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187



THE SECRETARIAT,
NAIROBI,
KENYA.

WHEN REPLYING
PLEASE QUOTE
No. S
AND DATE

RECEIVED

2nd December, 1930.

My dear Parkinson

No. 24

With reference to your letter No. 16010/A/30, dated the 27th October, I enclose herewith a copy of the petition for which you ask.

Yours sincerely,

H. T. Martin

MAJOR A. C. G. PARKINSON, O.B.E.

G. 257 x 8.

24

16010/M/30.

C.O. Bag

Recd. No. 25

Downing Street,
27 October 1930.

In his despatch No. 613 of the 10th August, 1929, the Secretary of State sent out to Kenya, in original, two petitions from Johnstone Kenyatta, with two copies of each. We kept copies of both of these petitions here, but unfortunately the copy of the long petition seems to have disappeared entirely. I am sorry to bother you, but I think we ought to have a copy of this on record here, and I am therefore writing to ask you whether you could send back one of the two spare copies enclosed in the despatch to which I refer.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) A. C. G. PARKINSON.

H.T. MARTIN, B3Q.

Q. 257 x 85.

24²⁹

16010/M/30.

C. O. Bag
Add to 20

Downing Street,
27 October 1930.

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Yours sincerely,

(Signed) A. C. C. PARKINSON

H. T. MARTIN, Esq.

8/21/58

Co. B

Donation Receipt
2/20/58

1000000

1000000

In his report No. 613 of the 1st Annual Report
 the Secretary of State reported to Congress that
 petitions from Donations Receipts, with the
 most copies of both of these petitions were
 included the copy of the 1st petition were to
 be destroyed entirely. I am sorry to report that
 we were unable to have a copy of this document
 in case you were willing to see whether you could
 one of the two copies enclosed in the report.

Yours sincerely,

1000000

U.S. BUREAU OF REVENUE

23

21st August, 1930.

My dear Grigg,

With reference to Dr. Shiels' letter of the 6th February, and your reply of the 15th March, regarding the talk which Dr. Shiels had with Kenyatta. I write to say that Kenyatta has now asked whether he can be supplied with a note of the interview. The request was made to McGregor Ross, who brought Kenyatta to see ^{in January} Dr. Shiels, and McGregor Ross suggested supplying Kenyatta with an account of the interview which he, McGregor Ross, had written. Dr. Shiels thought, however, that on the whole if Kenyatta was to have any memorandum it would be better for him to be given an official version. He has therefore been sent a note (of which I enclose a copy) taken from the Secretary of State's official despatch of the 6th of February. You will see that the note has been marked "Not to be published", but Kenyatta has been told that this does not preclude him

from

Lieutenant Colonel
 Sir E.W.M. Grigg, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., M.C.

from showing it to his own people, if he so desires.

Dr. Shiels would have written to let you know of this himself, but he is away for a few days, and has asked me to write on his behalf.

Yours sincerely

(sd) W.C. Bottomley

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Dr. Shiels would have written to let you know of this himself, but he is away for a few days, and has asked me to write on his behalf.

Yours sincerely

(sd) W.C. Bottomley

32
22

THE
Kikuyu Central Association

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: KAHUHA, P.O., FORT HALL.

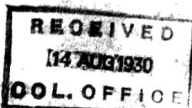
(Monthly Journal: 'MUIGWITHANIA')

TELEGRAMS:
KAYEEAY: NAIROBI
GENERAL SECRETARY:
JOHNSTONE KENYATTA.

95 Cambridge Street,
London, S.W.1.
11th August, 1930.

CORRESPONDENCE TO:
P.O. BOX 59,
NAIROBI, KENYA.
EAST AFRICA.

To: The Rt. Hon. Lord Passfield,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for the Colonies,
Colonial Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.



My Lord,
May it please Your Lordship.

I beg to report that, on the verge of my return to Kenya Colony, I cabled to the Acting President of the Kikuyu Central Association to notify him of my impending departure.

On the 8th instant, I received a cablegram which I take to a final message from my Association prior to my leaving London. The words in brackets are inserted by myself as explanatory of what I think was the intended meaning of the message.

(BEGINS)*"LGO. Johnstone Kenyatta
95 Cambridge Street, S.W.1.

(In continuation of) our previous telegram dated fifth ultimo Kikuyu Central Association, Imperial Government reaffirmation (of the) policy (of) paramountcy (of) native interests and acceptance (of) sole undivided responsibility (for) trusteeship. (It) requests early implementing (of the) principles embodied (in) your memorandum by repealing legislation regarding closed schools, prohibition (of) meeting(s), (the) dismissing (of) our members from local native councils (and in the) Kikuyu country (the prohibited growing of) economic crops such (as) coffee, sisal (and) tea (by Africans), (also our) unduly heavy taxation (and the) Kipanda (i.e. registration) system, etc. (It) heartily approves immediate introduction (of) common franchise and requests granting us direct representation (on) Kenya legislative council. (There are) may suitable Africans available.

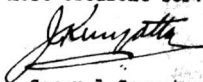
(Sd) Jesse Kariuki
President "

I may say that, apart from this cablegram, I have had no other news from Kikuyu as to the alleged official closing of schools or the alleged removal of K.C.A. members from local native

native councils.

X I also most respectfully request Your Lordship to assist us in attaining the representation of the Native interests by native representatives from East Africa to give evidence before the forthcoming Joint Committee which will consider His Majesty's Government proposals for closer Union; of His Majesty's East African Territories.

Thanking you in advance,
I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your most obedient servant,



General Secretary
KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

X Also see 20
No 10 7 cc
Kina file 7/27/4/135E

14th August, 1930.

Dear Mr. McGregor Ross.

Dr. Shiels was very pressed before leaving for Edinburgh yesterday, and therefore instructed me to write to you on his behalf in answer to your letter of July 30th regarding Kenyatta. Dr. Shiels feels that if Kenyatta is to be given a note of the interview, it would on the whole be better to let him have an official version. I have therefore had a copy made of the summary already communicated to the Governor of Kenya.

The question also arose whether, if he was to have an official version, it had not better come to him direct from Dr. Shiels. It is only a small point, but on the whole Dr. Shiels thought that it would be better, and I therefore enclose a letter to Kenyatta, with a short note, which I have signed, enclosing the summary. Perhaps you will kindly address it and despatch it. I enclose a copy

that

F. McGregor Ross, Esq.

20³⁴

14th August, 1950.

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that

W. McGregor Ross, Esq.

that you may like to keep yourself.

Dr. Shiels hopes that you will agree that this is the best method of dealing with the matter.

I return the account of the interview which you enclosed with your letter, and am retaining a copy for record.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) K. W. BLAXTER.

Private Secretary.

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Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) K. W. BLAXTER

Private Secretary.

PARSONS & CO.

24 MIDDLEWAY,
LONDON, N. W. 1.

from The Jetty 36
Elmer, Middleton,
Surrey

July 30 1950

August 5

Dear Dr Drummond Shiels,

Kenyatta who, we all believe, is sailing for Kenya in a week or two, is very anxious to have some account (not necessarily with any official endorsement of accuracy or fullness) of the interview you were good enough to give him.

It occurs to me further in view of what you told me about Gigg's views on the subject, that it might be of interest to you, at this interval, to see a "write-up" from my notes as to the course of the interview.

I enclose this herewith. If you are willing that Kenyatta should have a copy of it - with emendations, alterations or omissions as you see fit, may I give him one? It would at any rate prevent him from parading any alternative version as to what went on. But will you please give me the straight tip as to whether you would like him to have this, or not? I should mark it "NOT TO BE PUBLISHED IN WHOLE OR IN PART."

Yours very sincerely,
R. McGregor

37

RECORD OF AN INTERVIEW ACCORDED BY DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C.
M.P., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, TO MR. JOHNSTON
KENYATTA AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JANUARY 23rd 1930, 4.0 p.m.

PRESENT: W. MCGREGOR ROSS.

Dr. Drummond Shields invited his visitors to sit down and have tea with him.

When did Kenyatta come to this country (K: March) It must have been a great change from Kenya weather to March weather in England. Where had Kenyatta been all the time since arrival? In London only? (K: No, I have been travelling about part of the time in England and on the Continent.)

In which parts had he been? (K: In Germany and France and Holland.) And Russia? (K: Yes, I have been in Russia for a short time)

How did Kenyatta like being in Russia? (K: It was very interesting, but the towns were not so good as in France and Germany and England, and the people in the streets looked poorer.)

(There followed further brief conversation about Russia.)

But no doubt the progress of Kenya and of the Kikuyu people is the most important thing from your point of view. Your advice as to what is done among the Kikuyu people must be wise. It is possible that the younger men may criticise you, and say that you are only fit to be a counsellor on one of the Native Councils. Nevertheless, if you want

want to give the best service to your Association and tribe, you must have the courage to be unpopular with people who criticise you in that way. Popularity is not the most important thing, but doing the best for your people is. Under all circumstances advise them to preserve law and order. Supposing that it were the case at any time that you or your people thought that some high official of Government was not sympathetic enough with your troubles and aspirations, even then you must never allow yourselves to contemplate doing anything violent. You only play into the hands of your enemies by indulging in violence. You must do everything possible to control the few young hot-heads in your tribe, because for the misdeeds of a few, a whole people may be blamed. You have not lived in England all this time without getting to know that your people have many friends over here. The Kikuyu must show loyalty to their friends here by discarding violent methods when they are trying to get rid of any of their troubles. In any case, your troubles are getting less, are they not? (K: Yes, some are getting less, but others are increasing.)

You must realise that this conflict of opinion between the young men and the old is nothing peculiar to the Kikuyu people. Every country has the same problem, with the impatience of the young people. But constitutional method must be maintained. The petition which you drew up and submitted to the Secretary of State was the right way of going about things. And I think you must admit that it received very full and fair consideration in the Office here. I cannot say quite the same thing about the letter I received from you yesterday

(Tr.

(Dr. Shields turns it up in a file on his desk). You appear to lay it down that you intend to continue your tribal customs and that Government must not interfere with them. (slight dissent from Kenyatta.) It is quite natural that a people who have not had much education should want to uphold old traditions. I was at the India Office before I came here, and I saw a lot of this attitude there. And I, too, like to see old customs preserved, as long as we can be sure that they are not harmful. But you have been paying a lot of attention lately to the question of the circumcision of girls. Now, I am a doctor, and I know that when operations are performed like this one on Kikuyu girls, a lot of scar tissue is the result. It offers resistance to the passage of the baby at child-birth and makes labour slow and difficult.

Do you think that if Government doctors went among the Kikuyu people and explained these bad results to them, that they would listen to them and be willing to be advised by them on this subject. (K: I am sure they would be willing to listen to what they said.) I know it is not only the operation that you attach importance to. It is the whole occasion of festival, partly religious in character, and a holiday for everyone, like confirmation in some European countries. But I must now tell you one thing that I want to warn you about. I and Ross are Scots. We love our country as you do your own. Your motive in that is a good one. But you must take care that the expressions of your attachment to your country do not bring discredit upon it and you. Take recent happenings at Church services. Some of your people wish to attend

40

attend Church of their own free will, and some of your young men have been gathering together and breaking up the services. The effect of reports of that sort of thing would be, in England and Scotland, very bad. In many quarters here, great interest is taken in the work of missionaries in Africa, and if your young men drive the missionaries to take sides against you, because of the disturbance of their services, you will lose much sympathy over here. I repeat that all your propaganda must be on strictly constitutional lines. You've got to watch that all the time. We can command great forces if it becomes necessary to deal with any unconstitutional action. Your memorial was moderate and quite constitutional, and so it would have a great deal more effect with the Secretary of State and the House of Commons than anything violent in writing or action - which could only make it much harder for you to get any of the reforms you wish to see. As you will find out in your own Association and in your own Native Councils, Governments never like to appear to be giving reforms because of agitation. I am afraid that this circumcision question has been made a "slogan" in Kikuyu. (Some dissent from Kenyatta) (Dr. Shiels then read a paragraph dealing with the stump murder at Kijabe, from the Daily Express of January 6th, 1930.) If it is proved at the inquest that any of your people have been concerned in this case, these disclosures will have a dreadful effect on your people. It will be a case that I have already spoken of - of the misdeeds of a few bringing discredit upon a whole people.

I was very glad to see the stress that you lay on education.

4

education. Unless you have an educated people to deal with, you may have the misfortune to put into force influences that you cannot control, and grave disaster to all your hopes may result. I know what you are trying to do. Because some of Chiefs and Native Councils do not go with you as far as you would like, you are probably exaggerating the ineptitude of the Native Councils. This pleases your own members, but that is not enough. You can only go forward to influence by having a large volume of public opinion with you. You may well consider the experience of the Labour Party in this country, from the time when it only had three Members of Parliament up to the present time when there is a Labour Government.

(Dr. Shiels then sketched the steady advance of the Labour Party - by unremitting propaganda and appeal to thinking persons in the community.)

Kenyatta asked a question as to release of Harry Thuku from exile.

Dr. Shiels replied that the Secretary of State had not forgotten this case, and that he was keeping himself informed as to the exact state of affairs in this connection. Apart from this, he could not give any definite reply at the moment.

(Mr. Albert Thomas, of the I.L.O., having called to see Dr. Shiels, the interview with Kenyatta ended.)

1642



KENYA.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NAIROBI.
KENYA.

No. 106

CONFIDENTIAL.

RECEIVED
28 JUL 1930
COL. OFFICE

July, 1930.

My Lord,

I have the honour to refer to Your Lordship's despatch No. 347 of the 6th May, 1930, transmitting a copy of further correspondence with Mr. Johnstone Kenyatta.

2. I have already informed Your Lordship of my views concerning the case of Harry Thuku and have nothing to add thereto.

3. In regard to the proposed Tana-Maragua Water Power Concession mentioned on pages 2 and 4, the various areas concerned have been the subject of exhaustive enquiry by a Tribunal appointed for the purpose. The recommendations of this Government have been forwarded in a separate despatch. The idea that the main object of the scheme is to benefit private sisal owners is without foundation, and I have little doubt that it was suggested to Johnstone Kenyatta, like many other points in the letter, by those who composed the letter for him.

16/6/30
20
X
MET on 1st
0.0.0.0

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD PASSFIELD, P.C.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET, LONDON, S.W.1.

(No 27 on 15027/28)
(in circ)

4. In regard to native boundaries, the reference in the letter is entirely to land within the Native Reserves. To remove native apprehension in this matter, I recommended originally in my telegram No. 157 of 16th June, 1928 that a copy of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, with a map of the district concerned, be presented to each Local Native Council by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

There was no other constitutional way of investing the Ordinance in European and native eyes with the sanctity which that presentation by the Heir to the Throne would have bestowed upon it: but I regret that the proposal was rendered impossible by the action of Your Lordship's predecessor in suspending the passage of the Bill pending further examination.

I am, however, convinced that native anxiety regarding their lands is gradually decreasing and under the situation created by this Ordinance, will ultimately disappear altogether.

As Your Lordship is aware, the presentation of authenticated copies of the Ordinance, together with plans of the Reserves concerned to each Local Native Council, is provided for under Section 2 (i) of the Ordinance, and now only awaits the preparation of the necessary maps.

5. Independent discussion at meetings of Local Native Councils. The suggestion that opportunities are not afforded for full and ample discussion by Local Native Councils of questions put before them is very far from the truth. Adjournments are frequently made during the course of meetings to enable Councillors to discuss among themselves matters under debate, and though/

though the step may not be justified by the length of the Agenda, quarterly meetings are frequently extended over two days to facilitate the discussion of every aspect of questions under consideration, and the expression of their views, often tautologous, by all native speakers who may have anything to say.

6. Alienations of Kikuyu Land (page 5).

X Though there is evidence that in the early days of this country considerable areas of land now claimed by the Kikuyu were alienated to European settlers, financial reasons make it impossible in the interests of natives as well as non-natives, to re-open the question of Githaka claims outside the Reserves in the Kiambu-Nairobi areas.

At this date so remote from the time of alienation, the task of sifting the evidence, native and European, would present insuperable difficulty (an example of this difficulty is afforded by the fact that Sir Charles ^{Arthur} Hardinge in his Memoirs reports a Masai manyatta on the Nairobi Hill in ⁽⁶⁴⁵⁾ 1905); and even if a clear case were made out for the restoration of certain areas to the Kikuyu, the compensation to dispossessed persons involved in such a decision would inflict a crushing financial burden on the whole community, native and non-native, from which the Kikuyu would suffer as severely as any others.

X 7. Representation of native interests on Councils.

As Your Lordship is aware, appointments to the Executive Council are entirely at the discretion of the Governor. If natives were consulted as to their

representative for Legislative Council, each tribe would undoubtedly demand the selection of their own candidate, and as unanimity would be impossible to achieve, the task of selecting the man best suited to represent native interests must devolve on Government for many years to come.

8. Labour questions (page 8). The investigations of labour questions and of any complaints or abuses under the present laws has always had my constant and careful attention, and I am convinced that no hardship is suffered or unfairness occasioned as a result of the present system.

I have been able to obtain no information as to the report alleged to have appeared in the "East African Standard" in which men are said to have been kept at compulsory work for a period of six months. I have asked Provincial Commissioners to ascertain if the case alleged occurred in any of their Provinces, but I am not at all satisfied as to the accuracy of the report.

9. Taxation of Women (page 10). Though opposed to the system of hut tax on general principles I am in favour of its preservation until a form of property tax, which will distribute the burden more evenly over the population, can be substituted. In this connection I would refer Your Lordship to the Resolution passed at the first Governors' Conference, which reads as follows:-

"That -

"That there was no objection to a tax
 "on native cattle, where the stock was
 "sufficiently numerous; and that such
 "a tax was desirable where natives had
 "surplus cattle and a suitable market
 "existed, in order to promote the
 "economic use of stock and the
 "development of animal husbandry."

10. Paramount Chief (page 11) The remarks
 in the letter on this subject are incorrect. The
 functions of Chief Kinyanjui, to whom reference is
 made, were confined to his location, outside which
 he had personal influence but no authority. Entitled
 to no hereditary rank, he started life as a donkey boy,
 and was raised to his position in recognition of
 valuable services rendered to the Government.

Wangombe and Waiyaki, who are mentioned
 in the letter, achieved some local prominence as
 warriors in fighting with the Masai but, according
 to my information, were never chiefs in the accepted
 sense of the word, as the institution did not exist
 among the Kikuyu before our advent into the country.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
 humble servant,

Edward Gigg

GOVERNOR.

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I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble servant,

Edward Sney

GOVERNOR.

O.O.

X 60107/173.k 47
14

- Mr. Eastwood 18/7
- Mr. Allen 18/7
- Mr. Robinson 18/7
- Sir C. Balloway.
- Sir J. Shackburgh.
- Sir G. Grindle.
- Parml. U.S. of S.
- Parly. U.S. of S.
- Secretary of State.

25 July 1930.
 1930
 25 JULY

Sir,

I am etc. to ack. the
 recd. of your letter of the 7th July
 in which you ^{communicated} forwarded a
 telegram received from the
 Kikuyu Central Association.

DRAFT.

Mr. J. Kenyatta

Copy to 579-AI-29/7/30.
 Copy to 579-AI-29/7/30.

(The message from the
 Association is being ack.
 through the Govt. of Kenya,
 to whom also a copy of
 your letter is being forward.
 (2) In reply to the last para
 of your letter I am to say that
 I have drafted for

that there is no reason
 for the Kikuyu Central
 Association or any other
 association of natives in
 Kenya to
 anticipate interference from
 the ^{Government} of the Colony so
 long as they conduct

Copy with copy 13 to
 file 13 for reference.

95 Cambridge Street,
London, S.W.1.

7th July 1930.

13
48

To:-
The Rt. Hon. Lord Passfield,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State,
for the Colonies,
Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

29 JUL 1930
OFFICE

My Lord,
May it please your Lordship:

I am directed by the Kikuyu Central Association to convey to you for your Lordship consideration the following information as conveyed by their cablegram to me on Saturday last:-

"Nairobi, Via Kenya Radio
100 Johnstone Kenyatta
95 Grambridge Street London S.W.1.

Kikuyu Thanks His Majesty Government many years discussion of east africa native police enfranchisement apprehensively settlers delegates territories annexure against paramount Natives remain elaborate Kenya natives allowed self expression legislative council and central board direct representatives majority native votes"

Jesse Kariuki
Ag President Kikuyu Central Association

No doubt the writing of this telegram may have been faulty, and there may have been mutilation in transmission. I take the message to mean:- "Kikuyu thanks His Majesty's Government for (their decision upon) many years' discussion of East African Native policy (with its forecast of) enfranchisement (for Africans).

"(They regard) apprehensively (the proposals for) settler delegates (from three) territories (with their probable demands for) annexation (of land, which would be) against (the) paramount (needs of) natives. (It will) remain (to) elaborate (steps by which) Kenya natives (will be) allowed (a measure of) self expression (in the) legislative council (and) central board (by) direct representatives (who, we hope will be elected by a) majority (of) native votes."

I also most respectfully request your Lordship to graciously assist us to see to it that the settlers in Kenya will not persuade His Majesty's Government to change its principles which are outlined in the White Paper on the Native Policy in East Africa. I also wish to bring to your Lordship's notice that, according to a further cablegram received from my Association, the President of the Association has been arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for two months and a fine of £7-10-0. or, in default, to a further two months R.I. for attending a meeting of the Association. We pray that the local Government in Kenya may be withholding from my Association the right and liberty to hold their meetings to discuss their affairs, also prohibiting the collection of funds on behalf of the Association.

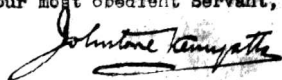
I believe that such actions of the local Government, are quite inconsistent with the reply which was given in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when he said that the Government was in favour of "legitimate speech". There is a widespread opinion among the Natives in Kenya that these actions, interfering with the activities of the Kikuyu Central Association, as they are doing, are a prelude to the attempted suppression of that Association, and to the destruction of the good work accomplished by the Association on behalf of their fellow country-men, and especially the Kikuyu people, as evidenced if only by the very large numbers of Natives who attend a

25/7/30
28/4/30 EA
Cape Sw. 579. 41 - 29/7/30

attended both the District and the Supreme Courts at the recent trials of the President of the K.C.A.

I most respectfully ask Your Lordship as the Trustee of the Native of Kenya, if you could instruct the Government of Kenya to refrain from further molesting the Kikuyu Central Association, and in particular, to cancel any order that may have been made to prohibit the collection of funds by the Association, and to issue an order that henceforth no meetings of my Association should be prohibited, so long as they are held in an orderly manner, and for legitimate purposes.

Thanking you in advance,
I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your most obedient Servant,



General Secretary,
KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

1150

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Grigg,
Government House, Kenya, to Sir Cecil Bottomley,
Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dated 23.4.30.

x x x x

(No 4)

Your note of the 29th March enclosing
Dr. Chiel's correspondence about Johnstone
Kenyatta's return has just arrived. I don't
think Kenyatta's return will set the Othman or
the Juja on fire, and of course I should not
dream of interfering with him in any way unless he
makes trouble for the native administration and
breaks the law. The K.J.A. is, as a matter
of fact, giving no more trouble at the moment,
and the Kikuyu as a whole are very content and
will.

x x x x

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Grigg,
Government House, Kenya, to Sir Cecil Bottomley,
Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dated 22.4.30.

x x x x

Your note of the 28th March enclosing
Dr. Shiel's correspondence about Johnstone
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of fact, giving no more trouble at the moment,
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will.

x x x x

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Grigg,
Government House, Kenya, to Sir Osell Bottomley,
Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dated 22.4.30.

X X X X

Your note of the 28th March enclosing
Dr. Shiel's correspondence about Johnstone
Kenyatta's return has just arrived. I don't
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X X X X

C.O.

X.16010/30A Kenya.

14 MAY 1930

Mr. *ace P. 7.5.30*
Mr.
Mr.

X *Mr. Bottomley 7.5.30*

Sen. J. Shackleton

Sir G. Grenville

Parly. U.S. of S. 7.5.30

Parly. U.S. of S. 7.5.30

Secretary of State. 13/5

For Dr. Shields's signature.
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

PERSONAL.

Downing Street.

May, 1930.

DRAFT.

H.E. LIEUT.-COL. SIR EDWARD GRIGG,
K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O.
M.C.

(5)
(6)

Dear Sir Edward,

I have to thank you for your letters of the 12th and 15th March about the Kikuyu and Kenyatta. It was good of you to write so fully, and I am sorry not to have acknowledged your letters sooner.

I ^{quite} appreciate that the Government must, in general, give support to the recognised native authorities, and I realise that it may be difficult in practice to combine that with due tolerance towards the more vocal, younger natives who form

such

such Associations as that of which Kenyatta is Secretary. Yet somehow or other we have to do this: the Government here, which is answerable for the policy followed in the Colonies, cannot stand for anything which could be interpreted as repressive. But the S. of S. has recently sent you an official despatch which covers this ground, and I need not go over it again.

A ~~farther~~ ^{recently} long letter has been received from Kenyatta in answer to that which was sent to him as Secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association on the 2nd January. Copies of the letter and the reply have been forwarded to you officially in a despatch of the 6th May. (9)

Kenyatta's letter raises a number of important issues, and on these the S. of S. will be glad to have your comments; but, as you will see from the answer sent to Kenyatta,

such Associations as that of which Kenyatta is Secretary. Yet somehow or other we have to do this: the Government here, which is answerable for the policy followed in the Colonies, cannot stand for anything which could be interpreted as repressive. But the S.of S. has recently sent you an official despatch which covers this ground, and I need not go over it again.

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Kenyatta, it has been indicated that further correspondence on these matters should pass through the proper channels in the Colony. Whether or not Kenyatta will return shortly to Kenya, I cannot be sure; a good deal of influence has been brought to bear upon him; but he cannot be forced to return, however desirable that may be. But when he does come, I am most anxious that he should be sympathetically handled by the Administration and kept, if possible on right lines.

I understand from the Dept. that the general practice is to make the Provincial Commissioners the channel of communication for matters relating to their Provinces, and I see the point therefore of letting the Provincial Commissioner rather than the Chief Native Commissioner get into touch with Kenyatta

Kenyatta on his return. But I gather that natives who have representations to make, have ready access to the Chief Native Commissioner, if they wish to do so after seeing the Provincial Commissioner. I take it, therefore, that if the Provincial Commissioner has seen Kenyatta, there would be no difficulty in the Chief Native Commr. that he, by his personal influence to bear upon Kenyatta at the first suitable opportunity and reinforcing the Provincial Commissioner's efforts to guide him in the direction which I suggested in my letter of the 21st Dec.

(34 in X.15540/29A)

Mr. Wase has now arrived in England, and I ^{had an interesting} ~~was hoping to have~~ a talk with ^{a few days ago} ~~him this evening~~ but as the mail leaves today, I must send off this letter without ~~waiting for that~~

Yrs sincerely,
(Sd) T.D.S.

~~I drafted on this
assuming that
the letter will
be sent to go
on the 8/11/47
all~~

C. O.

54

9

Mr. Parkes 30/4/30

Mr. *see further minutes*

Mr.

Downing Street,

X Mr. Bottomley 30/4/30

Sir J. Shackburgh

Sir G. Grindle

6 April 1930

6 May

all
am
16/4

→ Penn. Univ. of B. 15/5/30

Party, U.S. of S. 1. 2. 9. 30

Sir,

X Secretary of State

2/2/30

[31 in 15520/29A]

With reference to my

despatch No. 5 of the 2nd
January, I have the honour to
transmit to you the enclosed
copy of further correspondence
with Mr. Johnstone Kenyatta.

DRAFT.

KENYA

NO. 347

Govr.

2. I have to request that

the contents of Mr. Kenyatta's
letter may be carefully con-
sidered, and I trust that every
effort will be made to remedy any
real grievances which it discloses.
I should welcome, for my own informa-
tion, any comments which you may
have to make on the points detailed
in the letter, as these and similar
matters are raised here from time
to time.

Fr. Mr. Kenyatta - 15. 6. 30

No. 7

5. 5. 30

To Mr. Kenyatta - *DSK* herewith

of Kenyatta

*Neer. time for further
info on Tuesday*

I hope that when Mr.

(Signed) PASSFIELD

Kenyatta

~~Kanyatta returns to the Colony arrangements~~
~~will be made for him to be seen by a senior~~
~~official.~~

X. 16014 30 Kenya 55

Mr. Parkinson. 30/4/30

Downing Street,

5 April 1930.
5 May

3-MAY
11 5 11

X Mr. Bottomley. 30.4.30

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Sir G. Grindle.

Permt. U.S. of S. 1.5.30.

Parly. U.S. of S. 2.5.30

X Secretary of State.

Handwritten initials and scribbles, including '2/5' and a large 'X' mark.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord

Passfield to acknowledge the

receipt of your letter of the 15th

April ^{commenting upon} regarding ~~the~~ ^{various matters of which} the ~~importance of the~~ ^{administration in Kenya, more} particularly those dealt with in the letter from the Colonial

Office of the 2nd of January in

which his Lordship conveyed to you,

as Secretary of the Kikuyu Central

Association, a reply to the petition,

submitted by the Association on the

14th February 1929.

2. The Secretary of State

notes what is said in your letter,

and he is forwarding a copy of it to

the Governor of Kenya for his

consideration. The Secretary

States understands, however, that

you

DRAFT.

Mr. Konyatta.

(7)

[30 in 1556/14]

Copy Caw. 3117 - 6 MAY 1930

you are shortly returning to Kenya, and it will be better, therefore, that any further correspondence on these matters should pass through the proper channels in the Colony. You may be assured that all reasonable statements of complaints and grievances which are felt by any sections of the Kikuyu will receive the careful attention of the Government of Kenya, and that the Secretary of State will be kept fully informed of the welfare of the Kikuyu, in which he is deeply concerned.

I am,

etc.

(Signed) A. C. C. PARKINSON.

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I am,

etc.

(Signed) A. C. C. PARKINSON.

56

THE Kikuyu Central Association

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: KAHUHIA, P.O., FORT HALL.

(Monthly Journal: "MUIGWITHANIA")

TELEGRAMS:
"KAYSEEV," NAIROBI.
GENERAL SECRETARY:
JOHNSTONE KENYATTA.

95, Cambridge Street,
London, S.W.1.

CORRESPONDENCE TO—

P.O. BOX 59.

NAIROBI, KENYA.

16th April, 1930

EAST AFRICA.

RECEIVED
10 APR 1930
COL. OFFICE

TO:
The Right Honourable Lord Passfield,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for the Dominions and Colonies.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter 15540/29.A. of 2nd January, 1930, and to express my thanks for the very full and courteous consideration that has been given to the two petitions submitted by my Association.

My tribe is particularly gratified that the case of Harry Thuku will receive Your Lordship's most careful consideration. I have told my people that I learn that it is not usual for the British Nation to exile a man from his home and country for daring to voice the legitimate grievances of his people, or to deny to men freedom to form associations or trade unions. May I be allowed to add that Thuku has now been more than eight years in exile and that he has not been tried in any Court of Law?

May I next be allowed to refer to certain of the numbered paragraphs in Your Lordship's reply?

3 (1). It is gratifying to know that Your Lordship considers that no native tribe need have any fear as to the security of its

Ms. 30. m
15540/29/A
5 MAY 1930
5 MAY 1930

lands. Nevertheless, we recall that heavy pressure was put upon a portion of our tribe only a year or two ago to surrender land in South Nyeri that was wanted by a Mauritius Sugar Company; that we lost some land recently at Karugoya and Muthangari and that in recent months a certain Maragua-Tana scheme has been discussed in Kenya, under which it is proposed to deprive the Kikuyu Reserve of an important source of water power for ever, in order that it may be used for supplying cheap electric power to private sisal owners. We are disturbed that such a proposal could be pressed at this time in view of Clause 7 of the Native Lands Trusts Bill, against each paragraph of which it offends:-

- (a). Native opinion is violently opposed to it.
- (b). It is clear that, apart from revenue, the natives can gain nothing under the scheme.
- (c). The land is being beneficially occupied by natives.

Further it was reported by the Parliamentary Commission on Page 29 of their Report (Cmd. 2387) that our lands have not been safe under various Governors of Kenya; and although it is the view of His Majesty's Government that Chief Justice Sir Jacob Barth's legal decision does not affect the rights of native land users, we have found by subsequent Court rulings that it has put an end to previously existing rights of Kikuyu land owners. My tribe would feel safe if the external boundaries of their Reserve and the security of the land within those boundaries were guaranteed directly by the King. We should welcome an independent Protector answerable only to Your Lordship and one whom we could, therefore, trust, and who would get

to know us and our language and customs and who could, when our external boundaries are rendered safe, discuss with our tribe new arrangements and the issue of title deeds for lands within those boundaries.

We should then escape such trouble as occurred in the notorious case of Douglas Mwangi, which my Association reported to the Closer Union Commission, where an Assistant District Commissioner set fire to 48 huts, destroying them and all their contents, and forcing Mwangi's people, who had been living on the land for years, to leave it. His family has since spent about 20,000 shillings in the Law Courts, but without getting back possession of their land. There is no single question about which my people are so anxious as their getting title deeds. It is more important and urgent to them than any other question.

3 (11)(a). I do not know the constitution of the Committee which is referred to as it was formed since I left the Colony, but since Kikuyu land law is complex, I trust that my tribe is adequately represented on the Committee so that the Committee may be correctly informed concerning our customs.

3 (11)(b). I am sorry if the wording of our petition gave Your Lordship to understand that there is the slightest likelihood of Kikuyu alienating, or wishing to alienate, any of our land to non-natives. What we fear is that native land in the reserves might be alienated to non-natives by the Kenya Government without our consent. I need not remind Your Lordship of the unauthorised substitution of European ownership for native that took place some years ago within

the Nandi Reserve. It is this possibility, of the exchange of native ownership for ownership by non-natives in our Reserve, of which we are nervous. We have been strongly pressed lately to accept land at Saba-saba, which we do not want, in exchange for land of ours at Maragua which Europeans want. On this topic I would allude to the letter of Mr. H. R. Tate, late Senior Commissioner, in "The Times" of 8th January, 1930.

As regards the use by Government of land for public purposes, I am afraid that the bulk of my tribe would regard as useless the substitution of an equal area of land elsewhere unless such land were contiguous to our Reserve.

3 (ii)(d). We regret that our suggestion under this heading has been interpreted as betraying a lack of confidence in His Majesty's officials. This was not intended. But experience has made us feel that in many cases it would be more satisfactory that the Councils should be allowed to have opportunities for discussion by themselves, before the District Officer joins them to settle the questions brought up. We desire freedom to ventilate our views and to discuss topics at a length and in a manner which, to a busy District Officer, might appear irrelevant or a waste of time, but which we ourselves consider should be so discussed and which would be so discussed but for the ruling of the Chairman. We gladly admit that some District Officers are more patient with us than others. Still, many topics are not now brought up before the Councils when the District Officer is presiding or, if brought up, are not discussed as we would like them to be, because it is impossible for him to allow the freedom of discussion

that would be demanded and granted under the Chieftainship of one of our own tribe. For a long time past, District Officers have been changed so frequently that they have not possibly had time to learn our language, manners and customs, and we cannot, therefore, always feel full confidence in their ability to do us justice.

3 (ii)(e). It is gratifying to us to know that Your Lordship considers that if the Native Land Trust Bill is passed into law, the amendments which are to be inserted will ensure that full regard will be paid to the views of natives who may be affected by proposals for the leasing of land in a Reserve for special purposes, and that their interests will be adequately protected. Unless this is done, have we any greater security in the future against our being compelled to give leases or concessions than we had in the past against the alienation of lands referred to in the 1925 Report of the Parliamentary Commission

~~3~~ 3 (ii)(g). We are extremely pleased with Your Lordship's promise that enquiry will be made as to the loss of our tribe of lands granted to non-natives in freehold and that consideration will be given to this matter. It is a fact that a large proportion of the land now held by Europeans as coffee and other farms round Kyambu, Limoru, Kabete, Kijabe, Mangu, Ruiru, Ruirwaka and Kamiti was under Kikuyu ownership when it was taken by the E. A. P. Government, without compensation to the owners, and given or sold to European farmers. Although the Parliamentary Commission made no reference to the fact, we understand that it is the case that the Protestant Missions submitted a recommendation to that body that these cases should be looked into, and that reparation should be made to the victimised

native owners or their descendants. No doubt this representation will come under Your Lordship's notice in the promised enquiry. There are hundreds of Kikuyu wandering about Kenya to-day, landless and homeless, because of their being evicted from their lands in the past without any compensation whatsoever. Some of the land so taken from us is now held on freehold tenure and much of the remainder is on 999 year leases, which is much the same thing from our point of view. Under Kikuyu land law, land could not be alienated in freehold. The Kikuyu never understood that they would be deprived of the freehold of their land, and now press for its return, or adequate compensation.

3 (11)(h). It will give great satisfaction to my people to know that the question of the growing of Arabica coffee by any persons, whatever their race (given freedom from risk of spreading disease), is going to receive Your Lordship's consideration among other topics dealt with by the recent Agricultural Commission.

3 (11)(i). On page 37, para. 158 of the recent Report of the Agricultural Commission the following sentence occurs: "There are obvious advantages to be gained if the agricultural officer in a Native Reserve could put in a long enough term of service to allow him to obtain a thorough knowledge of the people of his district and to acquire some knowledge of their particular language, as well as of Swahili."

We acknowledge the good intentions of the Government in wishing to teach us agriculture, but we submit that the implications of the above extract confirm our contention that the necessary organisation

for our proper instruction in agriculture is yet far from perfect.

3 (ii)(j). I would refer to my remarks on the Maragua Tana scheme under 3 (i), and also to 3 (ii)(b).

EDUCATION.

(a) It will be a matter of extreme satisfaction to my people to know that your Lordship proposes to ensure that primary education is fully provided for, as this is a privilege that we have long pressed for, and as they will take it for granted that that course will involve the education of our girls as well as our boys.

(b) There is already one Kikuyu at Makerere College, but I feel sure that it will be realised that the same inducement to educational advance is not provided by the existence of a school in a distant protectorate as would be supplied by the institution of one or more high schools in the country of the Kikuyu (and other tribes) of Kenya. We believe that much more rapid progress in the higher education of Kikuyu boys and girls would take place if we had schools for advanced education in our own country, that more interest would be aroused and more financial support be given. It is reassuring to us to know that the whole question of African education is now engaging Your Lordship's attention. At present we do not get our fair share of money for education from the public funds. We provide large amounts from voluntary taxation towards building our own schools.

REPRESENTATION ON COUNCIL.

Whether the Government accepted our selection or not, although we hope they would, we should like to be allowed to suggest a list of the names of representatives whom we would choose to support our

interests on the Legislative and Executive Councils. Without exception, all the Europeans who have so far been selected by the Kenya Government as special representatives of native interests have failed on many occasions to advance or support our interests on issues when we both needed and expected their support. We do feel it a grievance that we should have no voice at all in the selection of our representatives, and never any conferences with them as to what they are to say on our behalf.

LABOUR QUESTIONS.

(a) I am afraid that my people could not be persuaded that the registration system has been applied for any other reason than to oppress them. Your Lordship is no doubt aware that the registration certificate is used by vindictive employers to ruin a worker's reputation and brand him as a bad and worthless fellow, greatly to his detriment in his relations with other, and perhaps less vicious, employers. It is true that the Chief Native Commissioner prohibited the use of red ink on certificates for this illicit and secret damage of workers' reputations (see Native Affairs Report for 1926), but nothing that Your Lordship or the Kenya Government can enforce could prevent the use of secret signs, apparently quite innocent in appearance, by bad-tempered Europeans to ensure future difficulties for native workers who may, quite possibly, have had every justification for quarrelling with them. I am afraid it need not be hoped that the native tribes of Kenya will ever agree that the taking of all male finger prints, and that the imposition of punishment under the criminal law for failure to carry certificates,

are applied by the Kenya Government for their good or their benefit. I am quite sure that my Association will be extremely grateful for Your Lordship's permission to advance valid ground for modification of the system. At present any African is liable to be challenged by the police to produce his certificate if he is outside of his Native Reserve. If he walks out after dark he may always be called on to produce it. If he has not got it on him he is fined before the Courts. This procedure is enforced only against Africans in Kenya, which His Majesty's Government has declared to be primarily an African territory. May I respectfully submit that if such police methods were applied to Englishmen in England they would protest against them as imposing a "state of slavery?"

(c) May I point out to Your Lordship that laws have been framed or applied so as to ensure that African males should be penalised if they do not produce evidence of having worked for an employer? "The Roads in Native Reserves" Ordinance and the "Native Authority" Ordinance both require that African able-bodied males shall do unpaid labour for 24 days a year, and the latter adds that they are liable to be called out for 60 days paid labour on public works. The 24 days under each of these Ordinances (sometimes only one is applied) are supposed to be exacted as 6 days a quarter, but this requirement of law is sometimes disregarded and men are kept at work for more than 6 days. In a case quoted recently in the "East African Standard" they were kept at work for 6 months. Exemption can be claimed by natives who can produce evidence of having worked for an employer for 3 months during the preceding twelve.

It cannot be pretended that this threat of compulsory unpaid work if men stay in their villages does not have great influence in making them leave their villages to work for an employer. This is one of the evils that afflicts us as a direct result of the existence of the registration certificate. If the unpaid work that is exacted at present were in future paid, as we think it ought to be, (taking into account the heavy taxation which Africans have to pay) the present compulsion to work for employers would vanish. There have been many cases in our history of direct compulsion being placed upon villagers to go and work for certain employers, and my people will be grateful for Your Lordship's promise that drastic action will be taken in future if such cases are reported.

In connection with a despatch which contains so much encouragement for my people, it is with great regret that I must report that my people will be deeply grieved to find that Your Lordship is unwilling to admit that there is hardship or injustice in the exaction of direct taxation from African women. In a large number of cases it is true, as Your Lordship is advised by the Kenya Government, that the taxes on women's huts are paid by their men folk - sons or husbands. This equally is an injustice. European, Indian and Arab husbands and sons are no less able to pay direct taxation for their wives, mothers or grown up daughters. That this taxation should be exacted only in the case of the poorest class in the Colony, while European women do not pay one cent of direct taxation, appears to my people to be entirely unfair and oppressive. They believed that it would only be necessary to remind Your Lordship that there are thousands

of War widows among the native tribes, in order to ensure a prompt instruction to the Government of Kenya for the remission of taxation in such cases. (We should, of course, be equally willing that European War widows should be exempt.) But that African widows should have to pay direct taxation, while all other women in the Colony escape, appears to us to be an unjust piece of discrimination to the detriment of the most helpless section of the combined populations in the Colony. May I respectfully restate our hope that Your Lordship will be willing to consider total exemption for widows, irrespective of proof of absence of means, and that African women will no longer be treated more harshly in the matter of direct taxation than are the women of other races in the Colony?

KIKUYU NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

I consider that the Kenya Government is in error, due to insufficient study of the facts, in advising Your Lordship that the institution of a paramount Chief would be foreign to the traditions and custom of the Kikuyu, and in no way calculated to improve their position. Holding this view, it is strange that they have maintained such an appointment until last year. It was the case, when I was a boy, that there were two chiefs, paramount among their respective portions of the Kikuyu people between Ngong and Mount Kenya. These were Wangombé and Waiyaki. Whether the replacement of one paramount chief, or a couple as was the case before British rule began, would be "calculated to improve the position" of the tribe or not may perhaps be allowed to be a matter of opinion. My Association considers it would be a marked advantage to appoint an educated paramount Chief

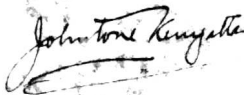
who enjoyed the peoples confidence, and I respectfully beg to express the hope that their wishes will not be refused until steps are at least taken to ascertain the general attitude of the Kikuyu tribe to this proposal.

We should welcome a friend and protector appointed by His Majesty, the King, who could look after our welfare and remain among us sufficiently long to learn our language and customs and who would defend us from injustice and oppression. To-day our legislation is made for us by a Council that knows nothing of our homeland, and since it is only printed in English which, from lack of education, very few of my people understand, they do not have any fair opportunity of getting to know what the laws are that affect them. We have for the last 29 years paid great sums in taxes which have been largely spent for the benefit of others without our knowledge or consent.

We beg His Majesty's Government, which has so often declared that it is the guardian of us, its wards, not to forget our interests or hand over its responsibilities to others.

I remain, Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,



For and on behalf of
The KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

Private

668

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

15th March 1930.

Dear Doctor Drummond Shiels,

nos'

I think you will be interested, as a corollary to my letter on Kenyatta and the K.C.A., to have the following figures showing the representation at present held by members of the K.C.A. on the Local Native Councils. The centre of the Association, as you probably know, is in Fort Hall; its adherents are most numerous in that district. The only other district in which it has many adherents is Kyambu; but they are less numerous there than in Fort Hall. It has very little following in Nyeri. Outside those districts and the settled areas immediately surrounding them, it has no following at all. It has sent out propagandists to many of the other Reserves, but they have made no serious impression anywhere.

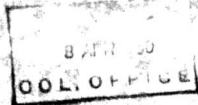
The following are the figures for the Native Councils in the three districts where the Association exists:-

	<u>Total Membership.</u>	<u>K.C.A. representations.</u>
Fort Hall.	28.	9.
Kyambu.	25.	6.
Nyeri.	22.	4.

Yours sincerely,
Edward Gigg

Dr. F. Drummond Shiels, M.C., M.P.
The Colonial Office,
LONDON.

Private and
Personal.



569
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

12th March, 1930.

Dear Doctor Drummond Shiels,

No 34
On 15540/17/29

I am much obliged for your letter and enclosure of February 5th regarding your talk with Kenyatta. I greatly appreciate your desire to help me in a difficult situation, and I am sure that you on your side realise my anxiety to work in harmony with the Secretary of State and yourself.

One of the main difficulties arises from the sort of people who take up Kenyatta at home. Some of them have no desire to do anything except to make difficulties for this Government. Others are perfectly well-meaning but have absolutely no knowledge of the real problems of native administration here. I have never met McGregor Ross, but it is apparent from everything he writes that he does not understand the native problem in this Colony at the present time. That is not extraordinary. He left.....

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

-2-

12th March, 1930.

left the Colony before even the first of the Native Councils was established and before the authority of the Chiefs had begun to develop as successfully as it is doing now. Native progress is much more rapid than many of our so-called "pro-natives" at home realise, and they make a great mistake in supposing that the main progressive element amongst such a tribe as the Kikuyu is to be found in agitators like Kenyatta and organisations like the Kikuyu Central Association. I see much more promise in a Chief like Koinange, who lives in a well-built house with a bit of garden; ^{combined with} who understands the value of machinery as ^{labour,} ~~against~~ the human element, and has two hundred acres cultivated by the plough and under wheat at the present moment; who is helping the Medical and Agricultural services to spread their work in his location in every way he can; who is just.....

-2-

DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

-3-

12th March, 1930.

just as soon as any young Kikuyu on securing recognition for the established Kikuyu systems of land tenure; but who is, notwithstanding, abused and ridiculed by Kenyatta and his ~~also~~ friends.

This is what the administrative officers feel on the subject. They are desperately anxious to help the tribe to progress. They are now getting wonderful help and support from the Chiefs and Elders in doing so. They know that progress can only be made through the proper tribal authorities (I think every great student of the African problem agrees upon that) and they find the Kikuyu Central Association, so far from assisting progress, as they undoubtedly could, simply vilifying the Chiefs and attempting to undermine their influence. I am bound to stand for the policy of rule through the Chiefs, to support my officers, and to resist.....

-3-

DR. P. DRUMMOND CHELIS, F.C.S., M.P.

-4-

12th March, 1930.

to resist anything which is likely to undermine the confidence of the tribe in either.

With regard to the Kikuyu Central Association, I have no objection to it as such, and I fully recognize the desirability in Colonies like this of allowing the young native some political organisation through which he can express himself without too much fear of the conservative displeasure of the Chiefs. The Kikuyu Central Association can achieve these ends without any of the agitation to which it has hitherto devoted most of its means and time. It is very well represented already in the Native Councils, and the District Officers who preside always draw out the opinions of all kinds of representatives of native opinion. If the influence of the Association in the Native Councils has hitherto been small, that is solely due to.....

-4-

DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

-4-

12th March, 1930.

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-4-

DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

-5-

12th March, 1930.

due to the fact that they have ^{generally} taken a ~~purely~~ critical ~~decisive~~ and unhelpful line. It is also the fact that they have collected large sums of money at random and spent them largely on the personal gratification of their own officers. It is absolutely essential, therefore, to insist that money collected shall be accounted for in a proper way. But, apart from that, everything will be done to persuade the Association to play its legitimate part in the public life and progress of the Kikuyu people.

With regard to Kenyatta, I recognize that he is a harmless individual when left alone. I saw him myself in London, as you know, and I have satisfied myself since I returned to the Colony that he has no real influence or importance with his tribe. Now, then, you will ask, has he gained his position? Frankly, as a tool of men who are not friendly to this.....

-5-

DR. T. DAVIDSON SHIELS, M.C., M.P.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA
EAST AFRICA.

-6-

12th March, 1930.

this or any other form of European government. The petition which he took home was quite evidently drafted by a European. Petitions written by the Kikuyu themselves are very different in character and bear no resemblance at all to the language of the petition which Kenyatta took home. It is common knowledge, indeed, that Kenyatta and other members of his Association have been used by European and Indian malcontents here and elsewhere to further their own ends. Mr. McGregor Ross's assertion that Kenyatta has had nothing to do with the Communists takes my breath away. I would only mention the fact that he attended a Communist Conference in Paris not very long ago and was afterwards taken, presumably with Communist funds, to Moscow. It is certain that he had no funds from here which would have enabled him to make a journey of that kind. We know, indeed, that.....

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DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

-7-

12th March, 1930.

that he has disappointed his friends out here and is in consequence very short of funds. I got a bill the other day for a typewriter which he had ordered from a London shop and failed to pay for, giving my name as security.

The importance attached to Kenyatta in England is really, therefore, ridiculous. He has done so little even for his Association during his absence that he has ceased to have any serious following here so far as I can judge, and that is why I frankly very much regret that you should have given him an interview. The Secretary of State insists that I should send a copy of the reply to his petition to the Association here. I have done so, but I am afraid the inevitable result will be that the reply, or some portions of it, will be published in the Press, that the fact of your interview.....

-7-

DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

-8-

12th March, 1930.

interview with Kenyatta will become known, and that he will suddenly leap into a position of importance in the eyes of his people which he has never held before.

That will not last long: but it is regrettable for a special reason. For a long time past I have been working out the difficult problem of satisfying the two chief Kikuyu grievances, namely, their dissatisfaction with the mission schools and their anxiety to have their systems of land tenure recognised by Government. I believe I am well on the way to settle the latter, and we are making heroic efforts to deal with the former. There are also the questions of further powers for the Kiamas and the establishment of Kiamas in the settled areas. All these things, when progress is made with them, should go down to the credit, not merely.....

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DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

-9-

12th March, 1930.

merely of Government, but of the Chiefs. I shall do my utmost to make it clear to the Kikuyu people that their Chiefs have represented them very genuinely in all these affairs. But the Kikuyu Central Association will promptly claim credit for everything that is done, and I fear that your interview and the publication of the Secretary of State's reply may help them to gain a credit which they do not deserve.

I am sure you will recognize that I am writing this in no controversial spirit, but simply in order that you may understand my own position and that of my advisers and administrative officers out here. By the same mail as this letter there will go to you a full despatch on the circumcision issue and another despatch on the reform of Native Tribunals which will show the lines of progress.....

-9-

DR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

-9-

12th March, 1930.

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-9-

HR. T. DRUMMOND SHIELDS, M.C., M.P.

-10-

12th March, 1930.

progress which we are attempting to pursue. Attached to one of these is the report of a discussion of native unrest by a meeting of Provincial Commissioners under the Chairmanship of the Colonial Secretary. I absented myself altogether from that meeting of Provincial Commissioners because I was anxious to have the advice of men experienced in the ways of our native tribes and experienced also in African administration without any sort of suggestion on my part as to the lines to be pursued. I am sure that that précis and the resolution with which it concludes will have influence with you.

As to our dealings with Kenyatta on his return, I have arranged that he shall see the Provincial Commissioner of the Kikuyu Province at once, and that Mr. Horne shall speak to him very much on the lines which you indicate. I have delegated.....

-10-

DR. T. FRUMMOND SHIELS, M.C., M.P.

73
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
KENYA,
EAST AFRICA.

-11-

12th March, 1930.

delegated this duty to ^{the} a Provincial Commissioner rather than to the Chief Native Commissioner because I am endeavouring in every way to make Provincial Commissioners feel their responsibility for their Provinces and not to go between them and the leaders of the native tribes in their Provinces unless there is an absolute necessity to do so.

As I live me

Yours sincerely,

Edward Gigg

T. DRUMMOND SHIELS, M.C., M.P.,
COLONIAL OFFICE,
DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.
LONDON.

SENIOR COMMISSIONERS' MEETING.

4TH MARCH, 1930.

10 a.m.

P R E S E N T.

HON. COLONIAL SECRETARY, in the Chair.
HON. CHIEF NATIVE COMMISSIONER.
ALL SENIOR COMMISSIONERS.

Secretaries:- MR. WADE and
MAJOR WILLCOCKS.

The Colonial Secretary informed the Senior Commissioners that before commencing the Agenda of the Meeting he wished to discuss the matter of Native Unrest so that he might be in a position to place the general views of Senior Commissioners on this question before His Excellency the Governor.

The Senior Commissioner, Kikuyu, gave it as his considered opinion that, speaking generally, the inhabitants of the Reserves in his Province were as contented now as they had ever been. He was certain that if the two Bills (To Regulate the Collection of Money from Natives and the Native Tribunals Bill) became law, the powers of the Native Tribunals and Headmen would be greatly strengthened and would enable them to deal effectively with the activities of the Kikuyu Central Association. As it is, this Association are short of funds which, in itself, is likely to curtail their activities in the near future.

With regard to the political aspirations of the young men of the Kikuyu Central Association, Mr. Horne considered that these had by no means been stifled in the past and that they had very full representation on the various Local Native Councils. Their grievances were always listened to by Officers holding barazas but with the exception of nervousness about their land they very seldom had any real grievance to put forward.

The Senior Commissioner, Ukamba, said that he believed that the root of the whole trouble was the shortage of Administrative officers and the continual change of staff in Provinces and Districts consequent thereon. The situation in the Reserves could not be watched by Officers as it should be and there was never a sufficient amount of touring done owing to the mass of routine work Officers had to do at District Headquarters.

The Senior Commissioner, Ngala, said that he was not altogether easy in his mind as to the present situation. He thought our Administration of the Native was not abrupt or strong enough. There was too much talk and too much law. He considered that the penetration of Kikuyu anti-white propaganda into the farms was a bad sign.

The Colonial Secretary asked if he considered that this propaganda was anti-Government or anti-Mission.

Colonel Watkins replied that in his opinion it was anti-white, to which Mr. Horne agreed, adding that he thought the Indian was behind it.

With regard to Colonel Watkins's statement that there was "too much law," the Chief Native Commissioner pointed out.....

This is Col. Watkins's
who has been
to get the
in a few
regarding what
I will call
with the
and

pointed out that the Native Tribunals Bill had been drafted to give greater power to Native Courts and to cut out appeal to the High Court.

The Senior Commissioner, Nyanza, thought that the situation in his Province was now much easier than it had been and that Kikuyu political agitators had made little headway there.

The Senior Commissioner, Masai, stated that overtures had been made to the Masai by Kikuyu, more especially on the Circumcision question, but that there, also, very little headway had been made.

The Senior Commissioner, Rift Valley, thought that anti-Government propaganda was spreading on the farms in his area and that the farmers were aware of it and showed considerable nervousness in consequence.

The Senior Commissioner, Nairasha, said that he could say the same with regard to his Province. The Kikuyu were filtering through from the Kyambu District on to farms where they were holding circumcision ceremonies and dances. It appeared that girls were being hurried across the boundary for this purpose because it was feared that Government contemplated legislation to stop or restrict circumcision.

Colonel Hacking said that he thought we ought not to attach too much importance to the songs. He firmly believed that our policy should be to deal with the young men of the Kikuyu Central Association through the District Commissioners. It was a mistake to allow them to have any correspondence with Government except through the usual channels. If they were dealt with by

high officials.....

high officials of Government it was certain to give them swelled head and make Administration most difficult for the District Commissioners.

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It was the opinion of the meeting that Female Circumcision should be regulated, but that such regulation should come from the natives themselves, induced by careful propaganda.

Some Senior Commissioners were uncertain what their answers should be if asked in baraza what the attitude of Government was on this question.

Mr. Horne said that the answer invariably given by him and authorized by Government was that the ordinary customs of the people will not be interfered with provided that they are not considered to be brutal, and that it was understood that no girl was to be circumcised without her consent.

For the information of His Excellency the Meeting decided to record the following:-

"That the Senior Commissioners do not consider that there is any general feeling of unrest among natives in their Provinces, and that they have sufficient resources at their disposal to deal with the existing situation. At the same time they consider the situation requires careful watching, that more extensive touring is desirable than is possible at present with the limited staff at the disposal of Senior Commissioners, and that propaganda to counteract agitation subversive to Government should be undertaken more especially in the schools among the young natives of the Colony;

"Further....."

"Further, that the best method of attacking
"any such agitation is through the Native Tribunals
"and Native Authorities generally, and that the
"Government should do everything in its power to
"support their authority. In this connection it
"was pointed out that the more it was left to the
"native authorities and the District Commissioners
"to deal with alleged grievances put forward by the
"younger members of the tribe such as the Kikuyu
"Central Association the better, as direct partici-
"pation in their affairs by Higher Authority was
"liable to give such persons a false impression of
"their own importance."

With regard to the Female Circumcision issue,
it was generally agreed that any attempt to stamp out
the custom altogether by repressive legislation would be
both dangerous and useless, but that the best method of
attack was by education and propaganda.

C. O.

Mr. Dec 26. 5. 30
Mr.

Mr. Bottomley 26. 5. 30.

In dr. C. Bottomley's signature

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Sir G. Grindle.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

T. A. S. 26. 5. 30 p
C. O. S. E.

C. O.
May 1930

DRAFT.

H.S.

Lieut. Colonel

dr Edward Sings,

Acamp. 18. 5. 30, etc.

I am asked to send
you personally the
enclosed copy of
correspondence which
St. Richards has had
with Kenyatta.

The correspondence
explains itself; ~~and~~
~~but I might add~~
~~that~~

St. Richards has been
in Kenya, & that
Kenyatta had returned
to Kenya & has

From dr Kenyatta 18. 5. 30

20 ditto
4/1 beneath

(as, indeed, was
all that been)

endeavored to bring
influence upon him
to induce him to leave
this country for his
own home

When Kenyatta speaks
of deportation, he must
mean, of course, removal
to some part of Kenya
other than the Kikuyu
Reserve, not deportation
outside Kenya: so long
as he conducts himself
in a law-abiding way,
there can be no question
of his removal, and
~~we~~ Shields has, as you
will see, made this clear
in the reply to Kenyatta's
letter.

C.O.

Mr. Dec 26. 3. 30

Mr. ~~Mr.~~
Mr. Bottomley. 26. 3.

Mr. J. Shuckburgh

Mr. G. Grenville

Permit. U.S. of S.

Permit. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

Mr. Shields's signature

20/12/30 26. 3. 30

CD
27. March 1930

DRAFT.

Mr J. Kenyatta

Dear Sir -

I am desired by
Mr. Edmund Shields to
acknowledge your letter
of the 18th March, from
which he is glad to
learn that you are
arranging to return
to Kenya shortly.

Mr. Shields wants to
advise to suggest
that there is likelihood
of your being
interfered with by
the police on your
return; and if,
as he feels sure
you will do, you
conduct yourself
in Kenya as a

26 March 30
C.O. & G. 15/30

This corresp. might
be filed with the
relevant Kenyatta
papers in X. 22?

delet

Yes. Both drafts are
folded 26. 3. 30

Law abiding ~~the~~ citizen,
there should be no reason
for you to anticipate
any trouble with the
authorities.

Yours truly,

Law-abiding ~~the~~ citizen,
there should be no reason
for you to anticipate
any trouble with the
authorities.

Yours truly,

95, CAMBRIDGE STREET,
S.W.1.

16th March, 1930.

86
2

T. Drummond Shiels, Esq.,
Under Secretary,
Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Dear Dr. Shiels,

Thank you for your letter dated 7th inst.

I am going back to Kenya in the near future. I have done my best to help the interests of my people while I have been in England.

There are rumours in Kenya that the police may try and find some excuse for putting me in prison or deporting me. It is true, as I told you, that I visited Russia without any bad intentions and perhaps the people there may write to me although I have made no arrangements of any kind with them to do so. This might be used as a reason for getting me into trouble, but I am quite willing to let the Kenya Government see anything from Russia if anything is sent.

I should be very grateful to you if you will do anything you can to see that I am allowed to reach my home and family and to resume my work among my people without being molested.

I thank you for all your kindness to me and hope you will believe that I am wanting only to bring peace and contentment to my people.

I have the honour to be,

Yours sincerely,

Johnstone King'ath

25 March 30
Dr. Shiels

86
2
95, CAMBRIDGE STREET,
S.W.1.

18th March, 1930.

T. Drummond Shiels, Esq.,
Under Secretary,
Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

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I have the honour to be,

Yours sincerely,

Johnstone King

Cyfr 8/1935 1/18 March 30



COLONIAL OFFICE,

DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

Mr. Parkinson

Please consult Sir Cecil about this. I am anxious for Kenyatta to go back and I would like to assure him that we know of no likelihood of his being interfered with and that if as I have no doubt he will - he conducts himself as a law-abiding citizen of Kenya there should be no fear of what he might do. Please draft something on these lines of Sir Cecil and for aye. Then we would need to warn Sir E. that we have given him that assurance.

T.D.S. 21.3.50



COLONIAL OFFICE

DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

Mr. Parkington

Please consult Sir Cecil about this. I am anxious for Kenyatta to go back and I would like to assure him that we know of no likelihood of his being interfered with and that if as I have no doubt he will - he conducts himself as a law-abiding citizen of Kenya there should be no fear of that he anticipates. Please draft something on these lines of Sir Cecil and for ayes. Then we would need to give Sir E. that we have given him that assurance

T.P.S. 21.3.30

88

Extract from a minute by Mr. Parkinson on
7/19/09/30. General. (Secret).

As to Kenyatta's connexion with communists, I may say that I had a visit yesterday from a Capt. H.L.R. Watt, a settler in Kenya, who is pretty well satisfied (but cannot prove) that Kenyatta is receiving money from Moscow sources & begged us to keep a watch on him - What Capt. Watt most feared was that with money and instigation from such sources, Kenyatta could on his return work up a combination between the Kikuyu, the Lumbwa, the Nandi, the Kamasia & possibly also the Maasi on the circumcision question, & if the Govt. yielding to pressure from here, attempted to stop these ceremonies, there was the very real chance of a most serious native rising - He agreed as to the horrible nature of the practice; but he took the view that it was not feasible at this stage to stop it - the women themselves for the most part would not tolerate it. His own solution was to 'licence' the witch doctors etc. who perform the operation, giving them proper instruments & training to ensure that the operation is carried out with the minimum of harm to the girls.

On the circumcision question I told him that the debate etc in the House had gone out to Kenya & that the Govt. would be considering it; and that both the S. of S. and the Govt. were alive to the danger of attempting to interfere with what is, in effect, a religious belief - but something might be done by propaganda.

As to Kenyatta, I said little; I told him of the circes. in which Kenyatta came to this country & the petitions of the Kikuyu Central Association, and that I thought that "from one

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course or another - we knew pretty well what Kenyatta was doing, although I thought that in fact he had very little money & I did not know of his having money from Russia.

Capt. Watt (who has to be in England for health reasons for some time) went away with the intention of finding out, if he could, more about Kenyatta's money - and also hoping to see the Duchess of Atholl and tell her of the fanatical opposition which might be provoked by an attempt to stop the circumcision.

I did not mention that Kenyatta had met the Parl. Under S. of S. at the House.

intid. A.C.C.P.
31-1-30.