

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

DER - 12  
Notes on Kikuyuland

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c/o Barclays Bank  
Queensway  
Nairobi, Kenya  
(Mailed from Nyeri, Kenya)

Mr. Walter S. Rogers  
Institute of Current World Affairs  
522 Fifth Avenue  
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

It was a bright, clear morning in Nyeri. The town is just south of the equator and the sun beat down strongly on the green shambas and forested ridges of the surrounding Kikuyu Reserve. But because of the 6,200-foot altitude of these Kenya Highlands, the breeze was cool, making the day pleasant and exhilarating. It was enjoyable all the more so because the rains had just ended.

The drone of a heavy bomber came in faintly from the direction of Mount Kenya, whose 17,000-foot ice cap was hidden in dazzling white clouds. Then, with measured regularity, like a warrior pounding on a ceremonial drum, came muffled explosions of 500-pound bombs.

In the forest wilderness, giant trees would be uprooted and sent spinning through the air. Game would scatter in panic. And, it was hoped, a few Mau Mau terrorists might be blown to bits.

Louder and more frequent explosions followed in a few minutes from nearby Nyeri Hill. Troops and police were laying down a mortar barrage on the forest atop the hill, hoping to drive another Mau Mau gang out of cover and into a prepared ambush.

At the Outspan Hotel, where I have been staying, guests, their children and the hotel's African servants gathered on the front lawn to watch the puffs of smoke rising from the hill. First would come a puff, then, in a few seconds, the blast. Exotic birds chattered, unconcerned, from branches of flaming purple jacaranda trees on the hotel lawn and Kikuyu women laboring in nearby shambas did not look up. The barrage continued for several hours. Later we learned that the windows of the Catholic mission on the hill had been shot up pretty badly with stray bullets. No gang had been encountered.

In the town, jeeps and heavy lorries filled with young British servicemen and impassive African troops, roared past the boma or headquarters for Nyeri District and the Central Province. Some of the soldiers were on their way to Mount Kenya and the Aberdare Range to chase after gangs spotted by loyal Kikuyu. Others were on their way back to camp, tired, hungry and soaked from days of rain while dodging angry rhino and, perhaps, exchanging a few shots with the elusive gangs.

G. J. Gollop, the Provincial Agricultural Officer, looked out the window of his office in the boma. Hundreds of Kikuyu men, some carrying spears and pangas (a cleaver-like knife), and some armed with shotguns and rifles, were trooping down the street. All wore bright yellow bands on their hats and arms and some had decorated their spears with yellow streamers. About 20 ragged and sullen young men, guarded by a ring of pointed spears, marched in the midst of the procession.

"Kikuyu Home Guard---they wear the yellow bands so we can tell who's who in the forest," Gollop said. And the others? "Mau Mau prisoners---the night's catch." The prisoners seemed rather young, I commented. "Yes, that's the way it is," said Gollop. "The Kikuyu Independent Schools got to them when they were children. That's the result."

The prisoners were marched off to the barb-wired police station and then the triumphant Home Guard trooped into the African market area and jammed into the beer shops, tea houses and dukas. A mobile loudspeaker unit, set up by the African Information Services, hammered away in Kikuyu with anti-Mau Mau propaganda to the crowd in the market.

Along the main street, British and African troops with rifles and Sten guns slung over their shoulders window-shopped along the Indian-run dukas. European women arrived in town in mud-splattered autos from the settled area to the north to do the week's shopping. All wore sidearms and many brought children with them. Down the street came first a Packard sedan, then an ox cart driven by an African, then a big military lorry and finally a barefooted African wearing shorts and an old Army greatcoat and pedalling a bicycle.

A crowd of excited Africans had gathered in front of one of the police buildings, staring at two young Kikuyu sitting on the porch under heavy guard. Europeans came over to stare, too. One of the prisoners was a notorious Mau Mau leader who calls himself "Major Mwalimu," or "Major Teacher." The other was his batman or orderly. The two had been captured in a skirmish at a place where the forest adjoins the reserve.

Mwalimu wore a British Army tunic---with a Sam Brown belt and a row of old Indian Army medals---and a pair of corduroy trousers. He was in his mid-20s and of rather handsome appearance. He did not seem cowed, but regarded his captors with a mixture of curiosity and defiance. Before Mau Mau he had been a truck helper and had little education. The police had questioned him all night but he had told them nothing except that he was on his way to see Mau Mau's General China when he was caught. "He'll hang after we've given up trying to get any information from him," said a police officer.

The bitter shadow war against Mwalimu's cohorts in Mau Mau is being fought in one of the most beautiful areas in Kenya, the Kikuyu highlands. The reserve begins north of the plains at Nairobi and extends approximately 100 miles to Nyeri. North of Nyeri lie the rather arid ranching lands of the Nanyuki European settled area. To the west of Kikuyuland rise the jagged peaks of the Aberdares, some reaching to 14,000 feet, and to the northeast, the giant of the scene, Mount Kenya, home of the ancient tribal God of the Kikuyu.

The three Kikuyu districts are criss-crossed with steep ridges. Population density is high\*, and the slopes and valleys are intensively---though, it is said, not properly---cultivated and grazed over by scrawny cattle and goats. The land is considered excellent for agriculture and is ranked as among the best, if not the best, in the Colony. Rainfall is abundant. practically the year around and vegetation is lush.

Driving along the main Nairobi road, one gets the impression of crossing a single, vast farm. Tiny, circular thatch huts and cultivated plots dot the hillsides and some of the huts are almost hidden in groves of deep green banana plants. Many slopes are neatly terraced, but erosion still remains a problem. Cold trout streams roar through almost every valley.

In this seemingly idyllic country, each man's doorstep is the front line. The gang that eludes a police patrol in the tangled undergrowth of the Aberdares reappears later in the reserve to attack a Home Guard post, burn down a schoolhouse or murder a loyal African.

During a night I spent watching big game from the famous Treetops hotel in the Aberdares, red flares frequently arched into the sky at the edge of the reserve as Home Guard posts called for help. Rifle and Sten fire crackled off and on all night as crickets would chirp elsewhere in East Africa.

In Nyeri, one continually hears appalling stories of brutality and savagery by Mau Mau and of counter measures by Europeans and Africans in the Security Forces. War easily brings out the worst in men. Different from the usual story was the recent case of a Kikuyu Christian. His wife plotted his death with a gang and the gang hacked him with pangas. As he lay dying on the floor of his hut he prayed, like the Christian martyrs of whom the missionaries had told him, that his wife and attackers be forgiven.

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\* Nyeri District, with an estimated population of 200,000, takes in 307 square miles for an average density of 651 to the square mile.

Mau Mau began as an effort to drive the Europeans from Kenya, but since has broadened into a Kikuyu Civil War as well, with the accent on the latter. During the first year of the Emergency, Mau Mau killed 21 Europeans (17 of them civilians) and 704 Africans (again the bulk of them civilians).

Officials here regard it as certain that Mau Mau itself---- or Mickey Mouse as it is sometimes called---will at least be reduced to the status of a few roving bandit gangs. But for the moment, they agree, much difficult rooting-out work remains to be done.

A big difficulty for the government has been that the majority of the Kikuyu people---either because of fear or sympathy for Mau Mau---have refused to come up with needed information on the whereabouts of the gangs. "If these people cooperated, we could wipe out Mau Mau in a few weeks," said one official. Security Forces have taken harsh measures against these non-cooperators. Stock has been confiscated as "communal punishment" and in some areas huts have been burned down and crops uprooted by police and troops. Inevitably the innocent have suffered. An Army officer defended this by saying that unless information is furnished, the war will go on for a long time and Kenya as a whole and the Kikuyu in particular will go on suffering.

Another difficulty is that large numbers of Kikuyu women have been actively supporting Mau Mau by supplying gangs with food and information. While the Kikuyu man has advanced considerably, the Kikuyu woman still remains at little better than the old tribal state. Few fathers educate their daughters. The Kikuyu woman's lot remains that of bearing children and, the most recent toto slung on her back, laboring in the shamba. One explanation given for the support Mau Mau has received from the women is that they see it as a means of getting their men "back."

In recent months the Kikuyu Home Guard has been playing a major role in keeping order in the reserves and in participating in forest sweeps. Government policy is that Mau Mau can only be wiped out completely by the Kikuyu themselves and for this the Home Guard is the answer.

But some Europeans and Africans say that unscrupulous opportunists have been using the Home Guard as a way of settling old fatina or feuds. "I cannot go home," said a young Kikuyu tradesman at Nyeri. "There are bad men in the Home Guard who have a grudge against me and my family. If they see me, they will call me Mau Mau and beat me or kill me."

Yet despite all the violence and terror in Kikuyuland, a certain amount of normal colonial administration continues. The work being done in education and agriculture is of considerable importance. These two fields overlap to a degree. The Kikuyu have made great strides, but much still must be done in education

and agriculture to lift them to the level of modern, educated and enlightened farmers and urban workers.

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A note found on the door of the Karima School, run by the Italian Roman Catholic fathers of the Consolata Mission, read:

"To All Pupils:

We are very earnestly and respectfully beseeching you all to leave Karima School because we are coming to assault you and if you will be found at Karima School when we come, we shall cut your right hand and your right ear.

We shall cut the head and the right hand of all teachers and the head of the European priest and shall make soup with them.

Therefore be prepared you who are as hard as a stone and don't obey my orders.

With greetings from all of us, leaders of Mau Mau.

Dedan Kimathi\*

Commander in Chief

P. S. We shall come with hand grenades to burn everything."

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Our truck groaned and strained its way up a steep, deeply-rutted dirt road on the slopes of Mount Kenya. "Sometimes I get kind of disenheartened," said my companion, Donald Corcoran, Nyeri District's Education Officer. "After four years of trying to give them good education, I get nothing but ingratitude and savagery."

The doors had been removed from Cork's truck so that passengers could hit the ditch quickly in case of a Mau Mau roadblock. Cork, who is 37 and part Irish, part English, had been a schoolteacher in Britain before the war. After five years in the Navy, he found he didn't want to return to the old routine, so he brought his wife and two children to Kenya.

On this trip, he was carrying a Sten gun and a .45 pistol. In the back of the truck were two Kikuyu Tribal Policemen armed with rifles. I also was armed. A Mau Mau gang had laid an ambush for Cork once, but he got away unharmed. Now he takes no chances. He was making this trip to give the teachers their monthly pay and to inspect some of the outlying schools.

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\* Kimathi, incidentally, is a local boy, having come from Chief Muhoya's location in Nyeri District. He is wanted in "connection with the murder of Chief Nderi and for a number of other serious offenses," and there is a standing reward of 10,000 shillings (\$1,400) for him. Kimathi also is wanted for absconding with the funds of the North Tetu Dairymens' Cooperative Union in Nyeri, a Kikuyu cooperative. He was its clerk just before the Emergency.

"Sometimes I think I should join the Army," Cork said as we bounced across a wooden bridge over a white-water trout stream. But then the old Irish good nature came back and he stopped to give a lift to a group of Kikuyu trudging along the side of the road. He chatted amicably with them as they piled in the back of the truck and then we were off again.

Cork, who supervises 124 schools in the district, 107 of them run by the missions and the rest by the District Education Board, said education has suffered considerably by the Emergency. With the closing of the Kikuyu Independent Schools, Mau Mau has directed its vengeance at the government and mission schools in an effort to intimidate the Kikuyu into keeping their children at home.

Nyeri District's casualties so far have been: Twenty schoolteachers and seven schoolchildren murdered. Nearly twenty schools burned down.

Practically all of the schools have been rebuilt and throughout the district only seven have had to be closed because of the terror or because they were in the operational zone. But the damage to teacher and pupil morale cannot be undone as easily.

Teachers are jittery and unable to concentrate fully on their work. Some, fearful of being murdered in their beds, have been sleeping in the fields at night. They come to school tired and suffering from coughs and colds. The children, too, are frightened and many boarding pupils are afraid to return to their homes for the Christmas holidays.

Our truck bounced past one school that had been burned down twice. The local people had turned out that day to rebuild it again. We passed another school that remains just a charred ruin. Two teachers had been murdered when the school was attacked and the other teachers, fearful of the same end, refused to stay on. The school had to be abandoned and the children told to go elsewhere.

We pulled up at the Kiangi School, a thatch roofed mud and wattle building handling what would be the first four grades in the United States. The headmaster, Peter s/o Murage, a short, stocky Kikuyu in his early 20s, was depressed. A gang of 200 had appeared in the vicinity recently waving a red flag.\* Troops and Home Guardsmen had chased them away.

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\* While some Mau Mau leaders have boasted that they are "the African Communists," there is no evidence of any real Communist orientation or that these leaders really know anything about Communism. It seems they call themselves Reds because they have heard that the Europeans are opposed to Communism. The red flag probably was a road gang warning flag and may have been carried simply because it was a flag, not a special kind of flag.

Peter, who sleeps at a nearby Home Guard post for safety, said not all of his 80 pupils would return after the Christmas holidays. "Many of them have had fathers killed by Mau Mau and money will be very low in their families," he said.

Then he brightened up as he showed us the school's demonstration shamba, where the children are taught good farming methods. Such gardens, in each school in the district, are part of the overall agricultural betterment campaign.

Peter's garden was divided into several small plots. Each taught a different lesson. One had large, healthy-looking bean plants in it. Alongside was a plot with small, scrawny plants. "The first one was planted at the start of the rains and the other was not planted till a month later, Sir," Peter said. "It shows the value of planting at the proper time."

Another plot held tall corn and next to it was a plot containing stunted corn. "It shows the value of proper spacing, Sir," the teacher went on. In the first plot, the plants were spaced 36 inches apart; in the second, 24 inches.

As we were getting back into the truck, Peter said: "Next year the class will go around visiting each child's home shamba. We want to encourage competition." He paused and looked off in the direction of Mount Kenya, then said: "That is, we will do it if there is no more Mau Mau."

Peter came to the school since the start of the Emergency, but the school itself is one of the 34 in the district formerly operated by the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA). All were closed with the Emergency and 13 are now operating again but under new auspices.

The independent schools, established in 1929, have played an important part in Kikuyu nationalism during the years, and, the government charges, with Mau Mau in recent years. They began as a revolt by large numbers of Kikuyu against missionary attempts to break up old tribal practices, including that of female circumcision (clitoridectomy). The Kikuyu formed their own schools and their own special brand of Christian churches.

During the early years, government encouraged these KISA schools. Since World War II, the government charges, some of the KISA schools became more and more identified with the militant and somewhat atavistic nationalism centering around Jomo Kenyatta. Government officials accuse Kenyatta's followers of assuming positions of power in the local school committees by methods ranging from ordinary politicking to strong arm techniques.

Several splits occurred within KISA and one of these factions was headed by Kenyatta and another by the "pro-government" Johana Kunyika.

Cork gave this picture of the KISA schools:

The level of education was so low that when KISA students in Nyeri District participated in a government examination in 1950, not one of them passed. After that, KISA refused to participate in any more exams. There was no evidence that KISA teachers ever prepared any lessons. Some had but little education themselves; some had been dismissed from mission schools. Schools were overcrowded. Tuition was very high---as much as 180 shillings (\$25.20) a year, or up to 12 times that charged elsewhere. No public audit was ever made of funds. It was difficult for a European ever to find out what did go on inside the KISA schools. They refused to submit information and were hostile to visiting officials.

And Cork has this to add regarding Mau Mau:

After the Emergency, ammunition was found concealed in the grass roof of one KISA school in Nyeri District. Chief Nderi made a sworn statement two days before he was murdered that a Mau Mau initiation ceremony had been held in another such school. Evidence was obtained by police that a Mau Mau killing was hatched in still another.

A different picture was presented by a 24-year-old former KISA teacher I talked with in Nairobi. He charged that the government was trying to break down legitimate African attempts to handle their own education. He said Africans still object to mission attempts to use education as a club to force them to give up their old customs such as female circumcision.

He admitted that there was some Mau Mau activity in some of the KISA schools, but pointed out that many Mau Mau leaders came from mission schools as well. "They were not closed down by the government," he said. In his laborious English (he taught English in the KISA school), he declared: "The African Independent Schools, if I can say anything, were pro-government." He and other Kikuyu have challenged the closings in a pending court case.

Teaching was never interrupted in 11 of Nyeri's KISA schools as they asked to be taken over immediately by the District Education Board (composed of mission and African members with the District Commissioner as chairman). Nine of these were Johana Kunyika schools and the others belonged to one of the independent churches.



In the cases of the other schools, parents were called to a baraza or public meeting and told they could either remain closed or re-open under DEB or mission management. Two chose the DEB. One chose the Catholic mission and another the Church of Scotland mission, which operates the bulk of the schools in the district. That left 19 still closed and all but two of these have been declared "redundant"---i.e., situated next door to a mission school, with whom they had been in competition.

The 13 ex-KISA schools, plus four others that it acquired, has put the District Education Board in the business of running schools directly. Previously it had been a supervisory body and, with the exception of the KISA schools, all education in the district had been handled by the missions.

The ex-KISA teacher in Nairobi charged that "thousands" of African children had been deprived of an opportunity for education by the closings. Figures show that school enrollment is down now, but Cork cites other reasons as well.

Before the Emergency, total enrollment in the district was estimated at 26,000. This included KISA schools, but in their case the figure is an estimate only as they refused to submit enrollment figures. School enrollment now totals 21,000, or a drop of 5,000.

Cork said two reasons for the decline are that Mau Mau has succeeded in intimidating some parents into keeping their children at home and that many KISA students were not from Nyeri District, but rather came from the Rift Valley and Nanyuki European areas and from the nearby Meru and Embu Reserves. "Education is not compulsory, but the schools are there if the Kikuyu want them," said Cork. Many of his schools we visited were only half full.

With 21,000 children in school now---and the bulk of these never continue after the primary grades---an equal number of children in Nyeri District never see the inside of a schoolhouse. This, however, compares favorably with other areas in East Africa where the number of children in supervised schools sometimes is as low as 5 to 10 per cent.

Cork admits frankly that the standard of education is not as high as in England. Well-trained teachers are not available and there is not enough money for purchasing such things as visual aids, he says. The bulk of Nyeri's teachers do not have as much education as a U. S. high school graduate.

The government each year is taking over the financial responsibility for more and more of the previously unaided schools and this will enable it to exert a closer control on standards.\* Cork said the aim is not to build more schools, but to improve the existing ones.

I wound up a week's tour of the schools in the reserves at a DEB school overlooking the Aberdares. The young Kikuyu teacher, who still retains his old Kikuyu name, Nduhiu s/o Njama, spoke with worry about Mau Mau attacks in the vicinity and about how the Security Forces recently had burned down the huts and ripped up the banana plants of nearby Kikuyu who had refused to give information on a Mau Mau gang.

Then he showed us around the school. A new stone building was going up to house the carpentry class. Nduhiu showed us his own tidy stone home, his books and the lessons he was preparing for his correspondence school course. He had 10 years of general education and two of teacher training and is continuing by mail. As a boy, he wore a cloak of animal skins in the old tribal fashion. Now he wears European slacks, shirt and shoes.

As we drove away, he waved and called out: "Our school is not so nice yet, Sir, but come back in a couple of years and it will be a fine school."

Mau Mau, Cork believes, made its biggest mistake when it started attacking the schools. Whatever his own feelings about the Europeans, the Kikuyu wants to see his children receive at least some education and the attacks on the schools turned many Kikuyu against Mau Mau.

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Muhoya, Senior Chief of the Kikuyu, looks every inch a chief. Like most Kikuyu, he is not very tall, but he stands very straight. In his face there is strength, determination and character. Muhoya is polite to Europeans, but there is no servility about him.

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\* With the extra financial burden, the 1956 educational budget for Nyeri District calls for spending £71,000 (\$200,930), compared with £36,000 (\$101,880) in 1952. Revenue in 1952 was on the order of one shilling from school fees, one from the African District Council and two from the central government. In 1956 the proportions will be one shilling from the ADC, one and a half from fees and three from the central government. Individual fees will be increased 50 per cent. Annual fees now are 15 shillings (\$2.10) for years 1 to 4; 45 shillings (\$6.30) for years 5 to 8, and 250 shillings (\$35.00) for secondary schools (years 8 to 12) where students board. An average of 100 shillings of each secondary student's fee is paid as a scholarship by the ADCs.

He is 55 years old and has been a chief since 1936. He is part modern, part the old tribal Kikuyu. He speaks no English. Most of the young men in the tribe do. Muhoya professes to be a Christian, but he has two wives, who have borne him nine children.

Most of the Kikuyu chiefs are younger men and many Kikuyu regard them as government stooges. But not Muhoya. Educated and uneducated Kikuyu alike regard him with great respect---all, that is, except for Mau Mau. Muhoya is their sworn enemy and is the center of much of the resistance to Mau Mau in the district. He personally leads the Home Guard and Tribal Police into action against gangs.

Muhoya echoes what every Kikuyu will tell you---that the Europeans took some of their land a half century ago and that they must have it back. Muhoya is a moderate man and he maintains that the tribe lost about a quarter of its land, or 400 to 500 square miles.

Some of the more extreme nationalists will lay claim to all of the European highlands, which take in a total of 16,700 square miles, nearly 4,000 of which is forest reserve. But it seems that the Rift Valley and Nanyuki areas, together comprising about three-fourths of all European land in Kenya, originally were areas over which the Masai intermittently grazed their cattle. Much of the land is suited for little else than ranching and the Kikuyu were predominantly an agricultural tribe. The more moderate Kikuyu and some Europeans as well agree that what land the Kikuyu lost was in the Kiambu District, near Nairobi.

Muhoya says that much of the alienated Kiambu land was unoccupied at the time and that the Europeans, seeing only bushland around them, quite properly regarded it as ownerless.\* Like other Kikuyu, he is not satisfied with the findings of the Carter Land Commission, which was appointed in 1932 to "settle" the land question. The commission, after studying the whole situation, recommended that 32.8 square miles of land be given to the Kikuyu and that a further 383 square miles be set aside for their future expansion. The recommendations were implemented but the tribe remained dissatisfied. Few moved into the 383 square mile tract as it is rather arid and at a lower altitude than their highlands. This land eventually was taken over by the Wakamba tribe.

Throughout the years "Give us back the land you stole" has become the battle cry of the Kikuyu nationalists and land has been one of the issues in Mau Mau. Unfortunately after half a century of development in Kiambu District, it would be difficult if not impossible to assess what land was taken. And

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\* Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, in his book "Mau Mau and the Kikuyu," gives an account of how the Kiambu Kikuyu abandoned their land temporarily in face of several disasters.

with emotions aroused as they are by a half-century of politicking on the issue, it would be equally difficult, again if not impossible, to satisfy everyone.

The Kikuyu Reserve is densely populated today. The Kikuyu will say that this is because of the lost land and others will say that this is because of the introduction of modern medicine, famine relief and an end to Masai raiding. Against this background, what G. J. Gollop, the Provincial Agricultural Officer, has to say is very interesting.

"We could still take more people into Nyeri District if good use were made of the land," he says. He adds, however, that the situation won't go on forever; the population is increasing all the time and, even with proper farming methods, a limit will be reached.

Gollop estimates the size of an average holding at 7 to 8 acres and says that a man with eight acres---properly utilized---can realize £400 (\$1,132) a year after feeding himself and his family. The land is good, the climate temperate and there is plenty of rainfall. But, he says, the Kikuyu have not been using their land to proper advantage.

The Agricultural Department has a five-point program to improve Kikuyu agriculture and, with it, the Kikuyu standard of living. The program calls for:

1. Consolidating shambas into economic, workable units instead of scattered plots.
2. Planning consolidated shambas along economic lines.
3. Introducing cash crops.
4. Securing land registration.
5. Securing substantial government loans to Kikuyu farmers.

The land consolidation program began just before World War II, but was interrupted by the war. A start was made again but the Emergency delayed it once more. Now the program has resumed again and the department has more consolidation work than it can handle.

In each case, owners are approached and told of the benefits that will result if they trade plots among themselves so that each man winds up with one single holding instead of scattered pieces. "We point out to them," says Gollop, "that it's useless to walk five miles to cultivate half an acre."

A few agree and after the others see that Uncle Njeroge has only to step outside his hut to be in his maize patch, the department finds itself swamped with requests. Gollop estimates it will take 20 years to consolidate all holdings in Nyeri District but some of his officers say it will be done in even less time.

The next step is sound farm planning. Agricultural officers mark lines for contour terraces on the consolidated shamba, give the owner a crop rotation plan and advise him on how many head of cattle the land can bear.

Coupled with this is a current drive to induce the Kikuyu to go in for planting high price cash crops.\* In Nyeri District these are coffee and pyrethrum---a flower from which an insecticide is made. The district now has 240 acres under coffee and it is hoped to expand this to 6,000 acres in 15 years. There are 152 acres of pyrethrum now and the 15-year target is 4,260 acres.

Cash crops, says Gollop, will give the Kikuyu money in the pocket, a higher standard of living "and, presumably, contentment."

Plans were made to introduce tea and a pilot scheme was started on the slopes of Mount Kenya. However the scheme had to be halted because it is in the fighting zone and because Mau Mau gangs ripped up some of the plants.

The fourth and fifth points of the program---land registration and a large-scale loan program---are still in the planning stage. They require central government approval.

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\* Charges are made from time to time that the government restricts and forbids African-grown cash crops to favor European growers. Gollop and other agricultural officials deny this vigorously. They say restrictions apply only to initial attempts at growing cash crops. If an African shows he can handle 100 coffee trees well, he can grow all he wants provided he still grows enough food to avert famine. The officials defend the initial restrictions by saying that coffee is a very delicate crop and, if improperly handled, can result in financial ruin to the African cultivator and the spread of disastrous coffee plant diseases to neighboring shambas. E. W. Mathu, a Kikuyu and leader of the African unofficial members in the Legislative Council, complained in council the other day that nevertheless no such initial restrictions apply to Europeans.

Land registration would give the Kikuyu a greater sense of security. While most land remains the joint property of families and clans, an increasing amount is being acquired by individuals. No one has any official title to the land, but rights are recognized in the native courts.

Registration would help to do away with a custom that works against security and resulting land improvements. This is the custom under which a descendant of a person who once tilled a plot, but then abandoned it, can return and demand it back from the occupier---even though the occupier had tilled it for several decades. Native law allows this, but in administrative practice claimants are discouraged by insisting that they compensate the owner fully for all improvements. Nevertheless with land registration, occupiers would obtain a clear and final title.

The loan program would be facilitated by registration. "It's no good to talk about loans until you can offer security," says Gollop. At present, with no land titles, no such security can be offered. Nyeri District now has £1,000 (\$2,830) a year to lend to African farmers or £100 (\$283) each to ten. It is hoped that this might be increased to as much as £100,000 (\$283,000) so that 1,000 farmers might each receive £100.

Progress in agricultural improvement is always slow. No peasant people give up their traditional practices at once. Chief Muhoya thinks that only one-eighth of his people have adopted modern methods. Other estimates run lower. Yet through the years, Gollop and the others say, there has been considerable improvement.

Mau Mau, though, has hampered the work. Nine African agricultural instructors or assistants and one African agricultural officer, Luka Karima\*, have been assassinated by Mau Mau in Nyeri District. Chiefs have been too busy with Home Guard and other Emergency work to prosecute violators of agricultural malpractice laws.

Mau Mau, too, has been telling the people not to plant cash crops and advising them to disregard the advice of the Agricultural Department. The attack on the tea scheme is typical. Before the Emergency, Kikuyu politicians spent much of their time campaigning against terracing. Apart from a hatred for everything European and a desire to capitalize politically by stirring up any discontent, one gets an impression that they may feel it is easier to lead a poverty-stricken and discontented people than a prosperous one. Some of the strongest Home Guard areas in the district are the most prosperous ones.

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\* DER - 7.

Looking to the future, it is hard to predict anything about Kikuyuland. The Emergency is certain to leave feelings of hatred and desires for revenge, not only against Europeans, but among the Kikuyu themselves. The land question and aroused nationalist feelings will remain, too. A Royal Commission is studying land and population problems now, but it is difficult to see how a solution acceptable to everyone could be worked out. And for the Kikuyu nationalist, good government will never be a satisfactory substitute for self government.

The Kikuyu tribe is the most advanced in Kenya and has probably had more contact with Europeans than any other. Some people say that Mau Mau resulted in part from a too rapid collapse of the old ways of life in fact of the new. The individual was left in a sort of vacuum. Under British administration, population increased by leaps and bounds. There was no more land for expansion---except the European's land.

The average Kikuyu, these people continue, resented the fact he was not governing himself anymore. The exceptional Kikuyu, who returned from England with a university degree, found the doors of the white man's world still shut to him and became the embittered agitator.

Unable to reach the white man's level, whether because of the color bar or because of his own inabilities, the Kikuyu were attracted to Mau Mau. Even for the educated man, there was only a few decades of progress between him and the old superstitions and savagery. The Mau Mau oath ceremonies, with all their bestiality, were patterned after the old oath ceremonies of the past. Large numbers of Kikuyu, many of them now servants to a more advanced race, saw in Mau Mau a means of recapturing the imagined glories and the manly independence of the past.

If anything will help allay bitterness and bring stability to Kikuyuland, many people believe, it will be more progress and on sound lines. Education and agriculture, they feel, will play major roles. Opportunity must exist for the exceptional African to "evolve" and to be accepted into the world of the Europeans. Hand in hand with all this is the problem of getting some of the people off the land permanently. This is the problem of East Africa as a whole. It requires the establishment of more industry and, concomitant with that, that the lot of the urban African worker be made an attractive one.

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Because of disclosures at a recent court martial in Nairobi, three high ranking Army officers have been named to a Court of Inquiry charged with investigating the conduct of British troops fighting Mau Mau. At the trial, Capt. Gerald Griffiths, 43, a company commander in the Fifth (Kenya) Battalion of the King's African Rifles and World War II Japanese prisoner of war, was charged with murdering a Kikuyu forestry worker named Ndegwa Kigtwe. Prosecution witnesses told this story:

During a military operation near Nyeri on June 11, Griffiths arrived at a lonely place on a forest road and found askaris guarding three Kikuyu forestry workers. Griffiths became enraged and asked the askaris why they hadn't killed the three men. He examined their passes and told the eldest to go. The old man left.

Then Griffiths told the other two to leave and when they got 10 yards away he fired a Bren gun into their backs. As they lay writhing and screaming on the road, Griffiths said: "Let them scream. My horse they killed screamed more than that." Griffiths left. One of the Kikuyu tried to crawl under passing military vehicles to kill himself and an askari heard him saying: "Is there no God to finish us off."

When Griffiths returned, one of the Kikuyu was dead. Griffiths ordered a sergeant-major to "finish off the other one." The sergeant-major refused. Griffiths drew a pistol and shot the man in the head. He then had the bodies loaded into a truck and told the driver to take them to the Nyeri police station and tell the policemen the bodies had "come from Capt. Griffiths, with his compliments."

The sergeant-major, W. P. Llewellyn, testified that when he reported to the captain the day before for instructions, the captain told him: "You can shoot anyone you like as long as they're black." Llewellyn said Griffiths told him his company was going to Malaya soon and that he had to get a "half-century of kills." Mention was made during the trial that another KAR battalion had a "barometer" with "official kills" on the front and "unofficials" on the back.

Griffiths testified that he shot the men after they tried to run away. He admitted shooting one of them in the head later, saying he did so because the man was in great pain and he (Griffiths) was "upset." He declared, however, that a lieutenant told him later that he had stopped the truck containing the "bodies," had found one man still alive and had fired a shot into his head.

The captain said there was much competition between units on kills. He said his commanding officer told him that the Fifth KAR had to beat the 23rd's record before going to Malaya. Griffiths said he personally had been giving his askaris five shillings (\$0.70) for each kill and that some commanders were giving 10 shillings (\$1.40).

Defense counsel said in summing up: "I ask the court to hold that the accused is proved to have caused the death of one only of the two Africans---the man he shot in the head. And I ask the court to hold that it has not been established with anything like the certainty required whether this man was Ndegwa."

Griffiths was acquitted because of this question of identification.



In London, Labour members of both houses of Parliament demanded an inquiry and Mr. Anthony Head, the Minister for War, said in announcing the appointment of the three Army officers:

"I can assure the House that nobody deplores an incident of this kind more than I do, especially since the good name of the British Army is at stake. The Army has been carrying out difficult operations of this type both in Kenya and Malaya in a way which has won them universal credit among all races.

"Nevertheless, I take a very grave view of this incident and of the fact that the proceedings suggest that there may have been other incidents."

British newspapers ran strong editorials decrying the revelations of what they termed "mercy killings" and "five bob a nob" shootings. In Kenya, many Europeans expressed shock about the case. The Kenya Weekly News ran a strong editorial criticizing conduct of that kind on the part of members of the Security Forces. Eight leading Protestant church leaders here, headed by the Rt. Rev. L. J. Beecher, Episcopal Bishop of Mombasa, issued a similar statement.

The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir George Erskine, who is credited with having made a strenuous effort to stamp out such practices since his arrival in Kenya on June 7, issued a warning statement to the Security Forces. It recalled an earlier warning about brutality issued on June 23 and added:

"Since I issued these instructions there has been a satisfactory general standard of conduct.

"There have, however, been some complaints which lead me to think there are still a few individuals who are taking the law into their own hands and acting outside of orders.

"I am out to catch and punish such people."

In a bar in Nyeri, a young Kenya Police Reservist said: "We're afraid to shoot a bloke in the forest now for fear we'll get the bloody rope."

Other court cases as well have been in the news.

The Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa has reversed death sentences imposed on 44 Kikuyu. They were sentenced at Githunguri---site of Jomo Kenyatta's old Kenya Teachers' Training College---on charges that they participated in the Lari massacre, during which a Mau Mau gang murdered over 100 Kikuyu men, women and children.

The appeal court said it was reversing the convictions because in its opinion the evidence given by the principal witness for the prosecution---a Kikuyu named Machune---was not trustworthy enough. The court declared that the Githunguri trial judge had erred in "not sufficiently appreciating the dangers of convicting anyone on one identification unsupported by anything else." The judges mentioned the possibility that such a witness might give false evidence so as to get his enemies into trouble.

The president of the appeal court, Sir Barclay Nihill, told the 44 Kikuyu:

"You may one and all consider yourselves fortunate that you are subjects of the British Queen, whose judges are commanded on oath to do justice without fear or favor regardless of race or color. Under British justice no man may be deprived of his life or liberty unless his guilt is established beyond reasonable doubt."

Though freed of the death sentences, the 44 will remain in detention under the Emergency regulations.

The legal battle over the Mau Mau convictions of Jomo Kenyatta and five other leaders of the Kenya African Union has switched back to the town of Kitale. After several days of argument before the Supreme Court of Kenya, both sides have rested. The justices are to hand down their decision shortly after New Year's.

The background of this hearing is as follows:

After Kenyatta's conviction at Kapenguria last April, Defense Counsel Pritt appealed on 183 points to the Supreme Court. During the hearing a new point was raised---whether the Kapenguria magistrate had jurisdiction---and consideration of the 183 other points was put aside pending a ruling on jurisdiction. After hearing arguments, the Supreme Court sided with Pritt and quashed the convictions. The Crown appealed and the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa restored them.\* Pritt asked the Privy Council in England to hear the case, but it refused.

So the case returned to Kitale for a hearing en masse on the other 183 points. After a decision is handed down, either side presumably can carry the case back up the ladder of appeal again.

Ambrose M. Ofafa, the Nairobi African City Councillor who was shot and wounded on Nov. 21, has died. Nairobi's bus boycott by the Africans continues. A Somali, Sheikh Omali bin Haji, who led an attempt by African Muslims to break the boycott, has been shot and wounded on a Nairobi street.

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\* Reported in DER - 4.

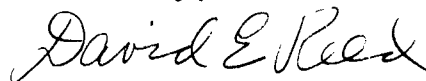
The printers of Comment, a weekly magazine with Malanist views published by Leo Vigar, have been warned by the government that their license will be revoked if Comment continues to publish remarks "abusive" to non-European races here. With the Emergency, the government said, such remarks "must necessarily tend to exacerbate racial feelings."

The proposal for confiscating land belonging to Mau Mau leaders\* has been approved by Kenya's Legislative Council over protests from some African and Asian members. The measure now needs the approval of Colonial Secretary Lyttleton to become law. Only land owned by individuals would be seized and such land would be used only for public purposes. W. W. W. Awori, an African member, said confiscation would further embitter relations among the Kikuyu. Government spokesmen replied that the measure would deter would-be Mau Mau leaders.

One of the few things that all races in Kenya have been enthusiastic about in recent weeks was the news that the British Government is prepared to contribute £6 million (\$16,980,000) to Kenya's heavy Emergency costs and to grant £5 million (\$14,150,000) for a five-year African agricultural development and rehabilitation plan.

Aid from the United Kingdom was more or less expected. Nevertheless budget planners had been worried because without aid from Britain, Kenya would have had a hard choice: Either raise taxes or cut expenditures on social services. Higher taxes would have tended to discourage the inflow of much-needed capital and a reduction in social services would have had grave political effects.

Cordially,



David E. Reed

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\* Reported in DER - 11.