheat is ripe, a sheep is brought to the altar and killed so as to offer thanksgivings to God before the people are allowed to harvest their crops. Before the national thanksgivings are offered to God no one is expected to take his millet from the field, as by doing so he would displease God, who would bring misfortune on the community. The congregation which meets at the sacrificial place consists only of middle-aged and old men; no women and children are present. When the sheep has been killed, the congregation roasts the meat at the foot of the tree and eats it. Subsequently, the congregation stands up to pray to God. One who has been chosen by the congregation to conduct the ceremony recites the following phrases, while others join in the chorus:

“ *Īĩ thai ĩ thai-ĩĩ-ĩ* ”; chorus, “ *ũũ-ĩ ĩthai, ciana thai, mbũri thai, indo thai, ĩĩ-thai-ĩĩ.* ” Literally this means: “ May God bring peace, and bless the people and their harvests, cattle, sheep and goats so that when the people use them they may be blessed.”

Then the congregation marches through the district singing the phrases loudly in order to let the people

know that the harvests have been celebrated and the corn may now be taken from the fields.

When diseases break out, the method of offering national sacrifices is similar to that of the harvest. The advice of witch-doctors is not required to predict what will happen, but sometimes the help of diviners is sought for. Besides the communal sacrifice, every family has to offer sacrifices when one member of it has fallen ill. But before doing this the head of the family seeks the advice of a reputed diviner in order to find the causes of the illness, and what kind of sacrifices he should offer. The diviner, as a rule, is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in the neighbourhood, and the psychology of the people in the district in which his client resides. He asks many personal questions about the nature of the illness, in the same way as a lawyer questions his clients regarding particulars of cases when they are brought to him. He may say that the patient is ill because he has neglected his duty to make festivals in remembrance of his dead relatives, whose spirits are supposed to bring misfortune; to get the patient better, a sheep must be killed and the clan or neighbours invited to come and eat it, as a feast assigned to the spirits of the dead relatives. Consequently, the head of the family brews beer which is obtained from the juice of sugar-canes, and which it takes a day to get ready, and invites his friends to come to his house to drink it. He reminds them that the purpose of his brewing is to propitiate the spirits which have been given power by God to bring the illness to the patient.

The motive underlying this feast is, that when the people are joyful, their spirits convey their thoughts to the spirits of the dead departed relatives, who will become joyful too, and leave the patient alone. If the diviner suggests that the patient or one member of the family has broken one of the tribal moral codes, a removal of the stain of the misconduct is advocated. Here a diviner is employed to purify the whole family, as it is thought that the misconduct of the patient will affect the family if sacrifices are not offered, and the diviner is used as a medium between the patient and the spirits which cause the trouble. A popular diviner is often engaged by people from a long distance. When a diviner is invited to a man's home in order to treat a patient, he is given fees in kind or cash. If he thinks that the illness is a serious one, he uses his magic performances and gives the patient some medicine, besides killing a sheep for offering sacrifices. The people look upon him as a mediator between the patient and God. The ministry of a diviner is like a caste, because nobody can become a diviner unless he belongs to a diviner's family.

There are two kinds of doctors who are supposed to cure diseases. Firstly, a caste doctor, who removes uncleanness and misfortune, and secondly, a doctor whose medicine can cure only wounds. A European doctor is classified with the latter. His medicine is sought for to heal the wound on a person, but not for the wound in the soul. You will find people going to a qualified doctor (non-African)

when they have a sore leg, but when they feel that the trouble of their illness arises out of neglecting the tribal moral codes and customs they consult a caste diviner. The caste diviners believe that they can cure the trouble, but nowadays they have been challenged by the Christian Africans who have learned from the Bible that the old tribal beliefs are incompatible with the conceptions of the Christian Bible, and that these beliefs prevent the African patient from visiting qualified doctors for their advice. These caste doctors, especially in Kikuyu, did not play a great part in politics before the coming of the European Power, because some of them were connected with witch-doctors who had the art of making poison, which the people hated, and for which they used to punish them by death. If a diviner were known to make poison he forfeited his office and was prosecuted by the villagers before a tribal council who had the power to inflict the death penalty. The caste doctors not only oppose the practice of European doctors, but also deplore the teaching of the missionaries, who have superseded them in the ministry of divination. They realise that their popularity is gradually being weakened by the missionaries and the qualified doctors, and their living endangered. They do not consider that missionaries possess supernatural power, because they have observed that they ordain Africans as priests who would not be allowed to administer religious functions, and who have not been called by God to the service according to the tribal customs.

A caste doctor begins to practise by showing his powers of clairvoyance. His full practice does not start while his father is still alive, holding the profession. When he dies, a lot of people who desire to be told their future by the new candidate welcome him and persuade him to take up the profession. If he does not, he attributes any misfortune he may suffer to his failure to practise: God is angry because of his refusal. This gives the necessary sanction to his future career, as when he has been ordained to the ministry the people would regard him as the right person chosen by God for the service, and his family's long-established reputation as diviners increases his popularity. As his father was practising this profession he himself is acquainted with the tactics required, but in order to convince the people of his vocation he makes a great feast and invites a number of friends and the old priests to come and witness his ordination.

Children are not taught about God by their parents, as it is thought that they cannot grasp the personality of God. All family religious observances are performed by the parents until the children marry and have their own homes. The parents teach their children more about social conduct and customs than they do about God, with much elaborate superstition, and the rapid progress of Christianity is testimony to the elementary nature of their religious ideas. Christian missionaries prevent their adherents from taking part in social dances as they think them devilish or immoral in character.

Because of this, African Christians have now nothing to do in the evenings, which formerly were reserved for social dances. These dances were organised according to the age of the participants: boys and girls under sixteen, young men and women from eighteen to thirty, and middle-aged folk. The last two groups hold their open-air dances during the night when the moon is full. They have special playgrounds where the villagers meet to see the dances. Sometimes when there is not much to do in the fields the dance is held in the daytime. When there is no dance in the evenings, Africans spend the evenings in telling stories, especially the children, and challenging each other to solve riddles.

Kikuyu society was based on communal lines, except in the manner of holding property, which was held individually. But everyone's labour was in the interests of the whole community as well as for his own benefit. This cannot be clearly understood unless we know how individuals acted co-operatively. When a person wanted to build a house he did not hire labourers; he would go about his village and request his neighbours to help him in felling trees for building, and carrying them to the place where he wished to build his new house. After he had gathered all the materials, he would ask his neighbours to assist him in preparing the site and erecting the house. His wife, too, would ask her women neighbours to prepare meals for the builders. This communal system still prevails in farming. Six or more farmers will work all together on the farm of

one of the group, and then on that of another, and so on, until all the six or more farms have been cultivated. They find it easier to work co-operatively than to work individually.

While some East Africans produce beer out of bananas, cereals and palm trees, the Kikuyu brew beer from sugar-canes. They pound sugar-canes in a mortar and then wring the juice out. This needs a good number of people, so the brewer usually seeks the help of his neighbours. No brewer ever sells his beer: it is brewed for entertaining his friends.

Some time ago a labour-saving sugar-mill was introduced by Europeans and bought by Africans. Many thousands of pounds were so invested. These mills began to manufacture a great deal of sugar, and they gave African farmers the incentive to grow more sugar-canes on their own farms. But all these sugar-mills have now been confiscated by the Government and destroyed, on the grounds that the possession of them is conducive to drunkenness. Naturally, farmers who invested in the mills, engaged labour, and bought fuel for sugar-making, felt much aggrieved, especially since Europeans make sugar freely with the help of sugar-mills and sell it to the Africans at a high profit.

A Kikuyu, when he wants to brew beer, cannot do so unless he gets permission from his chief, who demands a portion of the beer free of charge. This is regarded as an unjust imposition. It has also an evil effect upon the chiefs, who get so drunk that they are incapable of doing any useful work.

In African society the marriage dowry is as important as it used to be in the past in Europe. Only the man is required to find a dowry (usually live-stock, but sometimes cultivated land). It is taken as evidence that he is industrious and able to set up a home for his wife, and he tries to show his love for her by making the present as large as possible. The dowry custom has tended to limit population, and to make men marry too late. There is no tribal law against polygamy, which has to some extent been encouraged as a means of reducing the number of unmarried women, but the majority of Africans have only one wife: this is not on religious grounds, but either from personal taste or because a man has not enough land to support more than one wife. Some men have many wives because they desire to build up a big clan bearing their name; sometimes a first wife asks her husband to marry a second because she lives in a wild or lonely place, and fears wild beasts when her husband is away. Women in an African society are probably neither more nor less free than they were till recently in Europe, when women were not considered fit to take any part in public affairs. The teaching of Christian Churches, with its literal emphasis on the duty of women to obey their husbands, does not tend to remove customary ideas of the inferiority of women's place in society.

Kenya has suffered from slave-raiding, especially along her coastal districts. Most of the captured slaves were sold to Europeans by the Arabs. The

former transported them to America along with the slaves captured on the coast of West Africa, and those slaves who could not be transported to America were sent to Arabia. The method of capturing slaves was cruel and unspeakable. Thank God the slave-trade has now ceased. Kenya Highlands were immune from the slave-raiders owing to the lack of communication and the number of wild animals between the coast and the Highlands. The slave-raiders used to hunt slaves in the villages, where they found the villagers working on their farms, and used to intimidate the villagers by burning down their houses and shooting some of them so as to prevent counter-attacks. When they had done this, they seized the sheep and goats, and having captured all that remained of the villagers led the younger men and women to the waiting ships for transportation. Not only were the lives of the slaves demoralised, but their relatives, who had escaped, suffered heavily from the loss of their companions and their property. Many of these victims could not realise the purpose of the slave-raiding, as rumour spread about the country that the people were captured by the white men to be eaten. The Africans assumed that tinned meat was the flesh of the slaves, and there are still old people in the country who do not dare to take tinned meat.

The Africans who took part in the transaction were those who had been captured and professed Moham-medanism. The Arabs who had settled along the coast of East Africa needed slaves for sale and for

domestic servants, and when captured Africans professed Mohammedanism they were given social equality in the slave enterprise. These Africans helped their masters a great deal in acting as guides. They were no longer slaves because their services were regarded as profitable. One might ask why these Africans participated in enslaving their countrymen. The answer is obvious: having obtained an alien religion and living a different life from their countrymen and given social status by their masters, they regarded their kin as heathen. Their masters taught them that they were not like their relatives. In order to give these Africans some impressive attitude the slave-hunters gave them a term to use when they wanted to address any one who had not professed the alien religion: "Mshenzi" (heathen) was the word used by the slave-raiders and their African followers for this purpose, and it is still used by some people when they want to address Africans in a derogatory way. These Africans had no money share in the trade; they could not negotiate with the slave-exporters, and had no ammunition for use in slave-raiding. They were only hired as guides and given social equality in the religious organisation of their new masters. The African Moslems, who were converted during the slave-raiding, played a great part in getting fresh converts inland. Here they built mosques with the help of the Indian and Arab Moslems, who probably contributed a large part of the cost and the plans of the buildings.

Mohammedanism has taught the African converts

that religious observances can bring races together and make them live as brothers. For instance, the Indian and Arab Moslems did not encourage separate churches between races, but instead of doing this they worshipped together, as when an African had professed Mohammedanism he was no longer regarded as "Mshenzi," or heathen. Consequently, many Africans become Moslems, especially on the coast of East Africa. The influence of Mohammedanism over African people in this part of the country is dying out because of a lack of active organisation among the Mohammedans themselves; they do not get fresh converts and most Africans who change their beliefs profess Christianity, since Christian missionaries are more active than the Mohammedans. East Africa is faced with a choice between Eastern and Western civilisation. Eastern civilisation is represented by the Indians and Arabs, and Western civilisation by the European community through the agency of their missionaries.

African Mohammedan converts wear clothes like an Asiatic person, and a Christian African wears European costume. Indians in East Africa are mainly engaged in trade, keeping shops among the African community. They sell commodities squatting on the ground, while European shop-assistants sell theirs standing at the counter. Africans who have been to school under the white man, and who are taking up trade or commerce, sell their commodities standing up as they have seen the white man do, instead of squatting on the ground as their

Easternised brothers. The civilisation of Asiatics can hardly claim to have established a stronghold in Africa, although its advent was felt before that of the white man. Their influence has declined through lack of continuity in their association with Africans and through lack of social institutions and schools. The Indian and Arab Moslems who associate with African Moslems do not take the trouble to build schools for their African converts as the Christian missionaries do. They leave their converts to manage their own affairs, build their own schools for teaching the Koran, and no more. African Moslems are taught how to write in Arabic characters and to read the Koran; things that would induce them to further studies are neglected, and most of the schools are staffed with unqualified teachers. For this and other reasons African children, hungry as they are for education, flock to any school where they feel that they can be fitted for the general life of the country. Western influence has penetrated African life so thoroughly that there can be little doubt that it will predominate in the future.

The Moslem community, however, has something to teach the Christian community, that is, the co-operation of those who profess one faith. The missionaries, when their influence was felt in Africa, built separate churches for Africans and Europeans, giving the impression that they discouraged a friendly feeling between both races. A stranger might be surprised that African and European Christians should have separate churches while both

profess to be bound by one God and one faith. As time goes on there will be a wide gulf between European and African Christians in Africa, and this may already be found where both black and white live together. Possibly the European community does not realise how deeply conscious Africans are of this segregation, because there are not many books written by Africans themselves on the subject to let them know what an average African thinks.

CHAPTER III

KIKUYU TRIBAL INSTITUTIONS

ITUIKA (*tuika*: break) is a system which has been used among the Kikuyu by every new generation when it desires to relieve the old generation from the administration of the country. The Kikuyu country had been a democracy for centuries before it came under the European power. Her system of government had been formed in a different manner from that of the kingdom of Uganda, where the Baganda were ruled by despotic kings. The Kikuyu people were once under a king, known as Gikuyu, from whom the Kikuyu name is derived. It is said that his government became autocratic, and he compelled the peasants to leave their farms and join in tribal warfare. This caused the people to be short of food, and since they had no say in the administration of the country, the population revolted. The *Demmi*¹ generation found that the easiest way to get rid of despotic government was to have a system of peaceful revolution every thirty to forty years. The *Demmi*, the generation which dethroned King Gikuyu, made certain rules which have become laws, i.e. (1) that every member of the community

¹ *Demmi*. Each generation had a different name: Mathathi, Demmi, Irtingū, Mwangi, etc.

should be circumcised, boys at sixteen years, and girls between thirteen and fifteen; (2) that all men should pay in rotation taxes in kind when they were demanded by the government, and should join in the defence of their country.

The *Demmi* generation which adopted this constitution applied it practically. The next thing it had to consider was how to accomplish the *Ituika* revolution peacefully. It resolved that all circumcised men and women are socially and politically equal, and in this way denounced the status of a king. A great difficulty arose between the old and the new generation. The old asked the new generation to honour the services it had done in the past. Both generations agreed to have a customary law that, when a new generation wanted to take over the control of the government in the country, its members should pay goats to the members of the old generation as a recognition of its past services. The *Demmi* agreed to the proposal with the knowledge that the succeeding generation would be bound to this fundamental principle. It was decided that, whenever a new generation had paid its *Ituika* goats, the old generation should immediately relinquish its social and political responsibility to the young generation. King Gikuyu and his administrative officers were helpless, as all the young men who acted as the army of the country were in revolt. The *Demmi* became a revolutionary movement which was usually composed of men between twenty-five and forty years of age. This movement formed

groups of men who went about the country singing *Ituika* songs and dancing. The demonstrations were peaceful, for the purpose of telling the young generation to offer their goats to the old generation to buy them out. The revolutionary movement declared the judicial courts of the country suspended for the time being, until the new generation had achieved control. Some of these demonstration groups used to stay away for months from their homes in their *Ituika* activities. While they were on duty they were fed by the people of the district where they spent the night. Property was declared to be communal, in order to enable the demonstrators to get food wherever they went. Every group had a leader who was recognised for his skill in singing and for that art of narrative that would arouse the people who were not inclined to take part in the demonstration. The *Demmi* after a few years finished paying for *Ituika* goats, and every village sent delegates to a tribal council which is believed to have been held at Gathanga, somewhere in the Fort Hall district, in the Kikuyu Province. A temporary camp was built where all the delegates met, and the first thing they did was to elect a council and president and appoint an eminent elder of the old generation to advise them. The president was given the name of " *Mũthaka* " (beautiful). When the council met it drew up rules to be followed by the *Demmi* generation. It affirmed the necessity for circumcision and for religious observances, recognised personal property in land and animals, and decided on the

punishment of thieves and murderers. While this council was in session it assumed the functions of the Government, and asked that all outstanding claims for justice should be reported. Preparation took many months owing to the multiplicity of reports from all over the country, and the lack of quick communication.

The constitution of a new generation could not be effective unless it was proclaimed publicly. The council announced a war-dance to which all those who were able to attend were invited to come, to witness the proclamation. The dancers and spectators formed a big ring in the open air, where a goat was killed to make the proclamation valid. This ceremony of killing goats or sheep to bind every member of the community at an important tribal gathering has been used in Kikuyu from the very distant past until to-day. Groups of villages united into districts which managed their own affairs and administered justice. All young men were obliged to prepare themselves for the defence of the country. Their parents gave them sword, spear and shield which they carried wherever they went, with the exception of the shield, which was carried only during warfare and when there was a war-dance. In order to keep the young men enthusiastic, they had their own camps for sleeping; they were not allowed to live with their parents when they had reached fifteen years of age, and also they were prevented from marrying while young because they were expected to be occupied in military training. The

young men, when they wished to eat, used to go home to their parents in a group. No one was allowed to go home by himself for meals, as they lived and spent the day together. They were not used to cooking their meals at their own camps, with the exception of food which they could roast.

The duty of the elders was to administer petty civil cases while reserving the difficult cases for the council of the district. The whole body of the villagers used to become a court to try civil cases. Anyone might become a judge, but usually married men were chosen. To be recognised as a full judge the applicants had to pass three ceremonial stages. Firstly, a fat goat had to be killed and a party of those who had been judges were invited to join in the ceremony and declare that the applicant had passed the first stage of admission. Secondly, a big ceremony, which was attended by people from neighbouring villages, was arranged. Some of the guests who were friends of the applicant brought gifts during the day of ceremony, usually foodstuffs to supplement the food given to the party by the host. A fat goat or bull had to be killed and beer brewed in order to make the occasion festive. This party was confined to adult folk of both sexes. Women seemed to have a jolly time dancing and singing while the men joined in choruses. At the end of the feast the older judges declared that the applicant had passed the second stage of his initiation. The motive behind the second feast was to make the applicant known to all those who had been judges before, and to the villagers. The final stage of

ceremonial qualification was more elaborate than the first two. The applicant's age was taken into consideration before he was allowed to pass the final stage. He must be over thirty at least, and active in serving the community. When a member was unwilling to pass the final stage he might be compelled by the village community to do so because it valued the service he had given in the past. If he refused to comply with their wishes he was brought to the court of justice, where he was ordered to make arrangements for his final ceremony. When a man had arranged for the final stage of admission to the membership of *kiama* (law court), the elder who acted as the chief justice of the district where he lived gave him a bundle of twigs of a special tree called "*Mūtathi*" as a token or badge. He carried his badge on his person wherever he travelled so as to be recognised as a chief judge.

The *Ituika* system not only gave the Kikuyu people democratic ideas, but also provided full liberty for every citizen to express his opinion. After the *Demmi* generation came the *Mathathi* who were responsible for the maintenance of *Ituika* principles. The generation which followed the *Mathathi* called themselves *Irüngū*, and their successors were "*Mwangi*." These last two names have been taken in rotation since *Mathathi*'s dominance, up to this day. The present generation in Kikuyu is called *Irüngū*, whose fathers are known as *Mwangi*. (*Irüngū* is derived from the word *runga*, which means "make straight.") The next generation will be known as *Mwangi*. *Ituika* has

played a great part in the social organisation of the Kikuyu people, particularly in preventing the old from exploiting and oppressing the young.

The *Irūngū* generation at present has been handicapped in all directions, and the activities of social organisations have been restricted by the British administration, who do not allow the freedom of speech and of association which the people used to enjoy before its advent.

While conservative, tribal government was not restrictive, and allowed everyone freedom of expression and initiative; it only forbade activities which conflicted with the interests of the people as a whole. Its laws and customs were few in number as compared with British laws and ordinances, which restrict an African native from moving freely from one place to another, and deny him the right of forming social organisations to improve his condition. Thus he loses his initiative in the social structure of life, is forced to be dependent economically, and has a perpetual feeling of inferiority instead of developing his personality. Laws are of doubtful value when they are made not for the interest of the whole community, but for particular classes whose interests conflict with those of the majority of the people.

Difficult questions arise when two distinct communities are living together under one government whose direct administration over these is based on a dual policy; that is, when separate laws are passed for both communities. Even if Europeans have

reached a higher level of education and development, is the Government justified in promoting the interests of Europeans and denying the Africans the right to share in the development of the land? Should the Government not devote its resources to bring up the lower class to the level of the other? It is wrong for any government to create deliberately an upper class, with special rights in land and government, and to use taxes derived mainly from the poor to further the interests of the upper class, which will become so strong politically and economically that it will be impossible for the rest of the people to oppose it. If a government wants all its subjects to be content it must cease to promote the interests of one class at the expense of the other. The functions of a democratic government should be equally distributed among all classes without distinction. As this cannot be attained without sound educational facilities afforded to the community, the Government should formulate a common educational policy in a common language and make it easy of attainment by every child through free compulsory education. In a country where the Government has one educational policy for an upper class and another for the rest of the people it is not doing its duty as it should; it is strengthening the existing prejudices between both classes.

CHAPTER IV

KENYA UNDER BRITISH RULE

THE population of Kenya (according to recent estimates) consists of 3,000,000 Africans, 45,000 Indians, 12,000 Arabs, 17,000 Europeans; and the area of the country is approximately 225,000 square miles. Politically, the European community is organised through the activity of the European landholders, who have district associations which combine to form the Settlers' Convention of Associations, whose resolutions often influence the legislation of the country. This body is represented on the Kenya Legislature by eleven elected European members. The Indian community is represented by five and the Arab by two members. The African community has no direct representation on this official body, although its direct taxation to the Central Government is greater than that contributed by the non-Africans.

The laws of the country, most of which affect Africans, have caused them to form organisations for furthering the interests of the African community. There are two chief societies, namely, the Kikuyu Central Association, representing the Kikuyu tribe, and the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Association, organised by the Kavirondo tribe. The idea of forming African

societies originated with Mr Harry Thuku, a Kikuyu man, who in 1921 formed a society known as the East African Association. The object of the Association was to organise African men and women to protest against the reduction of wages which was introduced in 1921 by the Convention of Associations. The rate of wages was and is ten shillings a month of thirty working days of nine hours each. The proposed reduction was thirty-three and one-third per cent., that is, a labourer who earned fourpence a day would only be given twopence halfpenny for working on the European plantations for nine hours. The British Government of Kenya during this time had passed legislation to subject all Kenya Africans over sixteen years of age to the Kipandi, a system which restricted them from moving from one place to another unless they carried pass permits on their persons, and which authorised all employers of African workers to enter their wages on the permit. This system is a great hardship to the African people, and rouses anger when the holder of the permit is treated as a criminal if he forgets to carry it on his person.

The reduction in wages produced a decline in the supply of labour on the plantations, so official pressure was thought necessary to help the farmers to secure it. Forced labour was exercised through African chiefs, whose positions as civil servants were endangered if they failed to induce the requisite number of men and women to work on European plantations.

Harry Thuku, who was the leader of the East African Association, was arrested on March 15th, 1922. The East African Association declared the first strike of Nairobi workers in the history of Kenya. Men and women demonstrators marched to the Nairobi police line, where their leader was confined. The demonstration was merely a protest against his arrest, and was quite harmless, because anyone who knows that the weapons of Africans are such things as sticks, would not contemplate that the demonstration could stand up against the defence force of Kenya with machine-guns and rifles. Anyhow, the demonstration grew in size and instead of being dispersed peacefully, the police force was ordered to shoot down the demonstrators. The massacre was so intense that the official report admitted that twenty-five men and women were killed on the spot, but the leaders of the demonstration collected over two hundred names of persons who received bullets and died at their homes, and in addition there were many who, although they escaped death, suffered from permanent injury because they were afraid to go to hospitals to get bullets extracted; the only two hospitals in Nairobi are controlled by the Government.

Mr Harry Thuku and his two right-hand men were deported for nine years without trial. His Association was broken up when all its leaders were arrested and imprisoned. The African workers from Uganda and Tanganyika who were members of the

Association discontinued their membership, and also the Kavirondo, who had been represented in the Association, were advised by the missionaries working among them to disaffiliate from the Association. The Kavirondo therefore formed their own society, the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Association, with the assistance of a British missionary. This association was formed to prevent the Kavirondo from joining the East African Association, which was supposed to contain some elements of revolution, but it stands for the principles for which Mr Harry Thuku was deported. - The Kikuyu tribe, having found that the East African Association had been deserted, formed its own organisation, the Kikuyu Central Association, which has now a membership of fifteen thousand.

The Africans of Kenya have been handicapped in organising their own societies, owing to the restrictions imposed upon them by the Government. They are not allowed freedom to speak in public or freedom to hold meetings. Naturally, Africans are discontented because they find that European and Indian associations are free to hold meetings and collect funds for furthering the interests of their own organisations without interference by the Government. This discrimination between races arises out of the idea that Africans are insensible to what is right and what is wrong, and must have special laws made for them. Under the Native Authority Ordinance almost any kind of restrictive rule can be made by the administration.

The Kenya Somali community, having realised the weight of restrictions laid on Africans, have requested the Government to classify them with the foreign communities such as the Arab and Indian so as to exempt them from any sort of law that affects Africans. If the Somali had seen Africans enjoying the same rights of liberty as the white man and the Indian, there would be no necessity for them to request the Government to classify them with the Indian community, as they are natives of Africa. The denial of freedom of association to Africans when they have no representation on the legislature of the country cannot be quietly accepted by them. The British Government have pledged themselves to guard the interests of Africans in British Colonies: this should mean efforts to improve their status and education. But when we come to the application of the pledge, we find it based on abstract theory.

It has been argued that the African people can be ruled through chiefs nominated by the Government. This system can hardly be satisfactory to a community which had deposed the autocracy of hereditary chiefs before European colonisation. The only place in East Africa where a system of hereditary chiefs was found intact during the advent of the white man was Uganda, where the common people were still under the yoke of despotic chiefs, whereas in Kenya the people had deposed them and established tribal democracy. Uganda still has hereditary kings, who nominate district chiefs, and the common

people have no say in the chieftainship; but in Kenya the Government nominates the chiefs, instead of allowing the African people the right of electing their own chiefs. Thus the Government has introduced a foreign idea which has robbed the people of their form of democracy. Chiefs who are nominated by European officials cannot win the confidence of the people over whom they are imposed. African political associations in East Africa, having found that the Government creates reactionary chiefs without the consent of the people concerned, constantly request the Government to restore the right of the people to elect their chiefs. When a chief is appointed by the Government, and his administration is corrupt, the people of that district are placed in an unhappy position. They cannot take legal action against him, because of fear of reprisals, and they realise that the chief would be supported by the courts in which he himself acts as judge.

Apart from the restrictions on freedom of association, the African people suffer badly from the Native Authority Ordinance, whereby a District Administrator can issue orders in his district which he executes because he acts both as administrator and as judge. It is hard for an African to find justice. Corruption of chiefs who are not responsible to the people whom they rule is unavoidable when we consider the low wages paid to chiefs. A man may be a chief over a district containing 8,000 inhabitants and get a wage of £5 a month. Under him he has five sub-headmen, and some hangers-on who help him to

convey the instructions of the European official to his people. He will pay to the five sub-headmen 10s. each, per month, out of the £5. Now he has £2 10s. left to spend on his travelling expenses while he is going to the office of the European officer to receive orders. Suppose on his way home he feels hungry and finds ripe bananas or other fruit on someone's farm, could he be prosecuted for trespass? Certainly not. If the owner of the farm wants to take action against the chief he would be directed to report to a district court of chiefs who are the judges. The trespasser is among the judges helping to decide the charge against himself. He will tell his colleagues that any one who has no fault can throw the first stone at him, and will maintain that he was on duty executing the orders of the European officer.

I received the following letter from Kenya while I was studying at Ruskin College, Oxford.

DEAR PARMENAS,

We undersigned would like you to inform our British sympathisers that the Kikuyu people wish to be governed by an elected paramount chief, with a representative council, whose constitutional sovereignty should be fixed by the Kikuyu people with the assistance of His Majesty's Representative—the Governor of Kenya. Our tribe is very concerned with this matter, because our people are drifting about without any objective, due to the lack of leadership which the artificial chiefs imposed upon us by Europeans have failed to give.

Further, we believe that the Kikuyu people as a race can only advance to a higher degree of civilisation

by means of a popular constitution based on the will of the people.

Your countrymen,

(Signed)

JESSE KARIOKI, *Ex-Vice President, the Kikuyu Central Association.*

AMOS WAGAGA, *Member of the Executive Committee of the K.C.A.*

NGANGA WA GORO, *President of the Kikuyu Land Board Association.*

GEDION M. KAGIKA, *Ex-elected Member of the Local Native Council.*

JOB MUCHUCHU, *Ex-elected Member of the Local Native Council.*

MACHARIA WA KINUNGI, *Elected Member of the Local Native Council.*

DANIELI KANGORI, *Elected Member of the Local Native Council.*

April 15th, 1933.

P.O. Box 59, Nairobi, Kenya.

People in Kenya are classified in three categories according to the law of the country; Europeans in the first class, Asiatics in the second class, and Africans in the third class. These categories are distinguished in the laws regulating the rate of wages in the Government departments where a European receives a higher wage than an Asiatic who does the same work. Owing to this racial classification the Indian community in East Africa is uniting together, conscious as a class of the need of furthering its own interests, and is ceasing to have castes among itself as is the case in India. The Indians, too, have political disabilities in East Africa.

They are not allowed to buy land under European occupation, especially in the Highlands of Kenya, which is reserved for Europeans. Even their barristers cannot attain the office of district commissioner. In Kenya the Indian community has refused to participate in the work of the Legislative Council, although it has the right to return its own five members. Indians refuse to participate in the Council because the majority of the members are Europeans representing a minority community. The Indians think that they are regarded as inferior, although their activities were required by the Europeans when the country was being opened up. In order to remove these disabilities the Indians have demanded the abolition of the communal representation afforded them by the Government, and demand the institution of a Common Roll whereby the European and Indian voters would vote together without considering racial differences. The Europeans of Kenya are opposed to the Common Roll, thinking that they would be swamped by the Indian community, which is increasing rapidly owing to the short distance of Kenya from India. The Indians of Kenya will not be satisfied with communal representation, as it is the means of perpetuating the idea of racial inferiority, and forces them to regard themselves as a class, instead of identifying their interests with those of all the inhabitants of the country.

Naturally, class-consciousness based on racialism is unavoidable in a country having ruling and subject classes. There is a greater opportunity in East

Africa to arrest racial antagonism than in many other parts of the world where it exists. In Kenya there is no white labour problem as in South Africa, where coloured people are legally debarred from skilled labour. In East Africa there are two reasons for the absence of a white labour problem: firstly, the climate is not very suitable for white workers, and secondly, the employers prefer cheap labour which can be obtained from the coloured people. The situation could be handled with advantage to all races by a sympathetic and courageous administrator: he must be free from colour prejudice, which is at the root of racial antagonism, artificially acquired by people through ignorance and inability to understand the point of view of another race. Where there are conflicting interests, the sympathetic person would not suppress public opinion by repressive measures, but would use amicable methods which would cause the conflicting parties to work together. Laws discriminating between races will aggravate antagonism, and prevent goodwill among the communities involved.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

IN Kenya there is no compulsory education, and children go to school and leave it as they like. When I came to England people often asked me if the standard of education in Kenya had not been raised in recent years in consequence of the great number of Europeans living there. The European population in Kenya is greater than in Uganda. The latter has a State College and a number of high schools, whereas the former has only one high school. The reason given by the Government is that Kenya cannot build high schools in each administrative district, as there are not sufficient students in the country to fill such schools when built. If the educational system in Kenya remains unchanged, it will be many years before Kenya can produce enough students to warrant the institution of high schools in every administrative area. The difficulty arises out of the organisation of village schools from which the students for high schools come.

The school where I began my education was a Christian village school in Fort Hall. The villagers proposed to build the school, and provided the school ground and building materials. This school was placed under the supervision of a European mis-

sonary who administered a group of schools from a central headquarters. As he had a number of out-schools, he used to visit every school once a month or quarter. I first met a white man when the missionary visited the school. His visit was not concerned with the education of scholars, but with the catechising of the people who were being prepared for baptism and confirmation. The head teacher of my school was an African, and his wages were 16s. a month. His subordinates were scholars in the top class who took the lower classes in rotation, and their services were unpaid. I began to learn the alphabet in Kikuyu written in English characters, then learned syllables written on charts. The only available books were the Gospels. The headmaster could teach arithmetical figures from one to a hundred. He had no time-table to guide him. School began at about 10 a.m. and finished about 12. From time to time classes joined in singing hymns. After a few months the teacher had exhausted what he knew, which was only the Gospels, and so could teach the same students no more. He therefore resigned, and one of his pupils in the top class was appointed by the villagers to be a headmaster in his place. His appointment was submitted to the missionary for his approval, and as his attainments were not supposed to qualify him to receive the income of 16s. per month, he was given 12s a month. The teacher's wages were collected during the Sunday services, as the school was then used as a church. Sometimes the school could not collect sufficient money to make

up 12s., so the central organisation had to pay the balance. The central school money is contributed by the village schools to pay the wages of African teachers and parish staff.

In these village schools of Kenya elementary education is entirely in the hands of missionaries and is not very satisfactory, the chief reason being that inadequate financial resources allow only unqualified teachers to be employed. Among the African people there is now a great desire for Government schools and, in 1931, the Local Native Councils in Kenya collected £165,552 5s. for establishing them, but so far there has been no attempt made to meet this desire. It has been stated that if the Government takes over the responsibility of providing elementary education for African children, the expenditure involved by substituting salaried civil servants for poorly paid missionaries would be considerable. At the same time, however, European officers are used to train African soldiers, and also we find European officials working directly in other administrative spheres, and in these instances the expense is not considered unjustified.

In the interests of the African people it is desirable to remove elementary education from the hands of missionary organisations and place it in the control of the State. It is a fact that in 1931 villagers who refused to sign a document vowing that they would never participate in any African political organisation were deprived of elementary education for their children because the schools were closed down by the

missionaries. The villagers were told by the missionaries that people who take part in politics are not true Christians. Consequently, in spite of the fact that these schools were financed by the villagers, hundreds of African children were left without any means of education. Such arbitrary action would be impossible if the schools were under Government control. The British Government cannot claim to be abolishing illiteracy among the African people in East Africa, as the proportion of literates is hardly one per cent., notwithstanding the fact that British rule has been established in this part of the world for over half a century. This appalling illiteracy has forced the African community in Kenya to request the Government to step directly into the field of education for African children.

What kind of education will be suitable to and pursued by African students? Will education be on Western lines, and if so, will Western culture be imparted to Africans by Europeans or by Africans themselves? If Africans are not to be taught on Western lines, will Europeans be justified in teaching them, and if so, what qualifications will be necessary for European teachers? In order to understand the nature of the answers to these questions, let us consider the educational methods which are employed by some of the Governments of the European powers. What is the British educational policy? The leading British authorities on Africa, such as Lord Lugard and Dr Norman Leys, have conflicting ideas on this subject. Lord Lugard maintains that

Africans should develop on their own lines in order to avoid detribalisation, while Dr Norman Leys advocates that detribalisation is inevitable in modern society, as the experience gained in the past shows that no tribal life can resist the forces of modern civilisation. The influence brought to England and other European countries by Imperial Rome detribalised the Britons, but it gave them the stimulus of a new organised civilisation which no Englishman regrets. They would not go back to the tribal life of their ancestors, or dispense with the words borrowed from their conquerors. English scientists owe to Rome a vocabulary which helps them to express their scientific research. How could they dispense with these foreign terms which help them to think deeply about their work? Can the ancient cultures of the East and of the Greeks and of the Romans and their influence over modern civilisation be dismissed as of little importance? British educational policy in Africa is based on the assumption that Africans should be educated in their mother tongue, which is not the official language of the countries where British rule is extended, and in which not even the laws of the country are printed. The result of this policy is to keep from Africans the knowledge necessary for participation in the social and political structure of the life of their homeland. In the Union of South Africa and in the British East African Colonies, Africans have no direct representatives on the Legislatures, notwithstanding the fact that these Africans pay huge taxes to these

Legislatures without knowing how the taxes are spent. The reason given for refusing to Africans direct representation in the Government is that the Africans have not sufficient education to enable them to take an intelligent part in councils composed of persons who have behind them a culture of centuries, to whom the opportunity of higher education has been afforded. It may be suggested that education which will suit Indians and Europeans is not applicable to the mental capacity of the Africans. This is a suggestion which will not be accepted by the Africans, who are conscious of the necessity of having a sound education similar to that given to the children of other races. Why should a Government which has responsibility for educating the children of the people whom it taxes give to some better opportunities than to others? It is unjust that when the official language is English, opportunities should not be given, but rather difficulties put in the way of Africans who wish to learn English. In Kenya African teachers are not allowed to teach their fellows English unless they are under the supervision of a European. This kind of educational policy is a great disadvantage to both ruling and subject races. It encourages the privileged class to think that all opportunities of development in the country should be assigned to it, while the unprivileged class is driven to the position of begging for what it was once entitled to. It also makes the ruling class feel that the Government is its own, while the subjected race is compelled to think of the Government as alien.

In the French and Portuguese colonies, the medium of instruction in State schools is a European language which is used in all governmental departments. This does not mean that Africans in these colonies are Europeanised, but they feel that they are as much part of the Government as the French or the Portuguese. Education given in this way is bound to make it more easy for Africans to play their part in the organisation of the country. In Senegal, French West Africa, where this kind of educational policy is followed, African people have returned direct representatives in the local legislatures, and some of these representatives have attained the office of mayor. In 1914, Senegal was the first French colony to send an African representative, M. Blaise Diagne, to the Chamber of Deputies in the French Parliament in Paris; he was appointed in 1917, by the French Government, High Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription in West African French colonies. The remarkable fact is that his consecutive re-election to the Parliament depended not only on the votes of Africans, but also on the votes of Europeans in the colony. This fact is evidence of a real feeling of friendship between white people and Africans—a friendship which is needed in all parts of Africa. White men there regard Africans as brothers and human, whereas where the social lives of both races are separated the feeling is otherwise.

It is not suggested here that Africans must abandon their languages. It would be illogical if a country

like Abyssinia, which is an African independent state, should insist that her subjects should learn a foreign language for their own internal use; they should learn the Abyssinian language, and foreign languages for commerce and politics. In African countries where European governments have assumed power, the official language must be the medium of instruction of African children, and vague ideas of a special curriculum for African children in the local vernacular should be abandoned. Many African languages are limited in their vocabulary, and cannot possibly serve in the development of complex ideas.

With regard to education, it is true to say that Africans without the assistance of Christian missionaries would have no knowledge of writing and reading. The missionaries found the African community without the art of literature. The message which these missionaries wanted to convey, technical as it was, could not be learnt by merely listening. It required concentration on the verses of the Gospel in order to understand their interpretation, and for this reason the missionaries had to teach their converts how to read; but missionaries are concerned with religious education, with ideals that have little practical reference to the problems of the time.

No co-operation is asked from Africans in the economic and political development of the country. It is a fact that where there is an organised government in Africa every person who has reached the stage of paying his dues to the government is known,

but the governments of most of the African colonies do not seem to keep registrations of births and of deaths, nor to take trouble to consider the children who die, unless they have been taken into a hospital. If we want money for government we compel people to pay taxes, and every taxpayer is known and registered in our Roll Book. Why do we force people to pay taxes? Would they pay without compulsion? Do we make excuses that they would not like compulsion? We know that without compulsion our purse would not become full because some of our subjects would evade their responsibilities, so we use compulsion without any pretences, and we tax them to raise money for the benefit of the country as a whole. This benefit should include the education of all African children who waste the valuable time of their youth. The principle of compulsory education has been applied wherever there is civilised government, and it should be extended to Africa, where there is a real thirst for knowledge. The Government cannot deny its responsibility and leave its subjects to rely for their education on charitable societies. These societies have special objects in view, while their staffs are limited owing to lack of money, and it has been proved in all civilised countries that the responsibility for the education of the whole population cannot be handled successfully by charitable societies.

It has been argued in some quarters in Africa by big farmers that if all Africans are taught how to read and write there will be a shortage of labourers, because they will not accept the low wages which

they are offered to-day. This assumption is far from logical. Exactly the same arguments were used by employers when compulsory education was introduced into England, where there is now not a shortage of labour but a lack of work to do. If the whole population of Africa had been to school there would be a great demand for manufactured goods from Europe and elsewhere: when a person is well educated he feels ashamed to be hungry and naked; his requirements are many; he wants good food, clothes and a house. He likes to live a comfortable life as much as possible. Now, where is he going to get these things in order to satisfy his requirements? He will be compelled to work by economic circumstances. A centralised system of education for the thirteen million people of British East Africa could be accomplished in five to ten years if the Government were sincere in its efforts.

CHAPTER VI

A SOCIAL SURVEY IN KIKUYU

IN 1928 a group of African teachers and students was formed at Kahuhia, Fort Hall, to study the Kikuyu tribal laws, customs and folk-songs. This group called itself "*Ngwataniro ya Agikuyu Ahungi Wara*," the Kikuyu Folk-Lore Society. I was appointed President of the Society. Its members intended to journey through Kikuyu, interviewing old people and collecting facts relating to Kikuyu customs. After collecting these tribal laws, the Society intended to write a book in Kikuyu.

To raise funds for the Society from its members was difficult. I had first to organise a tea-party for the members of the Society and their relatives. After this I had to write a letter to the chief of my district asking him for permission to raise money for the party; then the letter had to be communicated to a European official for his endorsement, who then issued the permit specifying the time during which we might collect funds. It became customary for the Society to hold an annual entertainment for its members. For this too, I had to request the chief to grant permission, and a European written endorsement was required. Every meeting held required a special permit from the Government, which would

state the time allowed for the meeting, e.g. one hour, or two. Such work cannot be carried out under a time limit. There are similar difficulties even in organising a tea-party. A teacher named Daudi Githanga, who put up three friends of his, was suspected by the Government of being sympathetic with a political society. He was visited by the chief and his policemen at ten o'clock in the evening. One of the guests was a member of the Local Native Council. The host and the guests were arrested and, after two days in prison, were tried by a European magistrate who fined the host 50s. and the guests 20s. each. They were ordered not to visit their host any more.

As President of the Society, I made a tour in Kikuyu, and took the opportunity to observe for myself the conditions under which the people were living. I first went to visit schools in the Nyeri district. I found a teacher in one of the schools teaching a class of sixty and another of eighty. Big classes of this sort are due to the lack of sufficient means on the part of the parents of the children. In these schools teachers had to put up with girls leaving the district to work for months on farms far from their homes. Then I went to Embu. On my way I met groups of people from Embu and Meru who were going to work in Nairobi and on the European plantations. The people from Meru take a week to walk from home to Nairobi, but those who are physically unfit, and who cannot walk during the day and night, spend three or four weeks on the way before

they are able to reach European farms. There are motor-buses which run from Meru to Nairobi. The trouble with these people is lack of money to pay fares. When they leave the Native Reserves and go out to work for Europeans, they remain away from home from six to twelve months. They leave their wives, children and their aged relatives behind. The work of gardening, harvesting, cooking, drawing water, finding fuel, and bringing up children rests upon women. This results in a high maternal and infantile death-rate in Kikuyu. The teacher that I visited in Embu told me that he would like men in Kikuyu who go to work for Europeans for six or twelve months to take with them their wives and relatives, as he had seen many cases of women dying in childbirth or their babes dying while young because of the heavy work that mothers do while the fathers are away. This teacher pointed out that a family which was living in the neighbourhood had all developed a dreadful disease, gonorrhœa, and another family had syphilis owing to the heads of the families having contracted these diseases while working outside the Native Reserves. "What remedy is there for this thing?" I asked the teacher. "Surely if the people were encouraged to grow coffee, which is the only profitable crop in Kenya, and which Africans have been discouraged from growing so as to make it a monopolistic industry for Europeans, the people would have been better off. They would have been able to get sufficient money to pay their taxes without being forced to work a long distance

from their relatives." The teacher took me to see a neighbour who was formerly one of his pupils. An old man and his wife came creeping out of their huts with great joy, thinking that the teacher was bringing good news from his son who was working on a European farm. It was a surprise when he heard that we were going to see his son, thinking that he would have come home. The old man asked the teacher to write a letter to his son telling him that his uncle had died and had left two widows, and the work of feeding the children and labouring in the fields was too much for the women.

The teacher asked the old man how he was feeling. The old man answered that he was doing badly. "How much money does your son have to pay in taxes?" asked the teacher. "We have four huts. One for my wife and myself, one for the wife of my son, and the rest belong to my brother's widows. My son has now to pay 42s. a year for the whole of our taxes," said the old man. The teacher continued: "How often does your son visit you?" "He comes home once a year and stays with us for a few days, and goes again to work." "Suppose you had 100s. in cash, what would you do with it?" "I should reserve 42s. for the taxes and let my son stay at home working on the fields so that we old people and the women might be spared the anxiety and heavy work imposed upon us. The rest of the money would be spent on buying clothes and agricultural implements."

This meeting forced me to investigate more closely

the poverty in other districts. Travelling from one place to another one finds that the majority of the people in Kikuyu are poor owing to the expropriation of the best lands which were given to a small group of Europeans. In Fort Hall there are two main factors which increase the poverty among the people. Firstly, the inadequacy of the land which was left after the expropriation is appalling. The people are overcrowded. Their health has been weakened through lack of meat and butter in their food. Many cows, sheep and goats which used to be kept in this district have died from starvation due to lack of grazing-lands. The special place which was kept for communal grazing purposes was confiscated and is now under European occupation, so the meat in the district is scanty. Many families spend a year without having tasted any meat and butter, having no money to buy meat from the butchers. They used to kill their own goats and sheep, not depending for their meat on those who kill animals and sell them.

The overcrowding of the people of Fort Hall has caused a great number of them to move to European farms where they live as squatters. In Kiambu, the condition of the people is worse than that of the people of Fort Hall. Here, on account of the nearness of Nairobi and of the Kenya Railways, there was a wholesale expropriation of lands by Europeans where it is healthy for white men. Kikuyus who owned land before the European occupation are now living on these farms as squatters. In Kiambu I visited two of my half-brothers who live with their wives and

children on a European coffee-plantation. They work continually with their families during the whole year. They start work at 6.30 a.m. and stop at 5.30 in the evening. They are given a number of rows of coffee to cultivate as piecework. The work they are given in a day is so much that it cannot be finished in nine or ten hours. I went to the plantation where my brothers were working, and saw that they had a large number of rows to cultivate, picking the coffee berries, or pruning trees. They work together so that they may go home together in the evening. The plantation is about five square miles. A large part of it was undeveloped.

One of my brothers was a guardian of two girls who had come from Fort Hall and who were working on the plantation. I asked one of the girls why she had left her parents to go to work for Europeans. She said that they had lost their father, and their mother had asked them to go to work and get money for their hut-tax while she was looking after the children. "How long are you going to work here before you go back to see your mother?" I asked. "At least for six months." "Why not work for two months and then go to see your mother?" I asked. "You should remember that two months are one month to me." "No, you are wrong, two months cannot be one month." "Listen," she said. "I have to work for thirty working-days before I get my wages, and I do piecework. If I do not finish it my day's work is not counted. Sometimes I fall ill, and I do not work on Sundays. These circumstances are not con-

sidered." "Would you like to stay with your mother on this plantation as squatters?" "Certainly not. She would be asked to work for the white man, and she would have no time to feed her two children. She would rather live in the reservation than in the white settlement."

I went from here to Nakuru, a district which is entirely occupied by Europeans. Formerly it was occupied by the Masai, and now they have been driven out. No Africans can live in a European settlement unless they are labourers. I chose to visit this district because there are many Kikuyu squatters who were dispossessed of their lands in the Kiambu district and around Nairobi. Most of the squatters seem worried about the future of their children. They do not value this method of being employed because some of them have been in employment on the European farms for ten years and still they are poor. In this district I visited an African headman who was working on a big farm. He informed me that most of the squatters under him were discontented. They find that they are prevented from buying land outside the Native Reserves, whereas Europeans who are not British subjects are able to buy land without any restriction. The industrial policy in Kenya does not encourage labourers to own land.

When I was in Denmark I was greatly surprised to find that the Government of Denmark encourages agricultural labourers to own smallholdings after they have been working under big farmers. In

Kenya the situation is different. Agricultural labourers do not receive any encouragement from the Government to own smallholdings outside the Native Reserves: that is the land reserved for European settlement. What they learn from European farmers they do not practise for their own benefit. For instance, Kenya African labourers have become expert in planting and pruning coffee trees, and in ploughing, yet they have been prevented from growing coffee on their own farms. Coffee is the only profitable crop, and it has been monopolised by European farmers. The "Athi" people, the Kikuyu hunting class, who depend on hunting for their livelihood, are being exterminated. They used to hunt on uncultivated lands. These lands have been confiscated, and the animals which used to be their food appropriated.

Africans should not be made only a source of supply of labour, but the Government should do its best to see that the squatters own smallholdings outside the Native Reserves on the land which, though at present under European occupation, is kept undeveloped. The laws which prevent Africans from owning farms outside the Native Reserves should be abolished. The land problem in Kikuyu is acute. The people are very dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction will increase unless reforms are immediately introduced to alleviate the situation.

The laws which prevent Kenya Africans from holding meetings are another cause of discontent. This method of repression is extremely unjust. Workers

in industrial areas and agricultural labourers in England are free to organise themselves into trades unions and can subscribe to their organisation, but in Kenya African workers are prevented from organising themselves into trades unions. They have no means of protection when they are unemployed, sick, or when their wages are attacked by employers. As Kenya is a British Colony there should not be differences in the treatment of the different peoples who are the subjects of the Crown. When Africans want to demand their political rights they are regarded by Europeans as seditious. But when Europeans are demanding vociferously their rights in Africa they are not regarded as seditious. The attitude of Kenya Africans regarding their political and economic demands is based on the idea that the Government is like a father who has a lot of children. These children demand their birthright. There is no justification for branding some of the children as seditious, while the other children are given free opportunity to express their demands.

Since I left Kenya, goldfields have been discovered in the North Kavirondo at Kakamega in an area closely cultivated and densely populated by the Kavirondo tribe. In 1930 the British Government passed legislation, the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, pledging itself that Africans in Kenya would not be deprived of their lands as in the past. A clause was inserted in this ordinance that when a piece of land in Native Reserves was required for public purposes such as building hospitals, schools, railways,

etc., another piece of land equal in extent and quality outside the Native Reserves would be given to the dispossessed. In 1932, when the gold rush was beginning at Kakamega, the British Government amended the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1930, and deleted the clause under which it was obliged to stop expropriation of lands in African possession without compensation and without consulting African councils and individuals who own the land. After that amendment the Kakamega gold-field was expropriated and handed over to European private companies for exploitation. The Africans, who were the owners of the land, were driven out and told to find a dwelling-place among their friends or to work at the gold mines. Before the expropriation they were not consulted regarding the exploitation of the gold, although the Government had promised this in its legislation. These Africans were simply told that gold had been found, and that it could not be allowed to lie hidden in the ground; in other words that Africans do not own the valuable minerals.

This amendment has confused the minds of the whole East African black population with regard to the white man's pledges. In letters which I have recently received from Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, the writers have expressed their complete distrust of the white man's promises, since a pledge has been broken which was officially embodied in legislation which is the mouthpiece of the British Government. Moreover, when the gold rush began, only European companies were encouraged to

develop the gold. As the valuable minerals belong to the white man the Africans were not allowed to have a share in its development. In Kenya Africans have never been encouraged to have shares in big concerns, but only to work for the white man. There are many things that Africans desire to have—schools for higher education for their children, hospitals and good roads in the Native Reserves. If the Government were to develop the goldfields for the interest of the African community there would be no dissatisfaction among the Africans in East Africa, as they have the tradition of communal interest, though this is being weakened by the recent introduction of European ideas of capital and individual profit. We may perhaps ask why the Government deleted the clause in the Native Lands Trust Ordinance which laid down that Africans must be consulted and compensation in land provided. In the first place Africans object to giving the white man their lands, as by doing so they lose their independence and are driven into the position of wage-earners: their social life and customs are disturbed. Secondly, they would not give up their land to Europeans who are already in possession of the best lands in East Africa. Thirdly, they realise that the goldfields are not going to be developed for the interest of the whole community. When the Kakamega goldfields were appropriated it was stated that Africans were going to be benefited by the new development. In Nairobi the Africans who are employed in the city live in a dirty slum, probably one of the worst in the world, and most of

the workers suffer from consumption which they have little knowledge how to control, for it is a new thing to them. The wages they receive from their employers cannot improve their conditions. The necessary improvement of their social life would have been afforded them if the Government had developed the gold, using the profits from this industry to create social services in the Native Reserves, instead of creating conditions which will provide profits for a small minority of white men.

It is ironical that the legislation of the year 1930 should have been thought such a Magna Charta for Kenya Africans regarding their rights in land and their political security. The British Government emphasised the supremacy of African interests in Kenya by declaring that Kenya was a black man's country and that his interests should be paramount. The Kakamega gold-field is a test of the supremacy of the black man's interests in Kenya. If the white man really means what he declares, the best way of showing this is for the Kenya Government to buy out the private companies and develop the gold for the interest of the African community. Moreover, to ask the Government to keep its word is to give good advice at this stage in the development of relations between Africans and modern European civilisation.

APPENDIX

MEMORANDUM FROM THE KIKUYU LAND BOARD ASSOCIATION

In placing the views of the Kikuyu people before the Commission, we wish to commence by stating the difficulties and handicaps under which we suffer in making this representation.

We are a primitive race, having come in contact with what is called "civilisation" for not more than half a century and yet we are confronted with the task of having to prepare a case in a manner which should be worth the consideration of a body composed entirely of gentlemen whose methods of thinking, experience based on books or limited years of Government service are entirely alien to the Community on whom they are sitting in judgment. We have therefore to borrow means and methods, and ape the manner in which the case may appeal to you from your point of view and according to your standards of measuring the requirements of a people who from the alien point of view are a species of living being which was hardly known to them about fifty years ago.

Our difficulties become aggravated when the fact is taken into consideration that our Association, which has taken upon itself the unpopular and unpleasant task of making an attempt to place before the British people the case of Kikuyu in its nakedness and true aspect, without any sophisticated frill, is not only gagged but crippled and tied by hands and feet, for we are not only denied the freedom of speech and press, but we are also forbidden from holding meetings and even collecting funds

to enable us to make our voice reach the ears of the civilised world.

Our honest efforts for making the truth known to the outside world and especially to the British people is construed as seditious and revolutionary while in reality we are rendering a real service to the British people by acquainting them with the real feelings of the people whose destinies they have taken upon themselves to rule and control. It is nothing short of treachery and trickery to make misleading and untrue statements in a flattering manner with a view to please the authorities in a manner which will win their favours.

History

We will not make any effort to relate the ancient history of this Country which is probably better known to you than ourselves, but we must ask your permission for placing the recent history of this Country as is known and understood by our people. We are aware of the fact that we are restricted only to statement of facts in connection with the Land Policy of the country, but we hope that you will not consider it irrelevant if we try to give you our idea of the history of the "Land we lived in" before the advent of the White Man and the "Land we live in" to-day.

The Land We Lived In

In the days when, what is known as "Kenya Colony" was to the civilised world "Terra incognita," and before the Germans Krapf and Rebmann came to these regions, or before Dr. Fischer discovered the Rift Valley in 1882, before Mr. Joseph Thompson passed through Masai Land in 1883 and discovered Mount Elgon, etc., which journey was the forerunner of the Uganda Railway, before the Hungarian Count Teleki and Lieutenant Von Hohnel traversed the Kilimanjaro and Kenya areas in 1887. Long before Mr. Ernest Gedge and Sir F. J. Jackson crossed the confines of present Kenya Colony in

1889-90 and long before Lord Lugard even the notorious German Carl Peter traversed these regions, we the Kikuyu-people lived in this Country as nature meant all mankind to live.

The land with ravines, the rivers, the forests, the game and all the gifts that nature has bestowed on mankind was ours and above all we had the FREEDOM.

It is true our safety was endangered by the occasional inter-tribal warfare, raids by slave traders, pestilence and famine, but we often wonder if we are safe from such misfortunes to-day. We were never-the-less a free people in the truest sense of the word.

The Land We Live In

It is within the memory of many an old man when the French Missionaries, the German emissaries and the British explorers began to visit our Country at short intervals. We looked upon these men as a curious creation of the nature unseen, unknown and unheard of by us. We looked upon these men as polite and harmless human beings as compared to the atrocious slave-traders. We extended to them our hospitality and allowed them to pass through our Country.

Our Land was never won by conquest, by the force of arms, nor even by peaceful penetration. There was a period when all the three nations, the French, the German and the British sought to enter into friendly treaties with us. Some of the old Chiefs preferred the British and entered into friendly treaties, the copies of which we did not keep as we never doubted the word of the White Man, but all these treaties were forwarded to and approved by the Foreign Office.¹ It was represented

¹ Mr. P. L. McDermott, the Assistant Secretary of the Imperial British East Africa Company in his book *British East Africa* or *I.B.E.A.*, published in 1893 by the authority of the Company, says on pages 207 and 208:

“The portion of Eastern Africa then reserved, and the more extended area afterwards acquired, for British influence, was at the

to us that the Union Jack was the symbol of peace, Justice, light and Liberty, and indeed these symbols can still be traced on the coins which were introduced by the Imperial British East Africa Company in the commencement. The impression which was gained by our Chiefs who signed the treaties, was that they were entering into an agreement of friendship with an honorable nation whose word of promise was inviolable and would remain inviolate for ever. We were told that the British would remain here as representatives of the great Queen who then reigned in England and had a world-wide Empire which flourished and prospered under her benevolent

date of the Company's formation an almost entirely unknown region beyond the coast line. While the southern sphere, assigned to Germany, had for many years been frequently traversed by trade, caravans, explorers, and missionaries, and had therefore become comparatively familiar ground, the countries north of Kilimanjaro were, in the year 1888, practically *terra incognita*, the only European who had succeeded in penetrating to the Victoria Nyanza being Mr. Joseph Thomson, in his rapid necessarily superficial expedition through Masai land. What was known of the rest of the region was the result of conjecture or of native reports gathered by missionaries. It became, therefore, the first duty of the Company to open up this unknown region to commerce and to civilisation by explorations, directed not to purposes of scientific observation, but to the attainment of such knowledge of the geography and resources of the country, *and to the cultivation of such relations of friendship and confidence with the natives as would ensure the general results at which the Company primarily aimed.*"

And also on page 210 of the same book he says:

"Other caravans of less relative importance but indispensable to the duties imposed on the Company by its own work and that of Her Majesty's Government, traversed various parts of the country, with the result that in two or three years a familiar knowledge was obtained of great part of the extensive British sphere, and *friendly relations established with the natives.*

"*A list of 92 treaties obtained in these expeditions, and approved by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, testifies to the extent to which the instrumentality of the Company's caravans was successful in enlarging the sovereignty of the British Flag.*"

guidance. We were told there would, as the result of the new friendship, be no more inter-tribal wars, no raids by slave-traders and that we will enjoy a perfect freedom and peace in our Country.

It is true that the scourge of the inter-tribal warfare and slave-raiders' invasions have ceased in the sense we knew them before the British advent, but while the number of men who have been killed in the Great War, in which we were not in the least interested or involved, has probably exceeded the number who were killed in the local warfare for a preceding century and while we have enjoyed immunity against slave-raiders, we are expressing the true and innermost feelings of our people (which probably no chief will dare to be frank enough to tell you, fearing that if they dare tell the truth it might result in their rank or position being reduced) when we say that it is felt that the whole nation has been enslaved in their own Country without being removed along with any slave gangs, the only difference being that while the slave traders provided the slaves with a home and were responsible for their food and upkeep, we have been robbed of our homes in our own homes and such endless restrictions have been woven round us by means of a series of foreign laws the multiplicity of which baffle even the intelligence of professional lawyers. We feel we are treated like wild animals brought into captivity for whom even the ordinary consideration of space for free movement according to the captured animals is no longer available.

While the Medical Department has done a lot to save us from disease and pestilence the number of our people who succumbed to the ravages of the Influenza of 1919, a by-product of the Great War, has probably exceeded the number of all the victims of local disease and pestilence for a whole generation.

The term "Reserve" in reality does not mean a location which has been reserved for us but in practice

means an unfenced detention camp out of which we dare not move with any degree of freedom.

We cannot dream of touching the plentiful game which was once under our domain. If we dare touch a stick of fuel in the forests which were at one time ours, we have to pay the penalty, we have to pay heavy rents and taxes for remaining in a state of captivity on a fraction of what was at one time our own land, we have lost all the cultivation land which had been dearly bought by our ancestors from the Wandorobo.

We are forced by various circumventing influences to submit to a form of slavery in the shape of labour which is designed to be excluded from the sophisticated definition of slavery or forced labour, but which in effect means nothing but real slavery and forced labour.

Then we saw an altogether new thing being introduced into our Country which took away a big chunk of our homeland. This was the Railway. Although we now understand that this new piece of wonder was constructed for strategic purposes to defeat the designs of the Germans and for subduing rebellions in Uganda, we were told that it was a very useful piece of machinery constructed for our convenience to convey us from one place to another with comfort and speed. Little did we dream that the innocent-looking trains of the Railway would bring in their wake hordes of Europeans and Indians who would rob us of our very existence and drive us from our homelands.

We are sure that you would consider that these are the expressions of a few semi-educated agitators as some of us have been dubbed in the past. In order to show that we are only trying to acquaint you of the feelings of the whole Community, we beg your permission to quote the evidence of a British administrator who is considered to be an authority and whose good and sincere intentions cannot be doubted.

Mr. G. A. S. Northcote, District Commissioner of

Kyambu District and afterwards Chief Assistant and Acting Colonial Secretary to the Kenya Government, in his evidence before the Land Settlement Commission, 1917, stated (page 12 of the Report):

“What Kikuyu holds to be the robbery in 1903-04 of large tracts of privately owned land still causes strong resentment among them; for many years it coloured their attitude towards the European. It still so colours it, though to a less degree and the feeling happily is dying out. But very little would raise it afresh.”

“Predecessors of mine at Kyambu held as I do that our chief, if not only, reason to fear trouble with Kikuyu would lie in any great interference with their Reserves.”

Dr. J. E. Henderson, Ngenda Mission, Ruiru, whose opinion was asked by the same Commission as to the feasibility of acquiring a portion of the “Kikuyu Reserve” for the purpose of settlement, is reported to have stated *inter alia* (page 15 of the Report):

“He is convinced that the Wakikuyu would not be willing to sell their land and that if it were forcibly taken from them that a few white people might be killed by excitable members of the tribe. They are an agricultural people and that their land is their life and means even more to them than their cattle on which they set great store.”

“He considers that even if the land is paid for, it will be impossible to make the Wakikuyu who do not understand the conditions of civilisation, think anything else than that the land has been stolen from them, and that although there is a large movement towards education amongst them that this had received a great setback when all the men between 18 and 35 were taken for the Carrier Corps.”

The Basis of the Charter of Queen Victoria

We respectfully beg to submit that the Royal Charter dated September 3rd, 1888, granted by Queen Victoria to the Imperial British East Africa Company which marked the era of British influence in this Country was decidedly not meant for the purpose of appropriation and annexation of our private lands, and certainly not for the object of colonisation of non-native population.

In the preamble and reciting the aims and objects of

the humble petitioners (The I.B.E.A. Company) it is stated :

“ That the petitioners desire to carry into effect the said grants, concessions, agreements, and such other grants, concessions, agreements, and treaties as they may hereafter obtain within the districts already referred to as being within the sphere reserved for British influence and elsewhere, as we may be pleased to allow with the view of promoting trade, commerce, and good government in the territories and regions which are or may be comprised in such grants, concessions, agreements, or treaties, as aforesaid, and the petitioners believe that, if the said grants, concessions, agreements, or treaties can be carried into effect, the condition of the natives inhabiting the aforesaid territories and regions would be materially improved, and their civilisation advanced, and an organisation established which would tend to the suppression of the slave trade in such territories, and the said territories and regions would be opened to the lawful trade and commerce of our subjects and of other nations.”

And section 12 of the Charter stated:

“ In the administration of justice by the Company to the peoples of its territories or to any of the inhabitants thereof, careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe, or nation to which the parties respectively belong, especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer, and disposition of lands and goods, and testate, or intestate, succession thereto, and marriage divorce, and legitimacy and other rights of property and personal rights.”

How within the course of twelve years and almost immediately after the death of the noble Queen who had granted this Charter, its express direction was violated and abused by what has been described by the British administrators themselves as “ Robbery of Land ” will be shown hereafter.

Breach of Faith

In section 10 of the report on Native Land Tenure in Kikuyu Province the Committee is trying to analyse the claim of the Kikuyu for having bought their present Ithaka from Darobo, state at the end of section 10:

“ We need not define the exact implication of the claim that they ‘ Bought the Darobo ought.’ It is at least certain that payments

were made, and that Kikuyu families are the undisputed Successors in the occupation of areas which Darobo families once hunted.'

And in an attempt at a further analysis of the phrase, and wondering why any payments were made to the Darobo by the Kikuyus and why the Darobos were not driven out by the Kikuyu after fashion that we unfortunate Kikuyu have been driven out by the British, the Committee state in paragraph 11 of the said report:

"It is reasonable to ask why the Kikuyu did not attempt to drive the Darobo out. Why trouble to make a payment? The explanation is probably to be found in two main factors which are perhaps different aspects of the same thing."

"(a) The great respect which is shown for a right of first use, and
(b) Magical consideration."

Again the Committee in trying to define the right of occupying land of natives before the British came, state at the end of paragraph 30 of the Report:

"Not only is he the owner by virtue of inheritance of an original right of use, but he is the developing occupier, and it has been laid down as a 'Principal from which no civilised Government would think of departing that in the Countries acquired by conquest or cession, private property whether of individuals or Communities, existing at the time of the cession, or conquest is respected.' This can not be less true of a Protectorate which has subsequently been annexed as a Colony."

We need hardly stress the point that the principle of respecting the right of first use not only enunciated by civilised world and endorsed by the members of the Native Land Tenure Committee but also observed, according to Report of the Committee, by uncivilised Kikuyu in recognition of the rights of the Darobo, has been disgracefully ignored and thrown to winds by the Administration which "drove" the Kikuyu out of their holdings without making any payments for the land not only occupied by them, but inherited from their ancestors who had actually bought same from Darobo according to the Committee's own finding.

What could our helpless people do to challenge this glaring "Robbery of Land." They were at that stage hopelessly incapable, owing to their ignorance, of making any representation to the Imperial Government to counteract the activities and the hunger of the European settlers for obtaining other peoples' land, they (the Kikuyu) were certainly neither then nor are they now in a position to regain their land by the force of arms.

Had our land been thus robbed by any other native tribes armed with similar weapons as ourselves, the Kikuyu would have certainly given their lives for their property, but confronted by the people with the latest and most formidable weapons of precision and destruction such an idea was and is unthinkable. But forcible misappropriation of land completely shattered to pieces the confidence of the Natives for the word of the Sirkari who had promised that they had come to our land as our friends and protectors.

The lack of confidence thus engendered in the minds of Wakikuyu is expressed by them in the saying that "The Government is like a mole which burrows under ground and comes up and takes land." (See Mr. Northcote's evidence, page 11 of the Land Settlement Commission Report, 1917.)

White Colonisation

In their eagerness to turn our Country into a White Colony, the Administrators of the time not only disregarded the imperative directions and principles laid down by the Crown in the Royal Charter granted to the Imperial British East Africa Company and the subsequent Orders in the Council, but betrayed a lamentable and ruinous ignorance of Native custom by mercilessly giving away to Europeans all the land which was then lying fallow or was reserved for grazing of cattle and which they erroneously considered as being unoccupied, uncultivated and unwanted by the natives.

Colonel Ainsworth; one of the earliest servants of the

Imperial British East Africa Company, and afterwards Vice Consul to the British Government at Nairobi, stated in the evidence before the Land Settlement Commission 1917 (page 10 of the Report).

Colonel Ainsworth explained that the amount of uncultivated land to be seen in the Reserve was due to the Kikuyu custom of clearing forest for cultivation and afterwards as the bush sprang up letting it lie fallow, when they use it for grazing. He stated that in his opinion a forced removal of the population of the area under discussion would lead to trouble. Of course if the native could be given land elsewhere and was willing to go that would be another matter. He considered that any steps in this direction should be very gradual, and that to attempt to rush matters would disturb the peace of the country, as gradual and equitable measures are the only way to a good understanding between black and white. He does not think that the native can be any further concentrated under the present system of working the land, though from an Administrative point of view it would be an advantage to do so.

As further evidence of the fact that the Wakikuyu not merely claim extensive area of land over which the Wandarobo, from whom they bought the land, hunted and laid traps, etc., for the game, but that the land was actually occupied and cultivated by them from which they were forcibly evicted by the British. We would respectfully refer you to an eyewitness of no less importance than Lord Lugard, who states on page 323, Volume 1 of his book *The Rise of Our East African Empire*:

“Kikuyu is surrounded by magnificent primeval forests, and probably owes its rich soil to the existence of former forests, which have been replaced by cultivation, only the skirts being allowed to remain as a protection against the Masai.”

Captain (now Lord) Lugard had travelled from Machakos across the Athi Plains in 1890 and was thence guided through the forest to the cultivated land and

camped for a while at what was subsequently named Fort Smith.

He continues on page 325:

"When we emerged from the forest and entered the cultivation there was soon a big crowd. We camped on a knoll . . . this spot is the one of which Fort Smith was afterwards built by Captain Smith. . . . I did not myself approve of this place as a site for the station because it was situated in the very heart of the villages and fields of the Kikuyu; the place was somewhat cramped and firewood not obtainable for a considerable distance.

"I spent some time in examining the surrounding country towards the forest, under the guidance of the local Chief ERYEKI (Waiyaki) and his brothers, and eventually selected a charming site at a little distance from the cultivation and the villages. A clear mountain stream flowed at the foot of the slope; beyond was dense forest: the name of the place was Dagoretti."

Lord Lugard, as his story shows, did not go up into the Kikuyu Country, but describing the part between the Fort Smith and Dagoretti, he writes, page 328:

"The cultivation in Kikuyu is prodigiously extensive, indeed the whole country may be said to be under tillage. . . . We bought some twenty thousand pounds of grain and beans (mostly the latter) in a few days, before starting on the onward march . . . and this in spite of the fact that a flight of locusts had already devastated the country, that Mr. Jackson's caravan had bought up large quantities and that this was not the best time of the year for food purchase."

The description of Kikuyu land in April 1890 shows that the Kikuyu had penetrated, deforested, cultivated up to their present boundary at this point and that they were present in very large numbers. The reduction in number was due to the great famine of 1899, which in Mr. Krieger's opinion reduced the tribe by three-quarters of its numbers.

The village of Chief Waiyaki referred to by Lord Lugard, was and is to the South of Railway line. This chief was subsequently deported to, and died somewhere near, Kibwezi. Most of his land was handed over to Church of Scotland Mission (Thogoto), Kikuyu, some of it has been sublet by the said mission to the Alliance

Missions Society and the Alliance High School. Other parts of Chief Waiyaki's land was distributed among Mr. Waddle, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Cane, Kikuyu. The remnant of this Chief's clan numbering about a thousand are still on the land with no better status than that of squatters. They are known by the name of Mbari Ya Hinga.

If indeed the land which was lying fallow and reserved for cattle grazing and fuel, etc., at the time was considered through the ignorance of the Administrators to be unoccupied land and therefore provided any justification for the same being given away to others, then carrying the same principle to its logical conclusion, we most respectfully submit that out of the five million acres which has been given away to less than 2,000 Europeans, the four and a half million acres which are lying uncultivated up to this day should revert to the natives of the soil.

Pledge of the Governor of the Colony during the Great War

What was originally meant and promised to be a friendly State to the British people was proclaimed a protectorate and subsequently annexed as a "Colony" in 1921! Without any consultation with or information to the aborigines.

We witnessed with somewhat concern, as we feared that our turn for a similar treatment may also come sooner or later, the removal of Masai from the outskirts of Nairobi to Laikipia in 1904, and then again from Laikipia to the Southern Masai Reserve in 1912. We also witnessed the futility and utter hopelessness of resorting to the courts of law, which failed to give any redress to the Masai although they spent colossal sums of money in taking their case up to the Privy Council. In fact their case was thrown out of court on the grounds that they were allies of the British, and the courts had no jurisdiction to adjudicate in the matter.

When the Great War broke out and the Government

was in dire necessity of men, our people were asked to supply men. We were naturally not very enthusiastic in helping a Government who had deprived us of our homes and land in the past, and it was at this juncture that a definite pledge was given to the Wakikuyu by His Excellency Sir Henry Conway Belfield, on August 20th, 1914 (S. 211) *that there will be no more interference with our land in future.*

We are not in a position to produce any documentary proof of this pledge but in order to show that such a pledge was given we beg your permission once again to refer to the evidence of Mr. G. S. Northcote on page 11 of the Report of the Land Settlement Commission wherein he stated:

“ That His Excellency Sir Henry Conway Belfield in August 1914 gave a definite promise to the Wakikuyu that their Reserves should not be interfered with (vide S. 211 of 20th August, 1914) and he was also opined that such promises are not lightly to be disregarded.”

After this promise we supplied . . . men to the Carrier Corps of whom . . . died on active war service.

As a final reward for the war services rendered by the Kikuyu community, the Land Settlement Commission, notwithstanding the definite assurance given by the Governor on August 20th, 1914 (S. 211), recommended that 83,000 acres of the Kikuyu Reserve Land and 20,000 acres of the Forest Reserve land between Kikuyu and Kijabe should be given to the European Soldiers who had served in the same War as members of our community.

How this definite promise was observed in its wholesale breach rather than its fulfilment will be seen by an examination of Appendix I which shows the extent of land which was actually seized from the Wakikuyu and handed over to Europeans after this solemn promise.

Not only this, but while these men were on War service the hut and poll tax was collected with great severity from their mothers and fathers and it was not until 1917, when His Excellency the Governor issued an order to the

Administrating officers not to *press unduly* the relatives in the Reserves to pay the tax of men absent on War service, that a respite was granted.

Density of Population

As a result of the wholesale and devastating eviction of Kikuyu land and the wholesale allotment of same to the Europeans, the density of population in the Kikuyu Country, according to the findings of the Committee appointed in 1929 to report on the Native Land Tenure in Kikuyu Province, exceeds in some cases 500 to a square mile. Thus some of the districts in our province break the record of the density of the World population of any agricultural people and occupy perhaps third place in the record of the density of the World population, notwithstanding the fact that our Country is a purely agricultural country and the thickly populated countries such as England (with population of 700 to the square mile) Belgium (658) and Netherlands (558), are mainly industrial countries with some of the largest cities in the World such as London, and considering that almost half the area of our land is not arable, the congestion becomes appalling and leaves less than half an acre per head.

The Native Land Commission of 1916 appointed in South Africa reported the density of the population in reserves there to be ranging from 48·8 in the Cape to 79·45 in the Transvaal, with an average for the Union of 52·26; the density of the population on Native owned lands varying from 67·11 in Natal to 11·05 in the Orange Free State, with an average for the Union of 37·31 to the square mile, and yet the Commission recommended an extension of Native lands to the extent of slightly over 20,000,000 acres or 32,681 square miles.

Out of the total area of the Colony and Protectorate, which consists of 224,960 square miles, about 45,000 square miles are said to have been theoretically reserved for the use and occupation of Native tribes, the total estimated population being 2,404,000, representing a

density of 53·42 per square mile. The distribution of the land for Native Reserves is as follows:

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| Masai | 14,962 square miles |
| Kavirondo | 7,122 " " |
| Akamba | 7,581 " " |
| Nyika | 4,194 " " |
| Suk | 3,389 " " |
| Kikuyu | 6,116 " " |
| Kamasia | 1,600 " " |
| Total | <u>44,964</u> " " |

The figure of 6,116 square miles for the Wakikuyu has been taken from the Kikuyu Land Tenure Committee's Report, although the exact figure supplied to this Association by the Acting Commissioner for Local Government, Lands and Settlements *vide* his letter No. (Appendix 2) LND 26/1.11 of June 9th, 1932, shows the native area as 5,211 square miles.

Since we have not the figures of Census Report 1931 available, we have referred to the Census Report 1926, which shows that there were 2,199 Europeans engaged in the agriculture in that year, and according to the Report of the Agriculture Commission 1929, 4,537,817 acres of land (7,090 square miles) were held in occupation by 1,809 occupiers in the year 1926 (the total number of Europeans occupied being 2,199) showing a density of total European agricultural population of 3·22 to a square mile.

But this comparison does not show the true picture of the density of the Kikuyu Province.

Excluding the population of 254,920 of Meru and Embu districts with 4,187 square miles, representing a density of 60·88 to a square mile, there is left a population of 453,474 in Nyeri, Fort Hall and Kyambu Districts with 1,929 miles, which represents a density of 235·08 to a square mile in these three districts, although as stated previously some parts are so congested as to represent a density of more than 500 to the square mile.

Illegal Transfer of Native Land

In fact even according to the provisions of Section 30 of the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1902, the Commissioner is specially prohibited from selling or leasing any land in the actual occupation of natives.

Section 30 of the said ordinance reads as follows:

“ In all dealings with Crown and regard shall be had to the rights and requirements of the natives, and in particular the Commissioner shall not sell or lease any land in the actual occupation of the natives.”

Other sections of the Crown Land Ordinance, 1902, also clearly show that the Spirit of the Law was expressly not to disturb the natives who were actually settled on the land even though the same may be leased in contravention of Section 30 of the Ordinance.

The following sections throw a flood of light as to the real intention of the law under which the land was alienated to Europeans between 1902 and 1915.

Section 16 (b) that the lessee, his servants and agents, will not interfere with the settlements or villages of the Natives, or with the land allotted for Native Settlements or villages, and, so far as possible, will avoid all quarrels with natives in or near the land leased.

Section 31 (1) the Commissioner may grant leases of areas of land containing Native villages or settlements without specifically excluding such villages or settlements, but land in the actual occupation of natives at the date of the lease shall, so long as it is actually occupied by them, be deemed to be excluded from the lease.

Section 31 (2) the Commissioner may allot for the purpose of Native Settlements or villages, portions of the land so leased, and when and so long as these portions are so occupied, they shall be deemed to be excluded from the lease.

Section 31 (5) claims by lessees for reduction of rent on account of diminution of land leased, or for other compensation on account of the exercise of the powers conferred by this section, and claims by the Commissioner for an increase of rent on account of the vacating of land formerly occupied by natives, shall be referred to the arbitration of a judge of the High Court under section 525 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure.

Since the ordinary Indian Limitation cannot be applicable to the transaction of these peculiarly local

circumstances which do not exist and could never have existed in India, it should be a matter of legal opinion whether or not each case in which natives have actually been driven from the land which was originally occupied by them and subsequently leased to Europeans, cannot be a fit and proper matter for a Judicial inquiry. But having seen the result of the famous Masai case of 1912, we dare not hazard such a speculative litigation.

Extermination of Natives

According to Mr. Northcote's statement (before the Land Settlement Commission) the population of the whole Kikuyu Reserve, according to the latest figures available then (May 1917) was 968,703. This was the time when thousands of Wakikuyus between the ages of 18 and 35 were forcibly recruited for the Carrier Corps.

According to the Report of the Committee on Kikuyu Land Tenure, November 1929, the population has been reduced to 708,394, showing a decrease of 260,309. Out of this decrease 27,096 are traced as having gone on European farms as squatters (compiled from information given in the House of Commons on June 10th, 1931).

The details being as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| Nairobi | 1,330 |
| Kiambu | 11,479 |
| Fort Hall | 10,674 |
| Nyeri North | 3,567 |
| Embu and Meru | 46 |
| Total | 27,096 |

These figures clearly show that excluding the men who were enlisted in the Carrier Corps, the number of Wakikuyu who have either perished or are leading a life of exile, being scattered all over Africa, is no less than 233,213. This staggering figure, showing the victims of the European invasion of our country, is enough to disintegrate any virile community, and serves as an indication of the complete annihilation of our people in

the course of a short period if the process of driving us out of our homes continues by the diverse ways and means which have been at work heretofore.

Land for Mission Schools

Apart from the indiscriminate distribution of our land among European Farmers without any regard to our present requirements or future expansions, large areas of land have been granted to Missionary societies on the pretext that these societies exist for our benefit, but serious differences of opinion arose between the missionary societies and Wakikuyu because of the attempt of the latter to interfere with the ancient custom of female circumcision, and consequently a large number of schools which were built on lands owned by Kikuyu with the funds provided by Kikuyu, were closed by the Missionary societies. These Schools were aided by the Government, and notwithstanding our entreaties and representations they have remained closed now for more than two years. The final answer was received from the Government concerning these schools is that the matter should remain pending till the inquiry by your committee. Some of the members of our tribe have been prosecuted and convicted (!) for trespassing on their own land which they had given for these schools. We beg to enclose herewith correspondence which has taken place between various persons of our tribe and the Government.

There are several salt licks in Kikuyu Province to which our livestock are not allowed free access.

Owing to various breaches of promises by the Government in the past as regards the stoppage of the alienation of our land, our faith in such promises has been so shaken that we do not consider the elastic and vague provisions of the Land Trust Ordinance to be any security to our tenure for all times, and this lack of confidence has been further aggravated by the alienation of land for Tana Maragua Hydro Electric Scheme which

has been made since the enactment of the Land Trust Ordinance. This shows that the present area of the Native Reserves is not safe from being encroached under various plausible excuses of schemes for the benefit of the public.

In conclusion we beg to request:

- (1) That all land belonging to our tribe which has been alienated including the land for Mission schools be restored to us.
- (2) That a sufficiently large area of fertile agricultural and grazing land be added to our present reserve with due regard to our present requirements and the future increase of our numbers.
- (3) That boundaries of present and future enlarged reserves should be marked in such an unmistakable manner that they should be easily known by sight to the present and future generations instead of being marked on plans and papers.
- (4) That no land should be alienated in the reserve for any purpose whatsoever to other than natives.
- (5) That within the reserve the system of Githaka should be maintained, giving individual titles to clans and families with the safeguarding conditions of adding to or reducing the area according to the increase or decrease of the family.
- (6) That permission be granted to us to purchase land from Europeans or Indians and if and when the members of our tribe are able to do so.
- (7) That a sufficient area of forest be placed at the disposal of each clan to which they can have free access and cut fuel or timber according to the requirements which can be regulated by the purely native councils.
- (8) That our livestock should be allowed free access to all salt licks.

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