

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

DER - 29
Report on Mau Mau

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New York 36, New York

October 28, 1954
c/o Barclays Bank
Queensway
Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Mr. Rogers:

It looked like just another day in Nairobi. The sky was cloudless and the equatorial sun was hot. As usual, there were no parking spaces to be found along the main streets. Nairobi might be the middle of Darkest Africa, but drivers had to park their cars a quarter of a mile from their destinations and, like the early explorers, proceed the rest of the way on foot.

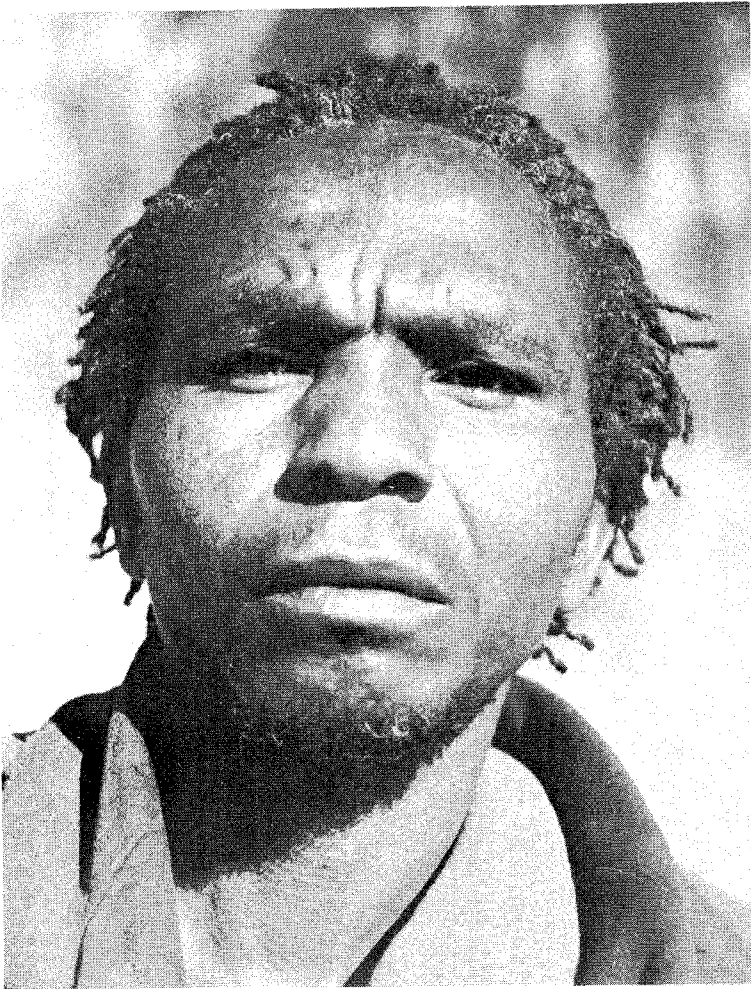


Delamere Avenue and Statue
of Lord Delamere

The shops were open and customers were buying everything from heavy tractors to Parisian frocks. Settlers strode resolutely in and out of the bar in Torr's Hotel and young British soldiers wandered along the sidewalks, lonesome and counting the days till they would be going home. African soldiers strutted up and down Delamere avenue, past the statue of a contemplative Lord Delamere. It was just another day except for one thing: it was Wednesday, October 20, 1954. Kenya had finished

its second year of Emergency. Now it was beginning the third.

Two years previously the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, had declared a State of Emergency, giving the authorities wide powers to deal with growing discontent and violence in the Kikuyu tribe. A number of loyal Kikuyu had been murdered, a European woman had been killed and there were reports that the Kikuyu were swearing to an oath that, among other things, required them to bring in the head of a European if so ordered.



Captured Mau Mau

With the declaration of an Emergency, scores of Kikuyu leaders, including the Messianic Jomo Kenyatta, were arrested. A battalion of British troops were flown to Kenya to be followed by four more. Six battalions of the King's African Rifles were brought in, the Kenya Regiment was activated and the police force was expanded rapidly.

In the two years that followed, the Security Forces waged a persistent but inconclusive fight against elusive Mau Mau gangs in the forests of Mount Kenya and the Aberdare range, on the fertile slopes of the Kikuyu Reserve and in the teeming slums of Nairobi. The number of Africans regarded as Mau Mau who were killed each week rose to around 100. Thousands were locked up. Several gang leaders were captured or killed.

But still the little war ground on. Each three or four weeks, a gang would surround an isolated farm house and move in with guns, knives or strangling ropes and finish off another white settler. Each few days the body of another Kikuyu would be found and the Security Forces would know, at last, that the man really had been loyal. The rich red earth of Kikuyuland became redder still with each new day.

On the two-year anniversary, the War Council, formed last March as part of the Lyttelton Plan for constitutional changes in Kenya,*

* Its members: the Governor; Sir Frederick Crawford, Deputy Governor; General Sir George Erskine, Commander-in-Chief, East Africa, and Mr. Michael Blundell, a settler, former leader of the European Elected Members of the Legislative Council and now Minister Without Portfolio.

made its first report to the public. It said in part:

"While recent successes against the terrorists justify cautious optimism, there is nothing in the military situation which suggests an early end to the Emergency.

"There are indications of a weakening of terrorist morale and of dissension among a few of the leaders. But most of the leaders, in the absence of any alternative, are still firm in their determination to continue the fighting.



A Simi, or short sword, used for a variety of cutting purposes and now a classic Mau Mau weapon.

"Operations now being conducted by the Security Forces and others planned are designed to kill or capture the leaders and to inflict casualties on the members of their gangs so as to reduce their fighting potential and to destroy their morale.

"It is not possible to say how long it would take to exhaust their manpower, assuming their present rate of casualties continue."

There was little in the report to cheer the white settlers or the Kikuyu loyalists, who, after a second year of inconclusive fighting, were becoming dispirited.

A number of events were crowded into that second year of Emergency. Murders of African loyalists continued and among those who fell was Ambrose Ofafa, a Luo who served as a Nairobi City Councillor. His end came in November, but it was not the last of the assassinations and attempted assassinations.

* * *

The War Council reported that the murders of 30 European and 25 Asian civilians during the two years are considered to have been the work of Mau Mau. The killings of more than 1,200 loyal African civilians, the vast majority of them Kikuyu, are also attributed to Mau Mau during that period. About 450 of these civilians were in the Kikuyu Guard.

Why has Mau Mau reserved its full vengeance for its own people? There seem to be a number of reasons. The Europeans first of all are well-armed and any attack is a risky business. Along with this, a white skin seems to be a powerful psychological weapon against assailants motivated in part by feelings of inferiority. There have been several cases where old men routed well-armed gangs single-handedly. In one case, an elderly gentleman drove them off by pelting them with geological specimens. The gangs lost their nerve in front of The Enraged White Man---the object of all their fears, hates and grudging admiration.

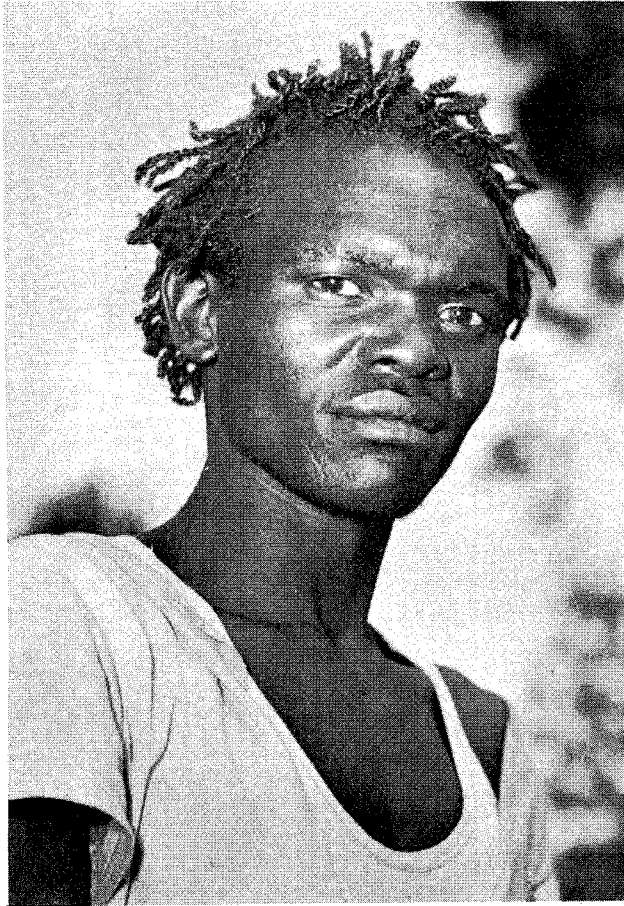
But anti-Mau Mau Africans are another matter. They are comparatively unarmed. Fanatics reserve their full hatred for those of their own kind, or nearly of their own kind, who refuse to go along on the True Way. Thus the Communist is most vindictive toward "deviationists" and radical but non-Red Socialists. The fanatic disallows that anyone can have a different but honest opinion. He is in sole possession of Truth and anyone who opposes him does so with evil intentions and deserves to be exterminated as an enemy of the people.

Mau Mau feels that Quislings---i.e., anti-Mau Mau Kikuyu (some of whom are just as anti-European as the Mau Mau)---must meet their just fate. And in doing so, Mau Mau helps to establish the needed tribal solidarity against the Europeans.

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During the second year of the Emergency, several Europeans and Africans in the Security Forces were brought to trial on charges of assault, cruelty, manslaughter or murder in cases growing out of the treatment of prisoners. Fines were levied in most cases and other defendants were discharged. The most severe sentence was meted out in a military court. Capt. Gerald Griffiths, a British Army officer serving with the King's African Rifles, was tried first for murder but acquitted because of a technicality. He then was brought to trial again and convicted of cruelty. He was cashiered out of the Army and given a five-year prison sentence.

The Nairobi bus boycott, considered to have been engineered by Mau Mau, continued month after month. Although the number of African



Harun K. Njeroge,
captured gang
leader.

riders increased steadily, the pre-boycott level still has not been reached.

* * *

The War Council reported that 487 police and soldiers were killed on operations during the two years. The racial breakdown: 30 Europeans, 2 Asians, 455 Africans. Accidental deaths are included in these figures.

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The second year of the Emergency saw the adoption of the policy of heavy bombing of suspected gang hideouts in the forest. Overseas critics have charged that "native villages" were bombed. But there has never been any bombing in the Reserves and the forests are prohibited areas from which all loyalists have been evacuated.

Four-engine Lincoln bombers, a World War II model, were brought in from the Middle East in November for the heavy bombing. Five hundred pound bombs were used. Single-engine Harvard trainers continued to plop 20-pound bombs onto smaller targets.

Vampire jet fighters arrived in April and were used for strafing and for pouring rockets into suspected hideouts. Some settlers questioned the wisdom of using the Lincolns in particular. Kenya must pay the Royal Air Force for its services and many settlers thought the 500-pound bombs were succeeding in nothing more than blowing up trees and a few unlucky elephants. But the sorties continued.

* * *

The War Council reported that more than 6,700 Mau Mau were killed by the Security Forces during the two years. The actual total of Mau Mau and suspected Mau Mau killed is much higher. As presumably happens in any war, there are a number of trigger-happy individuals, African as well as European. There are outright sadists. There are those whose nerves and restraints are frayed from having seen too many Mau Mau atrocities. And there are those who have had friends or relatives butchered by Mau Mau. Whatever the case, many of their killings remain the secret of the silent forest.

"I've had too much," said a young man who had just left the police after two years service. "I got 54 of them. That's not official, of course. Officially I got only 15. But I had to get away. It wasn't like the war. There you'd shoot a man, but you'd never see him again. But here you've got to search the body for papers. Fifty-four of them. Sometimes I start wondering if some of them were innocent after all."

The Kikuyu Guard are not eager to take prisoners. Many have had their whole families killed by Mau Mau. Though the authorities prosecute members of the Security Forces, they are wary of taking action against Guardsmen. They fear that would touch off mass resignations from the Guard.

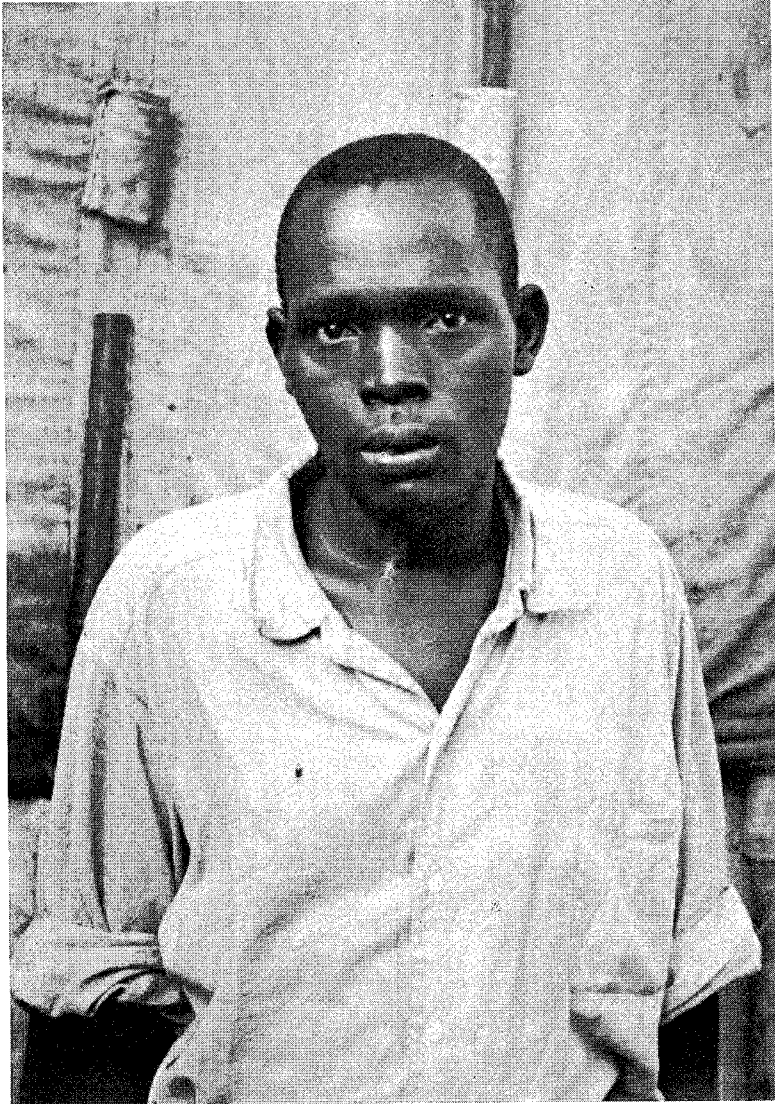
"What do you do if you catch a Mau Mau?" I asked a young Kikuyu Guard as we stood atop a 60-foot watchtower in the Kikuyu Reserve. "Well, Bwana," he said, "if he's just a waverer, I turn him over to the British and let them send him to their courts." "And if he's a bad man?" The Guard drew his simi from its scabbard and said in a matter-of-fact tone: "I cut his throat."

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In January a series of events began which led to government hopes that an end to the fighting might be in sight. A Mau Mau leader named Waruhiu Itote, who called himself "General China," was wounded and surrendered. China, 32 years old, served as a



Private soldier, The King's African Rifles,
in high-altitude bamboo forest, on an operation.
He is carrying a Sten sub-machine gun.



China

corporal in the King's African Rifles in World War II and was in Ceylon, India and Burma. After the war, he worked for the railways in Kenya. He said he joined the Mau Mau in 1952, some months before the Emergency was declared. He rose rapidly and was considered the commander of the Mau Mau gangs on Mount Kenya. He said they numbered 4,000.

The month after his surrender, China was sentenced to death for consorting with armed persons. He had also been found guilty of possessing two rounds of ammunition. His lawyer complained that China should have been accorded the "green branch" surrender treatment. Under that policy, Mau Mau members are promised that if they surrender, they will not be prosecuted for such capital offenses as consorting and possessing arms. They are told, though, that they will be prosecuted if there is a murder case against them. All those who surrender are to be kept in detention indefinitely.

The judge overruled the defense objections. He said entries in China's diary---he had written in his diary, just before surrendering, of having ordered several killings---indicated that he had never formed a definite plan for surrendering. Rather he did so because he had been wounded and thought he was dying. (The wound turned out to be superficial.) At any rate, the judge said, the courts had never recognized the surrender offer. The law on consorting and possessing arms or ammunition still stood.

China never got around to disputing the decision. His sentence was commuted to life in prison a short time later. The reason was

that he had offered to try to arrange a mass surrender of Mau Mau forces, particularly those on Mount Kenya.

China was taken to Nyeri, in the Kikuyu Reserve and close to Mount Kenya. There he sent out letters to Mau Mau leaders and, in an armored car escorted by police, made several personal contacts.

Several favorable replies were received from gang leaders. A secret rendezvous of gangs leaders and government and military officials took place. The government reported later that the terrorists at first insisted on certain concessions before surrendering. It was not stated what these were, but it is said that they included the disbanding of the Kikuyu Guard. The government refused. Instead it told the gang leaders that those who surrendered would be imprisoned indefinitely but would not be executed for any crimes committed. Presumably this would have included murder. They were promised they would not be ill-treated.

The Mau Mau leaders seemed agreeable to the idea. But they said they had to go back up Mount Kenya to consult their followers. The government agreed to call off all military patrols into the forests of Mount Kenya and the Aberdares pending the outcome of the meetings with their followers. The government said it told the Mau Mau leaders to keep their men out of the Reserves---they would be attacked on sight if seen there. The leaders agreed and went back up the mountain.

The news leaked out, as it always seems to do in Kenya, and many settlers stormed about "bargaining with murderers" and "appeasement." A barrage of indignant letters went off to that hallowed old soap box, the letters-to-the-editor column of the East African Standard. Many settlers said because the government was "weak," the Mau Mau might eventually be allowed to get back into circulation on the political and nationalist front. The settlers wanted a fight to the finish. Government officials said settler reaction made the Mau Mau wary of a trap. But still the plans went ahead.

On April 7, more than 1,000 Mount Kenya Mau Mau gathered in the forest at the edge of the Reserve. Several hundred more were en route to that spot. It is thought that no final decision had been made on surrendering, but that many were on the verge of it. The government said later that because forest patrols had been called off, it had no knowledge of the gathering.

Unfortunately, another gang had been raiding in the Reserve for several days and was resting at that moment in the Reserve near the forest edge. After first consulting the Provincial administration, an Army unit attacked it.

Hearing the shooting and fearing that the government was luring them into a convenient place to kill them, the would-be surrenderers fled back up Mount Kenya. Efforts were made to revive the

negotiations, but the Mau Mau would not respond again. Settler critics hooted in derision. In the days that followed, the government arrested more than 1,000 Kikuyu who had acted as intermediaries in the negotiations or whose connection with Mau Mau had otherwise become known as a result of the talks.

Some critics charged that the Army unit, thirsty for a fight to the finish, attacked the gang so as to sabotage the impending surrenders. But there seems to be little evidence to support this. Most British Army personnel would be only too glad to end the fighting. The government, too, seems to have been eager for a surrender. The whole incident appears to be, as the government said, a regrettable coincidence.

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How many terrorists are still at large? General Erskine estimates 7,000. But it is acknowledged that this is anyone's guess. Erskine estimates they have 1,000 precision weapons---i.e., not home-made.

Against the gangs are ranged 7,000 British troops, 450 men of the Kenya Regiment, 5,800 African troops and 22,000 men of the Kikuyu Guard. Several thousand full- or part-time policemen, African, European and Asian, also devote all or part of their time to Mau Mau.

But there is bitterness in the hearts of the Kikuyu. The war horn has sounded. Whatever the Mau Mau casualties, they seem to have no trouble finding recruits.

* * *

Oliver Lyttelton, then Colonial Secretary, imposed multi-racial government on Kenya in March. An African of the Luo tribe was taken into the government as a cabinet minister---along with three white settlers and two Asians. But it made no difference to Mau Mau. The war ground on.

Disturbing news filtered in that Mau Mau had spread to elements in the Wakamba and Masai tribes. The government became alarmed and vigorous measures were taken.

Scores of Wakamba were arrested. Among them were several who had become hard-core Mau Mau gangsters. Several Wakamba who opposed Mau Mau were murdered in Nairobi. Wakamba gangsters attacked European farms in Machakos District.

Government said that it had nipped Mau Mau in the bud among the Wakamba and that the situation, at least for the moment, was under control. Mau Mau had spread only to those Wakamba who were living in Nairobi, where they had been influenced by the Kikuyu.

Attempts had been made to establish Mau Mau in the Wakamba Reserve. Squads of Wakamba gangsters went from Nairobi to the Reserve to conduct mass oath ceremonies, but it is thought that

the authorities caught all or most of these oathing teams. The Wakamba Reserve seems to be free of Mau Mau and it is estimated that less than one per cent of the Wakamba took the oath.

A look at population figures shows why the government was so concerned. The Wakamba are the fourth largest tribe in Kenya, numbering 610,000. They represent nearly 12 per cent of the population of the colony. The Kikuyu, Meru and Embu total more than 1,500,000 and are nearly 30 per cent of the population. Add the Wakamba to them and you get 42 per cent.

Equally important, the Wakamba form the backbone of the police and military units and large numbers of them work on the railway. "If the Wakamba ever go, we're finished here," an official said to me. Development and welfare programs for the Wakamba Reserve have been accelerated and at the moment there seems to be no danger of the Wakamba going the way of the Kikuyu.

In Masailand, Mau Mau picked up some ardent followers among the "half-breeds"---those with a Masai father and a Kikuyu mother. But some full-blooded Masai took the oath as well. Michael Blundell, speaking as a War Council member, said they did so because of fear of the roving Kikuyu and Masai-Kikuyu gangsters. But although they took the oath as insurance against attack, few of the full-bloods became active gangsters.

With the Mau Mau flare-up in Masailand, military operations, previously centering on Mount Kenya and the Aberdares, were carried out in the Mau Escarpment forest, on the west side of the Great Rift Valley, and in Narok District of Masailand. Gangs are still operating in those areas. But at least for the moment, Mau Mau seems to have made only a slight dent on the Masai tribe.

There is historical irony in Kikuyu gangsters terrorizing the Masai. Before the advent of the Europeans, the Masai had dominated the East African scene, raiding far and wide and making life miserable for their Kikuyu neighbors. But Masai power waned. Then, while the Kikuyu took rapidly to aspects of western culture, the haughty Masai remained on his arid plains, refusing to change his ways. Today his spear is no match for the automatic pistol in the hands of the clever Kikuyu gangster.

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The War Council reported that there have been 433 surrenders in the 14 months since the "green branch" offer was announced. The policy has not been particularly successful. Many of those who surrendered were conscripted food carriers and others who played minor roles in Mau Mau. However, the authorities are encouraged by the fact that the surrender rate is increasing.

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Operation Anvil was carried out in Nairobi in April, and, as a

result, 28,000 Kikuyu, Meru and Embu were sent to detention camps.* The government said it had broken one of Mau Mau's important avenues of supply and sources of recruits.

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The War Council said 46,000 Kikuyu, Meru and Embu, including Anvil's 28,000, are now being held, without having been tried, in detention camps. Another 17,000, convicted in court in Mau Mau cases, are serving prison terms. Executions in Mau Mau cases now total 659.

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After Anvil, details were announced for a five-year plan to improve African agriculture. The plan calls for the introduction of cash crops on a large scale, bush clearing projects, the construction of dams and boreholes, the improvement of live stock and campaigns to promote better farming. The program will be financed by a £5 million (\$14 million) free grant from the British government. It should go a long way toward improving living standards of Kenya's African peasants.

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The War Council reported that industrial development in Kenya has slowed down. Investors are worried about the future stability of the country. Nevertheless, the last two years did see the start of new industrial enterprises with a total capital estimated at £8,500,000 (\$23,800,000).

Kenya's public treasury has been hard hit. At one time the Emergency was costing the equivalent of \$700,000 a month. Now the cost has risen to the equivalent of \$3,600,000---more than five times as much. The British government has been keeping the local government afloat by means of loans and free grants.

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Jomo Kenyatta's long legal battle against his conviction on a charge of managing Mau Mau ended late in the second year of the Emergency when the Privy Council in England rejected his appeal. He and four co-defendants will serve out their seven-year sentences imposed on April 8, 1953. Kenyatta, who has studied at London University and who spent two years in pre-war Russia, now is the cook in the little prison camp at Lokitaung, an outpost in the northern frontier.

The conviction of another co-defendant, Richard Achieng Onoko, a Luo who served as general secretary of the Kenya African Union, was quashed at an earlier hearing before the Supreme Court of Kenya. Onoko was free, but not for long. He was detained under the Emergency regulations as he left the courtroom and now is confined to a private residence near the Coast.

* Government earlier gave 25,000 as the figure, but now has revised it.

Later the Governor told a group of Kikuyu loyalists that Kenyatta will never return to Kikuyuland. When he finishes his sentence, he will remain in the northern frontier for the rest of his life, the Governor said. The announcement was intended to strengthen the hand of the loyalists and disenhearten others in the tribe.

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The War Council said the Emergency has had profound effects in the Kikuyu Reserve. Education has suffered. Forty-three schoolteachers were killed by Mau Mau in the two years and 112 schools were destroyed. Mau Mau has sought to intimidate Kikuyu parents into keeping their children out of "the white man's" schools. Enrollment has dropped. Meanwhile school attendance has increased in the other tribes. The full effect of this will not become apparent until several years have passed---until today's schoolchildren apply for advanced positions and it is found that there are fewer qualified Kikuyu.

The old Kikuyu mode of living is ending. They used to live in scattered homesteads. Now they are being grouped into little villages, each with its own Kikuyu Guard post. The idea is that "villagization" will give greater protection against Mau Mau and will make it more difficult for the Mau Mau to tap the local people for food and money. Sixty per cent of the Embu and 48 per cent of the Nyeri Kikuyu now live in villages. More are going up each day.

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On Friday, September 17, the Mau Mau proved that it had not lost its old punch. A gang estimated to number 40 attacked the Lukenya prison camp 20 odd miles from Nairobi. An African guard was killed and others were driven off. The only European in the camp at the time barricaded himself in his house.

The gang had complete control of the prison. They freed the more than 200 convicts---all of them Kikuyu, Meru and Embu serving short terms for passbook violations. The gang had brought a large supply of civilian clothing with them and the prisoners discarded their prison garb. Some didn't want to leave the prison but were threatened with death if they remained behind.

As police reinforcements arrived, the gang and the freed prisoners disappeared into the surrounding hills. They took with them two rifles, three shotguns and one revolver from the prison armory.

About half of the prisoners were caught in following weeks and some of the stolen prison weapons were recovered in clashes with Mau Mau gangs. The Mau Mau leader thought to have commanded the raid,

Mwangi Mtoto (it could be translated "Mwangi the Kid") was shot and killed near Nairobi in one clash.

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The War Council reported that the Security Forces have recovered 719 firearms from gangs in the two years. But 926 were known to have been stolen, mostly from European civilians. It was a known gain of 207 firearms for Mau Mau. The authorities suspect that Mau Mau stole other weapons as well, but that the owners, fearful of a £250 (\$700) fine, failed to report the loss.

Mau Mau has a number of home-made firearms. During World War II, Kikuyu askaris were trained as armorers and now they are putting their skill to work for Mau Mau. A piece of bicycle frame serves as the barrel, a door bolt and rubber band as the firing mechanism. Many home-made guns have blown up in the firer's face. But others have been efficient enough to accomplish their purpose.

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In October, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, a scholar of East African pre-history and author of "Mau Mau and the Kikuyu" and other books, wrote an indignant letter to the East African Standard about what he considered to have been a grave injustice. He noted that a recent newspaper report said that "whites" in a detention camp---i.e., those considered to be free of Mau Mau---were being "worked on" under the rehabilitation program. Said Leakey:

"Surely once the screening operations had been completed, those who had been proved to be 'white' need no rehabilitation other than an apology for the inconvenience caused to them, a speedy release, an issue of the necessary passbooks and the right to return forthwith to their normal employment."*

Leakey, a missionary's son, grew up with the Kikuyu. He says he speaks their language better than he speaks English and that he often thinks and dreams in Kikuyu. He refers to himself as a "white Kikuyu" and he has gone through the age-group initiation rites of the tribe.

Two days after Dr. Leakey's letter appeared in the paper, a Mau Mau gang paid a visit to the farm home of his cousin, Mr. A. G. A. Leakey, at Nyeri. Mr. Leakey, aged 70, also considered himself a "blood brother" of the Kikuyu. He also was fluent in the Kikuyu language. He liked the Kikuyu and trusted them. He always refused to carry a firearm and he even refused to employ guards on his farm. He figured that because of his friendship with the Kikuyu, he was safe from attack.

As the gang entered, Mr. Leakey's wife, Mary, 57, and their daughter, Mrs. Diana Hartley, fled into a bedroom and locked the door. Mrs. Leakey suggested that the daughter climb up through a small

* Government said their release was delayed by typhoid in the camp.

hole in the roof and hide in the loft. Mrs. Hartley did so. Then, as she recounted later:

"I tried to pull my mother up, but she was too heavy. After a while, she would not try again. She told me we would make a noise. 'Keep quiet, you have the children to think of,' she said.

"I think I saw her hiding behind a basket in the room. Then the gang forced its way in. I heard them speaking to mother in broken English and Swahili.

"They asked her where the money was. The thing that struck me was the quiet way in which they spoke. Mother told them the money was in the safe. There was no noise of a struggle."

An hour later, Mrs. Hartley came down from the loft. She found the body of her mother, strangled and slashed with pangas. The bodies of two Kikuyu servants were also found. Mr. Leakey was gone.

Police thought that he must have been taken away and killed. But they did not ignore the possibility that he was being held as a hostage. An intensive search was made---aided by hundreds of Kikuyu Guards.

But as the days passed, there was no sign of Mr. Leakey. He was a diabetic and could live only a few days without insulin. The police gave up the search. The Rt. Rev. L. J. Beecher, Bishop of Mombasa, conducted Mrs. Leakey's funeral service. His wife is a cousin of Mr. Leakey.

Several days later, Dr. Leakey made a radio broadcast. Several people predicted that, at last, he would come around to the view that "You can't trust any of these Africans."

Instead, Dr. Leakey urged people to take greater precautions such as locking their doors, carrying firearms and fixing up emergency signals. He added:

"However loyal your African servants are---and I know that many of you have truly loyal servants, as my cousin did---it is no good counting on them being able to help you if you are attacked or counting on them to rush a warning to your neighbor.

"The Mau Mau intelligence service knows if your servants are loyal---or which of them are---and will try to kill or abduct them before they attack you."

More than a week later, the Security Forces captured four terrorists in a cave on Mount Kenya. One was a leader who called himself General Kaleba. He had taken part in the "General China" surrender negotiations.

The patrol found some of Mr. Leakey's clothing in the cave. Digging around they made a grim discovery. They found letters indicating that the terrorists had wanted to capture a European. They wanted to bury him alive as a ritualistic sacrifice so that the fortunes of Mau Mau would be improved.

The government said there was a strong probability that Mr. Leakey was the sacrifice. The ritual is believed to have taken place on the upper slopes of Mount Kenya, the government added.

"The mountain of brightness (Mount Kenya) is believed by the Gikuyu to be Ngai's (God's) official resting-place, and in their prayers they turn towards Kere-Nyaga (Mount Kenya) and, with their hands raised towards it, they offer their sacrifices..." Thus Jomo Kenyatta describes Kikuyu rituals in his Facing Mount Kenya. In the old days, goats and sheep were used for sacrifices. They were strangled.

As the Emergency neared the end of two years, it had become apparent that no end was in sight. Blundell spoke of another five years of active operations against the gangs, followed by yet another five of unsettled conditions. Some people suggested that efforts be made to revive the surrender talks. But no one had any strong hopes that these could be revived, or if revived, that they would be successful. The die had been cast in Kenya.

It was becoming apparent, too, that there would be no peace or no real peace in Kenya as long as the Kikuyu tribe remained in its rebellious mood. To get them out of that mood, if it ever could be done, would be an enormous task.

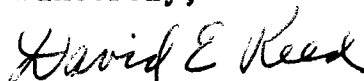
Some settlers continued to call for "stronger measures." "The Germans would have ended this whole thing in a few days," they said. But they realized they were arguing in vain. Britain is not Germany and public and official opinion in the United Kingdom would never tolerate "stronger measures." A number of settlers I know left or planned to leave Kenya for good. Others talked of doing the same.

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The War Council reported:

"To sum up on the operational side: despite very good progress by us in many parts of the Reserves and in Nairobi, Mau Mau still has the tacit support of the African population in some areas and there are still many well-armed gangs capable of disturbing the peace."

Sincerely,



David E. Reed

Rec'd New York 11/1/54.

Photograph on page one by A. H. Firmin, Nairobi;
Others courtesy Department of Information, Kenya Government.