

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED  
KENYA CLUB, 1946 TO 1963 //

BY

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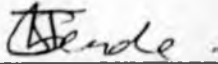


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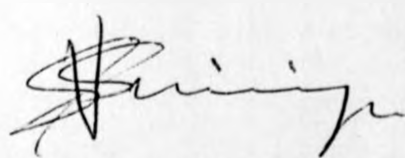
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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1990

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Milkah Nabalayo and Albert Nabende, who have continuously encouraged me in my education

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The successful completion of this thesis is a result of the assistance and guidance I received from different individuals.

The Manager of the United Kenya Club, Mr. John Brandram, gave me free access to the records room. He also permitted me to use other club facilities. The friendly attitude of the members of the United Kenya Club made my stay at the club comfortable.

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To my friends and teachers who kept on encouraging me, I say, "orio muno".

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Abstract

The history of the United Kenya Club attempts to show that Social Institutions can effectively expose evils in a society without turning into pressure groups. The growth and expansion of the Club was largely determined by the political environment in Kenya. For the United Kenya Club to maintain its ideals, it had to keep on revising and changing the articles of its constitution. The Europeans failed to turn the club into a centre for co-opting, adopting and assimilating Africans into the European liberal camp. The club gradually developed into a political platform which was used by European liberals, Asian radicals and African nationalists to air their views and advocate for a multi-racial society in Kenya. It became a platform for racial bargaining for power as Kenya evolved towards her independence.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

The emergence of social Clubs in Kenya is linked with the establishment of British rule in the Country. Mombasa club was founded as early as 1895, the same year in which the British East Africa protectorate was declared. The Membership of the Mombasa Club was restricted to European businessmen. In 1899 Nairobi Club was started. This Club associated British Soldiers and Civil Servants. The growth of the settler economy in Kenya witnessed the rise of Muthaiga, Rift Valley, and Nanyuki social Clubs.

The completion of the Uganda railway speeded up the immigration of Asians into Kenya. Most of them set up businesses in Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. After settling down the Asians began forming Clubs on the basis of their caste and religion. The Goan Institute began in 1905 was among the first Asian Clubs. This Institute was prominent in advocating for the rights of Asians in Kenya.

African educated elites also formed their own Social Clubs after the second world war. The Pumwani Social Club was among the many Clubs formed by the Africans. It is argued that the Pumwani Social Club was the predecessor of the United Kenya Club.

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African educated elites also formed their own Social Clubs after the second world war. The Pumwani Social Club was among the many Clubs formed by the Africans. It is argued that the Pumwani Social Club was the predecessor of the United Kenya Club.

Although profession and caste divided European and Asian clubs respectively, basically all clubs in Kenya prior to the formation of the United Kenya Club were monoracial. The United Kenya Club which was formed in July 1946 was the first multi-racial club in Kenya. The club had its first site opposite the railway headquarters in Nairobi. The aim of this club was to associate persons of all races inhabiting Kenya, who were interested in providing a common meeting ground for social, cultural and recreational activities.

Although the objectives of the club were social-cultural and recreational, the club participated in the politics of decolonisation from 1946 to 1963. The club was challenging colour bar and racial prejudice in the country by virtue of its multi-racial constitution. In the period between 1950 and 1963 the club was a platform for anti-imperialist politics. It also hosted politics of racial bargaining for power among the three races.

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The club played a significant role in the politics of decolonisation without developing into a pressure group. Even though the club's role in politics constrained its internal growth, it did not abandon its participation in the struggle for independence.

The impact of the club was not restricted to its involvements in politics alone. In fact the club influenced the rise of numerous multi-racial clubs both in Kenya and Tanganyika. It also played a part in the rise of Hospital Hill Primary School. This was the first multi-racial school in Kenya. The club also harmonised racial relations by negotiating with proprietors of theatres, cinemas and other recreational centres, to allow Africans entry into their theatres, and cinemas. At the same time, the club made arrangements with Church Ministers so that educated Africans could attend Church services meant for Whites.

#### Theoretical Framework

The history the United Kenya Club falls under the study of decolonisation. The end of the second world war led to the rise of nationalist movements in Africa.

In Kenya the Kenya African study Union, K.A.S.U. formed in 1944, evolved into a territorial nationalist movement in 1946. In this year K.A.S.U. turned into Kenya African Union, K.A.U. The Kenya African Union popularised African grievances such as; abolition of colour bar, equal rights and opportunities in the political and economic sectors of the country, opening White highlands to African settlement, provision of educational facilities for African children and increased African representation in the Legislative Council.

The British Colonial government was threatened by the growing strength of not only the Kenya African Union but also of other African ethnic nationalist movements in the country. Consequently Sir Philip Mitchell, Governor of Kenya from 1944 to 1952, proposed the need to introduce multi-racialism in the Colony so as to contain and stop the tempo of African nationalism. In 1946 Mitchell in collaboration with a few senior civil servants attempted unsuccessfully to launch a multi-racial Institute of African Race Relations. However, they were not disappointed, therefore in the same year in liason with European, Asian and African liberals they founded the United Kenya Club, the first Multi-racial Club in



Kenya. After the club was started, Mitchell ensured that the government's influence in the club was in the background, for he wanted the public to believe that the rise of the United Kenya Club was an independent venture of people who wanted Kenya to become a multi-racial society with harmonious racial relations. In actual fact, he desired that the 'minimal' influence which the government was to exert in the club was to be interpreted by the society as a positive step of the government to help liberal individuals in the country to achieve the goal of turning Kenya into a multi-racial society.

In the study of the history of the United Kenya Club one is specifically examining the manner in which co-optation adaptation and assimilation was utilised by the colonial government and the liberal Europeans to slow down the process of decolonisation in the country. The club was one of the centres where some African elites were socialised into the European culture and later assimilated into the European political camp.

### Literature Review

Literature on the United Kenya Club is scarce and incoherent. The club has merely been mentioned in passing in a few books and dissertations that have been written on human relations in the colonial period.

Donna Nelson (1971) carried out a sociological study of the club and caste in Kenya, but her work is centred on the Asian community. She was concerned more with caste than with the historical development of the Asian clubs. Although her work is pioneer in the scholarly study of clubs, it does not show how colonial politics influenced the growth and activities of social clubs in Kenya. Neither does it mention the United Kenya Club nor give an historical account of clubs in Kenya.

Benjamin Kipkorir also touched on the role of the United Kenya Club in the colonial period in his Ph.D thesis (Kipkorir, 1969: 354-355). He noted that the club was a pro-elite European organisation which welcomed overseas and Makerere educated Africans to its membership. He, however, argued that the club did not represent the

whole European community but only liberal whites. He further observed that the club was financially supported by the European business community. According to this scholar, the club filled a lamented gap, for it allowed educated Africans to freely mix with Europeans and drink beer together. In his opinion, the club had little impact on Africans.

Kipkorir's comment on the nature of African membership was not accurate because the club did not only recruit overseas and Makerere graduates to its membership, but also admitted African chiefs and African high school graduates. The Africans who had attained high school education were, in fact, more in number than those who had got university education. Among the many Africans who were high school graduates and chiefs included; John Muchura, president of the African Civil Service Association from 1950-59; Musa Amalemba, Assistant Editor of the East African Standard in 1946 and later Minister for Housing in the 1958-59 Cabinet; Francis Khamisi, Editor of the Kiswahili daily Baraza and also secretary of the Kenya African Union in 1945; Chief Muruatetu Ruriga of Embu; Chief Koinange wa Mbiyu of Kiambu District and Chief Waruhiu Kungu of Kiambu District. Waruhiu became a District Chief when the

colonial administration lost confidence in Koinange wa Mbiyu.

However, Kipkorir's observation that the club was a pro-elite institution is correct. The club was composed of prominent men who had gained distinction either in education, politics business and/or professions. But his assertion that the club had minimal effect on Africans is wrong because 12 of the 33 members that founded the club were Africans and, by 1951, 50 of the 325 members were Africans. When the club set up its first building fund in 1950, the African Barber's Association contributed KShs.28.50 to the fund. All these pieces of evidence show that the club had some influence on the Africans. It is only after the outbreak of the Mau Mau war, that the club lost its links with Africans. Nevertheless, Kipkorir's brief note on the club provides a framework from which one can write the history of the United Kenya Club.

Richard Frost has also briefly discussed the United Kenya Club (Frost, 1978: 72 - 73). He points out that the club was the first voluntary association that provided facilities for social mixing on equal terms for

members of the three races in Kenya. He adds that the club was the only place in Nairobi where people from the three races could meet freely and harmoniously. Frost further observes that the club later became a political platform where Africans, like Tom Mboya, were able to protest against colonial politics in the presence of senior government officers. His other observation is that employees of the Municipal Council and Civil Servants were the most active members of the club. He also states that the weekly lunches held on Wednesdays in which a speaker addressed members, were the most popular activity of the club. Frost ends the section on the club by pointing out that the club was founded when the government failed to establish an institute of Race Relations in Kenya.

Frost gives a deeper insight into the nature of the club. His findings will, thus, provide a starting point into the investigation of the history of the club. However, he does not explain how the club came up after the government failed to establish an Institute of Race Relations.

John Robert Schott gave a brief treatment of the club in his thesis on the European community in Kenya (Schott, 1964: 388-89). Just like Frost, he stated that the club was the only place in Kenya where Africans, Asians and Europeans could mix freely. He noted that the residential building which the club put up in 1952 and 1962 accommodated professionals who came to Kenya to conduct research projects. He explains that the African membership dropped after the Mau Mau war broke out, because the Mau Mau warriors regarded Africans who attended club activities as traitors and threatened to kill them to advance the struggle for independence. Thus, Africans resigned from the club to avoid death. He also points out that in the mid-1950's the club was dominated by Asians.

Schott does not explain how Asians dominated the club. Probably he meant that the Asians were very active in club activities, particularly in the Wednesday weekly speeches. Indeed, the Europeans members bitterly complained in the press that Asians were dominating the Wednesday speeches (East African Standard, 8th December, 1953). However, the truth is that two Asian speakers, namely, N.S. Mangat and Chanan Singh, had made strong

anti-British speeches in the club. It is these speeches which made the Europeans complain that the Asians had dominated the club.

Susan Wood, another scholar who touched on the club in her book on tensions of progress in Kenya (Wood, 1960: 22). She pointed out that the club was founded by the non-racialists, who worked to create a common understanding and independence of the three communities inhabiting Kenya. She argued that the club acted as a platform which gave an outlet to the ideas held by the non-racialists. Wood's comment on the club gives an insight into the socio-political environment in which the club was founded.

The above review makes it clear that no comprehensive scholarly work has been written on the United Kenya Club. As can be seen from the review, the literature on the club is scanty and unco-ordinated. This makes it necessary to write the club's history.

#### Statement of the Problem

In Kenya, histories have been written on educational, religious and political institutions. However, the

study of social clubs has totally been neglected. In fact, to date no systematic historical work has been done on social clubs in Kenya. Ironically, most of these institutions have been in existence for over eighty years. They, thus, must be having a rich historical account behind them. It is therefore evident that a gap exists in the historiography of institutions in Kenya. It is in an effort to fill this gap that I decided to study the origins, developments and social impact of the United Kenya Club from 1946 to 1963.

### Objectives

(1) To write a history of the United Kenya Club as a contribution to the institutional historiography of Kenya. This is an introductory step to the investigation of the history of social clubs in colonial Kenya, a field previously neglected by historians.

(2) To identify the underlying and immediate factors that led to the formation of the United Kenya Club in an environment of racial and social hostility.



(3) To find out the role which the club played in the struggle for independence. The study will try to discover whether the club's participation in politics was deliberate or coincidental.

(4) To bring out the impact of the club on the residents of Nairobi, in particular, and Kenya at large. After 1946, multi-racial clubs, multi-racial political institutions and multi-racial schools were formed in Kenya.

(5) To explain the reasons that made the colonial government have strong interest in the club. About 30% of the members of the club were senior civil servants. In 1952, the government gave a grant of £1,000 to the club to help finance the construction of the first building in the club premises along Hospital Hill Road (now Stated House Road). From 1952 to 1956, the government gave the club a subvention of £250 annually. Furthermore, in 1960, the government guaranteed a loan of £33,000 which the club borrowed from Barclays Bank. Finally, from 1946 to 1962, the patron of the club was usually the Governor of Kenya. All these things show that the government was very much interested in the activities of the club.

### Hypothesis

Social clubs are direct products of the political environment in a country. The nature and direction of growth of the United Kenya Club was directly related to political developments in Kenya. The outbreak of Mau Mau obstructed the membership and management of the club. However the Iyttelton and Lennox-Boyd multi-racial constitutions helped the club to re-organise itself and later played a significant role in the struggle for independence. Although politics influence the formation and growth of clubs, one cannot rule out the part played by moral factors in club evolution. The founder members of the United Kenya Club had religious backgrounds. It is possible that their convictions played a role in the formation of the United Kenya Club. At the same time financial problems considerably dictated the growth of the United Kenya club.

Justification

(1) There is a gap in our historical knowledge regarding the origins and roles of social clubs in Kenya in the colonial period. No-one has written a history of any of the social clubs that existed in the colonial period. This study attempts to fill this gap. A study of social clubs in the colonial period is likely to give a clear understanding of human relations in Kenya.

(2) Despite the fact that there were many social clubs in Kenya in the colonial period, the United Kenya Club was the first and only active multi-racial club in the colony. Also through the period under review, the United Kenya Club, unlike other clubs, attracted the attention of government officers, journalists, politicians as well as the common man.

(3) The professional composition of the members of the club makes one raise an eyebrow. The occupations of the members ranged from civil servants to business men, teachers, politicians, bank officials, company executives, journalists and lawyers. Yet civil servants

dominated the club in terms of membership throughout the period under review. Since the civil servants had associations which provided recreational and social services, their predominance in the club needs to be explained. Furthermore, the civil servants in the club were senior executive officers and ministers.

(4) The United Kenya Club was founded as a social club. But it gradually changed into a political platform in the period 1953 - 63. Yet other social clubs such as Nairobi Club and Muthaiga Club did not turn into political platforms. The circumstances that forced the United Kenya Club to turn into a political platform might help social historians to understand the extent to which social institutions are vulnerable to politics.

#### Methodology

Archival and Library research were the main methods of collecting data for this thesis. However, I also conducted Oral interviews to get information to fill the gaps that had neither been covered by Archival nor Library records.

The early records of the club had been sagely kept in the club's archives. The first task was, thus, to arrange the records in order. I divided the files into the following categories: correspondence, minutes, membership and accounts. I then placed correspondence files in one place and arranged them chronologically. This was ultimately done for the other files. The documents that could not be grouped in the above categories were placed together and labelled "miscellaneous".

I spent the first two weeks of the research in classifying the documents. The next two months were spent in the club archives, studying the documents and noting any relevant information. I photocopied speeches and letters that had very useful data. While reading the correspondence files, I discovered that speeches made at the Wednesday luncheons and at the annual dinner parties were published in the East African Standard and the Colonial Times newspapers.

Having completed studying the documents in the club archives, I moved to the Jomo Kenyatta memorial Library of the University of Nairobi. The Library has an archives section which is in its formative stages in the basement. For the next two months, I studied the East African

Standard and the Colonial Times papers. In instances where the two newspapers reported the same speech, I compared the versions of the reports so as to get the most accurate content of the speech.

Apart from the books and dissertations mentioned in the section on the Literature review, I carefully read the annual Legislative Council reports, the Hansards. The club featured in the Budget debates of 1955, 1960 and 1961. In 1955, the club was discussed in the budget in relation to the subvention which the government had given it. On the other hand, in 1960 and 1961, the club was discussed in relation to the loan which the club was to get from Barclays Bank using the government as its security. I studied the Hansards from 1950 to 1963 to identify any other section in the Hansard in which the club had been discussed. The Hansards provided data which helped explain the role of the club in the process of decolonisation.

I then conducted oral interviews to fill in the gaps which the data from the archives and newspapers did not cover. Since my period of study was 1946-63 only old members of the club could give accurate information. I am using 'old members' to refer to members who joined

the club between 1946 and 1965. My first target, therefore, was to interview such old members.

With the help of the Manager of the club, I got addresses of some members. I then wrote to them and asked them to fix appointments for interviews. There are about 45 old members who are alive, but a third of these live in Britain and America. It was thus not possible to have access to them. A third of the remaining had changed their addresses and no longer came to the club, and so it was impossible to locate them. Three of the remaining members responded and told me that they knew nothing of the club's history, and refused to be interviewed. I, therefore, ended up interviewing only ten of the 45 old members.

The interviews were held in the lounge of the club during weekly luncheons on Wednesdays. Other members of were invited to participate in the interview by the informant. I, therefore, ended up by interviewing an average of six people instead of one at every sitting. The members helped correct each other's information so as to come up with as an accurate a version as possible. Whenever their memories failed them, they directed me to

a member who could fill in the gap. Only a few members opted to be interviewed in their offices or in the Manager's office.

I also interviewed members who came to the club for lunches in the course of the week. First I would go and sit on the same table with a member, then introduce myself and also explain my project. I interviewed over fifty people in this way, and got information which the old members had forgotten or missed.

I felt that taping the interviews would create fear in the informants and so I decided to listen and note the relevant information. Whenever I went to interview Asians I was accompanied by an Asian friend called Flavia Rodrigues, who introduced me to the informant and explained my mission. This made the informant give data without fear.

#### Problems encountered in the field

(1) Social status of the informants: Most of the informants were company directors, managers, senior civil servants, and high ranking professionals in the



legal and academic sectors. The nature of their duties made it difficult to fix interviews because they were always attending meetings. We would fix an interview over three times before it materialised. In fact, it was not possible to interview others. This was very costly in terms of time and patience.

(2) Informants hardly concentrated on the question I posed. Some would deviate from the question and start discussing issues in the university of Nairobi, while others would take the opportunity to explain how someone has frustrated their careers. Yet others would recount the story of how one fat Asian lady of the club slipped and fell while carrying a big sufuria of soup. When this happened, I had to wait and pose the same question again once the informant had stopped talking. A lot of time was wasted in this way and I could not complete the questionnaire.

(3) Some members misunderstood some of my questions and thought I had come to disrupt the unity in the club. The European members got offended whenever I asked them questions dealing with racial relations in the club in the colonial period. They did not want to be reminded of

conflicts in the club after the outbreak of Mau Mau. One member was so annoyed with the questions that she threatened to report me to the chairman so that I could be stopped from carrying out research in the club.

(4) The newspapers in the University Archives were dusty and rotten. It was a problem to open the pages. On the other hand, those papers that had been microfilmed were not legible.

On the whole the above sources had very useful data which I used in reconstructing the history of the club. The research which began in July 88 lasted for about eight months. Thus, by March 1989 I had adequate information to begin writing the first draft of the thesis

## CHAPTER TWO

### ORIGINS OF THE UNITED KENYA CLUB

#### Historical background

During the colonial period in Kenya, human relations were extremely poor. The main reason for this was that people in the country were categorised in three distinct races, namely, Africans, Asians and Europeans. This division was based on skin colour. Europeans controlled the state apparatus and so used their political power to control the economy of the colony and to dictate social and human relations. They considered themselves a superior race to Asians and Africans. While they considered Africans as children who needed to be nurtured in European culture, they called Asians insatiable usurers and carriers of contagious diseases. This attitude, in Europeans, made them establish a pyramidal social, economic and political structure in which the Europeans were at the apex, Asians in the middle and the Africans at the bottom. The Europeans were a privileged community while the Africans were the underprivileged. On the other hand, the Asians had limited privileges.

Non-Europeans could not mix with Europeans in public places. At the same time, Africans had no social interaction with Asians. The relationship of Europeans and Africans was that of master-servant, while that of Asians and Africans was that of shop-keeper-customer.

When the United Kenya Club was founded in 1946, human relations had completely deteriorated because of racial prejudice. Racial prejudice resulted in social discrimination. Europeans had their own hotels, clubs, schools, restaurants and church services. The same applied to Asians and Africans.

European hotels included the Norfolk, New Stanley and Queens Hotel (later called Brunners Hotel), among others. Two incidents can be cited to show racial discrimination in European hotels. In 1950, Sir Barclay Nihil, the then Chief Justice, was invited with his wife to a dinner party at Torrs Hotel, an exclusively European hotel. They took Apa Pant, the Indian Commissioner in Kenya, along with them. However, Apa Pant was refused entry into the hotel because he was an Asian. The fact that he was a diplomat and had been invited by the Chief Justice did not matter to the hotel management. The second incident occurred to Wycliffe Awori, a nominated member for North Nyanza in the Legislative Council, in 1953. He had booked a room for Sir Dingle Foot in Avenue Hotel, but when he took the latter to the hotel, he was refused permission to escort him into the hotel. Sir Dingle Foot was a lawyer who had come to defend Mbiyu Koinange in a case in which the latter had been accused of having been involved in the murder of Chief Waruhiu (Frost, 1978:121).

Hotels that were exclusively for Asians were situated in Pangani, Ngara and Parklands. However, Asian hotels offered sub-standard services in comparison to the services offered in hotels reserved for Europeans. This made the Asians demand

for an end to discrimination in hotels so that they could enjoy decent meals and services in European hotels.

Africans too had their own eating places located in Pumwani and Kaloleni. Such 'hotels' were crowded, dark, fly-infested and smelly. Stew and chapati sold at one shilling, was the main dish.

Discrimination was also practised in clubs. Each race had its own clubs. For example, Muthaiga club, Rift Valley Social Club, Nanyuki Club and Mombasa Club were for Europeans. The European clubs were founded on the basis of profession. For instance, Muthaiga, Nanyuki and Rift Valley Social Club were for settlers. Muthaiga Club still exists and is situated in Muthaiga Estate in Nairobi, off the road to Kiambu. However, Nanyuki and Rift Valley Social Clubs no longer exist. While Nanyuki Club was in Nanyuki, Rift Valley Social Club was in Nakuru. On the other hand, Nairobi Club was specifically meant for British soldiers and civil servants. Nairobi Club still exists but after independence it opened its doors to prominent people of all races and professions. Mombasa Club is the oldest club in Kenya, having been founded in 1899. It was founded by and for European businessmen.

Although Asians and Africans also had clubs, these were not as sophisticated as those of Europeans. Asian clubs include the Goan Institute, Railway Club, and cricket club, Religion and caste were the major factors on which Asian

clubs were founded. Hindus had their own clubs and Muslims too had theirs. Hindu and Muslim clubs did not get prominence in the colonial period, but the Goan Club, referred to as Goan Institute, was so assertive that it played some role in the colonial politics of Kenya. Goans are Catholics and claim descent from the Portuguese. They used the club to make Hindus and Muslims of the Asian community and even other inhabitants of the colony recognise their identity. The Goan Institute, founded in 1905, is still active to this day. Railway Club was financed by the East African Railways and Harbours Corporation. It provided recreational facilities to Asian members that worked for the corporation. On the other hand, the Cricket Club was dominated by wealthy Asians, most of whom were Muslims.

Africans founded Pumwani Social Club in 1946. Ability to communicate in English was the criterion on which the people entered the club. The club was founded by African civil servants and African employees of the Nairobi Municipal Council. Unlike the European and Asian clubs, which were exclusively racist clubs, the Pumwani Social Club welcomed Europeans in their meetings. Tom Kay, the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and Richard Frost, a representative of the British Council to Kenya, were the Europeans that frequented the club.

Various issues affecting the social and economic life of the people of Kenya were informally discussed in these clubs, and some resolutions passed in the discussions found way into the Legislative Council because some of the members of these clubs were also members of the Legislative Council.

Such were the social circumstances in existence when the United Kenya Club was formed. The club broke the monotony of mono-racialism in social and recreational institutions. Its formation was proof that not all people in the colony were racialists. It showed that there was a clique in the colony that saw the need for inauguration of multi-racialism in the social and political spheres. Other multi-racial institutions, some social, others political, were founded after the United Kenya Club was formed. The club played a role in the formation of these multi-racial institutions. Eight years after the formation of the club, the first multi-racial constitution in the country was announced.

#### Founder Members

The club was founded by 33 people on the 29th of October, 1946. 12 of these were Europeans, 10 were Asians and 11 were Africans. The Europeans consisted of: Kirkaldy-Willis, Charles Mortimer, Tom G. Askwith, Shirley V. Cooke, Ernest Vasey, H. Earnshaw, P. Philips, Ward Kendall, T.C. Colchester, Hyde-Clarke and Geoffrey Northcote. On the other hand, the Asian members included: R.G. Dato, J. Ahmed, Eboo Pirbhai, Kissen Singh Benawra, Dr. Hassan Nathoo, A.R. Dhanji and R.G. Gautama. On their part, the African founder members comprised : John Muchura, Musa Amalemba, Walter Fanuel Odede, Francis Khamisi, Muchohi Gikonyo, Eliud Mathu, Justus Kisale, Mr. and Mrs. Bethwell Cecaga, Dedan Githugi and B.K. Binns. Philip Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya from 1944 to 1952, was elected Patron of the club.

Let us turn now and give brief biographical sketches on these founder members. These sketches are intended to help us understand the nature and character of the people who founded the club. They will serve as guides in generalising on the motives and causes that led to the formation of the club. However, there will be unequal treatment of these founder members in the sketches because it was not possible to get adequate data on the formative stages and careers of some of the founder members. It appears that the founder members who played a marginal role on the public scene have scanty background information. The thirty three members fall into eight major professional groups, namely, missionaries, medical practitioners, government officers (civil servants and local government officers), businessmen, accountants, journalists, lawyers and politicians. Biographical sketches of the European members are given first, then those of Asians and, finally, those of the Africans. The biographies will be treated according to the various professional groups.

Kirkaldy-Willis was both a missionary of the Church of the Missionary Society of England and a surgeon. It was his christian convictions that all men are equal before God and his medical career that influenced his decision to join in founding the United Kenya Club. The early records of the club show that it was Kirkaldy-Willis who came up with the idea of starting a multi-racial club. His patients came from African, Asian and European communities. In the course of his work, he held long discussions with his patients on the social evils in the colony. He was convinced that the colour bar was one of the factors that contributed to the poor health



condition of Africans and Asians. He founded the club with the idea of ending the colour bar in Kenya (UKC Correspondence file 1948, letter written by Kirkaldy-Willis to the Chairman of the Club). He is a life member of the club and is currently working at Saskatchewan University Hospital in Canada.

Charles Mortimer, like Kirkaldy-Willis, had a christian background. He was born in 1886 and educated at Hartley College, Manchester University. He was a Methodist Minister before he came to Kenya in 1917. Once he reached Kenya, he was employed as a clerk in the Lands Department and, in 1930, he became Mayor of Nairobi Municipality. He was promoted to the post of Commissioner of Lands and Settlement in 1938. In 1946, he was transferred to the Ministry of Local Government as Commissioner. Mortimer saw the need for a multi-racial club as he interacted with Africans, Asians and Europeans in his official duties. It was easy for missionaries to found a multi-racial club since their christian beliefs did not leave space for social discrimination based on colour.

Local government officers and civil servants contributed a fair proportion of the founder members. These included: Tom G. Askwith, Hyde-Clarke, Earnest Vasey, T.C. Colchester and E. Earnshaw. Tom G. Askwith was born in 1911 and was later educated at Cambridge University. He came to Kenya in 1935 and the following year was appointed to the post of District Officer in Kiambu. From 1945 to 1949, he worked as the Municipal Officer for African affairs in Nairobi. In his memoirs, he states that while working as an officer with the Municipal Council, he realised that the

the elimination of the colour bar could solve many problems in the Municipality (Memoirs 1976: 2). He expressed his dissatisfaction with the way educated Africans were discriminated against in hotels, restaurants and theatres. It was that realisation that made him join with the others in starting a multi-racial club.

Ernest Vasey was another government officer. He was born in 1901 and received minimal formal education. In his teenage years he was active in conservative politics in the West Midlands of England. He came to Kenya in 1937 and he was elected to the Municipal Council as a councillor for Westlands from 1938-50. In 1941-42, he became the Mayor of Nairobi and was nominated member of the Legislative Council for Nairobi North in 1946. Six years later he was made the Minister for Finance, a position he held till 1959 when he was appointed Minister for Finance in Tanganyika (Throup, 1988:283). Despite the fact that Vasey had been active in conservative politics in England, once he came to Kenya, he pursued liberal politics. Vasey believed that men should be given equal opportunities to exploit their talents in every field to their utmost. He strongly opposed the categorisation of people in Kenya on the basis of colour. He supported the formation of the United Kenya Club for he saw it as a positive step towards elimination of racial prejudice.

T.C. Colchester and H. Earnshaw were both employees of the Municipal Council. Colchester was an officer for native affairs from 1941 while Earnshaw was an education officer in Nairobi from 1946. While these two were local government officers, Hyde-Clarke was a civil servant who worked as a re-absorption officer in 1945.

Between 1946 and 1951, Hyde-Clarke worked as Commissioner for Labour.

The racial attitude of government officers who had been working with educated Africans in the same departments had changed from racial prejudice to co-existence. The officers demanded opportunities in which they could mix with Africans at leisure times. When the idea of beginning a multi-racial club came up they fully supported it.

The remaining European members were politicians, with the exception of P. Philips, who was a small scale merchant. Shirley V. Cooke was elected member of the Legislative Council for Coast from 1938 to 1963. He also worked with the African Settlement Board until 1947. He was a liberal politician with a belief that Africans should be treated like human beings. However, he was not as committed a liberal as Ernest Vasey. Cooke was opposed to any politics that challenged British sovereignty in Kenya. Geoffrey Northcote was a Governor of Hong Kong, who had retired to Kenya. He supported the formation of a multi-racial club because multi-racialism was not a new phenomenon for he had worked as Governor in many countries, including the Carribean, where multi-racialism was practised.

Almost all the Asian founder members were either accountants, businessmen or lawyers. It was only Hassan Nathoo and K. Adalja who were medical doctors. Both of them ran private clinics in Nairobi. K.V. Adalja had been an Indian councillor in the Municipality of Nairobi in 1944. Both of them must have hailed the idea of a multi-racial club since it would help them to socialise freely with members of other races because being doctors they knew

that the colour was influenced by melanin and, therefore, had nothing to do with superiority and inferiority in human beings.

Since most of the Asian founder members who were accountants, merchants and lawyers played a negligible role in public life, no-one recorded their lives and activities and so background information on them is lacking. Most of them are dead and so could not be interviewed. Eboo Pirbhai was a successful businessman. He traded in petroleum products. In 1954, he was nominated to the Legislative Council. He is now a company consultant. J. Ahmed was a merchant in the city with a retail shop. Then there was R.G. Dattoo who traded in glass products. He formed the Dattoo Glass Mart & Co., with branches in Nakuru, Mombasa and Eldoret. The company's head office was in Nairobi. The company is still in operation today. Kishan Singh Benavra was another small scale businessman running a shop in the city.

A.R. Dhanji was the only accountant among the other founder members. By 1946, when the club was formed he was working with the Matheson and Bovill Company. The remaining Asian founder member, R.G. Gautama was a lawyer. However, in 1944, he had been elected to the Nairobi Municipal Council as a representative of the Asians, a position which he held until 1946.

Three-quarters of the African founder members were politicians. Walter Odede was one of them. Odede was born in 1912 at Uyoma in what was then Central Nyanza. He was educated at

Maseno, then joined Alliance High School and qualified to go to Makerere College. He was nominated to the Legislative Council in 1945 for a short time to act on behalf of Rev. Beecher who was absent. Rev. Beecher was a missionary who represented African interests in the Legislative Council. Odede became the Acting President of the Kenya African Union when Jomo Kenyatta was detained on the 20th October, 1952 (Throup 1988:279).

Francis Khamisi was another founder member of the club. He was born in 1913 at Rabai near Mombasa and got educated at Kabaa. He was editor of Baraza from 1939 to 1945 and was the first General Secretary of the Kenya African Union, a territorial political movement, from 1944 to 1947. He was also a member of the Nairobi African Advisory Council between 1939 and 1948. In 1946-47, Khamisi was additionally a member of the Nairobi Municipal Council. In 1958, he was elected to the Legislative Council as member for Mombasa. Khamisi supported the idea of starting a multi-racial club because he felt that it would act as a positive step towards the removal of the colour bar in Kenya.

Eliud Mathu, another African founder member, was the first Kenyan African to be nominated to the Legislative Council to represent African interests. He was born in 1913 at Riruta in Kiambu and was educated at Riruta Primary School before proceeding to Alliance High School. After Alliance, he got a scholarship to Fort Hare University in South Africa. He completed his studies at Balliol College in Oxford. He was President of the Kenya Teacher's Union in the 1940's and was Principal of

Dagoretti High School in 1943. He was also a member of the East African Central Assembly from 1948 to 1960. As a politician, he hated social discrimination and welcomed any solution which could end such discrimination. He, therefore, supported the formation of the club.

Other founder members that were politicians at one time or another, included Musa Amalemba, Mrs. Bethwell Gecaga and E.K. Binns. Amalemba was working as an assistant editor with the East African Standard newspapers in 1946. He joined politics in 1958 and was elected by the Legislative Council sitting as an electorate to the special seats created by the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1957.

The special seats were distributed on a 4:4:4 basis among Africans, Asians and Europeans (Bogonko, 1980:194). The Lennox-Boyd constitution was promulgated when African elected members of the legislative council denounced the Lyttelton constitution which had recognised communal representation instead of universal franchise. They boycotted the legislative council meetings as long as the Lyttelton constitution was in operation. The only reform which the Lennox-Boyd constitution enacted was the addition of six African seats in the council. Just like the Lyttelton constitution, it recognised and legalised the existence of racial groupings in Kenya and disregarded the fact that Africans were the majority in the colony. Amalemba was appointed the Minister for housing in 1959. His support for the formation of the club can be explained in terms of his staunch belief that each race in Kenya needed the other and any constitution which aimed at giving self-government to one race only was short sighted (East African Standard: 3rd May 1958).

E.K. Binns was a representative of the Kenya African Union at the Coast. On the other hand, Mrs. Gecaga was a nominated member of the Legislative Council from 1946. Both of them believed that the colour bar in social and recreational places should

be abolished at all costs and saw the establishment of the club as a move towards the abolition of social discrimination in the colony.

The remaining African founder members were civil servants and Municipal Council employees, except for Bethwell Gecaga and Justus Kisale. Gecaga worked with the Bovil Matheson & Company in 1946, but later went to Makerere and then to England where he trained as a lawyer. He was eventually called to the bar. Justus Kisale was working as a clerk in a private firm in Kisumu. Among the government workers were John Muchura, Muchohi Gikonyo and Dedan Githegi. Muchura was the President of the African Civil Servants' Association between 1951 and 1958. On the other hand, Muchohi Gikonyo was the chairman of the Trade Sub-Committee of the Municipal Council of Nairobi between 1946 and 1950. Finally, Dedan Githegi was an Assistant African Affairs Officer and member of the Employment and Crime Committee of the Nairobi Municipal Council.

The biographical sketches given above show that people of various backgrounds and professions were opposed to social discrimination and the colour bar prevalent in the colony. All the founder members saw the establishment of the club as a first move towards the elimination of discrimination based on colour. But each of the founder members had a specific reason for supporting the formation of the club. An attempt has been made in the biographical sketches to bring out individual reasons for supporting the establishment of the United Kenya Club.

Multi-racial Institutions which preceded the United Kenya Club.

The first multi-racial organisation in Kenya was formed in 1933 and was called the Multi-racial Christian Council of Race Relations (MCCRR). The Council was founded by the Protestant Churches of Kenya, with the aim of promoting African interests in Kenya. It advocated for improved African living conditions, native determent fund, African representation in the Legislative Council, African education and equal treatment of Africans before the law. Membership was open to both Europeans and Africans. The position of Chairman was alternately held by Europeans and Africans. However, by 1945, when the organisation was dissolved, no Africans had been elected to that position.

Among the African members in the Council were: Eliud Mathu, a teacher and later a nominated member of the Legislative Council; Jimmy Jeremiah, a civil servant; and Chief Waweru Magugu of one of the locations in Kiambu. These three members later joined the United Kenya Club. Eliud Mathu and Jimmy Jeremiah later resigned from MCCRR on the grounds that the Council had been devised to circumvent African political organisations. Indeed, it has been argued that the council obstructed the growth of African nationalism (Kipkorir, 1969:354). The nomination of Eliud Mathu to the Legislative Council in 1944 and the formation of the Kenya African Union made the MCCRR anachronistic because its role of advocating for African interests was now being effectively played by the Africans themselves. Thus, the council dissolved itself in 1945.

Another multi-racial institution, which was a contemporary



of the United Kenya Club, was the Pumwani Social Club. This club was specifically an African club, but Europeans were allowed to participate in its activities. It is the presence of the Europeans in the club that makes one designate it as a multi-racial organisation. The members met every evening and held discussions on current issues ranging from racial prejudice, differential salary scales in the civil service, housing problems and maltreatment of Africans before the law.

John Muchura and Musa Amalemba argued that the United Kenya Club was born out of Pumwani Social Club. John Muchura, speaking in the Legislative Council on 22nd June, 1960, argued that the United Kenya Club held its first meeting in Pumwani (Hansard, 1960:1784). Musa Amalemba also pointed out that the United Kenya Club was born out of the Pumwani Social Club (Personal communications; 16th February, 1989).

The above multi-racial institutions heralded the coming of the United Kenya Club (UKC). The UKC had, however, more far reaching effects than the first two organisations.

#### Constitution

The articles of the first constitution were drafted by R.G. Gautama in 1948 (see Appendix 1). The club's main objective was to associate persons of all races inhabiting Kenya who were interested in providing a common meeting ground for social, cultural and recreational activities. The constitution stipulated that the club was to be non-political. Yet, by 1946, anything dealing with human relations automatically entered into issues

of politics because colonialism was founded on the idea of superiority of the dominating race and the inferiority of the dominated. It was, therefore, obvious that the club could not remain non-political as long as its aim was that of creating racial harmony through the association of peoples of all races.

The constitution adequately covered membership, elections, management, subscriptions and trusteeship. Members were elected into the club by the ballot committee of 15 people, nine of whom were executive officials of the club, while the remaining six were ordinary members. A person who wanted to join the club had to be proposed by a member of the club seconded by another member. This meant that before one applied for membership one had to know at least two people in the club. The proposer and seconder had to write letters to the Chairman of the balloting committee showing why their applicant could be a suitable member of the club. The applicant also had to give valid reasons why he wanted to become a member of the club. For one to be elected as a member, the balloting committee had to be satisfied that one did not have any racial prejudice. Similarly, the occupation of the applicant played a big role in the election process. The management committee of the club wanted prominent men to be members of the club so as to convince the remaining population of Kenya to discard racial prejudice just as the prominent men had done. Also the prominent men who were professionals of rank were supposed to participate in workshops and seminars which would pass suggestions on how best to improve the club and completely eliminate social discrimination.

No one could be a member unless one was eighteen and above. Membership was divided into three groups, namely, founder, town and country. The nature and composition of membership will be discussed in the next chapter.

There were equal racial distribution and composition in the Management Committee. The key positions of Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer were alternately held by a member of each race. Various sub-committees were introduced to ensure that every member participated in the running of the club. This made members identify with the club. More will be said on the management in the succeeding chapter.

Subscriptions were kept as minimal as possible to ensure that Africans whose salaries were low could be able to pay them. The annual subscriptions that were paid in quarters amounted to K.Shs. 20 . The entrance fee was K.Shs. 5 .

The constitution created a democratic voting system in the club. Each member had one vote and the members had equal voting rights. At the annual general elections, two-thirds of the members constituted the quorum. Any discontent among the members was openly discussed at the General Meetings. The constitution was drafted in such a manner as to close every loophole through which racial dissatisfaction could arise in the club.

This constitution underwent a series of amendments over time due to the increased demands of the club. Some of the amendments were a result of the effects of the political developments that were taking place in the colony. Among the political occurrences

that affected the club were: Mau Mau, promulgation of the Lyttelton and Lennox-Boyd constitutions, the demand by the African elected members that Lyttelton and Lennox-Boyd constitutions should be replaced by a democratic constitution, and the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference of 1960 which recognised the legitimacy of Africans to lead Kenya to independence. But other amendments were necessitated by internal problems in the club. More will be said on constitutional changes in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREETHE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED KENYA CLUB,  
1946 TO 1963

The years 1946 to 1963 were revolutionary not only in the history of Kenya but also in the development of the United Kenya Club. Whereas Kenya experienced the transfer of power from the British to Africans in this period, the United Kenya Club discarded its multi-racial constitution and replaced it with one which restricted it to the recreational welfare of the members. The decision to institute a new constitution was a consequence of both internal and external factors. Apart from the constitutional change, the club witnessed change in physical structures, membership and management. This chapter will describe and explain in detail the evolution and revolution in the club in the period under review.

The club began from scratch in terms of buildings. The club rented a wooden building from the Boy Scouts Association at the rate of £25 per annum. The building contained two rooms and a kitchen. It was located on White House Road (now Haile Selassie Avenue), on the site which is presently occupied by the Central Bank of Kenya. As the membership increased the building became congested and inadequate and so an urgent need to move to a bigger building arose. However, the management committee decided to set up permanent premises for the club instead of renting a bigger house. Three main reasons, besides the increasing number of members, necessitated this decision. In the first place, rents were hiking so fast in the city. By 1952, the club paid £ 250 per annum for the two roomed house they rented, yet they had been paying

only £ 25 in 1946. This meant that the club would pay a lot of money if it rented a bigger and spacious house. Since the club was not having any profit-making projects, it could not have afforded paying a higher rent. Secondly, the officials of the club wanted the club to be residential and this could only be achieved if the club had permanent premises. With a residential club, the management would find it easier to provide recreational facilities such as swimming pools, tennis court, bar and a room for billiards. Lastly, the management committee intended to let out residential rooms, so as to raise an additional annual income for the club.

Thus, in 1950, the officials set up a building fund to raise money for the construction of permanent club premises. Many people, companies, charity organisations and the colonial government contributed generously to the fund. The Ministry of Lands, Survey and Mines gave the club a plot of land along Hospital Hill Road (now State House Road), the present premises of the club. The government also donated £ 1,000 to the building fund and, as if this was not enough, gave the club a subvention of £ 250 every year, starting from 1952 for every four years.

The Rockefeller Foundation contributed £ 1,000 to the fund in 1952. Among the companies that donated to the fund were: Unga Limited, Odhevji Anandji & Company of Mombasa, Dawood & Company, Esmail Nathoo Trust Limited and Gailey & Roberts Limited. The total donation from these companies was £ 376. While the European members of the club and their friends contributed £ 1,194,

the Asian members and their friends gave £ 2,050, to the fund. On the other hand, Africans and their friends donated £ 20 to the fund. The contribution of Africans appears so small because the Africans earned low salaries in comparison to Asians and Europeans. At the same time, the Africans in the club had no source of income apart from their salaries. Also the total number of Africans in the club was small. In total the donation amounted to £ 4,590.

The money contributed to the building fund was deposited with Barclays Bank, DCO. The officials of the club, then arranged with the Bank to secure a loan of £ 6,000 for putting up the club house. Since the club had already deposited £ 4,590 with the bank, the remaining balance of £ 1,210 was to be repaid slowly. Construction work began in April 1952, and in December of the same year the building was completed. The building had two storeys with an office and library on the ground floor, while the dining hall, kitchen and store were upstairs. It was officially opened by Sir Evelyn Baring, the Governor of Kenya in 1953.

The officials were unable to clear the debt with the bank as they had arranged. Thus, they introduced life membership so as to raise money to clear the debt. Life membership was introduced in 1954 for any member who paid K.Shs. 300. Over 77 members paid to become life members. In this way, the club got enough money to clear the debt with the bank. However, the annual income drastically fell as a result of some members becoming life members.

In the period 1954-62, the club had severe financial problems. Because of this, the officials of the club revived the idea of making the club residential so as to get income from letting out rooms and providing other facilities. They began to think of ways and means of raising capital to construct a residential block in the club premises. Since the patron of the club was the Governor of Kenya, they asked him to help the club get a loan from the government so as to put up a residential hostel. On his part, the Governor asked the personnel of the State Treasury to discuss with the club officials and come up with the best method in which the government could assist the club. After a series of meetings between the two parties, it was decided that the government guarantee a loan which the club could get from any financial institution. On this strength, the club officials once again approached Barclays Bank, DCO for a loan. The bank agreed to give a loan of £ 33,000 to the club. The officials of the club and the architect, Mr. Vamos, had estimated that £ 33,000 would be enough to put up a three-storeyed residential block with a capacity of 26 single rooms.

The construction began in August 1961 and was completed in August of the following year. The building had three storeys with public rooms on the ground floor and self-contained rooms on the first and second floors. The public rooms consisted of a bar, lounge, dining hall, committee room and reception hall. Adjacent to the lounge was the verandah. The building had a total of 26 rooms with in-built wardrobes, writing table, suitcase



racks and beds equipped with inner spring mattresses. Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya from 1959 to 1962, was invited to officially open the new building on 22nd August, 1962.

The club arranged to pay the loan it had got from the bank through debentures and donations from charitable organisations. The club's management committee accordingly prepared 100 debentures which they sent to private companies. A debenture is a written promise by the government or business company that it will pay the debt and the fixed interest on the debt, (See Table 3.1). The club thus received a total of £ 8,100 from debentures. The companies charged an interest of 3% per annum on the loan they gave the club.

The club received a donation of £3,500 from the Ford Foundation towards the cost of the construction. On the 5th October, 1963, the Gailey & Roberts Company wrote off a loan of £ 1,000 which the club owed it as a result of the company taking 10 debentures from the club. The donation from Ford Foundation was used to reduce the loan which the club owed to Barclays Bank.

Thus, in the period 1946 to 1963, the club moved from a dilapidated wooden building to a one-storeyed permanent building then, finally to a three-storeyed residential building. This physical expansion shows that the club was developing.

#### Constitutional Changes

The founder members had been given the privilege of electing one third of the Management Committee for three consecutive

TABLE 3.1

Firms that took debentures from The United Kenya Club

NAME	NO.	Amount in Pounds
The East African & Indemnity Co. Limited	3	300
African Explosives & Chemical Industries	1	100
African Transport Company Limited	1	100
A. Baumann & Company Limited (EA)	2	200
Brooke Bond East Africa Limited	3	300
Caltex Oil Limited (Kenya)	10	1000
The Cooper Motor Corporation Limited	3	300
East African Oxygen Limited	1	100
East African Tobacco Limited	10	1000
Gailey & Roberts Company Limited	10	1000
Smith Mackenzie & Company Limited	3	300
Tancot Limited	2	200
Maida Limited	5	500
East African Standard Limited	10	1000
The House of Manji	1	100
The Magadi Soda Company	10	1000
Uketa Development Corporation Limited	5	500
Ahamad Brothers Limited	1	100
Total	81	8100

years. The remaining two-thirds were elected at the annual general meetings. This privilege was intended to ensure that the club achieved its initial objective of creating racial harmony, both in the club and in the colony. This objective was very clear in the minds of the founder members and their continued presence in the management committee was to help them disseminate this objective to new members. However, the founder members lost this privilege when the three year period ended in 1950. The clause in the constitution which had allowed the founder members this privilege was amended to allow all members participation in the exercise.

The constitution was expanded to include three new offices in the management committee. In 1950, the offices of the Vice-Chairman and Assistant Secretary were introduced. A year later, a second office of Vice-Chairman was added. Hyde-Clarke, the Commissioner for Labour from 1946 to 1951, became the first Vice-Chairman while Meshack Ndisi, an Assistant Relations Officer from 1949 to 1955, became the first second Vice-Chairman. On the other hand, R.H. de Renzy-Martin was elected to the position of Assistant Secretary. Miss de Renzy-Martin was an education Officer in Nairobi Municipality. The clause in the constitution stating that the total number of officials was to be nine was changed to read twelve. Two factors led to the expansion of the management committee. First, the expansion was to provide efficient services to the members who had increased ten times since 1946. By 1950, membership had risen from 35 to 325. Second, the expansion

was aimed at ensuring equal distribution of official power among the members of the three races in the club.

In 1954, a new category of membership, called life membership, was introduced. Prior to that year, there were only four groups of membership, namely, founder, town, country and honorary members. The financial difficulties which the club faced after putting up its first building played a key role in the establishment of life membership. By 1954, the club had an overdraft of £ 850 with Barclays Bank, DCO. The bank pressed the club to clear the debt, but since the club lacked a profit generating project, it resorted to members to raise the necessary funds. The officials found that the introduction of life membership was an easy way of convincing members to raise the funds. As already stated, to become a life member one was required to pay K.Shs. 300. 77 out of the 525 members paid the money to become life members. A total of £ 1,155 was raised from this new membership drive, and part of this money was used to clear the debt which the club owed the bank.

The constitutional amendments made in the period 1946-57 can be regarded as minor when one considers the changes made in the constitution in 1958. In 1958, a major constitutional reshuffle took place. First, the club became a company limited by guarantee. Accordingly, the aims of the club (company) were expanded. The club not only associated inhabitants of Kenya in social and cultural activities, but also strove to acquire assets like land and buildings. The company also aimed at having a salaried

personnel that would run the club on behalf of the members. Another objective of the company was to subscribe to charitable organisations and institutions with similar aims to those of the company.

Financial crisis in the club, poor services in the club and the changing political environment in Kenya were the factors that led to the expansion in the aims of the club. Although the club had cleared its debt with Barclays Bank by 1956, its financial problems continued. The members that had paid to become life members were the ones that had been active in terms of annual subscriptions. Since life members were exempted from annual subscriptions the club's annual income from this dropped. At the same time, there was a decline in membership in the period 1954-58, from 525 to 239. The fall in membership led to a reduction in annual subscriptions. The club's financial constraints increased when the four year subvention which the government had given the club came to an end in 1956. The aim of the company to acquire assets was a calculated step to eliminate financial problems in the club.

Low quality meals and poor services were another reason that necessitated expansion in the aims of the club. Throughout the period 1950-58, Asians and Europeans were resigning from the club just because the services were sub-standard. The officials of the club had deliberately provided low quality meals so as to ensure that the African members were not overstrained since their income was low. By 1958, there were only 9 Africans in a total membership of 239. Since there were very few Africans

in the club , the officials decided to set up a company that would provide efficient services and high quality meals to the members.

The changing political environment in Kenya also contributed to the 1958 constitutional changes in the club. In the amended constitution, the aims of the company were not limited to associating members of all races in Kenya, as had been in the first one, because the idea of multi-racialism had been refused by African leaders as from 1957. African elected members of the Legislative Council argued that multi-racialism was a hindrance to growth of democracy (Bogonko, 1980:132). The officials of the club reshuffled the constitution in 1958 so that African leaders could not denounce the club as a symbol of multi-racialism, but perceive it as a social institution that had no racial prejudice.

Apart from expanding the aims of the club, the 1958 constitution introduced two other categories of membership namely, reciprocating and temporary members. Reciprocating members were those who belonged to other clubs that had similar objectives as the United Kenya Club. Such clubs included 'United Kenya Club', Mombasa, Multi-racial Social Club of Kampala and Multi-racial Social Club , Dar-es-salaam, among others. The members of these clubs used the club whenever they came to Nairobi. On the other hand, temporary members were foreigners, particularly professionals who came to Kenya for a short period and needed accommodation in a quiet and friendly atmosphere in the city at a low cost. Reciprocating and temporary members used every facility in the club, but were prohibited from attending official and general

meetings.

Another amendment brought in by the 1958 constitution concerned the Management Committee. Since the club had been turned into a company, the committee members became known as directors, there were 14 of them. However, the positions of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary remained. A new post of Manager was set up. The Manager, who was an employee of the club, saw to the general running of the club.

The new changes also affected entrance and subscription fees. While the entrance fee was raised from K.Shs. 5 to K.Shs. 40, subscription were raised from K.Shs. 25 to K.Shs. 60. The increment was aimed at providing adequate funds to improve the recreational facilities in the club. The articles of the 1958 constitution are given in Appendix 2.

In spite of the fact that the club had been turned into a company, its activities, chief of which was the Wednesday weekly speeches made at the club during luncheons, did not change. More will be said about speeches in the next section and in Chapter Four. To the outsider, the club was a company but to the members the club was still a multi-racial institution. The 1958 constitution, played a big role in determining the development of the club in the early 1960's. The club used its new status to issue out debentures to other companies and in this way raised money to build a three-storeyed residential building in 1961-62. In 1962, Mr. I.V. Williams became the first Manager of the club and, under his efficient administration, the quality of meals, services

and other recreational facilities was high. This made people join the club in such big numbers that by 1963 membership had risen to 375, from 239 in 1958. Thus, the 1958 constitutional amendments brought renewed enthusiasm in the club.

### Membership

Membership normally determines the size and success of a club. At the same time, the nature, character and occupation of members of a club give an insight into the social function of the club. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the membership of the United Kenya Club to determine the overall growth of the club in the period 1946 to 1963.

All inhabitants of Kenya above eighteen years were eligible for membership. This membership was divided into four classes namely, full, temporary, reciprocating and honorary members. Full membership was further sub-divided into founder, town, country and life members. Founder members were the members that founded the club. Town members were the members that lived within a radius of 10 kilometres from the club premises. On the other hand, members who lived outside the 10 kilometres radius were called country members and paid only half of the subscription fee paid by the town members; the argument being that country members used the club only occasionally. As already pointed out, life members were those that had paid K.Shs. 300 in 1954. The 1958 constitutional changes did not fix the life membership fee; instead it was left to the discretion of the directors of the company. Full members were not only eligible to vote during general meetings but could

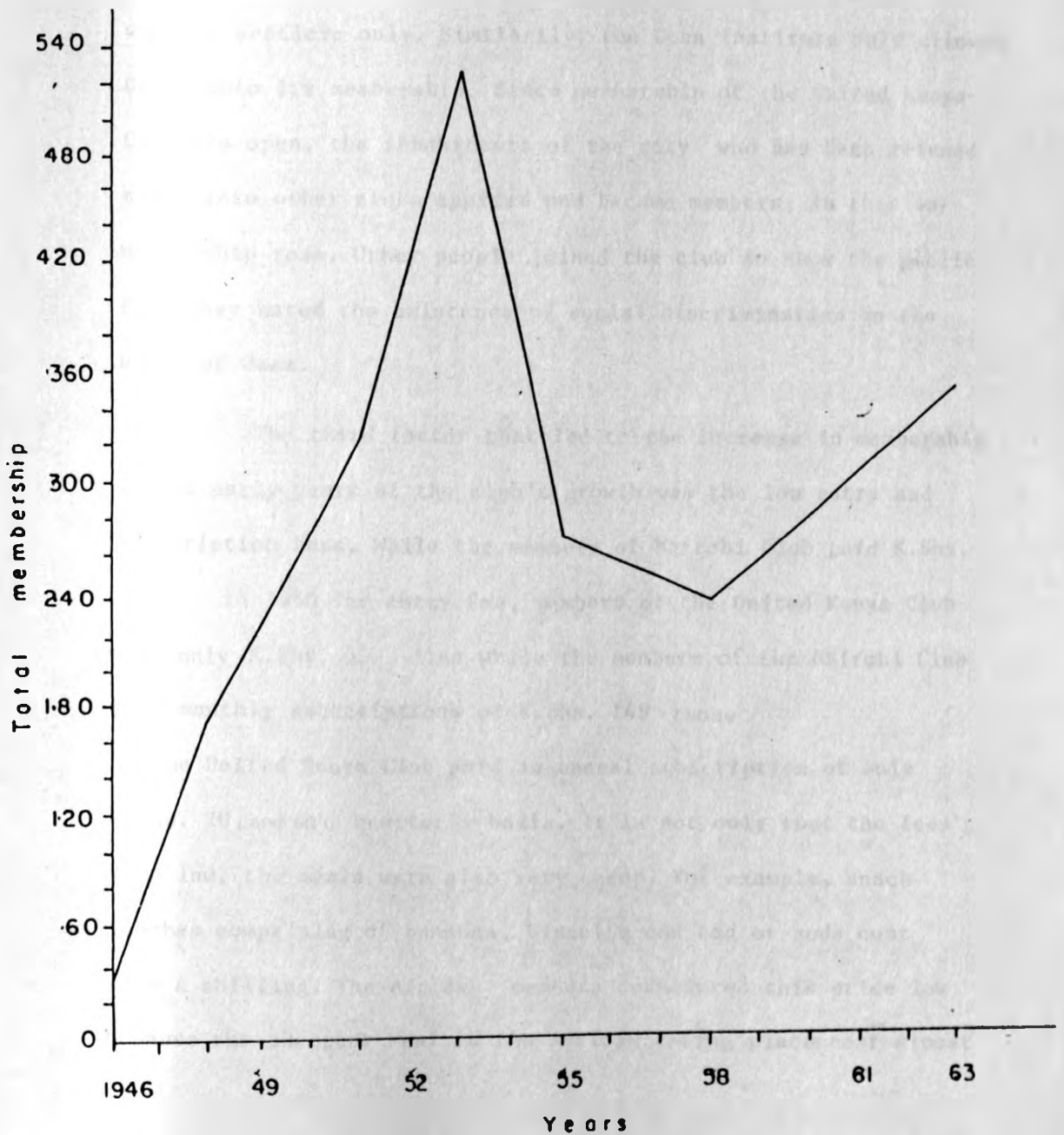


also hold office on the various club committees.

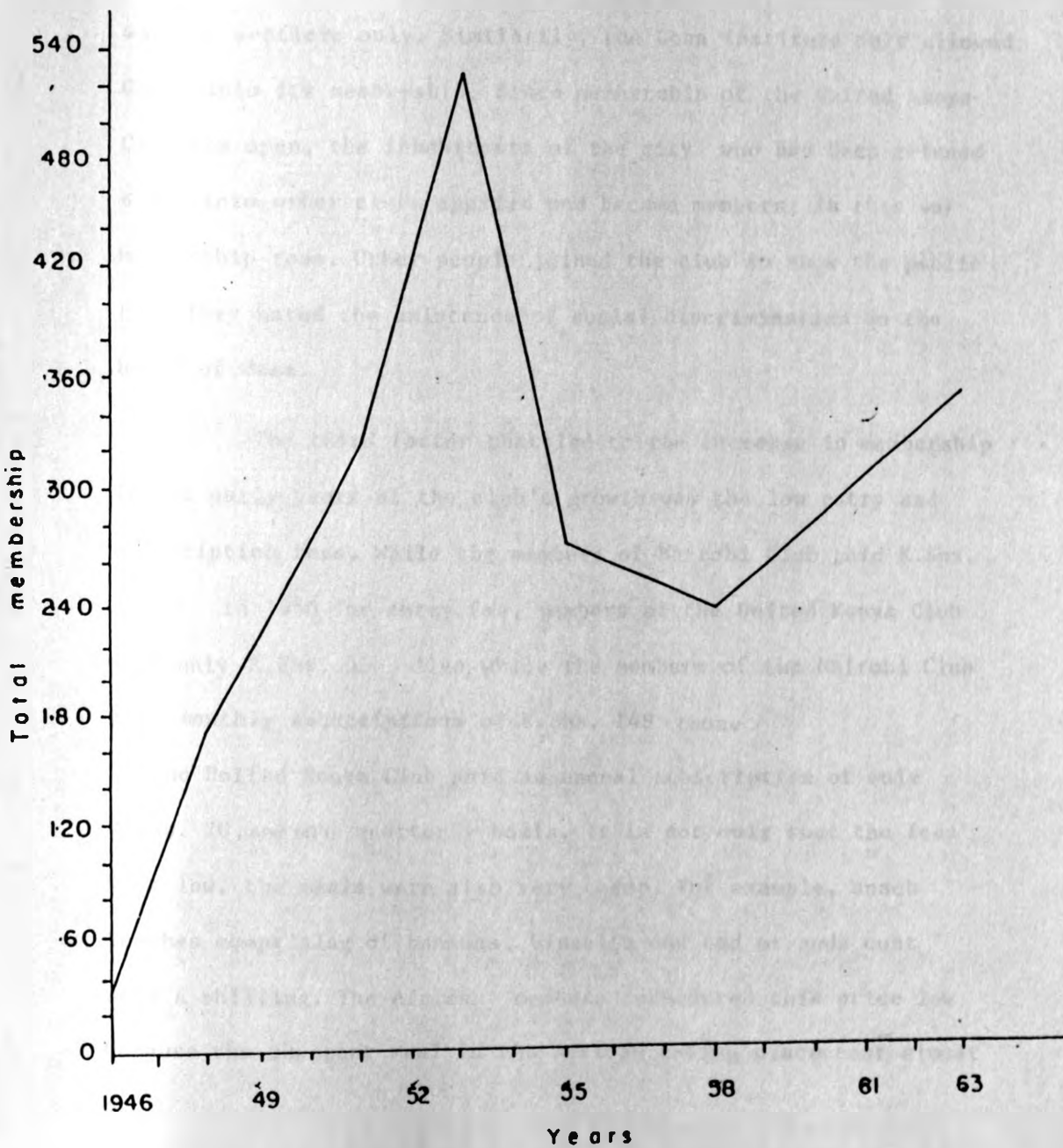
The nature and character of reciprocating and temporary membership has already been examined in the preceding section. On the other hand, honorary members were professionals nominated by the Management Committee to advise it on how to accelerate the growth of the club. Such members assisted the club to get in touch with company executives and senior government officers. An honorary member could neither vote nor hold office.

Graph 3.1 best depicts the growth in membership between 1946 and 1963. The graph shows that there was a steady growth in membership between 1946 and 1953, then there was a drop in the membership from 1954 to 1958. The graph also shows that there was a gradual increase in membership in the years 1958-63. The club began with 33 members in 1946, but by 1948 membership had risen to 175. The membership was increasing so fast that by 1951 it stood at 325. The period 1952-54 was one in which the membership reached its peak. The club had a total of 525 members during this period. There was a fall in membership between 1955 and 1958 and a gradual increase between 1959 and 1963.

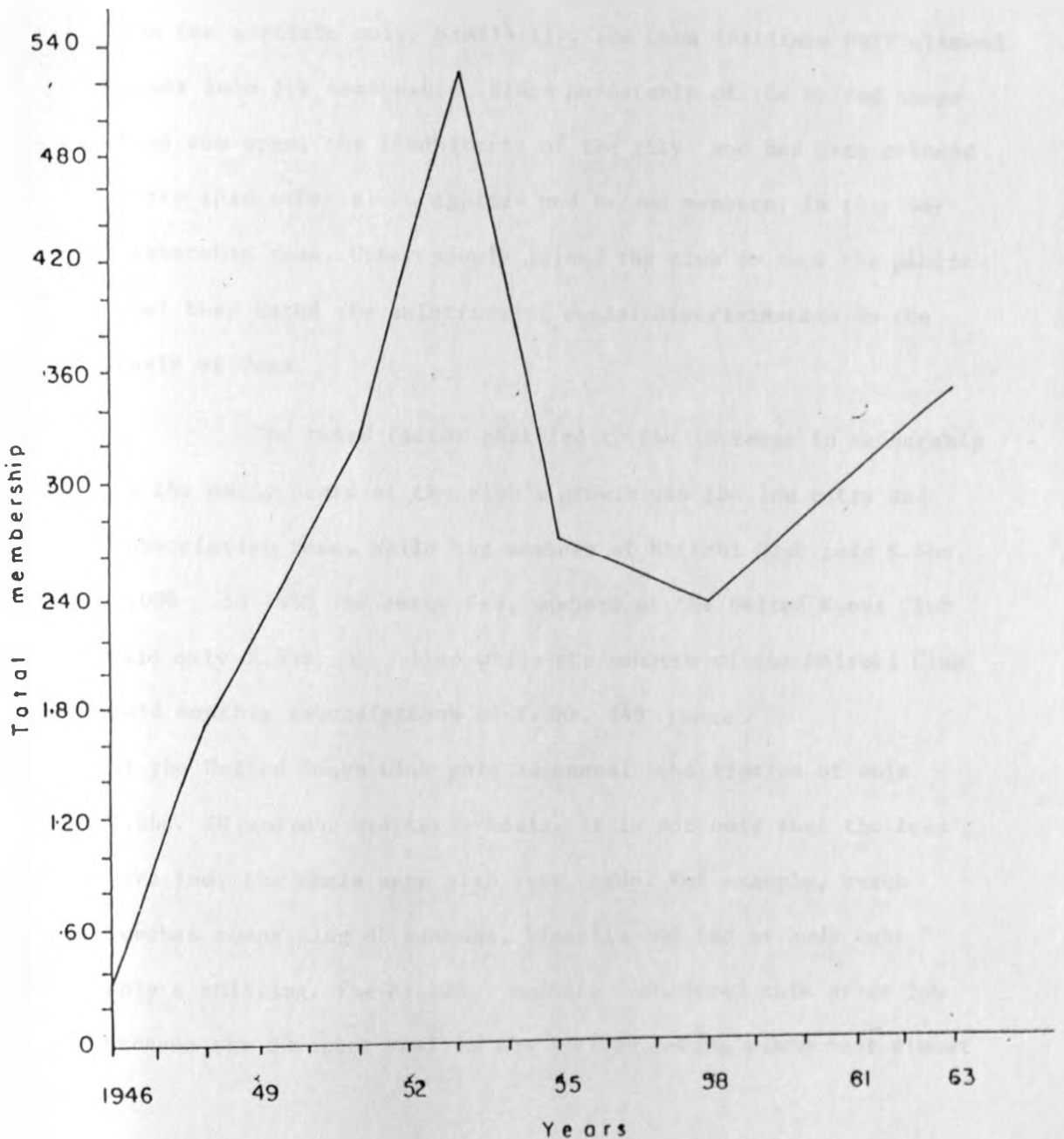
The constant rise and eventual decline in membership in the club was a consequence of many factors, some external others internal. External is being used here to refer to factors that emanated from outside the club, while internal refers to factors coming from within the club. The steady growth in membership in the period 1946-53 can be explained in terms of the racial organisation of social institutions at the time. The



GRAPH 3.11: GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP FROM 1946 - 63



GRAPH 3.11: GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP FROM 1946 - 63



GRAPH 3.11: GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP FROM 1946 - 63

United Kenya Club was the only club that opened its doors to members of all races. Other clubs were not only mono-racial, but their constitutions excluded people of the same race from becoming members. For example, Nairobi Club was strictly meant for British citizens that were working in Kenya as soldiers and civil servants. Whites from Germany, France, Australia, South Africa and America who were staying in Kenya were ineligible for membership in this club. On the other hand, Muthaiga Club was for settlers only. Similarly, the Goan Institute only allowed Goans into its membership. Since membership of the United Kenya Club was open, the inhabitants of the city who had been refused entry into other clubs applied and became members; in this way membership rose. Other people joined the club to show the public that they hated the existence of social discrimination on the basis of race.

The third factor that led to the increase in membership in the early years of the club's growth was the low entry and subscription fees. While the members of Nairobi Club paid K.Shs. 3,000 in 1950 for entry fee, members of the United Kenya Club paid only K.Shs. 5. Also, while the members of the Nairobi Club paid monthly subscriptions of K.Shs. 149 those of the United Kenya Club paid an annual subscription of only K.Shs. 20, and on a quarterly basis. It is not only that the fees were low, the meals were also very cheap. For example, snack lunches comprising of bananas, biscuits and tea or soda cost only a shilling. The African members considered this price low because the cheapest meal in the African eating places cost almost

one shilling and it consisted of only vegetable stew and chapati. Yet, the African eating places were both crowded and stinking, a big contrast to the decent, cool and comfortable atmosphere of the club. Another advantage which the United Kenya Club had over the other clubs was its vicinity to the city centre. The low fees in the club and its vicinity to the city centre acted as an incentive to draw people to apply for membership in the club and this led to the increase in membership.

The outbreak of the Mau Mau war was one of the factors that contributed to the decline in the membership of the club. Mau Mau was an African resistance movement that demanded, among other things, the return of land which had been alienated by the colonial government and declared crown land or given to settlers. The Mau Mau war was fought in the Rift Valley and Central Provinces, and its origins lie in the colonial political economy. The movement was characterised by violence, destruction and murder. Crops belonging to settlers were set on fire while their animals were maimed. Africans who had relationships with Europeans were branded loyalists and traitors and were killed. A few Europeans were also killed (Throup, 1988:224).

On 20th October, 1952, the colonial government could no longer tolerate the violence and so declared a state of Emergency in the colony. After the emergency was declared, curfew laws were enacted, and Africans were called upon to be in their houses by 6 p.m. everyday. The Africans members of the club were, therefore, cut off from the Tuesday and Thursday evening social activities

that were held at the club. Among the activities held on the Tuesday and Thursday evenings were dances, study groups, discussions, films and indoor games competitions.

The Africans stopped attending club activities that were organised even during the daytime for they feared to lose their lives, especially after Chief Waruhiu was killed in broad daylight. After the death of Chief Waruhiu, other Africans in the club, like Musa Amalemba and Muchohi Gikonyo, were threatened by the Mau Mau warriors that unless they stopped their relations with the Europeans they would be murdered. Mau Mau threats against African loyalists made African membership drop from 46 in 1951 to 30 in 1953 and zero in 1955.

The Mau Mau war similarly affected European membership in the club. European members became very emotional and over-sensitive in the period 1952-59. They did not want anyone to criticise colonial policy, yet the speakers who addressed the members during the Wednesday weekly luncheons denounced colonial policy. Among the members who openly criticised the colonial government in their speeches were N.S. Mangat, Chanan Singh and Ernest Vasey. The speeches made by these speakers made some European members resign from the club in protest. N.S. Mangat, President of the Indian Congress in 1954 and 1956 argued in his speech at the club on 21st August, 1953, that the White Highlands should be opened to non-Europeans for settlement. He called on the colonial government to introduce a common roll franchise in Kenya (East African Standard, 22nd August, 1953). This speech angered the Europeans for it was made at the time when Africans were also demanding the opening of the White Highlands to African

settlement. It was thus viewed as evidence that Asians were supporting Africans in this regard. The European members criticised the officials for being incapable of stopping political speeches in the club and so they chose to resign.

Chanan Singh, a lawyer and later a judge in independent Kenya, spoke at the club on the 20th November, 1953 on the subject of "Human Rights in theory and practice". He argued that although the framers of the British constitution had liberally embodied the truth that "all men are created equal", their compatriots had not implemented it in Kenya. He lamented that those pious sentiments expressed in the declaration of human rights in the British constitution had no value to the Asians and Africans in Kenya. He pointed out the there was lack of cohesion between theory and practice in the British colonial policies. He asked the government to explain why the Asians and Africans were suffering injustices such as lower salary scales, exclusion from the Kenya Highlands, poor medical and educational facilities, poor social and political facilities, and social and political discrimination. He requested the government to abolish discrimination between men on irrelevant factors such as race and religion (East African Standard, 21st November, 1953).

Chanan Singh used the British constitution to challenge the foundation of colonial policies in Kenya. He asked the British colonial officers to explain why they had refused to treat Asians and Africans equally, yet their constitution in the United Kingdom recognised the equality of all men. He accused the colonial



government of refusing to respect the Universal Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen which recognised the right of all men to speech, thought, equality before the law, the rights to opinion and association. He argued that colonial rule in Kenya was irrational and that what was irrational must be abolished.

The speeches made at the club during the Mau Mau period made some European members resign from the club on the basis that speeches denounced British rule in Kenya. Most of the European members that resigned were civil servants. Among those that resigned were Shirley V. Cooke, H. Massie Blomfield and T.G. Askwith. Shirley V. Cooke was elected member for Coast in the Legislative Council. He resigned because the club had become a platform for politics which was denouncing British rule. He argued that the club had deviated from its objective of providing social amenities and had become political. He stated that when they (he and others) founded the club, they intended it to be run on the same lines as Nairobi Club or Muthaiga Club (Hansard, 1955:1394). These clubs were wholly social in their activities.

H. Massie Blomfield was working with the Oxford Society. She argued that Asian speakers were abusing the sovereignty of the Queen. Her argument was that as a loyal Briton, she could not continue to identify herself with the club that hosted anti-British politics.

T.G. Askwith was a high ranking civil servant. He was the Commissioner for the Community Development in 1955. He noted

in his memoirs that:

".....unfortunately as time went on the attitude of many members became so political as to make it impossible for some of us government officials to take part ....." (Askwith, 1976:5).

By 1955, T.G. Askwith had stopped participating in the activities of the club. The increasing politicisation of the club made officials cull members who had connections with political movements or parties in the colony. The officials used the fact that most of such members had not paid subscriptions, to expel them. A total of 256 members were expelled and so membership dropped from 525 to 269.

The growing influence of the Capricorn African Society (CAS) also contributed to the decline in members in the club. This society was founded by David Stirling in 1949 at Blantyre in present day Malawi. Its aim was to create harmonious race relations in East and Central Africa. Derek Erskine, a national member of the Legislative Council, started a branch of Capricorn African Society in Kenya in 1952. The CAS advocated for a qualitative common roll franchise in Kenya, since such a franchise would both allow Africans to participate in voting as well as protect minority races from being dominated by Africans (Kanogo, 1974:16).

The clear political aims of CAS made many liberal thinking people in the city join it. The United Kenya Club simply advocated for multi-racialism, but CAS had a clear image of a multi-racial State in Kenya in its Constitution. The period 1953-59, was one in which the membership of the society increased while that of

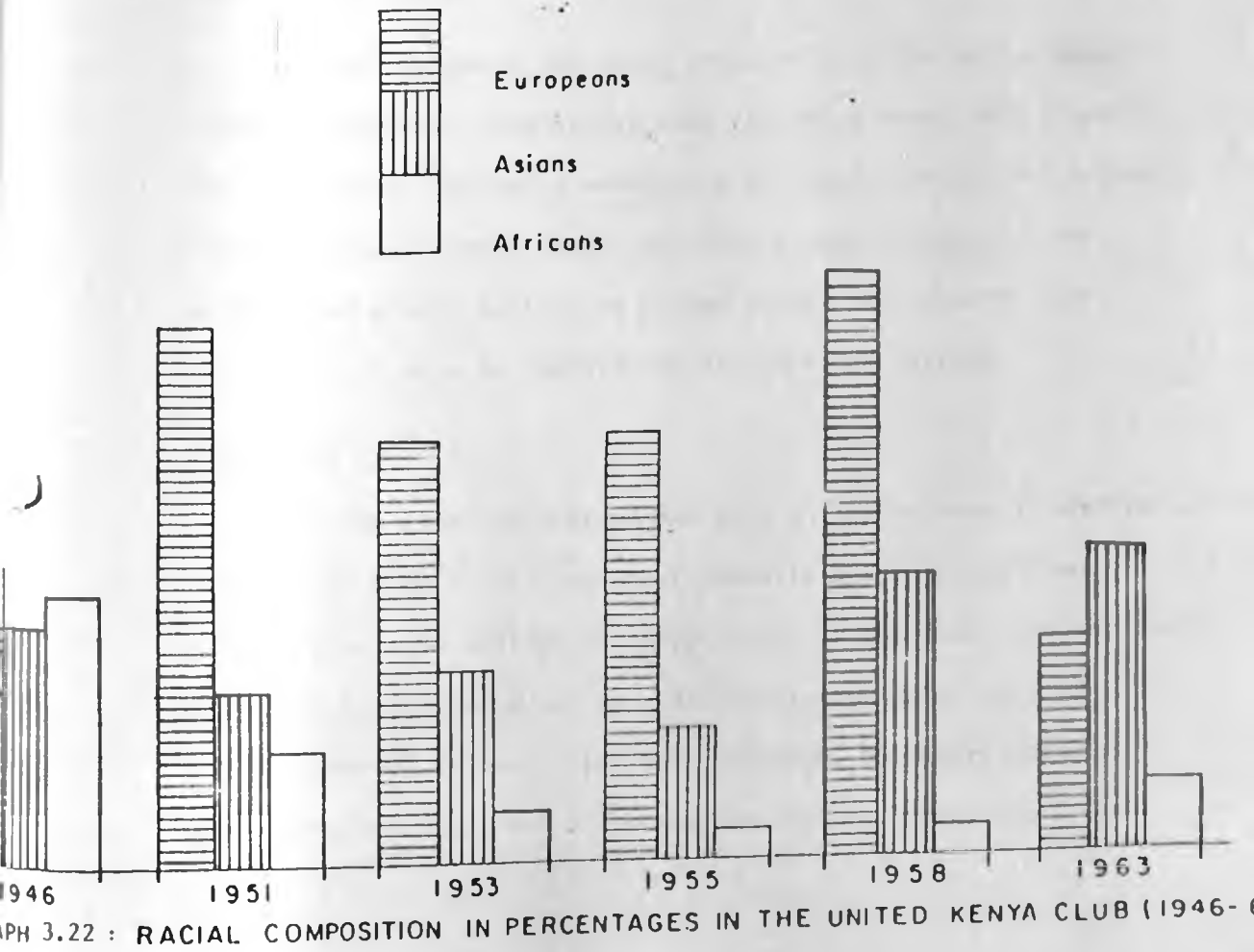
club declined. CAS acted as an alternative to African members who had stopped attending the club due to Mau Mau threats. Similarly, it gave refuge to members of the club who were culled in 1955. CAS over-shadowed the club in the mid and late fifties, since its constitution gave some hope to all inhabitants of the colony. Therefore, its influence contributed to the decline of membership in the club.

The club began experiencing a gradual increase in membership in the period 1960-63. Two factors explain the growth in membership in this period. First, the abolition of the State of Emergency in early 1960 allowed Africans to participate in the activities of the club without fearing to be termed as loyalists. Thus, African membership rose from 9 in 1958 to 35 in 1963. Secondly, CAS, which had over-shadowed the club in the 1950's declined in the early 1960's. The resolutions of the Lancaster House Conference of 1960 recognised Africans as the legitimate rulers of Kenya. In which case, the Lancaster House Conference gave a death blow to CAS which was advocating a multi-racial State in Kenya. The conference chaired by Ian Macleod, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was determined from the start to allow the African voice to predominate. It ended with the resolution that Kenya had to get its independence in the shortest time possible and that Africans were to be the majority in the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council was to have 65 seats, 53 of which were to be elected on a common roll, while 20 of them were to be reserved for Asians and Europeans. The remaining twelve

seats were for national members (Odinga, 1968:178). After 1960, CAS no longer over-shadowed the club and so the club increased in its membership.

It is important to analyse the racial composition of the United Kenya Club so as to know whether it pursued its objective of associating members of all the three races (see Graph 3.2). The racial composition is given in percentages. In 1946, membership percentage for Europeans, Asians and Africans was 35.2%, 29.9% and 33.3%, respectively. In 1951, it was 65.5%, 21.6% and 13.8%, while in 1953 it was 53.3%, 24.7% and 5.7%, respectively. The percentages in 1958 were as follows: 72%, 35%, and 3.7% while in 1963 the percentages were 26.6%, 37.3% and 9.3% respectively. The figures show that except for 1963, there were always more European members than those of any other race. The Europeans dominated the club because they believed that through associating people of all races, the club would make it possible for non-Europeans to appreciate European culture and in the long run the latter would be co-opted into British colonial structures and thus support colonial rule.

The low composition of Africans in the club has already been explained in terms of the emergency, but it should be noted that even before the emergency some African members had already resigned their membership. One of these was Eliud Mathu, the first African in Kenya to enter the legislative Council. He resigned on the basis that the club was a 'lamburg' that diverted Africans from their struggle for equal opportunities with Europeans.



PH 3.22 : RACIAL COMPOSITION IN PERCENTAGES IN THE UNITED KENYA CLUB (1946-63)

African leaders such as Francis Khamisi, James Samuel Gichuru, among others, who had joined the club in 1946 had resigned by 1951 because they had seen that the club was a window-dressing that intended to convince the outside world that there was racial and social harmony in Kenya, while in reality social discrimination plagued Kenya right into the independence period. African leaders had joined the club with the hope that it would develop into a pressure group and force the government to end social discrimination in Kenya. It should also be added that the low composition of the Africans was also a result of the fact that there were very few educated Africans in the city in the period 1946-63. By educated Africans I mean those who had at least attained a school certificate education or above.

On the whole, the total membership of the United Kenya Club was very low, considering that the three races were eligible for membership. The total membership was small because the balloting committee only allowed people who held prominent posts in the private and public sectors to become members. In chapter four an attempt is made to explain why the club was elitist.

#### Management

The club had a broad and well defined system of administration. This can be seen in the fact that committees were established to look after the welfare of every sector in the club. The Management Committee co-ordinated the general administration of the club. It consisted of Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and his Assistant, Treasurer and six committee members. After 1958, the

Management Committee was expanded to include a manager and directors. The members of this committee were elected at the annual general meeting. A full list of the names of the Management Committee from 1946-63 is given in Tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5. There was equal racial distribution in the Management Committee except for the years when African membership dropped to almost zero. The Committee appointed sub-committees to help it provide effective and efficient services to the members. Such sub-committees included: the balloting committee, housing committee, entertainment committee, ways and means committee and catering committee.

The balloting committee had the responsibility of recruiting applicants into the club. It consisted of all the members of the Management Committee, and met once a month. Before an applicant was recruited into the club he had to meet all the members of the balloting committee so that they could know his attitude to people of other races. This knowledge helped the committee to decide on whether or not to admit the applicant into the club. Other factors which the balloting committee used in selecting applicants into membership included: professional status of the applicant, the posts he held in public and private sectors and the record of the private life of the applicant which was given by the members who proposed and seconded his or her application.

The balloting committee acted as a kind of filter which allowed into the club only a small number of applicants. In the

club's records room there are thousands of rejected application forms. Only those applicants whose political beliefs were moderate, that is, those who called for the participation of all races in the administration of the colony, were recruited into the club. Applicants whose past life history showed that they had taken part in any protest movement, be it a worker's strike, did not qualify to join the club. The balloting committee ensured that racial harmony in the club was maintained and so anyone whose ideas were contrary to the objectives of the club were refused membership.

Another committee that played a very important role in the club was the ways and means committee. This committee was founded in 1950 to devise ways of increasing the annual income of the club. The need for this committee became imminent when the club wanted to put up a building in 1952. Before the formation of this committee subscription was the only way through which the club got its income. Dr. Hassan Ebrahim Nathoo, a founder member of the club and a medical practitioner in Nairobi, was appointed chairman of the committee. Other members of the committee were John Muchura and Ernest Vasey. The committee organised plays and public performances in the National Theatre and charged those who came to watch the performances. The committee also arranged games and sports competitions between various football, tennis, cricket and golf clubs at Nairobi Club and the entry fee into these games boosted the treasury of the United Kenya Club. Furthermore, the committee organised fetes and raffles as a way



of raising money for the club. On other occasions, the committee requested for aid from the government and charitable organisations. For example, in 1952 the club received a donation of £ 1,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation and another £ 1,000 from the government on the request of the ways and means committee. This committee continued existing after the club became a company. However, its membership kept on changing every year.

The entertainment committee was started in 1947 to take care of the recreation facilities and services which the members required for their entertainment and refreshment. Dr. Hassan Nathoo was appointed the chairman of the committee. Other members of the committee included Arnold Curtis, D. Brown and Vitrupai Patel. Members appointed to this committee served for one year and were then replaced. The committee organised various forms of entertainment. For example, on Tuesday and Thursday evenings members held discussions on current issues affecting Kenya. Among the topics discussed were: land tenure, racial prejudice and social discrimination, promoting African art, improving African education system and participation of Africans in colonial rule. However, the most popular entertainment were the weekly speeches at the Wednesday luncheons in the club. Almost all members and their friends turned up to listen to the speakers. Most of the speakers were critical of the colonial government and so the editors of the East African Standard and Colonial Times daily papers attended the speeches and published them in the press. More will be said about these speeches in Chapter Four. Other types of entertainment

included: films, sports and games such as billiards and table tennis, and drinking beer.

The need for a house committee arose when the club set up its first building in 1952. Thus a house committee was started and put under the chairmanship of Mrs. D. Brown. Other members of the committee were: Mrs. D.E. Clarke, Mrs. J.M. Gecaga and Mrs. D. Curtis. The committee took care of the gardens and the rooms of the club. It ensured that the club house was painted and its premises clean. The members of this committee were nominated annually by the Management Committee.

In 1947, a catering committee was set up to look after the preparation and serving of meals in the club. Mrs. D. Curtis was the first chairman of the committee. Other members included Mrs. V. Patel, Mrs. Leaf and Mrs. Brown. The members of this committee served meals and washed dishes afterwards. They planned the menu for each day. However, the committee stopped existing when the Management Committee employed workers to prepare and serve meals as from 1949.

All the members of the Management Committee and sub-committees gave voluntary service. The members gave voluntary service so as to save the money that would have been paid as wages to employees doing similar work and in that way the club saved a lot of money. As Mrs Robert Ridley, an honorary member of the club put it:

"Look after the pence and the shilling will look after itself." (Interview with Mrs. Ridley, 8th January, 1989).

By way of summary, it can be said that the period 1946-63 was one of both internal instability and gradual growth in the club. While the club expanded in terms of buildings, membership fluctuated. The political tides that were sweeping the colony at the time equally contributed to the conflicts in the club, particularly concerning the relationship between European and non-European members of the club. The internal problems in the club and the changing political scene in the colony led to major amendments in the constitution of the club in 1958. The said amendments were aimed at helping the club ride over the political and social instability in the colony.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE UNITED KENYA CLUB AS A POLITICAL PLATFORM

The club gradually changed from a social club to a political platform between 1953 and 1963. In the period 1946-51, speeches, discussions and other activities in the club were selected in such a manner that none of the members of the club would become discontented and resign. Prior to 1953, discussions and speeches in the club covered topics such as African art, film censorship, African women participation in community development, early experiences of settlers in Kenya, atomic energy, the work of the British Council and local government in Kenya. It is plain that discussions on the above topics could not cause racial conflicts in the club since the topics involved scientific and cultural aspects and not political issues. In fact, in the early period of the club's formation topics touching on British sovereignty and African impoverishment were avoided.

In the early part of the club's growth, Richard Frost, the representative of the British Council in Kenya, took charge of the discussions on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Frost argued that the discussions would make members understand each other's cultural heritage and therefore appreciate each other's living styles. He pointed out that such an understanding would help members tolerate each other and the result would be racial harmony in the club. However, in the discussions the cultural aspects of

the British life received more attention than those of Africans. This was because Frost felt that once the non-Europeans understood British culture, they would not oppose colonial policies in Kenya.

One example of the speeches made in the period 1946-51, at the club was that of Bishop Neil (East African Standard, 20th April, 1950). Neil was an Anglican Bishop and he addressed members on the topic 'Christian Churches and the Race problem'. In this address, he argued that a multi-racial state was the only cure for the political problems in Kenya. He warned that East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Switzerland offered a better guidance to the meaning and possibilities of a multi-racial state. The Bishop argued that South Africa was a misleading example to a state that was intending to institute multi-racialism because the South African regime recognised Europeans as a superior race and insisted on the separate development of races. Sincere Christians, the Bishop added, should disassociate themselves from both the demands of settlers who intended to make Kenya a whiteman's country and the Africans who wanted expulsion of minority races from Kenya. He suggested that the members of the club should help the government to draft a multi-racial constitution. Bishop Neil was not being revolutionary by suggesting a multi-racial constitution, however, because Philip Mitchell, the Governor, had been advocating for multi-racialism since he took over his duties in 1944. Mitchell had tried to implement some of his multi-racial views. For example, he had proposed to introduce a Central Legislative Assembly to replace the East African Governors' Conference. The new body's

duty was to legislate over all the three East African territories on common issues. It was to comprise two Asians, two Africans and two Europeans (Frost, 1978:55). The settlers opposed Mitchell's proposed reforms and so he withdrew them.

Another example of the speeches made in the club in the period 1946-51 was that of Kakasehab, an intimate friend of Mahatma Gandhi, on 30th June, 1948. Kakasehab argued that non-violence was the best method a colonised people could use in demanding their rights from the coloniser. Thus, he asked Africans to desist from using violent methods in opposing colonial rule.

One cannot deny the fact that the above speeches had political overtones but since they were not in any way critical of the government, they did not make the club be seen as a political platform. Other speeches that were made at the club before 1953 covered topics like social work, eating habits of Europeans, the Boy Scout Movement, climbing the Himalaya mountains and theatre performances in Kenya. As long as the club gave platform to topics on culture and multi-racialism, it did not attract the attention of the public. In fact one could argue that in the early stages, the club was unconsciously serving the interests of the colonial government by explaining government policy and British culture to non-Europeans. At the same time, the club management was so cautious of the need to create understanding in the club that they could not entertain any speech that was so extreme as to be interpreted as supporting either African or settler struggle for power.

Be that as it may, the club seems to have gradually changed from a social club to a political platform between 1953 and 1963. By 1953, there was a conflict between founder members and officials of the club over the direction the club was taking. The founder members asked the officials to ensure that the club was a recreational and social club and not a political institution. On their part, the officials argued that it was difficult for the club to remain social and recreational in an environment of political upheavals.

Shirley V. Cooke was one of the founder members who was opposed to the penetration of politics into the club. He moved a motion in the Legislative Council in which he demanded that the United Kenya Club should not be given the £ 250 subvention because it was providing a platform to speakers who were abusing European settlement (Hansard, 1955:192-1402). He accused Derek Erskine, the chairman of the club in 1955, and his management committee for allowing N.S. Mangat, Chanan Singh and Ernest Vasey of discussing divisive politics in the club. He asked officials to censor speeches in the club. Tom Askwith was another founder member who was dissatisfied with the way the club had become a political platform. In his memoirs, he stated that the talks and discussions were supposed to be related to the social and economic problems of Kenya and not political agitation. He, however, somehow recognised that it was naturally difficult to keep to this demarcation line since so many of the problems were political in nature (Askwith, 1976:5).

It was not only the founder members who complained of the intrusion of politics into the club. Other members also raised the issue of banning speeches that were political in nature. Among the latter group was Philip Rogers, a representative of the British American Tobacco Company in the club. As from 1958 companies that had taken debentures from the club sent representatives to register as members of the club. The representatives advised the officials of the club on how best to spend the money the companies had lent the club. Philip Rogers requested Derek Erskine, the chairman of the club in 1960-61, to ban politics in the club. He informed the chairman that the club had acquired the reputation of a political hotbed (United Kenya Club Correspondence File 1961). The chairman responded by arguing that a total ban of political speeches in the club would defeat the objectives of the club and also make the club less popular.

The speeches made in the club between 1953 and 1963 can be divided into two groups. The first group contains speeches made from 1953 to 1958. The speeches made in this period at the club protested against British rule in Kenya. The speakers called on the colonial government to grant rights and privileges to Asians and Africans with Europeans. They called for constitutional changes in the country. A few of these speeches now follow to illustrate how the speakers opposed colonial policies.

Ernest Vasey addressed the members on the topic 'After Emergency' in 1953 (Bogonko, 1980:127). He argued that social and political reforms had to be carried out in the country after



the emergency. He thus urged the government to intervene and abolish segregation in hotels as a way of creating racial harmony. He informed his audience that Africans were fighting the colonial government because they had not been given the right to own property in both urban and rural areas. He suggested that Africans and Asians should be allowed to own houses in the city. He told the members how he had been fighting to ensure that Woodley Estate became a tenant purchase scheme. He also asked the government to enact constitutional changes so as to introduce a common roll franchise in Kenya. He pointed out that the only way Africans would co-operate with the government was through allowing them to participate in the administration and legislative council of the country. He concluded his talk by stating that for the sake of minority races, the common roll franchise should be based on educational standards, property or professional capacity.

Although Ernest Vasey was not denouncing British colonialism in total, he was criticising British colonial policies which deliberately treated Africans and Asians as inferior subjects. He asked the government to introduce a common roll franchise, something very few Europeans would have supported.

The second speech was given by Oginga Odinga, an elected member of the Legislative Council for Central Nyanza. Odinga spoke in the club on 'Apprenticeship in Multi-racialism' (East African Standard, 8th November, 1956). In his talk, he argued that the formulation of the Lyttelton and Lennox-Boyd constitutions was based on the fallacious belief that racial harmony in Kenya could be

achieved if a multi-racial constitution was implemented. He asserted that racial discrimination resulted from attitudes nurtured in the minds of both the Europeans and non-Europeans and could thus be removed when such attitudes were destroyed. He suggested that the introduction of multi-racial schools could be a positive step towards the elimination of racial prejudice, since children of all races would grow together and learn to appreciate each other right from childhood. He cautioned Europeans against calling African adults 'Boys' since the term 'Boy' dehumanised the African adults who were just as intelligent as Asians and Europeans. Finally, he called on the Europeans who had employed Africans to stop kicking them around and treating them like dogs.

Odinga was indirectly demouncing colonial rule which had dehumanised the Africans. By requesting Europeans to treat Africans with dignity he was advocating for change in the nature of colonial rule.

The third speech we would like to examine was that of Tom Mboya, an elected member for Nairobi Area and also the General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (East African Standard, 23rd November 1957). In his speech, he pointed out that peace and stability would be achieved in Kenya only after the Europeans had changed their attitudes of racial superiority. He, therefore, asked the Europeans to consider themselves as citizens of Kenya and not as a privileged community and grant equal rights to other inhabitants of the country. He wondered why Europeans talked too much about racial

harmony and yet did nothing to achieve it. He concluded by stating that as long as each race in Kenya lived in watertight compartments, violence would continue in the country.

As far as Mboya was concerned, racial discrimination was a consequence of the European belief that Whites were superior to Asians and Africans. The colonial government supported the European belief of racial superiority and so gave Europeans privileges and fair treatment. Mboya was in effect advocating for a constitution in which all the three races could have equal rights and privileges.

Ernest Vasey continued challenging British colonial policies in his subsequent speeches at the club. For example, in 1957, he argued that it was wrong on the part of Europeans to claim the right to ownership of the Kenyan Highlands on the basis that they came earlier to Kenya than the Asians (East African Standard, 24th November, 1957). He noted that if being a pioneer gave one the right of ownership of land then all the land in the colony was to be owned by Africans since they were the indigenous inhabitants of Kenya and hence 'pioneers'. He thus urged the government to stop ownership of land on the basis of colour.

Vasey was hitting at the core of British colonialism in Kenya. The British used the basis of colour to exclude Africans and Asians from owning land in Kenya highlands. In his speech, he was asking the British to overhaul the whole structure of colonialism.

Asian speakers at the club also used the club as a platform to oppose colonial rule. Among the many Asian speakers that spoke at the club were N. S. Mangat, Chanan Singh and J. M. Nazareth. The speeches of N. S. Mangat and Chanan Singh have already been examined in Chapter Three and their political overtones highlighted and therefore need not be repeated here. In 1958, J. M. Nazareth spoke at the club on the subject 'Nationalism, racialism and Africanism' (Nazareth, 1981:533). He made it clear to the colonial government that its efforts to obstruct African nationalism by formulating multi-racial constitutions was futile and naive. He argued that nationalism and racialism would continue until Kenya got its independence. He concluded his speech by pointing out that the African struggle for independence was so intense that no force could withhold it.

The speeches illustrated above, show how the club transformed itself into a platform on which British colonial administration was attacked and challenged. The speeches cited above have been taken from representatives of each race to show how the club was used by the three races as a platform for the politics of protest.

The second group consists of speeches made at the club between 1959 and 1963. Bargaining for power among Europeans and Asians, on the one hand, and Africans, on the other, was the dominating theme in these speeches. The bargaining emerged after the Lancaster House Conference of 1960 made it clear that the Africans were the legitimate leaders in Kenya. The minority races immediately

demanded to know the rights and privileges they would enjoy in independent Kenya. The demand was based on the fear of losing their property. The bargain covered three major issues. First, was the issue of private property. Europeans and Asians asked African leaders to respect private property and compensate fully in cases where the government took over the properties of an individual. The second issue concerned foreign investment. The Europeans encouraged African leaders to increase foreign investment by protecting foreign industries and ensuring that peace and political stability prevailed. This bargain was made out of fear that African leaders would nationalise all industries and European and Asian entrepreneurs would lose their capital in the process. Lastly, the minority races wanted to be assured of their stay in Kenya. They feared that after independence all Europeans and Asians would be expelled. In the speeches made at the club, they requested Africans to allow the minority races to continue staying in Kenya.

A few of these speeches are given to elucidate the above generalisations. In an attempt to bring out the bargain, the speeches are divided into two parts; the first one comprises speeches made by Europeans while the second one consists of speeches made by Africans. Asians did not have an independent stand. At times they supported Africans whilst at other times they supported Europeans. However, one speech by an Asian is included to show that the Asian community also participated in a small way in racial bargaining for power.

Michael Blundell, the Minister for Agriculture from 1954 to 1949 and in 1961 advanced European bargain when he spoke on a topic entitled "Financial health before self rule" (East African Standard, 25th April, 1959). In his speech, he contended that it would be useless to create a self-governing state in Kenya before Africans had the ability to finance the running of the country. His argument was that Africans should only be independent after being able to raise the necessary finance for the country from local resources. In his opinion, the ability of Africans to finance the public sector would attract foreign investment. He thus called on the government to step up education and training programmes so as to have a skilled manpower. According to him, self-government was a mockery. From this, it can be seen that while other speakers were pre-occupied with the material welfare of the minority races, Blundell was still discussing the issue of self-government, a subject which had already been settled by the Lancaster Conference.

Ernest Vasey was a frequent speaker at the club. His speeches were popular for he never favoured any particular race. He opposed colonial policies that oppressed Africans. If there was any liberal in Kenya in the colonial period, then it was Vasey. He addressed members on the topic "Self-government" (East African Standard, 29th October, 1959). He urged Africans to take into account the fact that the move to self-government had to recognise the role Asians and Europeans had played in the development of Kenya. He reminded African leaders that any attempt to destroy European agriculture

without recognition of the right to compensation would not only harm the Europeans, but also the Africans in Kenya and East Africa as a whole. Vasey argued that even after independence the contribution of Europeans in agriculture would be vital. He also asked African leaders to uphold the East African Common Market after independence so as to attract investors. He argued that if African leaders would be realistic in their approach to issues affecting minority races in Kenya then overseas nationalities would have confidence in them and consequently capital, skill and knowledge would flow into Kenya.

Many other European Speakers spoke at the club in the period 1959 to 1963, but the themes of their speeches were the same as those discussed above. The club provided an appropriate platform to prominent Europeans who expressed their views on how best decolonisation could be effected in Kenya. Some of these European speakers were not politicians and so did not have any other platform to give vent to their ideas.

J. M. Nazareth was one of the Asians who exploited the opportunities the club gave to personalities to address the members. On 27th September, 1960, he spoke on the "Challenges of independence" (Nazareth, 1981:534). In his address, he proposed that the constitution which was to usher Kenya into independence should be drafted in such a manner that it would stand up to the strains of an immature electorate and a largely inexperienced leadership. He urged African

leaders to maintain law and order. He also asked then to ensure that democracy was applied to every Kenyan and not to the Africans only. Furthermore, he cautioned African leaders to watch out so that the democratic government they intended to establish did not fall into despotism.

The chairman of the Land Development and Settlement Board, Mr. Lipscomb, emphasized European demands and the club. On 20th November, 1961, Lipscomb told the members that the Kenya Highlands which had hitherto only belonged to Europeans be opened to all races for settlement. He, however, emphasised that the opening of the Kenya Highlands to other races hung on the assumption that the future government of Kenya would respect security of title, private property and foreign investment. He stressed that everything else depended on that assumption. He argued that his board would settle Africans in such a manner that the economy of the country would only be maintained if the transition from the pattern of large mechanised farms to small holdings was orderly and gradual (East African Standard, 21st November 1961).

As it has been seen above, the minority races were bargaining with African leaders. A number of African leaders spoke at the club in response to the bargain made by Europeans and Asians. A few of their speeches are dealt with below.

Tom Mboya responded to the demands made by Asians and



Europeans in their speeches at the club. Tom Mboya was one of the most articulate nationalist in the struggle for independence in Kenya. Addressing members of the club on the 1st March, 1961, he challenged Europeans and Asians to participate in creating racial harmony instead of looking to leaders for answers to their anxieties. He argued that assurances about property, citizenship and investment were to be made for both minority races and Africans. On the other hand, he assured immigrant races that Kenya would be neutral on international issues and would have diplomatic relations with both the West and East power blocs. He thus asked the Europeans to discard their fears that Kenya would become a communist state after independence (East Africa Standard, 2nd March, 1961).

However, Mboya's speech did not dispel the fears of immigrant races for it was too general in its content. He did not explain how Kenya belonged to the minority races as much as it belonged to the Africans. It was Jomo Kenyatta's speech at the club on 22nd November, 1961 that calmed the fears of Europeans and Asians and made them have confidence in the African leadership. He warned Africans to remember that freedom and independence did not imply that anyone could walk into a shop or farm and possess it (East African Standard, 23rd November, 1961). He emphasised that the African government would protect the private property of every individual living in Kenya. He requested the minority races to discard the belief that the African government would be a gangster government. He assured his audience that the African government would rule the country according to the law of the

land and all citizens would be equal before the law. At the same time, he reminded minority races that the leadership of the country was a legitimate responsibility of the Africans alone. He made it clear that the Africans government would create friendship with all peoples in the world. He then called on the minority races to adopt themselves to changed conditions and learn quickly how to respect Africans. He reminded Europeans and Asians that he would not at any time sacrifice the rights of Africans for minority races.

The Europeans had a misconceived perception of Kenyatta. Some took him as a communist and organiser of the Mau Mau War (Throup, 1988:52). Consequently, they argued that Kenyatta should never be allowed to lead Kenya for he would turn the country into a communist state. Thus, his speech gave a death blow to such European fears. It changed the settler's and Asian businessmen's outlook on independent Kenyan policies. Kenyatta repeated the same speech when he addressed settlers at Nakuru on 11th August, 1963. He pleaded with the farmers to stay and continue with their economic activities after independence. He assured them that their children would have equal opportunities for employment with Africans. He stated that the African government would forgive and forget the past wrongs which the Europeans had done to Africans (East African Standard, 12th August, 1963). Kenyatta was thus responding to demands made by Ernest Vasey, Lipscomb and other European speakers about the protection of private property, foreign investment and the rights to stay in Kenya.

Joseph Murumbi also responded to the demands of the minority races when he spoke at the club on 5th September, 1962. Murumbi was then the Economic Advisor of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). He explained to the members that African were the only legitimate rulers of Kenya, and that the pressures of the immigrant races would not change that legitimacy. He argued that those Europeans who were ready to give up all privileges which had been accorded to them by the colonial government and accept to be treated like any other citizen were the only ones that would be allowed to live in Kenya (East African Standard, 6th September, 1962). Other African leaders who spoke at the club also assured the minority races that their property would be protected and that they would not be discriminated against in all spheres of life.

The foregoing discussion has shown how the United Kenya Club acted as a political platform in the period 1953-63. The club hosted the politics of protest against British colonialism and racial bargaining in the period prior to independence. The club was an ideal platform because it was a neutral ground and so leaders with different political convictions spoke without fear of being victimised. African leaders held the club in high esteem because of the platform it gave to the politics of decolonisation.

C H A P T E R F I V E

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE CLUB

The main objective of the club was to improve the social relations among the races in Kenya. It aimed at abolishing colour bar. The management committee encouraged members to take initiative on individual basis to abolish racial and social discrimination. The officials of the club encouraged European members to take African members to social and recreational centres which were exclusively for whites. Members of the club were motivated to start multi-racial clubs in their home districts and places of residence. The club was credited for the emergence of multi-racial clubs in Mombasa, Machakos, Kakamega and Eldoret. The famous Hospital Hill Primary School in Westlands, Nairobi, was founded with the initiative of United Kenya Club.

In 1947, a multi-racial club was founded in Mombasa by Dan Bosbels. This club was called United Kenya Club, Mombasa. Dan Bosbels was an Anglican Bishop and a member of the United Kenya Club in Nairobi. Bosbels had been transferred from the parish of Nairobi to Mombasa. While in Nairobi, he had realised that a multi-racial club was necessary in solving psychological and social problems affecting the three races in Kenya. He believed that the multi-racial club he had founded in Mombasa would help Europeans understand Africans and Asians. He borrowed the constitution of the United Kenya Club of Nairobi and used it to establish the club in Mombasa. After establishing the club, he requested the officials of the United Kenya Club, Nairobi, to take over the management of the club in Mombasa but they refused and so the Mombasa club became an independent club. The club existed until 1963 when it was dissolved.

Another multi-racial club was started in 1948 at Machakos by Tom Mbotela. It was called Masaku Social Club. Tom Mbotela was a member of the United Kenya Club in Nairobi. He started Masaku Social Club after being transferred by the government to go and work in Machakos. Masaku Social Club was set up on the same principles as the United Kenya Club. Tom Mbotela was an Assistant Locational Superintendent of Nairobi Municipal Council, before being transferred to Machakos for some time. This club aimed at associating people of all races in Machakos town. The club did not live for long because there were very few educated Africans in Machakos town and most of the Europeans who came to Machakos were settlers who did not want to associate with Africans and Asians.

The initiative to establish multi-racial clubs by members of the United Kenya club continued into the 1950's. In 1952, Chanan Singh, an advocate, started a multi-racial club in Eldoret town. However, this club did not take off as a result of lack of interest on the part of Europeans and the scarcity of educated Africans. Most of the Europeans who stayed in Eldoret had extreme convictions about the superiority of the European race. Another multi-racial club was started in Kakamega by Basheer-Ud-Deen. This club was started in 1954 but was dissolved after a short time since the attendance was low.

These multi-racial clubs were products of the

influence of the United Kenya Club. The officials refused to manage the new clubs because of two reasons. One, the United Kenya Club lacked the finance to administer the new multi-racial clubs. Two, the officials feared that if the club had branches all over the country, it might be seen by the government as a pressure group and thus get proscribed. But every member who began a multi-racial club outside Nairobi usually requested the officers of the United Kenya Club to run it.

The residents of other urban centres such as Kisumu, Nanyuki, Kitale and Nakuru wrote to the Chairman of the United Kenya Club and requested that such a club be founded in their centres. The Chairman usually replied that the success of a multi-racial club depended on the willingness of members of each race. Thus, if the members agreed to have such a club they would voluntarily establish one instead of asking the management of the United Kenya Club to start such a club for them.

The formation of these multi-racial clubs outside Nairobi showed that a number of individuals all over the country were tired of social discrimination and wanted to associate with all peoples freely and harmoniously. The failure of some of the multi-racial clubs proved that in the period 1946 to 1963 multi-racialism was mainly at the theoretical level.

The influence of the United Kenya Club did not

just stop at the formation of multi-racial clubs. The club influenced the formation of the first and only multi-racial school in the colonial period. It should be noted again that it was not the direct scheming of the officials of the club which led to the formation of the first multi-racial school. Indeed, it was the efforts, enthusiasm, will-power and ambition of some of the members of the Club that resulted in the establishment of the multi-racial school which they called Hospital Hill Primary School.

Two reasons are given to explain why the school was called Hospital Hill Primary School. John Karmali, the founder of the school states that it was Sir Philip Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya (1944-52), who gave the school the name. The Governor said that the school should not have a provocative name like the "Multi-racial Primary School", for such a name would make the people who hate anything to do with multi-racialism oppose the establishment of the school (Karmali, 1978:3). On the other hand, Gloria Hagberg, a teacher at the school from 1957 to 1987, explained that the school got its name because it was situated on Hospital Hill Road (now State House Road). The school moved to its site in Parklands in 1962.

Hospital Hill Primary School was began by six Asians who were members of the United Kenya Club in August 1950. The six members included Hassanali Gwaderi, Kassam Kanji, John Karmali, Dr. Ebrahim Hassan Nathoo, Ibrahim

Nathoo and Remu Virjee. John Karmali was the one that came up with the idea of beginning a multi-racial school in 1949 to accommodate his children. John Karmali had married an English wife and so his children were described as being coloured. The children were thus refused entry into the mono-racial schools in Nairobi. To solve this problem, Karmali put forward the idea of setting up an infant non-racial school (Frost, 1978:189).

The school began with an enrolment of ten pupils. These were the children of the five Asians that had began the school. Of the ten pupils, six were Asians and four "coloureds". The school began in Karmali's house before it moved to its site on Hospital Hill Road. While in 1953 there were 11 pupils in the school one of them an African and the rest Asians, in 1955 there were 9 African pupils, 18 Asian pupils and 8 European pupils in the school. In 1957, the school's enrolment had increased to 55, 18 of whom were Europeans, 25 Asians and 12 Africans.

The African pupils were very few because the school fees were so high that most of the African parents in Nairobi could not afford them. The fees were high so as to meet the expenses of the school. European pupils were few as compared to Asian pupils because there were many well-equipped schools for Europeans in the city. Asians preferred to send their



in the city. In fact, the school management deliberately turned down admission of Asian pupils so as to reserve chances for African and European pupils. In 1953, the school received £ 500 from the Ministry of Education. However, European members in the Legislative Council had refused to vote for the allocation of this money to the school. It was the Asian and African members that voted. The Europeans were completely opposed to any move that might make Africans have equal opportunities with Europeans. Nevertheless, in 1955 the school received a grant of £ 4,228 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. The school used these funds to set up its buildings at its site on Hospital Hill. Hospital Hill School was located on Arboretum Drive. Thusnelda Welle (later Mrs. Kroll), a German, was the first teacher of the school. Mrs. Kroll was also a member of the United Kenya Club.

The founders of Hospital Hill School established a school where their young children could learn, work and play with those of the other races, thus growing up, as they put it, 'colour-blind' (Karmali, 1978:2).

The members of the United Kenya Club did not stop at establishing multi-racial clubs and a school. It seemed every member of the club had a part to play in creating racial harmony. Two members of the club, Tom Kay (secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, YNCA) and Richard Frost (representative of the British Council in East Africa), made deliberate efforts to stop social discrimination in churches and theatres

in the city of Nairobi. To this end, they sent Africans to churches that were predominantly for Europeans. Musa Amalemba recalls an incident when Frost sent him and Bethwell Gecaga to All Saints Cathedral. He states that all worshippers moved away from the bench and column where they sat (personal communication: Amalemba 16th February, 1989). But with time, the Europeans began tolerating educated Africans at the church services.

The officials of the club also booked seats for African members in cinema halls and theatres. They asked the management to charge Africans lower rates and treat them like other Europeans that came to the cinemas. In this way, Europeans began to accept Africans at social and recreational centres that had previously been exclusively for Europeans.

By 1963 the social impact of the club had been felt all over the country. In Nairobi, the club succeeded in changing the attitude of Europeans towards Africans. European Pastors and Priests began appreciating Africans and accepted them in the church. European church members accommodated Africans in their midst on Sundays. In the 1950s Africans were allowed into theatres and cinemas as long as they could pay. Before the club was established Africans were allowed into recreational centres and the church only if they were accompanied by a European. Among the churches that allowed Africans into their services included St. Andrews and All Saints Cathedral. The European members of

the club led by Shirley V. Cooke pressed the entrepreneurs of hotels to admit Africans into their hotels and by 1954 hotels had been opened to members of all races. Asian and European members of the club had teamed up and founded the first multi-racial school in Nairobi. This was the Hospital Hill School. Gradually Europeans in Nairobi began to view Africans as men who deserved respect and honour.

The multi-racial clubs founded in other urban centres did not have far reaching impact. Most of them with an exception of the United Kenya Club Mombasa, closed down after two years. The United Kenya Club Mombasa closed down after Independence. These Multi-racial clubs failed to convince settlers to discard their attitudes of racial superiority. But for the short time they existed they helped to create understanding among members of the three races in their vicinity.

### CONCLUSIONS

The history of the United Kenya Club shows that Social Institutions are direct products of the prevailing political environment in a society. Sometimes social institutions are formed to popularize the ideology of a ruling regime. For example, Muthaiga Social Club, Nairobi Social Club, Mombasa Social Club and Rift Valley Social Club were a response to the British colonial policy of racial and social discrimination. The clubs above were exclusively for whites. Muthaiga Club and Rift Valley Social Club were for settlers, Mombasa Club was for European businessmen and Nairobi Club was for European Civil Servants and soldiers.

On the other hand, other social institutions such as the United Kenya Club are founded to challenge the existing social order. The United Kenya Club broke the Monotony of mono-racialism by associating people of all races in social and recreational activities.

Political and moral factors played a key role in the formation of the club. the club's objective of associating people of all races in social and recreational matters had political implications for it opposed the colonial governments principle of European superiority and African inferiority. Settlers refused any move which would make Africans and Asians to begin to ask for equal treatment with Europeans. The settlers observed that a multi-racial club such as the United Kenya Club would

create feelings and thoughts of equality with Europeans in the minds of Africans and Asians. They strongly opposed the club's formation.

The dominance of liberal thinking Europeans among the founder members indicate that the club was to be a platform to articulate the ideas of liberals. Among the founder members, the outstanding liberals included: Shirley V. Cooke, Ernest Vasey and Kirkaldy-Willis. All these personalities were known for their consistent efforts in the Legislative Council and other political forums to represent African interests. The liberals advocated for a society in which class and not race was the criterion for social stratification (Bogonko, 1980:127). They warned that unless educated Africans and other African elites are made to participate in the colonial government, they would be frustrated and would use their knowledge to mobilise the discontented African masses in a violent struggle against the government. The liberals intended to use the club as a centre to socialise African elites and later co-opt them into the European way of thinking. Elite is being used to refer to Africans whose positions which they had acquired as a result of education, wealth or nomination to a government, had enabled them to transcend the environments of ordinary men and women (Kipkorir 1969:7). The Liberals asked the government to allow Africans and Asians to own property in urban areas and participate in electing their representatives into the Legislative Council in a regulated common roll franchise (Bogonko, 1980:158).

The management succeeded in recruiting most of the educated Africans in the city into the club. By 1951, there were about fifty educated Africans in the club. The outbreak of Mau Mau and the consequent declaration of a State of Emergency on 20th October, 1952 frustrated the liberals aim of co-opting educated Africans into the club and into their camp. The State of Emergency made it practically impossible for Africans to associate with Whites. The membership in the club dropped from fifty in 1951 to about two in 1955. But the Africans who joined the club, such as Musa Amalemba, John Muchura, and Muchohi Gikonyo pursued liberal politics. They only demanded for reforms but not self-government for Africans. The majority of whites in the club were liberals and so greatly influenced the thinking of Africans in the informal and formal discussions at the club. But it must be noted that the liberals did not succeed in using the club as a recruiting centre. Even before the outbreak of Mau Mau African nationalists such as Eliud Mathu, James Samuel Gichuru and Francis Khamisi had already resigned from the club after they discovered that the club was not committed to abolishing racial and social discrimination in the colony. Indian politicians, particularly J.M. Nazereth viewed the club as a limited reform that aimed at diverting the Africans and Asians from their struggle of denouncing racial discrimination and demanding equality with Europeans.

Whereas political factors played a major role in the formation of the United Kenya Club, moral factors also influenced the formation of this club. A third of the founder members had either a christian background or were christian missionaries. Kirkaldy-Willis, the man that came up with the idea of beginning the United Kenya Club, was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society of England. Other founder members like Charles Mortimer and Musa Amalemba had strong christian backgrounds. These christians were convinced that racial discrimination was morally wrong and had to be abolished. They believed that through the foundation of a multi-racial club racial discrimination would gradually disintegrate. Other members agreed to found the club just for the recreational purposes. Political, moral, and recreational objectives all played a role in the formation of the club.

The United Kenya Club had two characteristics. It was recreational and political. The club offered accommodation dining, games and sports facilities to its members. The management organised study groups, discussions, films, dances, theatre and trips for the members. While the club was a recreational organisation it was also political, although its constitution clearly stated that the club was non-political.

In the formative period, the club strove to abolish

racial discrimination, particularly in the city of Nairobi, by providing a common meeting ground to people of all races. Racialism was such a hot issue that anyone who aimed at abolishing it got involved in politics. The club created racial understanding and tolerance among its members, but it did little to eliminate racialism outside its vicinity. But its continued growth in the colonial period was a reminder to the colonialists that colour bar could and should be abolished. Immediately after its formation some of the members wanted to use the club as a place of co-opting Africans into the colonial system by indoctrinating their minds with colonial ideologies and promising them jobs and scholarships but did not succeed. For example, Bethwell M. Gecaga and John Mwangi, members of the club in 1946, were sponsored by Mathelson and Bovil Company to go to Makerere for a diploma certificate course. The directors of this company were members of the club (Interview with Arnold Curtis, 25th November, 1988). By 1947, nearly all executive officers of Kenya African Union had become members of the club. But they withdrew from the club one by one when they realised that they were being socialised in such a manner as to support colonialism.

The club participated in politics of decolonisation in the period 1953 - 58. The speeches that were made at the club in this period called on the colonial government to draft a constitution which would provide for equality of non-Europeans with Europeans in all aspects



of public and private life. The speakers asked the government to allow Africans and Asians to own property in urban areas. They also requested the government to increase African representation in the Legislative Council. The speakers demanded complete abolition of racial prejudice and discrimination. The speeches were made at the Wednesday weekly luncheons.

In the pre-independence years of 1960-63 the club was a platform for politics of racial bargaining for power. The bargaining was between Europeans and Asians, on the one hand and Africans on the other. This bargain was manifested when the February 1960 Lancaster Conference passed a resolution which recognised the immediate need for Kenya to move to self-government under African majority rule. After the conference Europeans demanded that before Kenya became independent, African leaders should assure Immigrant races that private property and human life would be protected. The Europeans asked to be given Kenyan citizenship. The immigrant races wanted African leaders to realise the importance of foreign investment in independent Kenya and to be safeguarded. Europeans asked for full compensation for every property the African government was to expropriate.

The African leaders positively responded to the European bargain by including the above European demands in the Kenyan constitution. Section 70 (a) and (c) of the constitution stated that

life, liberty and security of the person and his property would be protected. Part (c) made it clear that no one's property would be taken without full compensation (Kenya Constitution 1983:41). The granting of citizenship to immigrant races was enshrined in Section 87 (1) of the Constitution. According to this section every person that was born in Kenya or was a citizen of United Kingdom on 11th December 1963 or any person that was protected by the British government was legible to become a citizen of Kenya on 12th December 1963.

In the period 1960-63 African bargain had issues ranging from the release of Jomo Kenyatta and other political detainees to granting of independence by 1962, a democratic constitution for Kenya, Africanising the civil service, distributing underdeveloped land in the white highlands to landless Africans and Kenya pursuing a foreign policy of non-alignment (Bogonko 1980:245-72). The colonial government adequately responded to the African bargain. Kenyatta was released on 15th August 1961, self-government was granted on 1st June 1963, the British government gave a loan to the African government to purchase land and redistribute it to the landless Africans. Africanization of the civil service began before independence but was speeded up after 1963.

The United Kenya Club was not the only platform for the politics of racial bargaining. Other platforms included: the legislative council, the Lancaster Conference 1960, 1962 and 1963, political rallies in stadiums and social halls and the mass media.

The club adequately played its role as both a recreational and political institution. Some African leaders such as Ronald Ngala and Tom Mboya held the club in esteem for its sincere attempt to eliminate social discrimination. The club's participation in politics caused severe internal conflicts. The club grew inspite of the conflicts due to the wise leadership of the management committee.

The club achieved some of its objectives. Throughout the period under study the club managed to make its membership composition multi-racial despite the strains created by Mau Mau. Social harmony was created in the club through equal distribution of offices, democratic elections at the annual general elections and frequent intermixing of members in various activities.

The club also influenced the formation of multi-racial clubs in Mombasa, Eldoret, Kakamega and Machakos. However, as already pointed out, it was individual members of the United Kenya Club and not the management committee that took the initiative of founding these clubs. These clubs had a reciprocal relationship with the United Kenya Club. The United Kenya Club helped these clubs in drafting their constitutions.

The United Kenya Club also influenced the formation of Hospital Hill Primary School, the first multi-racial school in Kenya. It was the members of the club who came up with the idea of establishing the school. The management committee greatly encouraged the members to continue with the project, though the club never donated any money to start the school.

One could conclude that the biggest achievement of the United Kenya Club was that it spread the spirit of multi-racialism not only in Nairobi but in other urban centres. The club was a control experiment in multi-racialism and therefore the success of the club showed that it was possible for multi-racialism to be effected in Kenya. The club played a role in the process of decolonisation, but the role was somewhat limited because it was registered as a social club. This registration hindered it from becoming a pressure group although it had so many opportunities to become one.

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APPENDIX 1RULES OF THE UNITED KENYA CLUB 1946

1. The name of the Club shall be "The United Kenya Club" hereinafter called the Club.
2. The objects of the Club shall be the association of persons of all races inhabiting Kenya interested in providing a common meeting ground for social, cultural, and recreational activities.
3. The Club shall be non-political.
4. Any person of any race inhabiting the Colony of Kenya, not being below the age of 18 years, shall be eligible for membership.
5. All members shall have free access to the rooms and other facilities provided by the Club, subject to the provision of rule 18.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

6. A person shall only become a member after being admitted as such by the Ballotting Committee in the manner hereinafter provided.
7. Every candidate for membership shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for the fitness of the candidates from their personal knowledge.
8. The ballot shall be carried out by the Ballotting Committee. Not fewer than six votes shall constitute a ballot and two or more black balls in six exclude provided that no candidate shall be elected unless four votes are cast in his favour.
9. Every applicant for membership shall submit an application on the prescribed form duly proposed and seconded, and shall have

access to the rooms and other facilities provided by the Club pending election.

10. Members may be of various classes, as hereinafter provided, namely:-
  - (a) Full members
  - (b) Honorary Members.
11. Full Members. A full member is a member who is duly elected as such by the Ballotting Committee, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Club, to vote at General Meetings, and be eligible on any Committee of the Club.
12. No one but a full member shall be qualified to be a member of a Committee or take part in or vote at a General Meeting.
13. Foundation Members. A full member elected at the first General Meeting held in the Club premises on the 29.10.46, a record of whose name appears in the Minute Book, and who subsequently gave notice of his desire to become a member of the Club, shall be known as a Foundation Member.
14. The Foundation Members shall have the right to elect one third of the Management Committee for the three years from the 31.1.47.
15. A Town Member, is a full member who resides or has his regular daily occupation or business within a radius of 10 miles of the Club.
16. A Country Member, is a full member who neither resides nor has his regular daily occupation or business within a radius of ten miles of the Club.
17. Honorary Member. The Committee may elect as Honorary members such persons as it may think fit from time to time for such period as it may determine.
18. An Honorary Member shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Club subject to the limitations set down in Rule 11.



SUBSCRIPTIONS.

19. A member, on election, shall pay Sh.5/- entrance fee.
20. Every member, except an Honorary member, shall pay such annual or quarterly subscriptions as may be decided at a General Meeting.
21. The annual subscription shall be due for payment within one month of the expiry of the previous financial year, and the quarterly subscription on the first day of every quarter.
22. If any member fails to pay his subscription or any dues for a period of 3 months, his name shall be posted on the Club Notice Board for a period of one month, after which he shall cease to be a member of the Club. Once a member has ceased to be a member his re-application for membership shall be treated as a fresh application, but the Committee may waive the right of claiming from him a further entrance fee.
23. No member who is in arrears as aforesaid shall be eligible to vote at a General Meeting or to be elected to any office or Committee or Sub Committee.
24. Any office-bearer or member of a Committee who is in default in the manner aforesaid shall ipso facto cease to be an office-bearer or member of a Committee and the Committee shall have the right to elect another member in his place.

COMMITTEES.

25. Ballotting Committee. The Ballotting Committee shall consist of all the members of the Management Committee and six full members who shall be elected by the Management Committee. the Ballotting Committee shall meet at least once every month. A quorum of the Ballotting committee shall be six.

26. Management Committee. The entire management of the Club, including the maintenance of the Club rooms, shall be vested in a Committee consisting of not more than nine full members in addition to the President who shall be an ex-officio member, subject to the provisions of Rule 11. One third of the members shall be nominated by the Foundation members and the remaining two thirds shall be elected at a General Meeting by the full members. The nomination by the Foundation members shall precede the election of the other two thirds of the Management Committee and the names of the nominated members shall be announced before the ordinary members proceed to elect the other two thirds of the Committee.
27. The committee shall consist of the following:- President (ex-officio), Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and six full members and its term of office shall be the financial year.
28. The membership of the Management Committee shall be distributed as equally as possible among the three main races of Kenya.
29. The Management Committee shall have power to make, amend, or rescind such by-laws as it may deem necessary for the efficient management of the club.
30. The Management Committee shall meet at least once a month.
31. Four members of the Management committee shall form a quorum.
32. If no quorum is forthcoming within 15 minutes of the appointed time the meeting shall be adjourned.
33. All meetings shall be presided by the Chairman and in the absence of the Chairman, by another member duly elected by the Committee.
34. If any member is absent from three consecutive meetings of the Committee, it may, if satisfied that the member has shown insufficient grounds for his failure to attend, order that he cease to be a member of the Committee. A vacancy so caused shall be filled from among the ordinary members by the Management Committee.

35. At its meetings the Management Committee shall, in addition to any other business, transact the following:-
  - (a) Read and confirm the minutes of the previous meeting of the Committee.
  - (b) Pass the accounts of the previous month.
36. The Committee may appoint any one of its members except the Chairman or the Treasurer, to act as Secretary for the convening of meetings and recording of minutes.
37. The Secretary shall notify all members at least three days before a meeting is held.
38. On a request being made in writing to the Secretary by at least three members of the Management Committee, the Secretary shall convene a meeting of the Committee in order to transact the business which the three members mentioned above deem to be important and in the interests of the Club.
39. All matters in cases of discension shall be settled by vote. Each member of the Committee shall have one vote and the highest number of votes shall decide the issue. The Chairman shall have a deliberative and a casting vote.

#### OFFICERS

40. The President of the Club shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting for such period as may be decided.
41. The Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the full members at a General Meeting, provided that when a vacancy occurs it may be filled by the Management Committee pending the next General Meeting.
42. The Secretary shall have power, with the previous consent of the Management Committee, to appoint, pay, or dismiss any servant of the Club.

FINANCE.

43. At the end of the financial year, which shall be 31st January, an audited income and expenditure account and a balance sheet shall be placed before the Annual General Meeting.
44. The Management Committee shall appoint auditors at its first meeting following the Annual General Meeting.
45. No expenditure of the funds of the Club shall be incurred without prior consent of the Management Committee. Such consent shall be recorded in the Minute Book of the committee. Provided that the Committee may in exceptional cases ratify the expenditure incurred by any of its members or any of the Sub Committees.
46. The Management Committee may, from time to time, appoint such Sub Committees or ad hoc Committees as it may deem necessary or expedient for the purposes of furthering the aims and objects of the Club, and may depute to them such power and duties as it may deem fit. Such committees shall periodically report their proceedings and shall conduct their business in accordance with the directions of the Management Committee and shall also account to the Management Committee for any expenditure of funds granted to them.
47. All items of expenditure of Sh.10/- and over shall be supported by properly receipted vouchers. Expenditure of sums below Sh.10/- where there is difficulty in obtaining properly receipted vouchers shall be certified by the Chairman and Secretary.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

48. The Annual General Meeting shall be held not later than the last day of February for the purpose of receiving and passing the accounts of the preceding year, electing officers and the Management Committee, and for the transaction of any other business. Notice of the meeting shall be posted on the Club Notice Board not less than three weeks before the date fixed for the meeting. Any members wishing to bring forward at this meeting any subject for discussion, other than that on the agenda, shall give notice of it in writing to the Secretary at least seven days before the date

of the meeting.

49. A Special General Meeting may be called at any time by the Committee and shall be called on the written request of not less than ten members. Notice of such meetings shall be posted on the Club Notice Board not less than seven days before the meeting.
50. At any Annual or Special Meeting no subject other than those prescribed on the Notice Board shall be discussed, except such matters as shall be decided as a matter of urgency by the Chairman.
51. At any General Meeting one fifth of the full members shall constitute a quorum.
52. No rule of the Club shall be altered except at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called under Rule 50. No proposed new rule, or the amending, altering or rescinding of an existing one, shall be valid unless passed by two thirds of the members present and eligible to vote.

#### RULES OF MANAGEMENT

53. In the case of any infringement of the rules or by-laws of the Club, or if the conduct of any member in or out of the club shall, in the opinion of the committee, be injurious to the reputation of the Club or unworthy or a member, the Committee may deal with the matter as it may deem fit. If its action takes the form of expulsion the member so expelled shall have the right to appeal to a General Meeting. A two thirds majority of the members present and voting at such a General Meeting or Special General Meeting shall be required to confirm the action of the Committee.
54. Any member willfully breaking or damaging any property of the club shall pay the cost of the necessary repairs or replacement in addition to any fine that the Committee may impose.
55. No member shall give any money or gratuity to a Club servant except through the Secretary.

56. No Club servant shall be reprimanded or punished by any member. Any complaints against the servants shall be made to the Secretary.
57. Any suggestions or complaints shall be made to the Secretary and may be entered in the book kept specially for that purpose.
58. Books, periodicals, or other property of the Club shall not be removed from the premises without the authority of the Secretary.

#### TRUSTEES.

59. There shall be two Trustees who shall be elected yearly at the Annual General Meeting. A retiring Trustee may be eligible for re-election.
60. All moveable and immoveable property of the club together with the Reserve Fund and such other funds as may be agreed upon by the Management Committee from time to time shall be vested in the Trustees.
61. the administration of the properties of the Club, in accordance with the Rules and Regulations, shall be the responsibility of the Trustees.
62. One of the duties of the Trustees is to sue or be sued on behalf of the Club under instructions from the Management Committee.
63. The Trustees shall have no power either to sell or mortgage any of the property of the Club without the authorization of the Management Committee.
64. The Management Committee may replace any Trustee by convening a special General Meeting and adopting thereat a resolution to that effect and approved by two thirds of the members present and voting at the meeting.

APPENDIX 2

No. 13/58

**Certificate of Incorporation**

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I hereby Certify that THE UNITED KENYA CLUB  
is this day Incorporated under the Companies Ordinance  
(Chapter 288).

GIVEN under my hand at Nairobi this Twenty-third day  
of July, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Fifty-eight.

R.H. MUNRO

Acting Registrar of Companies.

(Seal of Companies Registry,  
Colony and Protectorate of Kenya).

Memorandum

AND

Articles of Association

OF

THE UNITED KENYA CLUB

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Incorporated the 23rd day of July, 1958

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A.H. MALIK & CO.,  
Advocates,  
Nairobi.



## Memorandum of Association

OF

## THE UNITED KENYA CLUB

1. The name of the company is "THE UNITED KENYA Name CLUB".
2. The registered office of the Company will be situate in Kenya. Registered Office
3. The objects for which the Company is established are:- Objects
  - (a) To acquire and take over all or any part of the assets and liabilities of the present unincorporated body known as "The United Kenya club".
  - (b) To establish, maintain and conduct a club for the accommodation of the members of the company and their friends, and generally to afford to them all the usual privileges, advantages, conveniences and accommodation of a club, and to promote the association of the inhabitants of Kenya in games and athletic sports and pastimes and recreational activities and to encourage social and cultural intercourse between members of the Company. The club shall be non-political.
  - (c) To acquire by purchase, lease or otherwise grounds at Nairobi or elsewhere in Kenya, and to lay out, prepare and maintain the same for tennis or other athletic sports or pastimes, and to build or otherwise provide club-houses, dormitories, pavilions, dwelling-houses and bungalows, workshops, stables, sheds, motor-houses and other conveniences in connection there-with, and to furnish, alter, enlarge, repair, uphold and maintain the same, and to permit the same to be used by members and employees of the Company and others either gratuitously or for payment.

- (d) To acquire by purchase, lease or otherwise any other lands, buildings, tenements or property situate contiguous or near to the club premises and grounds, club-house and premises of the company, and such as may be deemed by the Company likely to advance or benefit, either directly or indirectly, the interests of the Company.
- (e) To manage, improve, farm, cultivate and maintain all or any part of the lands, buildings, tenements and property of the Company, and to demise, under-let, exchange, sell or otherwise deal with and dispose of the same either together or in portions, for such considerations as the Company may think fit, and, in particular, for shares, debentures or securities of any company purchasing the same.
- (f) The purchase, hire, make or provide and maintain and to sell or otherwise dispose of all kinds of horses and livestock, motor cars, furniture, plate, linen, glass, books, papers, periodicals, stationery, billiard tables, cards, games, tools, implements, machines, utensils and other things required or which may be conveniently used in connection with the courts and grounds, club-house and other premises of the Company by persons frequenting the same, whether members of the Company or not.
- (g) To buy, prepare, make, supply, sell and deal in all kinds of tennis racquets and balls, and all apparatus used in connection with games and athletic sports and pastimes; and all kinds of liquors, provisions and refreshments required or used by the members of the Company or other persons frequenting the courts, grounds, club-house or premises of the Company.
- (h) To hire and employ all classes of persons considered necessary for the purposes of the Company and to pay to them and to other persons in return for services rendered to the Company, salaries, wages, gratuities and pensions.
- (i) To promote and hold, either alone, or jointly with any other association, club or persons, meetings, competitions and matches for the playing of tennis or any other athletic sports or pastimes, and to offer, give or contribute towards prizes, medals and awards therefor, and to promote, give or support dinners, balls, concerts and other entertainments.

- (j) To establish, promote or assist in establishing or promoting, and to subscribe to, or become a member of, any other association or club whose objects are similar or in part similar to the objects of the Company, or the establishment or promotion of which may be beneficial to the Company: provided that no subscription shall be paid to any such other association or club out of the funds of the Company, except bona fide in furtherance of the objects of the company.
- (k) To support and subscribe to any charitable or public body, and any institution, society or club which may be for the benefit of the company or its employees, or may be connected with the objects of the Company; to give pensions, gratuities, Christmas boxes or charitable aid to any person who may have served the Company, or to the wife, widow, children or other relatives of such persons; to make payments towards insurance; and to form and contribute to provident and benefit funds for the benefit of any persons employed by the Company.
- (l) To invest and deal with the moneys of the company not immediately required, upon such securities and in such manner as may from time to time be determined.
- (m) To borrow or raise and give security for money by the issue of, or upon, bonds, debentures, debenture stock, bills of exchange, promissory notes or other obligations or securities of the company, or by mortgage or charge upon all or any part of the property of the Company.
- (n) To act as trustee for the members of the company and, as such trustee, to receive and hold money in trust for them and therewith to purchase, hold in trust for and supply to the members of the Company intoxicating liquors, tobacco and other things.
- (o) To do all such other lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any of them.

4. The income and property of the company, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the company as a set forth in this Memorandum of Association; and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, gift, bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit, to the members of the Company. PROVIDED that nothing herein shall prevent the payment in good faith of remuneration to any officer or servant of the Company, or to any member of the Company, in return for any services actually rendered to the Company, nor prevent the payment of interest at a reasonable rate on money lent, or the payment of a reasonable and proper rent for premises demised or let, by any member of the Company but so that no member if the Company shall be appointed to any salaried office of the Company or any office of the Company paid by fees; and that no remuneration or other benefit in money or money's worth shall be given by the Company to any member of the Company except repayment of out of pocket expenses and interest as aforesaid on money lent, or of the payment of a reasonable and proper rent for premises demised or let to the Company.
5. No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made to or in the regulations contained in the Memorandum or Articles of Association for the time being in force unless the same shall have been previously submitted to and approved by the Governor-in-council.
6. The fourth and fifth paragraphs of this Memorandum contain conditions on which a licence is granted by the Governor-in-council to the company in pursuance of Section 19 of the companies Ordinance (Chapter 288).
7. The liability of the members is limited. Liabilit
8. Every member of the company undertakes to contribute Contrib to the assets of the Company in the event of its being wound up while he is a member, or within one year afterwards, for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Company contracted before he ceases to be a member, and the costs, charges and expenses of winding up, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories among themselves, such amount as may be required, not exceeding £5.

WE, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into a Company in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association.

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Names, Addresses and Descriptions of Subscribers

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J.M. MUCHURA, Box 12058, Nairobi, M.L.C.

S.H. SHAMSI, Box 2341, Nairobi, Civil Servant.

DEREK ERSKINE, Box 132, Nairobi, Merchant.

H.E. NATHOO, Box 593, Nairobi, Dental Surgeon.

VITHALBHAI R. PATEL, Box 549, Nairobi, Medical Practitioner.

D. NDERITU NDEGWA, Box 1101, Nairobi, Statistician.

ABDUL GHAFUR SHEIKH, Box 1670, Nairobi, Executive.

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DATED the 25th day of June, 1958.

WITNESS to the above signatures:-

M.Z. AHMAD MALIK,  
Advocate.

## Articles of Association

Of

## THE UNITED KENYA CLUB

- 
1. The Company, for the purposes of registration, is declared to consist of unlimited members. Number of Members
  
  2. These Articles shall be construed with reference to the provisions of the companies Ordinance, chapter 288, and the terms used in these Articles shall be taken as having the same respective meanings as they have when used in this Ordinance. Interpreta
  
  3. The company is established for the purposes expressed in the Memorandum of Association. objects
  
  4. Every person inhabiting Kenya, not being below the age of eighteen years, shall be qualified to be elected a member of the company. Members
  
  5. The first memembers of the Company shall be: First Members
    - (a) The signatories to the Memorandum of Association and these Articles; and
    - (b) Every person who has paid an entrance fee to, and was at the date of the incorporation of the Company a member of, the unincorporated club known as "The United Kenya club", referred to in paragraph 3 (a) of the Memorandum of Association, and who shall, on or before the 31st day of December, 1958, or such extended period as the directors may determine, sign and deliver to the Honorary Secretary the following form of membership:

"The Hon. Secretary,  
The United Kenya club,  
NAIROBI.

"I was a member of the unincorporated United Kenya club on the date of its incorporation, and have paid an entrance fee. I am now desirous of becoming a member of the incorporated United Kenya club and hereby agree to become a member of the said incorporated club, and to be bound by the Memorandum and Articles of Association and the by-laws of the Company.

FULL NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

RANK, PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION .....

AGE .....

OTHER CLUBS (if any) .....

Date ..... Signature ....."

and they will be enrolled as full members of the Company.

Application  
for  
Membership

- 6. Every candidate for membership of the Company (other than as aforesaid) shall be proposed by one and seconded by another member of the Company, to both of whom the candidate shall be personally known. Every such application for membership shall be made in writing, signed by the candidate and by his or her proposer and seconder, and shall be in the following form:

"The Hon. Secretary,  
the United Kenya Club,  
NAIROBI.

I desire to become a member of the United Kenya club and I hereby agree, if elected, to become a member of the said Club and to be bound by the Memorandum and Articles of Association and by-laws of the Club.

(Particulars to be stated fully and correctly)

FULL NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

RANK, PROFESSION OR OCCUPATION .....

AGE .....

OTHER CLUBS (if any) .....

Signature ....."

The above-named candidate is personally known to us, and we believe him/her to be a suitable person to be elected a member of the said United Kenya club.

Signatures of Proposer and Secunder:

.....

.....

Date .....



Types of  
Membership

7. The directors of the Company shall have power to elect as members of the Company, upon such terms and subject to such regulations as the directors may from time to time deem advisable, persons in the following categories:

(1) (a) Full Members:

Full members are duly elected as such, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of the club, to vote at General Meetings and shall be eligible to serve on any Committee of the Club.

The wife or husband of a full member may be deemed to be a full member of the Club on such terms and conditions as the directors may impose.

No one but a full member shall be qualified to be a member of a committee or take part in or vote at a General Meeting.

(b) Foundation Members:

A full member elected at the first General held in the club on the 29th October, 1946, a record of whose name appears in the Minute Book, and who subsequently gave notice of his desire to become a member of the club, shall be known as a Foundation Member.

(c) Life Members:

A member may be elected a life member on payment of such fee as the directors may decide from time to time. such member shall not be required to pay the entrance fee or the annual subscription. A Life Member shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by a full member.

(d) Town Members:

A Town Member is a full member who resides or has his regular daily occupation or business within a radius of ten miles of the club.

(e) Country Member:

A Country Member is a full member who neither resides nor has his regular daily occupation or business within ten miles of the club.

(2) (a) Honorary Members:

The directors may elect as Honorary Members such persons as they may think fit from time to time for such periods as they may determine.

An Honorary Member shall be entitled to all the privileges of the club, subject to the limitations set down in the third paragraph of Article 7 (1) (a).

(b) Temporary Members:

Any person who is temporarily resident in Nairobi may be elected to become a Temporary Member.

(c) Reciprocating Members:

Persons who are members of clubs with similar objects in neighbouring territories or elsewhere, as approved by the directors, may be allowed to use the Club premises and grounds on a reciprocal basis at the discretion of the directors of the Company.

8. The entrance fees and annual subscriptions payable by members of the company shall be such as the Company in general meeting shall from time to time prescribe, provided that, until the company in general meeting shall otherwise resolve, such entrance fees (subject to Article 5 hereof) shall be as follows:
- |  |     |
|--|-----|
|  | Ent |
|  | Fee |
|  | An  |
|  | Sub |
|  | for |

Ordinary Members:

Entrance fee ... ..	£2 0 0
Annual Subscription ... ..	£3 0 0

All annual subscriptions shall become due and payable in advance on the First day of January in every year.

Members elected after the 30th day of September in any year shall only pay half the annual subscription for that year.

Honorary, Temporary and Reciprocating Members:

Such entrance fee (if any) and annual subscription as the directors may from time to time prescribe.

- Election of Candidates 9. Every candidate for election shall be balloted for by the directors, and one black ball in three shall exclude. The name, address and description of every candidate, and the names of his or her proposer and seconder, shall be sent to the Secretary ten days at least, and shall also be posted in a conspicuous place in the Club-house of the Company seven days at least, before the ballot, provided, nevertheless, that on the unanimous recommendation of the directors in meeting duly convened, at which at least three-fourths of their number shall be present, the ballot may take place before the expiration of such seven days.
- Payment of Subscriptions 10. When a candidate has been elected, the Secretary of the Company shall forthwith send to him or her, at the address given upon his or her application, a request for payment of his or her entrance fee (if any) and first annual subscription. Upon payment of his or her entrance fee (if any) and first annual subscription, an elected candidate shall become a member of the Company, provided, nevertheless, that if such payment be not made within two months after date of election, the directors of the company may, in their discretion, cancel such election.
- Rights of Members 11. Subject to the express provisions of these Articles and the Memorandum of Association, and to any by-laws for the time being in force made by the directors of the Company as hereinafter provided, all members of the company shall be entitled at all times to use in common all the premises and property of the Company, and to be supplied, at such charges as the directors shall from time to time determine, with such meals, refreshments and things as are provided by the company for the use of its members.

Members  
eligible as  
Directors,  
etc.

12. No members, other than the first members of the company referred to in Article 5 hereof, and full members, shall be entitled to be elected as officers or directors of the Company, or to attend or vote at any general meeting of the Company, or be entitled to claim any share of the assets of the Company upon its dissolution, but in all other respects every member shall be entitled (subject to any by-laws for the time being in force made by the directors of the company as hereinafter provided) to all the rights, and be subject to all the duties of a member of the Company.

Children of  
Members

13. The directors of the Company shall have power to admit any person under eighteen years of age, being a child of a member of the Company, to use, in common with the members of the Company, all the premises and property of of the company on such terms and conditions as the directors may from time to time determine and particularly without the payment of any entrance fee. until the Company in general meeting shall otherwise resolve, such child, on attaining the age of eighteen years, if elected a member of the company within twelve months thereafter, shall only be liable to pay the entrance fee in force at the date of his or her admission to the privileges of membership of the Company as aforesaid: provided that no member shall be liable to pay any higher entrance fee or annual subscription than the entrance fee or annual subscription in force at the date of his or her election as a member of the company.

Honorary  
Guests

14. The directors of the Company shall have power to permit any person or persons to use gratuitously in common with the members of the Company all the premises and property of the Company, on such conditions as the directors may from time to time determine

Members of  
Unincorporated  
Club who refuse  
to become  
Members  
of the  
Company

15. The directors of the company shall have power to permit any person who, at the date of incorporation of the company is a member of the before-mentioned unincorporated club, and who refuses or neglects to sign the form of membership referred to in Article 5 hereof, to use in common with the members of the Company all the premises and property of the Company on such terms and conditions as the directors may from time to time determine, and particularly without payment of any entrance fee.

16. Any member wishing to resign his or her membership of the Company shall give notice in writing addressed to the Secretary and deposited at the registered office of the company before the 31st day of December of his or her intention so to do, otherwise he or she shall be liable to pay the subscription for the next year. Resignation of Membership
17. Any member whose annual subscription is unpaid on the First day of May shall cease, ipso facto, to be a member of the Company, and shall forfeit all right in and claim upon the Company and its property, but may be reinstated, in the discretion of the directors, on payment of all arrears. Forfeiture of Membership
18. If any member shall wilfully refuse or neglect to comply with the provisions of the Memorandum and Articles or by-laws of the Company, or shall be guilty of any conduct unworthy of a gentleman or lady or likely to be injurious to the company, as the case may be, such member shall be liable to expulsion by a resolution of the Board of Directors, provided that at least one week before the meeting at which such resolution is passed he or she shall, at such meeting and before the passing of such resolution, have had an opportunity of giving, orally or in writing, any explanation or defence he or she may think fit. A member expelled under this Article shall forfeit all right in, and claim upon, the company and its property. Expulsion of Members
19. If a member shall be adjudged a bankrupt, or shall make any composition with his or her creditors, under the provisions of any statute, or, being engaged in any profession, shall, on account of misconduct, be prohibited by the governing body of such profession from continuing to practise under their regulations, he or she shall, ipso facto, cease to be a member of the Company, and shall forfeit all right in, and claim upon, the Company and its property; but, upon application being made by such member to the directors, stating the cause of such adjudication in bankruptcy, making of any composition or arrangement or prohibition as aforesaid as the case may be, such member may be re-admitted and restored to his or her former rights by the directors. Avoidance of Membership by Bankruptcy, etc.

- Votes 20. Every full member shall have one vote.
- Members in Default 21. No member shall be entitled to vote at any general meeting unless all moneys presently payable by him to the Company have been paid.
- Proxies 22. On a poll votes may be given either personally or by proxy.
- Instrument appointing proxy 23. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing under the hand of the appointor or of his attorney duly authorised in writing, or, if the appointor is a corporation, either under the seal, or under the hand of an officer or attorney so authorised. A proxy need not be a member of the Company.
- Deposit 24. The instrument appointing a proxy and the power of attorney or other authority, if any, under which it is signed or a notarially certified copy of that power or authority shall be deposited at the registered office of the Company not less than forty-eight hours before the time for holding the meeting or adjourned meeting at which the person named in the instrument proposes to vote, and in default the instrument of proxy shall not be treated as valid.
- Form 25. An instrument appointing a proxy may be in the following form or any other form which the directors shall approve:

THE UNITED KENYA CLUB

"I ..... of ....., being a member of the United Kenya Club, hereby appoint ..  
 ..... of ..... as my proxy to vote for me and on my behalf at the (ordinary or extraordinary, as the case may be) general meeting of the Company to be held on the ..... day of ..... and at any adjournment thereof.

Signed this ..... day of .....

- Proxy demanding poll 26. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be deemed to confer authority to demand or join in demanding a poll.
- Directors of the Company 27. The directors of the Company shall be the officers hereinafter mentioned and not less than eight and not more than twelve other full members of the Company elected as herein provided.
- Officers 28. The officers of the Company shall consist of a President (ex officio), Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and not less than eight and not more than twelve other full members, two of whom shall be representatives of the debenture holders, if any.
- Officers honorary 29. No director of the Company shall receive any remuneration for his services, but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prohibit the payment by the Company of any sum to the Honorary Secretary for clerical or other assistance: provided that the directors shall have power to employ a paid secretary on such terms and conditions as they in their discretion deem fit.
- First Officers and Directors 30. The first officers of the Company shall be:  
 President: H.E. Sir Evelyn Baring, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.  
 Chairman: John Muchura.  
 Vice-Chairmen: E.A. Vasey, C.M.G.  
 Abdul Ghafur Sheikh.  
 Treasurer: J.N. Watts.  
 Secretary: S.H. Shamsi  
 Assistant Secretary: Miss. O. Dean.

and they, together with

S.F. Bailey, D. Ndegwa, D.Q. Erskine, G. Vamos, Miss J. Wigglesworth, H.E. Nathoo, A.H. Malik, B.M. Gecega, M. Amalemba and Sir Eboo Pirbhai, O.B.E., shall be the first Directors of the Company.

Election of  
Officers and  
Directors

31. The election of the officers and directors Company shall take place at the Annual General Meeting in the following manner:

- (a) Any two members of the Company shall be at liberty to nominate any other member to serve as an officer or other director of the Company.
- (b) The name of each member so nominated, together with the names of his proposer and seconder, shall be sent in writing to the Honorary Secretary of the Company at least ten days before the Annual General Meeting.
- (c) A list of the candidates named in alphabetical order, with the proposers' and seconders' names, shall be posted in a conspicuous place in the club-house of the Company for at least seven days immediately preceding the Annual General Meeting
- (d) Balloting lists shall be prepared (if necessary) containing the names of the candidates only, in alphabetical order, and each member present at the Annual General Meeting shall be entitled to vote for any number of such candidates not exceeding the number of vacancies.
- (e) In case there shall not be a sufficient number of candidates nominated the directors shall fill up the remaining vacancy or vacancies.
- (f) If two or more candidates obtain an equal number of votes another ballot shall, if necessary, be taken in respect of such



candidates. If two or more candidates again obtain an equal number of votes, the directors shall select by lot from such candidates the candidate or candidates who is or are to be elected.

- Casual  
Vacancies
32. All casual vacancies arising among the officers or other directors of the company shall be filled by the directors. Any member so chosen shall retire at the following Annual General Meeting, but shall be eligible as a candidate for election as a director at such annual General Meeting. A director chosen to fill a casual vacancy as aforesaid shall retain his office so long only as the vacating director would have retained the same if no vacancy had occurred.
- Accounts,  
etc.
33. The directors of the Company shall cause true accounts to be kept with respect to -
- (a) All sums of money received and expended by the Company and the matter in respect of which the receipt and expenditure takes place.
  - (b) All sales and purchases of goods by the Company
  - (c) The assets and liabilities of the Company.

The books of account shall be kept at the registered office of the Company, or at such other place or places as the directors think fit, and shall always be open to the inspection of the directors. The directors shall from time to time determine whether, and to what extent, and at what times and places and under what conditions and regulations, the accounts and books of the Company, or any of them, shall be open to the inspection of members of the Company not being directors, and no member (not being a director) shall have any right of inspecting any account or book or document of the Company, except as conferred by statute or authorised by the directors or by the Company in general meeting. The directors shall from time to time in accordance with section 123 of the Companies Ordinance cause to be prepared and to be laid before the company in general meeting such profit and loss accounts, balance sheets and reports as are referred to in that section. A copy of every balance sheet (including every document required by law to be annexed thereto) which is to be laid before the Company in general meeting, together with a copy of

the auditors' report, shall, not less than seven days before the date of the meeting be sent to all persons entitled to receive notices of general meetings of the Company.

- Powers of Directors 34. The directors of the Company shall exercise all such powers and do all such things as may be exercised or done by the Company, save such as are by these Articles or by any statute for the time being in force required to be exercised or done by the Company in general meeting.
- Power to borrow money 35. The directors of the company may issue debentures, debenture stock, bonds or obligations of the Company at any time, in any form or manner, and for any amount, and may raise or borrow for the purposes of the Company any sum or sums of money either upon mortgage or charge of any of the property of the Company or on bonds or debentures or otherwise, as they may think fit.
- No power to sell or alienate land 36. The directors of the Company shall not, without the sanction of a general meeting of the Company, demise, exchange, sell or otherwise dispose of all or any part of the lands, buildings, tenements or property of the Company, save so far as the directors may deem it necessary or expedient or convenient for the purposes of Article 38 hereof: provided, nevertheless, that no mortgagee or other person advancing money to the Company shall be concerned to see that any money advanced by him is wanted for any purpose of the Company, or that no more than is wanted is raised or borrowed.
- Power to make By-laws 37. The directors of the Company shall have power from time to time to make, alter and repeal all such by-laws as they may deem necessary or expedient or convenient for the proper conduct and management of the Company, and in particular, but not exclusively, they may by such by-laws regulate:
- (a) The admission of temporary, honorary and reciprocating members of the Company, and the rights and privileges of such members.

- (b) The terms and conditions upon which honorary guests, children of members of the Company, visitors and the members of the before-mentioned unincorporated club who shall refuse or neglect to become members of the Company shall be permitted to use the premises and property of the Company.
- (c) The times of opening and closing the courts and grounds, club-house and premises of the Company, or any part thereof.
- (d) The rules to be observed and prizes or stakes to be played for by members of the Company playing any games on the premises of the Company.
- (e) The prohibition of particular games on the premises of the Company entirely or at any particular time or times.
- (f) The conduct of members of the Company in relation to one another and to the Company's servants.
- (g) The setting aside of the whole or any part or parts of the company's premises for gentlemen members, lady members or any other class or classes of members, at any particular time or times, or for any particular purpose or purposes.
- (h) The imposition of fines for the breach of any by-laws or any Article of Association of the Company.
- (i) The procedure at general meetings and meetings of the directors of the Company.
- (j) Generally all such matters as are commonly the subject matter of club rules.

The directors shall adopt such means as they deem sufficient to bring to the notice of members of the Company all such by-laws, amendments and repeals; and all such by-laws, as long as they shall be in force, shall be binding upon all members of the Company: provided, nevertheless, that no by-law shall be inconsistent with, or shall affect or repeal, anything contained in the Memorandum or Articles of Association of the Company, and that any by-law may be set aside by a special resolution of a general meeting of the Company.

Committee  
of Directors

38. The directors of the Company may from time to time delegate any of their powers to such committee or committees, consisting of one or more directors, or other member or members of the Company, as they shall think fit to appoint, and may recall or revoke any such delegation or appointment. Any such committee shall, in the exercise of the powers so delegated, conform to any regulations that may be prescribed by the directors.

#### GENERAL MEETINGS

First  
Meeting

39. The first general meeting shall be held at such time, not being less than one month nor more than three months after the incorporation of the Company, and at such place as the directors may determine.

General  
Meetings

40. A general meeting shall be held once in every calendar year at such time (not being more than fifteen months after the holding of the last preceding general meeting) and place as may be prescribed by the Company in general meeting, or, in default, at such time in the third month following that in which the anniversary of the Company's incorporation occurs, and at such place as the directors shall appoint. In default of a general meeting being so held, a general meeting shall be held in the month next following, and may be convened by any ten members in the same manner as nearly as possible as that in which meetings are to be convened by the directors.

Ordinary and  
extraordinary  
meetings

41. The above-mentioned general meetings shall be called ordinary general meetings; all other general meetings shall be called extraordinary general meetings.

Calling of  
extraordinary  
meeting

42. The directors may, whenever they think fit, convene an extraordinary general meeting, and extraordinary general meetings shall also be convened on such requisition, or, in default, may be convened by such requisitionists, as provided by section 114 of the Companies Ordinance. If at any time there are not within the Colony of Kenya sufficient directors capable of acting to form a quorum, any director or any two members of the Company may convene an extraordinary general meeting in the same manner as nearly as possible as that in which meetings may be convened by the Directors.

#### NOTICE OF GENERAL MEETINGS

Notice

43. Subject to the provisions of section 117 (2) of the Companies Ordinance, relating to special resolutions, seven days' notice at the least (exclusive of the day on which the notice is served or deemed to be served, but inclusive of the day for which notice is given) specifying the place, the day and the hour of meeting and, in case of special business, the general nature of the business shall be given in manner hereinafter mentioned, or in such other manner, if any, as may be prescribed by the Company in general meeting, to such persons as are, under the regulations of the Company, entitled to receive such notices from the Company; but with the consent of all the members entitled to receive notice of some particular meeting, that meeting may be convened by such shorter notice and in such manner as those members may think fit.

Failure to  
give notice

44. The accidental omission to give notice of a meeting to, or the non-receipt of notice of a meeting by, any member shall not invalidate the proceedings at any meeting.

## PROCEEDINGS AT GENERAL MEETINGS

45. All business shall be deemed special that is transacted at an extraordinary meeting, and all that is transacted at an ordinary meeting, with the exception of the consideration of the accounts, balance sheets, and the ordinary report of the directors and auditors, the election of directors and other officers in the place of those retiring by rotation and the fixing of the remuneration of the auditors. Business
46. No business shall be transacted at any general meeting unless a quorum of members is present at the time when the meeting proceeds to business; save as herein otherwise provided, one-fifth of the full members or twenty-five full members, whichever is the lesser, personally present shall be a quorum. Quorum
47. If within half-an-hour from the time appointed for the meeting a quorum is not present, the meeting, if convened upon the requisition of members, shall be dissolved; in any other case it shall stand adjourned to the same day in the next week, at the same time and place and if at the adjourned meeting a quorum is not present within half-an-hour from the time appointed for the meeting the members present shall be a quorum. When no  
Quorum  
present
48. The Chairman or, in his absence, one of the two Vice-Chairmen of the Club, shall preside as Chairman at every general meeting of the Company. Chairman
49. If at any meeting the Chairman, or either of the two Vice-Chairmen, is not present within fifteen minutes after the time appointed for holding the meeting, or is unwilling to act as Chairman, the members present shall choose some of their number to be Chairman. Election of  
Chairman
50. The Chairman may, with the consent of any meeting at which a quorum is present (and shall if so directed by the meeting), adjourn the meeting from time to time and from place to place, but no business shall be transacted at any adjourned meeting other than the business left unfinished at the meeting from which the adjournment took place. When a meeting is adjourned for ten days or more, notice of the adjourned meeting shall be given as in the case of an original meeting. Save as aforesaid, it shall not be necessary to give any notice of an adjournment or of the business to be transacted at an adjourned meeting. Adjournmen

51. At any general meeting a resolution put to the vote of the meeting shall be decided on a show of hands, unless a poll is (before or on the declaration of the result of the show of hands) demanded by at least ten members present in person or by proxy entitled to vote and unless a poll is so demanded, a declaration by the Chairman that a resolution has, on a show of hands, been carried, or carried unanimously, or by a particular majority, or lost, and an entry to that effect in the book of the proceedings of the Company, shall be conclusive evidence of the fact, without proof of the number or proportion of the votes recorded in favour of, or against, such resolution. Demanding  
a Poll
52. If a poll is duly demanded it shall be taken in such manner as the Chairman directs, and the result of the poll shall be deemed to be the resolution of the meeting at which the poll was demanded. Poll
53. In the case of an equality of votes, whether on a show of hands or on a poll, the Chairman of the meeting at which the show of hands takes place or at which the poll is demanded, shall be entitled to a second or casting vote. Equality  
of Vote
54. A poll demanded on the election of a Chairman, or on a question of adjournment, shall be taken forthwith. A poll demanded on any other question shall be taken at such time as the chairman of the meeting directs Time for  
taking poll

## AUDIT

55. Auditors shall be appointed and their duties regulated in accordance with sections 132, 133 and 134 of the Companies Ordinance. Auditors

## NOTICES

56. A notice may be given by the Company to any member, either personally or by sending it by post to him to his registered address, or (if he has no registered address within the Colony of Kenya) to the address, if any, within the Colony of Kenya By post

supplied by him to the Company for the giving of notices to him. Where a notice is sent by post, service of the notice shall be deemed to be effected by properly addresssing, pre-paying and posting a letter containing the notice, and to have been effected at the expiration of twenty-four hours after the letter containing the same was posted.

57. If a member has no registered address within the Colony of Kenya and has not supplied to the Company an address within the Colony of Kenya for the giving of notices to him, a notice addressed to him and advertised in a newspaper circulating in the neighbourhood of the registered office of the Company shall be deemed to be duly given to him on the day on which the advertisement appears. By Advertisement
58. Notice of every general meeting shall be given in some manner hereinbefore authorised to every full member except those members who (having no registered address within the colony of Kenya) have not supplied to the Company an address within the Colony of Kenya for the giving of notices to them. No other persons shall be entitled to receive notices of general meetings. Of general meetings

#### THE SEAL

59. The Common Seal shall be kept in the custody of the Chairman of the Company (Rule 69 (c) and (d) of present Club Rules), and shall not be affixed to any instrument except by the authority of a resolution of the directors, and in the presence of at least four of the directors, and such directors shall sign every instrument to which the Common Seal is so affixed.

#### MARGINAL HEADINGS

60. The catch-words or headings in the margin of these Articles shall not be taken as part thereof, or in any manner affect the interpretation or construction of the same. Marginal Breviate not to form part of Article:



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Names, Addresses and Descriptions of Subscribers

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J.M. MUCHURA, Box 12058, Nairobi, M.L.C.

S.H. SHAMSI, Box 2341, Nairobi, Civil Servant.

DEREK ERSKINE, Box 132, Nairobi, Merchant.

H.E. NATHOO, Box 593, Nairobi, Dental Surgeon.

VITHALBHAI R. PATEL, Box 549, Nairobi, Medical Practitioner.

D. NDERITU NDEGWA, Box 1101, Nairobi, Statistician.

ABDUL GHAFUR SHEIKH, Box 1670, Nairobi, Executive.

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DATED the 25th day of June, 1958.

WITNESS to the above Signatures:-

M.Z. AHMAD MALIK,  
Advocate.

TABLE 3.2

<u>POST</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
	1946	1947	1948
PRESIDENT	Philip Mitchell	Philip Mitchell	Philip Mitchell
CHAIRMAN	Tom G. Askwith	Tom G. Askwith	Tom G. Askwith
SECRETARY	Bethwell Gecaga	Bethwell Gecaga	Bethwell Gecaga
TREASURER	Dr. A.R.Dhanji	Dr. A.R. Dhanji	Dr. A.R. Dhanji
TRUSTEES	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai
MEMBERS OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	John Muchura Dedan Githegi W.H. Kirkaldy- Willis R.G. Gautama Kendall Ward	John Muchura Dedan Githegi  Kendall Ward R.G. Gautama A.H. Kirkaldy- Willis	John Muchura Dedan Githegi  Kendall Ward R.G. Gautama A.H. Kirkaldy- Willis

TABLE 3.3

<u>POST</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
	1949	1950	1951
PRESIDENT	Philip Mitchell	Philip Mitchell	Philip Mitchell
CHAIRMAN	Tom G. Askwith	Bethwell Gecaga	Kirdaldy-Willis
VICE-CHAIRMAN		E.M. Hyde-Clarke	Ibrahim Nathoo
VICE-CHAIRMAN			Meshack Ndisi
SECRETARY	Bethwell Gecaga	E.J. Clarke	S.H. Shamsi
ASSISTANT SECRETARY		R.H. De Renzy- Martin	
TREASURER	Dr. A.R. Dhanji	Ishani	John Mwangi
TRUSTEES	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai
MEMBERS OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	Hyde-Clarke John Mwangi Dedan Githegi Arnold Curtis Miss Haji Kirkaldy-Willis	A.R. Dhanji John Mwangi Dedan Githegi Arnold Curtis Kassim Kirkaldy-Willis	Tom G. Askwith Derek Erskine A.H. Malik John Muchura Miss Haji Arnold Curtis

TABLE 3.4

<u>POST</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
	1952	1953	1954
PRESIDENT	Philip Mitchell	Kirkaldy-Willis	Kirkaldy-Willis
CHAIRMAN	Kirkaldy-Willis	Dr. H. Nathoo	Derek Erskine
VICE-CHAIRMAN	Dr. H. Nathoo	Dr. V.R. Patel	Dr. V.R. Patel
VICE-CHAIRMAN	John Muchura	Derek Erskine	Musa Amalemba
SECRETARY	S.H. Shamsi	S.H. Shamsi	S.H. Shamsi
ASSISTANT SECRETARY			Mrs. Aldridge
TREASURER	A.G. Fraser	A.G. Fraser	A.G. Fraser
TRUSTEES	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai
MEMBERS OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	Musa Amalemba B.M. Gecaga A.H. Malik Derek Erskine K.V. Adalji J.C. Loadman	Musa Amalemba B.M. Gecaga Mrs. Leaf K.V. Adalji A.H. Malik J.C. Loadman	Musa Amalemba B.M. Gecaga K.V. Adalji A.H. Malik Mrs. Leaf G. Vamos

IV  
TABLE 3.5

<u>POST</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
	1955	1956	1957
PRESIDENT	Evelyn Baring	Evelyn Baring	Evelyn Baring
CHAIRMAN	Dr. H.E. Nathoo	John Muchura	John Muchura
VICE-CHAIRMAN	Arnold Curtis	George Vamos	Ernest Vasey
VICE-CHAIRMAN	John Muchura	Miss Dodds	A.G. Shiekh
SECRETARY	S.H. Shamsi	S.H. Shamsi	S.H. Shamsi
ASSISTANT SECRETARY	J. Young	M.A. Achanya	O. Deen
TREASURER	K. Prince	Mrs. La Fontaine	M.A. Achenya
TRUSTEES	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai	Ernest Vasey Eboo Pirbhai
MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	J. Thuo D.N. Githegi V.R. Patel G. Vamos Mrs. Leaf Derek Erskine	H.E. Nathoo Derek Erskine Musa Amalemba K.V. Adalji V.R. Patel Mrs. Aldridge	Charles Njonjo D.N. Ndegwa Derek Erskine G. Vamos O.S. Knowles H.E. Nathoo

TABLE 3.6

<u>POST</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
	1958	1959	1960
PRESIDENT	Evelyn Baring	Evelyn Baring	Evelyn Baring
CHAIRMAN	Ernest Vasey	Ernest Vasey	A.G. Sheikh
VICE-CHAIRMAN	D.N.Ndegwa	D.N. Ndegwa	Derek Erskine
VICE-CHAIRMAN	A.G. Sheikh	A.G. Sheikh	D.N. Ndegwa
SECRETARY	S.H. Shamsi	S.H. Shamsi	S.H. Shamsi
ASSISTANT SECRETARY			Wrigglesworth
TREASURER	Mr. Shah	Mr. Shah	S.F. Bailey
DIRECTORS	S.M. Amin Y.A. Eraj B.M. Gecaga A.H. Malik MacWilliam H.E. Nathoo Derek Erskine John Muchura Wrigglesworth	S.M. Amin Y.A. Eraj B.M. Gecaga A.H. Malik MacWilliam H.E.Nathoo Lady Vasey John Muchura Derek Erskine	H.D. Alton Musa Amalemba Mrs. Porter G. Vamos Y.A. Eraj S.M. Amin John Muchura A.H. Malik MacWilliam

TABLE 3.7

<u>POST</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
	1961	1962	1963
PRESIDENT	Sir Patrick Renison	Sir Patrick Renison	
CHAIRMAN	Derek Erskine	Derek Erskine	Charles Njonjo
VICE-CHAIRMAN	Bethwell Gecaga	Bethwell Gecaga	Derek Erskine
VICE-CHAIRMAN	H.E. Nathoo	H.E. Nathoo	H.E. Nathoo
SECRETARY	E.S. Burnham	E.S. Burnham	Ndiro
TREASURER	E.S. Burnham	E.S. Burnham	E.S. Burnham
MANAGER		I.E. William	I.E. William
DIRECTORS	E.T. Jones D.N. Ndegwa R.G. Ridley Philip Rogers G. Vamos S.F. Bailey V.R. Patel S.N. Waruhiu Y.A. Eraj	Musa Amalemba Napier Andrews E.T. Jones Karta Singh N.J. Montgomery Peter Mulwa Charles Njonjo R.G. Ridley Philip Rogers	N.J. Montgomery Peter Mulwa B.M. Gecaga H.P. Hagberg G. Vamos Mrs. K. Porter A.J. Pandya R.G. Ridley Philip Rogers

APPENDIX 4ORAL INTERVIEWS

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
Gloria Hagberg	26/8/1988	Home
Arnold Curtis	24/10/1988	Office
V. Virjee	25/10/1988	Office
Mrs. Robert Ridley	9/1/1989	Club
Rober Ridley	9/1/1989	Club
Musa Amalemba	16/2/1989	Office
John BronDRAM	26/2/1989	Office
Lady Elizabeth Erskine	16/3/1989	Club
Eboo Pirbhai	17/3/1989	Office.