

Writing for Kenya

The Life and Works of Henry Muoria



HENRY MUORIA

MWANDIKI

"Guthii na mbere ni gukinyukia haria ukinyite, na guthii na mbere meciria-ini, ni kumenya undu utaroi, no ungirega gwitikia, witue kimenyi, ndungiteithika, Ugutura o handu hamwe, urugamite uthiururukaga, urugarugaga, nawe wiirage uthiite na mbere muno."

Wangari Muoria-Sal
Bodil Folke Frederiksen
John Lonsdale
Derek Peterson

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Writing for Kenya

The Life and Works of Henry Muoria

By

Wangari Muoria-Sal, Bodil Folke Frederiksen,
John Lonsdale and Derek Peterson



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Cover illustration: From the frontispiece of Henry Muoria's first pamphlet 'Tungika atia iiya witu?' or 'What should we do, our people?' (1945). For the text, see pp. 136-37.

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PREFACE

This volume is intended to give twenty-first century readers around the world access to the life and works of a significant African nationalist and publicist, Henry Muoria, who wrote in the middle of the last century principally for the Kikuyu people, then around one million strong in the equatorial highlands of the British colony of Kenya. This son of peasants in Kenya's rich and fertile Central Province who became a respected spokesperson of his people, Muoria is not well represented in the political and cultural history of Kenya, despite his pioneering writings and his extraordinary career. In his Gikuyu-language newspaper *Mumenyereri wa Maundu Mega ma Ugikuyu* ('The Guardian of the good things of Kikuyu') and in his political and moral pamphlets, written between 1945 and 1952, he was an outspoken and clear-sighted critic of colonialism and a proponent of Kenyan and African self-reliance. He was a self-taught 'organic intellectual' with a remarkably global outlook. His writing enterprises were followed and discussed eagerly by his widespread African audiences and watched closely by the colonial authorities. A few weeks before the October 1952 Emergency in Kenya, declared in order to create conditions for the effective combating of the Mau Mau insurrection, Muoria left for Great Britain. It became his fate to remain in exile until his death in 1997. He married three gifted women and had large families both in Kenya and in Great Britain.

During his work at the University of Cambridge on 'the moral economy of Mau Mau', that became part of the two-volume *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (1992, co-authored with Bruce Berman), John Lonsdale met Henry Muoria, who had recently retired as an underground-train guard with London Transport. They had long, valuable conversations about the inner workings of Kenyan nationalism, and Kikuyu enterprise and ideas of enlightenment, fuelled by curries cooked in Holloway, North London, by Ruth Nuna, Henry Muoria's third wife. Meanwhile, in Kenya, Bodil Folke Frederiksen, from Roskilde University, Denmark, was doing research on youth culture and urban livelihoods in a poor neighbourhood in Nairobi. She met two bright and intelligent local young men, George Muoria and Julius Mwaniki, who became her research assistants. They turned out to be the grandsons of Henry Muoria and Ruth Nuna Muoria. This coincidence contributed to

John Lonsdale's determination to devote a publication to Muoria's life and works and to do so in collaboration with his daughter, Wangari Muoria-Sal, the family archivist, the Gikuyu scholar and historian Derek Peterson, and Bodil Folke Frederiksen.

Our key enterprise has been to publish a selection of Henry Muoria's central writings in a context that makes them intelligible and readable for a present-day audience. We do so in the belief that Muoria still has something of importance to say to Africans, to Kenyans more particularly, and to students of African contemporary history more generally. We have chosen three pamphlets, 'What should we do, our people?' (1945), 'The Home Coming of Our Great Hero, Jomo Kenyatta' (1946), and 'Kenyatta is Our Reconciler' (1947). For the latter two pamphlets we have worked from the English texts translated by Henry Muoria himself about thirty years after they were first published in Gikuyu. We commissioned a re-translation of the first pamphlet, 'What Should We Do, Our People?'

Muoria was clearly anxious to bring his 1940s Gikuyu-language pamphlet's literature before a wider, English-reading audience, and it is a source of satisfaction that we are now able to bring his wishes to fruition, if only after his death. The first pamphlet, 'What Should we Do, Our People?' has already been reproduced (with other pamphlets not reprinted here), in English, in Henry Muoria's autobiography, *I, the Gikuyu and the White Fury* (Nairobi, 1994). This book, produced for a local readership, has scarcely been noticed outside Kenya. Moreover, Muoria re-worked the pamphlet's English-language text in order to make it intelligible to an audience ignorant of Kenya's history. His emendations were so extensive that much of the urgent immediacy of the original Gikuyu was lost. In this case we have therefore gone back to the original Gikuyu, translated for us by Joseph Muriithi Kariuki, whom Derek Peterson used as research assistant in the work that bore fruit in Peterson's *Creative Writing: translation, bookkeeping, and the work of imagination in colonial Kenya* (2004). Muoria's English texts of the other two pamphlets were close translations of his Gikuyu originals, but we have kept the explanatory additions he made in his English versions, to illustrate his professional journalistic instinct that everything must be immediately intelligible to his readership.

We introduce these pamphlets with a chapter on the political and intellectual setting of Muoria's thought and activities by Lonsdale; a biographical chapter on the Muoria family in Kenya by Frederiksen; and a chapter on the life of the London Muorias by Muoria-Sal. We

bring the texts of the pamphlets in their original Gikuyu and in English translations with linguistic annotation by Peterson and historical, contextual commentary by Lonsdale.

This has been a happy collaboration around an unusual project, and we have been supported in our venture by a number of people and institutions. Our most valuable and stimulating supporters have been members of the Muoria family in Great Britain and Kenya, first and foremost Henry Muoria's widow Ruth Nuna Muoria, his son Peter Mwaniki and his daughter Wangari Muoria-Sal; in Kenya particularly Christine and George Muoria, Julius Mwaniki, Hellen and John Gichache, the late Charles Mwaniki, Alex Muoria and Rosabell Mbure. We thank them all for their generosity and insights, now over many years. The translation of 'What Should We Do, Our People?' was carried out by Joseph Kariuki. We have been supported by the Centre for the Advanced Study in the Humanities in Copenhagen, in particular by Birgitte and Jesper Possing; by the managers of the Smuts Memorial Fund of the University of Cambridge; and by Selwyn (Peterson) and Trinity (Lonsdale) Colleges of that University. For valuable advice, information, and encouragement we also thank our many colleagues, more especially Karin Barber, Bruce Berman, Catherine Burns, Myles Osborne, Tabitha Kanogo, Warris Vianni, Richard Waller, The Right Revd Gideon Githiga and the Revd Dr John Kimani Karanja.

Our spouses, Preben, Moya, Salim, and Becky, have, as is customary and following the example of Henry Muoria's wives, borne the greater burdens.

Bodil Folke Frederiksen, John Lonsdale, Wangari Muoria-Sal, Derek Peterson.

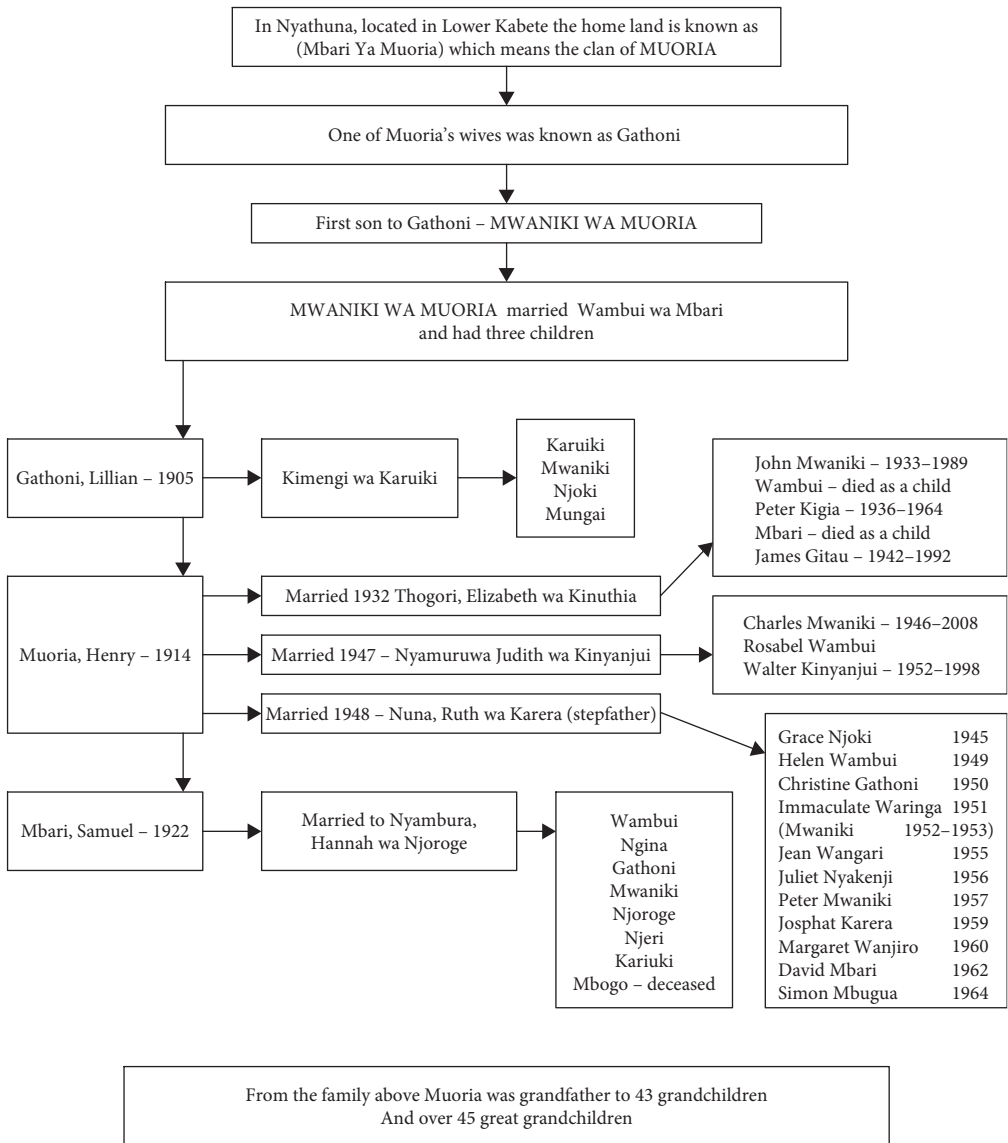


Fig. 1. Muoria Family Tree



Fig. 2. Map of Henry Muoria's Kenya, 1945

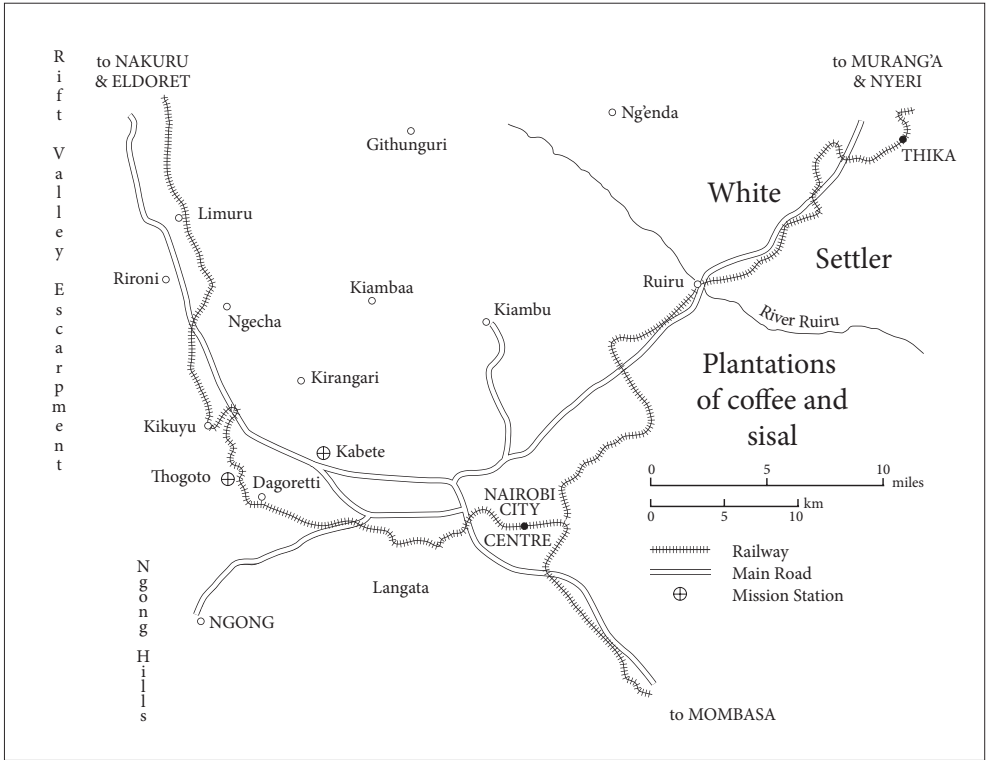


Fig. 3. Map of Southern Kikuyuland, 1945

SECTION I

LIFE

CHAPTER ONE

HENRY MUORIA, PUBLIC MORALIST¹

John Lonsdale

Kiri ngore gitihotaga:

‘An unspoken word convinces no one.’

Unremembered era, forgotten man

This chapter introduces Henry Muoria as a public moralist among his Kikuyu people and political journalist for a future Kenyan nation—each of them a problematic, multiple, identity—in the context of his time, place, intellectual tradition, and polemical arena. His time was the later 1940s, over sixty years ago, after the Second World War. This global conflict had bankrupted Kenya’s imperial ruler, Britain; had shown that the British could be defeated by a non-white people, the Japanese; had caused the empire to lose its oriental barracks in India, the jewel in the crown; had brought to the fore two anti-imperial powers, the United States and Soviet Union; had linked Britain’s post-war recovery to colonial development; and awoken tens of thousands of Kenya’s young men to their own organised, military, potential when sweating and dying alongside white soldiers as mortal as they, to help the British drive the Italians from Ethiopia and then the Japanese from Burma (Myanmar).

For all these reasons the late 1940s was a time of hope for many Africans. It saw the birth of Kenya’s open, constitutional, black

¹ I owe much to conversation with the late Henry Muoria Mwaniki and his wife Ruth Nuna, as with Greet Kershaw and Derek Peterson, whose *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford, Nairobi & Athens OH: Currey, EAEP & Ohio University Press, 1997) and *Creative writing: Translation, bookkeeping, & the work of imagination in colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2004) respectively, take discussion of Kikuyu social and intellectual history on to a new plane. Richard Waller has been my most valuable critic. Muoria’s 1987 typescript, ‘How it feels to be born a Gikuyu’ gives biographical detail as also his *I, the Gikuyu and the White Fury* (Nairobi: EAEP, 1994). For comparison see, Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

nationalism, proof of a sense that the future could, with the necessary determination, be mastered. Muoria was there at the beginning, one of the midwives of Kenya's modern political thought. His principal—but not his only—audience was his own Kikuyu people, about twenty per cent of the colony's five million African population. He was convinced that to show themselves worthy of modern political responsibility they must, as mature adults armed with a self-discipline that was equal to their ambition, live up to their ancestral traditions of honourable self-mastery while learning modern skills. He called this his brain battle, to combat British arrogance, but it brought him very material rewards.² His audience was large; they liked what they read; they were prepared to pay. His wide readership enabled Muoria, then in his thirties, to marry a second and even a third wife. He built the first stone house in his neighbourhood; he acquired from his local Indian publisher the first African-owned printing press; he bought a Citroën *traction avant* car, the first to belong to an African in Kenya—that classic black, low-slung, saloon with big chrome headlamps beloved, in films at least, by gangsters and Gestapo.

If the brain battle of hope was profitable it also carried heavy political risks since, for many other Africans, these were years not of hope but of fear. Landless peasants in the African 'reserve' areas, redundant black farmworkers in the 'white highlands', and the urban under-employed, all suffered a dismal present and could see little prospect of a respectable, married, productive life for themselves in the years to come. The future was not theirs to master; rather, social extinction appeared to be their fate. Partly because white farmers were mechanising at the expense of their Kikuyu labour, partly because some Kikuyu were also doing well at the expense of their clients, the despairing Kikuyu poor were more numerous than in any other ethnic group. Many felt that nationalist petition and peaceful protest were not urgent enough to meet their needs, especially for access to the land that would make it

² Bodil Folke Frederiksen, "The Present Battle is the Brain Battle": Writing and Publishing a Kikuyu Newspaper in the Pre-Mau Mau Period in Kenya', in Karin Barber (ed.), *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and the Making of Self* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 278–313. See Muoria's editorial, the angriest he ever wrote, in response to a speech by Sir Philip Mitchell who had poured scorn on African backwardness, 'The Present Battle is the Brain Battle: *Mumenyereri's* Reply to the Governor on Behalf of all AKikuyu', *Mumenyeri*, 25 Nov. 1947: Kenya National Archives, MAA.8/106 (excerpted below in footnote 124 to the pamphlet 'What Should we Do, Our People?').

possible to achieve a married, self-mastered, progenitive adulthood, an ambition that in Gikuyu was summarised as *ithaka na wiathi*.³ British rule through compliant black officials seemed all too firmly entrenched, indeed more intrusive than ever before in the post-war search for a technically-determined ‘development’, unheeding of the mass misery on which the prosperity of minorities rested, whether white farmer, Indian trader, or African chief. It is a despair one saw again sixty years later, in the new year of 2008, for not wholly dissimilar reasons.

Crisis and tragedy soon fell on the land. In October 1952 the British colonial government declared a state of emergency, to forestall rebellion from a secret, almost entirely Kikuyu, movement that its enemies called ‘Mau Mau’. This name is best translated as ‘the greedy eaters [of elders’ authority]’ since the militants claimed, outrageously, the political privilege and moral duty that was conventionally exercised only by established elders—of whom Muoria was one—to struggle for, defend, and allocate *ithaka na wiathi*, land and adult self-mastery. Armed with emergency powers, the state was now legally entitled to wage internal war on its native subjects, of whom Kikuyu were at greatest risk of victimisation. Suspicion fell on Muoria, because of the supposedly evil power of his persuasive pen. This seditious reputation now meant a life of exile for him and, for his families, a trans-continental divide between Kenya and London. It was a terrible reversal of fortune. Guilt by association forced his wives and children to face hardship and danger. Marriage to a writer for the nation was no guarantee of domestic comfort after all. Muoria’s wives learned for themselves the old truth that women everywhere have paid heavily for nationalism’s conflicts, whether between fellow patriots or against the alien power.⁴ The remembered heroes of nationhood on the other hand, all over the world, are almost always men.⁵

All nationalisms have conveniently forgetful memories. They must. Nor is gender their only blind spot. The French political philosopher

³ An argument expanded in John Lonsdale, ‘Authority, Gender, and Violence: The War within Mau Mau’s Fight for Land and Freedom’, in E. S. Atieno Odhiambo & John Lonsdale (eds.), *Mau Mau and Nationhood* (Oxford, Nairobi & Athens OH: Currey, EAEP & Ohio University Press, 2003), 46–75.

⁴ Caroline Elkins, ‘Detention, rehabilitation, and the destruction of Kikuyu society’, in Atieno Odhiambo & Lonsdale, *Mau Mau and Nationhood*, 191–226.

⁵ But see, Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955–1965* (Portsmouth NH, Oxford, Nairobi & Dar es Salaam: Heinemann, James Currey, EAEP & Mkuki na Nyota, 1997).

Ernest Renan, in his famous lecture *What is a nation?* delivered at the University of Paris in 1882, argued that while a shared history was essential to national sentiment it would also have to be a carefully edited past. Useful history required nations to forget much and misremember more. The intimate violence that, typically, had first imposed political unity on the future nation or bought its freedom from unjust rule, whether by means of ethnic, dynastic, or religious war, even massacre, had to be written out of the public narrative. A violently creative past, common to most nations, must not be allowed to poison the different arguments of the present day.⁶

This selective memory was vital, since Renan thought that constant argument, ‘a daily plebiscite’, was the spiritual essence of nationhood. Civic debate, he proposed, was the precondition for a patriot citizenry to agree to share each other’s burdens. But all such debate draws on precedent, on memory, and this, he knew, could be painful. His nineteenth-century ideal, in which debatable memory fostered mutual obligation, was imaginable only to people who, with habitual forgetfulness, thought they shared a long history under a single state which they had made their own. African states, by contrast, have been unitary polities for barely more than a century, for much of that time as colonies whose alien rulers fought off any sense of political unity among their native subjects until the last minute, when conceding them power. Opposition between state and community, between central power and local patriotism, remains at the core of Africa’s living memory, not least in Kenya.⁷

African nations will, it seems, have to learn to be as forgetful of their often divisive origin as European nations, or get that foundational myth equally wrong, if they are ever to be at peace with themselves. Yet officially sanctioned recollection, currently taught on political platforms and in school textbooks, tends to serve the partisan interest of whichever minority currently occupies the state in the nation’s name. That is doubtless how all national epics originated—in precolonial African kingdoms as much as in Europe or Asia—that is, in order to forge legitimacy, a right to govern, for their first rulers. Such stories may well have been

⁶ Ernest Renan, ‘Quest-ce qu’une nation?’ in Hélène Psichari (ed.), *Oeuvres complètes de Ernest Renan*, vol. I (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1947), 887–907.

⁷ As well illustrated in Gregory H. Maddox & James L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania* (Oxford, Dar es Salaam & Athens OH: Currey, Kapsel & Ohio University Press, 2005).

revised many times, to justify successive usurpers, treasonable rebels who then got themselves hailed as lawfully prosperous kings. Later on, counter-stories of popular sovereignty may also have been grafted on to them. In order to give grounds for its resistance to royal despotism, for instance, the seventeenth-century English parliament elaborated the myth that a 'Norman yoke' had long ago suppressed their native, Anglo-Saxon, liberties. Similarly, socialist romance has been dreamed about the Parisian French communes of 1792 and 1871—and partially blotted out ever since too, for fear of their insurrectionary repetition. The more recent memory of the 1960s American civil rights movement is also contested to this day, part inspiration and part threat.

Few modern African countries are the direct heirs to long-argued precolonial polities with their own contradictory layers of public myth. Many European colonies in Africa incorporated three, four, or many more such historically conscious peoples by that sweeping act of political simplification called the 'Scramble for Africa'. Most African states, therefore, as post-colonies, are still at an early stage of their own formation. Their rulers have to manufacture legitimacy anew, just like the kings of old. Their publicly sanctioned story-telling serves to build power rather than speak up for people. Resistant, popular, forms of forgetful or mendacious history flourish more or less surreptitiously in Africa, as elsewhere. These 'hidden transcripts', however, these mental 'weapons of the weak' have yet to be etched into political cultures as the irrefutable folklore of vulgar, democratic, entitlement, however irritating that may be to the ruling classes. Official history, meanwhile, prohibits any daily plebiscite, since popular opinion, supposedly ignorant, divisive, and with a peasant distrust of the state—any state—must, or so it is said, be inherently subversive of public order. Such official suspicion of popular memory is as strong in Kenya as anywhere else in Africa.⁸

Public debate has nonetheless remained remarkably lively in postcolonial Kenya. But it has largely forgotten Muoria. It is not that he is now

⁸ Richard Werbner (ed.), *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power* (London: Zed Books, 1998); E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, 'Democracy and the Ideology of Order in Kenya', in Michael G. Schatzberg (ed.), *The Political Economy of Kenya* (New York: Praeger, 1987), 177–201; idem, 'Matunda ya Uhuru, Fruits of Independence: Seven Theses on Nationalism in Kenya', in Atieno Odhiambo and Lonsdale, *Mau Mau & Nationhood*, 37–45. More generally, James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); idem, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

inconvenient⁹ but that his whole era of African politics, the late 1940s, is generally thought to be a story of failure, not worthy of remembrance. More importantly, it was followed by the Mau Mau decade of political violence, something which Kenyans, obsessively, continue to argue how to commemorate, if at all, and how to forget. This crisis of memory has, more or less explicitly, informed every political crisis of post-colonial Kenya, not least the last, the disputed election of December 2007.

In the later 1940s, however, in that distant pre-Mau Mau era, Muoria's was the first voice to break the wartime silence of African politics. His pamphlet, *What should we do, our people*, reproduced here, came out in January 1945, in the last months of the war. But the white settler minority, less than one per cent of the population, still dominated the public sphere and indeed swayed the governance of colonial Kenya, with more confidence than at any time in the colony's previous history. In official correspondence 'public opinion' meant white opinion. Neither Africans, the overwhelming majority, nor South Asians, three times as numerous as whites and nearly two per cent of the total, were accepted as members of the public. Africans could not in any formal sense counter the local Europeans' influence over British policy.¹⁰ Among whites Muoria was read only by the Kenya Police Special Branch—and historians must be grateful for that, since it has preserved his newspaper for us, at least as translated for the official record. Since whites took so little notice, black politics was apparently a story of failure. This seeming powerlessness appeared to change dramatically in the early 1950s, when the brain battle was succeeded by insurgent violence. The militants of Mau Mau seized the initiative from the senior politicians whom Muoria knew. The subsequent state of emergency lasted over seven years, from late 1952 until early 1960. Possibly 50,000 black Kenyans died, perhaps half of them children, more from deprivation and disease than from violence.¹¹

⁹ Although there were strained relations with a senior member of President Kenyatta's cabinet.

¹⁰ For Muoria's efforts to break into the public sphere, first in Kenya and then in Britain see, Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 'Writing, Self-realization and Community: Henry Muoria and the Creation of a Nationalist Public Sphere in Kenya', *Current Writing* 18, 2 (2006), 150–165.

¹¹ John Blacker, 'The Demography of Mau Mau: Fertility and Mortality in Kenya in the 1950s; A Demographer's Viewpoint', *African Affairs* 106 (2007), 205–27. For the fullest accounts of the Mau Mau war see, David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London & New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Norton, 2005); Huw Bennett, 'British Army Counterinsurgency and the

Muoria was fortunate to have been in London at the time the emergency was declared. The internationally influential Moral Rearmament movement, keen to show that unequal race relations could be improved as much by personal acts of goodwill as by political reform, had flown him there with two other Africans, both of them trade unionists, the militant Fred Kubai and the moderate Meshack Ndisi, en route to the MRA headquarters at Caux in Switzerland. Muoria had taken the opportunity to look for a new printing press in London.¹² Had he still been in Kenya the authorities would have detained him indefinitely behind barbed wire, in harsh conditions, under emergency rules, on suspicion of association with terrorist conspiracy, with tens of thousands of others, to extract from him confession of the alleged sin of taking a supposedly bestial oath and in hope of his ‘rehabilitation’. He was among the prime suspects on whom the Kenya Police Special Bureau had kept their eye.¹³ But the British also needed African allies to support them in their repression of Mau Mau.

Counter-insurgency strategy therefore had two prongs, one military, the other civil. The ‘second prong’, as it was called, included radical measures of agrarian and labour reform. There was political reform too. In the midst of the Emergency the British introduced a limited African franchise—qualified by a points system for ‘loyalty’, education, age, and income—to elect black representatives to the colonial legislative council. Until 1948 ‘Legco’s’ white elected members had outnumbered the non-whites. Since then, white councillors had had to be content with ‘parity’ as it was called, an equality of number, with non-white representatives. Almost all the ‘official’ members, civil-servant heads of department on the government benches, were white too. The British had long known that an African electorate was inevitable. The difficulty was to create one that was sufficiently small in number and reasonable in its expectations. Political reform would otherwise defeat its social and

Use of Force in Kenya, 1952–56’ (University of Wales PhD., 2006). For a brisk summary, Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781–1997* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007), chapter 19.

¹² Henry Muoria, Editorial in *Mumenyereri*, 20 Sept. 1952, reproduced in Frederiksen, “‘The Present Battle’”, 304; and information from Victor Lal, working on the history of the MRA in Kenya.

¹³ Former member of the Special Bureau to the author, e-mail, June 2004; and see Colonial Office, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau* (London: HMSO, Cmnd. 1030, May 1960) [referred to hereafter as *Corfield Report*], 79, 81–2, 84–5, 128–9, 195–6, 301.

economic purpose by frightening off white settlement and international capital, then the only officially-imaginable tools of African progress and, in the longer run, of African freedom. Government-nominated black spokesmen had sat in the legislature since 1944, joining the few elected South Asians. Their presence did not discourage investment but it scarcely satisfied African opinion. Sensing the need for further political advance, in 1950 Britain had promised a constitutional conference within a few years, with the implicit purpose of reconsidering the racial ratio of legislators. This was before the outbreak of violence. Muoria's was one of the many African voices that, despite the ostensible failure of the brain battle, had clearly persuaded the British that they must transform colonial rule into local partnership. In this anti-imperial age, London well knew, empire would at some point have to be superseded by new nation states. It was important that these should be friends, not enemies. Their nationalisms must so far as possible be co-opted, not demonised.

How far the holding of the first African general election in 1957 represented a victory for Mau Mau is therefore debatable. Five years earlier senior British officials had thought its murderous violence made the proposed political reform all the more difficult to discuss, since it had so embittered white opinion.¹⁴ And when at last the time came for reform, when Mau Mau was clearly losing the shooting war, the British saw the African franchise as very far from a concession to Mau Mau. To the contrary, in order to complete the defeat of militant black insurgency by force of arms while restoring Kenya to peaceable governance they had to isolate the militants, reward the 'loyalists' and moderates, and retain the assent of the mass of Kenya's black population by other, political, means.

That is not the only complication in the relationship between Mau Mau and Kenya's freedom. It may with hindsight seem that the new African right to vote, no matter how limited initially, and despite Mau Mau's defeat, must inevitably lead to black majority rule at independence. That is not how it appeared to many at the time. It seemed more likely that there would be some fancy, 'multi-racial', constitution that would continue to reward the supposed indispensability of the white and South Asian immigrant minorities with an electoral weight dispro-

¹⁴ Philip Rogers at the Colonial Office, minute to W. Gorrell Barnes, 24 Oct. 1952, British National Archives, CO.822/444/195.

portionate to their tiny numbers. While the British had no means to manage the politics of decolonisation other than by gradually widening the franchise, they also thought it essential not to frighten these economically dominant minorities. But the British soon lost control of this gradualist political calculus. The new, elected, African members of legislative council, led by the brilliant young trade unionist Tom Mboya, seized the initiative and forced the pace by refusing to take part in any government that did not immediately give them more parliamentary seats. In 1958, therefore, within a year of their election, they forced the British to concede a non-white majority on the ‘unofficial’ benches of legislative council, much sooner than any British official had intended, or feared.¹⁵

So it was that a British Secretary of State for the Colonies had to admit that it was ‘[racial] Arithmetic and African nationalism’, not British policy, which so swiftly put paid to white political privilege. But it was a moderate, pan-ethnic, nationalism, not Mau Mau, which ensured that political power in this way mirrored racial arithmetic.¹⁶ Since independence in 1963 the politics of Kenya’s national memory has split accordingly, on the question of how to relate the Mau Mau war to freedom. Was it a war of national liberation or a fight for ethnic privilege? Was its violence patriotic or sectarian? Further, who can claim the freedom struggle as their own, the fighters or the politicians, neither of whom trusted the other? Was not violence essential, in order to give weight to previously fruitless political argument? If so, Kenyans should perhaps commemorate gun and ballot-box together. Or should the nation give the greater honour to all the dark-suited, tie-wearing, politicians of many ethnic backgrounds—lampooned in

¹⁵ Kenya’s geographical situation in British East Africa further complicates the story. In deciding decolonisation’s timetable and format Britain had to appease the supposedly moderate Julius Nyerere in Tanganyika, respect the new independence of Somalia in 1960 and finesse old treaty relations with the Sultan of Zanzibar. See, John Iliffe, ‘Breaking the Chain at its Weakest Link: TANU and the Colonial Office’, chapter 11 in Gregory H. Maddox & James L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania* (Oxford, Dar es Salaam & Athens OH: Currey, Kapsel & Ohio University Press, 2005), 168–97; James Smither, ‘Nation-building & the Limits of Self-determination in Somalia 1950–69’ (Cambridge University: MPhil dissertation in International Relations, 2000); James Brennan, ‘Lowering the Sultan’s Flag: Sovereignty and Decolonization in Coastal Kenya’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, 4 (2008), 831–61.

¹⁶ Reginald Maudling, Note on Kenya Constitutional Conference for Cabinet Colonial Policy Committee, 30 Jan 1962: British National Archives, CAB 134/1561, CPC(62)3.

Mau Mau songs as *tai-tai*—who exploited their legally representative status to such good effect? Indeed, was not so-called ‘loyalism’—to whose social respectability Mau Mau enviously aspired—a more effective nationalism than violent subversion?¹⁷ Many would now claim that only politicians could have persuaded the British that decolonisation was no disgrace and that it was therefore necessary that the Kenya nation marginalise Mau Mau, as happened soon after independence. Some go further still, to argue that only constitutionalism could have nursed the political culture that has from time to time prevented later governments from complete suppression of Kenya’s civic freedoms and, now, that a return to constitutionalism is the only thing that will save Kenya’s future as a nation.

These remain live issues of national memory, periodically revived by such crises as the disputed election of 2007. The official view of Mau Mau has oscillated between suppression and commemoration, in parallel with popular anxiety over how far ethnic identity and national citizenship can be reconciled in a daily practice of civic trust.¹⁸ In this national debate on Kenya’s historical foundations the pre-Emergency years have either been forgotten or else are judged retrospectively as simply the prelude to the divisive era of Mau Mau. But these earlier years deserve to be remembered for their own sake, in their own time.¹⁹ They produced valuable political and social thought, much of it from Muoria’s pen, concerned less with ethnic competition—although that certainly existed—than with social trust and co-operation, personal rights and honourable obligation, in the context of social inequality and rapid social change. Muoria can still be read with profit by all, whether Kenyan or not.

One benefit in now reproducing his writings might be to remind Kenyans how much there may still be to learn, or re-learn, from the civic politics of moderation and mutual respect that Muoria helped to imagine, to inspire, and to report upon in this, Kenya’s second great age of political pamphleteering. The first polemical outburst had occurred

¹⁷ Daniel Branch, ‘The Enemy Within: Loyalists and the War against Mau Mau in Kenya’, *Journal of African History* 48 (2007), 291–315, especially 302.

¹⁸ Marshall S. Clough, ‘Mau Mau & the Contest for Memory’, in Atieno Odhiambo and Lonsdale, *Mau Mau & Nationhood*, 251–67. More generally, Bruce Berman, ‘Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism’, *African Affairs* 97, 388 (1998), 305–41.

¹⁹ B. A. Ogot, ‘Mau Mau and Nationhood: The Untold Story’, in Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale, *Mau Mau & Nationhood*, 8–36.

twenty-five years earlier, after the First World War, when Britons and Indians disputed the possession of Kenya between them, each claiming to be the more responsible trustee for 'native interests'. In this second wordy age, after another great war, Muoria and his contemporaries began to awaken African hopes that Kenya could, instead, be theirs, to share with others on their own maturely adult terms.²⁰

Ethnicity and nationhood

If that was Henry Muoria's unremembered time, what then of his Kenya as a political place? Ernest Renan had a keen sense of the historical contingency of the nation states that his fellow Europeans had so recently imagined as political homes. In the past, he recalled, there had been tribal irruptions, empires, feudalities, dynasties. For the future he foresaw a European confederation. Meanwhile he was living in a nineteenth century when nations happened to be the sovereign arenas of political action, thanks to the imaginative political labour of past rebels and reformers. Renan's reflections on changing political community can well be applied to Kenya.

Muoria and his contemporaries lived, as they came to realise, at a time when European empires in Africa were increasingly in question. He and his fellow political writers asked, accordingly, how Africans could build societies that better answered their human need for creative liberty, free association, and self-mastery. As one of the most powerful voices in this exploratory, pioneer, era of Kenya's nationalism Muoria had stern views on how Africans should meet these moral and political demands. To begin with, his ambition went no further than an equality of racial esteem within a multi-racial Kenya—not yet a fully African state. The future racial allocation of power, however, was not the only political, intellectual, or ethical dilemma that he and his fellow nationalists faced.

All nationalisms have been, and are, alliances of many voices and tongues, not least in Kenya. Often their only shared goal will have been to win a sovereign statehood, the international recognition of their right to rule themselves. The imagination of a shared national community,

²⁰ For a comprehensive study of the Kikuyu-language pamphlets see, Cristiana Pugliese, 'Complementary or Contending Nationhoods? Kikuyu Pamphlets and Songs 1945–52', in Atieno Odhiambo & Lonsdale, *Mau Mau & Nationhood*, 97–120.

as Renan recognised, is necessarily contentious cultural labour.²¹ Tom Mboya would have agreed; he thought it dangerous to air differences of opinion on social and other issues before independence was safely achieved.²² Black Kenyans of the 1940s were indeed deeply competitive, between genders and generations, town and country, worker and landowner. Their first pan-ethnic nationalist organisation, the Kenya African Union (KAU), was increasingly divided, making it difficult for its president, Jomo Kenyatta, later the first President of Kenya and ‘father of the nation’, to speak with authority to all its different constituencies. These early nationalist arguments have only recently begun to be studied in the context of their time, with a view to their democratic resonance today—in the multi-party politics to which, after a quarter century of one-party rule, Kenyans returned only in the 1990s and whose procedures they have yet to agree.²³

The question of ethnicity was one of the most difficult issues to confront Muoria’s contemporaries in their search for co-operative unity. It remains so, indeed has become still more so today since, for the past half century, power has been shared unequally and abrasively between different Africans whereas previously it was denied to all of them, impartially, by the British. Powerlessness can sometimes confer the semblance of unity whereas power, an inherently unequal commodity, tends to divide. Tribal loyalty is therefore as historically contingent as Renan thought nationhood to be. A century and more ago ethnic affiliation was one among many social ties in Kenya. Other, closer, obligations were more demanding—to one’s household, to a patron, to

²¹ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Benedict Anderson’s influential *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 1983, rev. ed. 1993) did not sufficiently consider how far nations are continually re-imagined and contested—an insight I owe to Peterson, *Creative Writing*.

²² Tom Mboya, *Freedom and After* (London: André Deutsch, 1963), 61–5.

²³ For classic accounts of Kenya’s nationalism see, Carl G. Rosberg & John Nottingham, *The Myth of ‘Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya* (New York & London: Praeger & Pall Mall, 1966); John Spencer, *KAU: The Kenya African Union* (London: KPI, 1985). For explorations of complexity: Ogot, ‘Mau Mau and Nationhood’; John Lonsdale, ‘KAU’s Cultures: Imaginations of Community and Constructions of Leadership in Kenya after the Second World War’, *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13, 1 (2000): 113–15; David Anderson, ‘Le déclin et la chute de la KANU. La recomposition des partis politiques dans la succession de Moi’, *Politique africaine* 90 (2003), 37–55; idem, ‘“Yours in the Struggle for Majimbo”: Nationalism and the Party Politics of Decolonization in Kenya, 1955–64’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 (2005), 547–64.

commercial partners, to age-mates at the same cattle camp, and so on. But there were wider connections too. Most Kenyans are multi-lingual, even before one adds their modern facility in English. Women, who often married at some distance from their parental home, used to be said to have no tribe at all. Ethnicity has a harder edge today. After a half-century of sovereign power wielded—like all state power—in a partisan self-interest, ethnicity is probably the most important identity that Kenyans recognise in politics and in the job market. In daily life, however, Kenyans remain pluralistically tolerant, with multiple human ties of companionship and trust—of age, gender, wealth or poverty, of locality, church or mosque, street-corner bar or golf club. Ethnicity is never their only identity, even in situations of extreme fear and mistrust. ‘One tribe cannot survive on its own’, as Tony Kirui, a Kalenjin business-management student, reflected in early 2008, when surveying the burnt-out ruins of Kikuyu-owned businesses in his home town of Kericho.²⁴

Just as people may choose between their different layers of identity according to the situation in which they find themselves, so any one of their identities can appear to them in a different light according to circumstances. That certainly applies to ethnicity. Muoria had many views on what it was to be Kikuyu; he did not inherit an essential Kikuyuness directly from an ancestral past. He was taught its cautionary tales as a child in stories round the cooking pot; he learned a more adventurous version, unthinkingly, in playing with his friends; he awoke to its romance as a young railwayman when reading Kenyatta’s imaginative ethnography, *Facing Mount Kenya*; he rethought its moral requirements for himself when he came to ask what African colonial subjects should do for themselves; he re-imagined it with exile nostalgia in London—as

²⁴ W. H. Whiteley (ed.), *Language in Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974); Bodil Folke Frederiksen, ‘African Women and Their Colonisation of Nairobi: Representations and Realities’ and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, ‘Kula Raha: Gendered Discourse and the Contours of Leisure in Nairobi, 1946–63’, both in Andrew Burton (ed.), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa c. 1750–2000* (Nairobi & London: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2002), 223–34, 254–64; Hélène Charton-Bigot & Deyssi Rodriguez-Torres (eds.), *Nairobi contemporain: Les paradoxes d’une ville fragmentée* (Paris & Nairobi: Karthala & IFRA, 2006); Mshai S. Mwangola, ‘Leaders of Tomorrow? The Youth and Democratisation in Kenya’, in Godwin R. Murunga & Shadrack W. Nasong’o (eds.), *Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy* (Dakar, London & New York: Codesria & Zed, 2007), 129–63; Tony Kirui quoted in Steve Bloomfield, ‘Hundreds Flee from Homes in Kenya as Power-sharing Fails to Halt Mob Violence’, *The Independent* (London, 7 March 2008), 33.

Kenyatta himself had done twenty years earlier. Like all relationships ethnicity is subject to argument and amendment as much from within as from without. It changes its social character—whether as unequal moral community or argumentative political arena, fuzzy at the edges or tightly defined, more or less co-operative with neighbour communities—according to the changing economic and political contexts in which the universal human questions of trust and obligation are framed from time to time.

In Muoria's time conscious ethnic patriotism represented a great enlargement of the social scale of obligation, far wider than one's household, age-group, or clan.²⁵ This enlargement had many causes. New literacies in newly-standardised vernaculars shaped new local histories with biblical echoes; social mobility engendered wider risks of betrayal and, conversely, wider networks of trust; multi-lingual labour markets offered new competition; the British fostered 'tribal discipline' as the social foundation of their rule; and so on. It would be an error of our historical imagination, anachronistically shaped by a later age that is in some ways more respectful towards, and in others more critical of or more frightened by ethnic difference, to suppose that Muoria's ethnic preoccupations represented a failure, even a fault, in his own political imagination. To the contrary, he was calling into being an entirely new, much larger, political audience and active constituency, with what he properly called 'a spirit of patriotism', inspired by a sense of family affection, and yet at the same time rising above and beyond the minute rivalries and feuds that characterise Kikuyu society as it was, and still is, actually experienced.²⁶ Kikuyu were difficult enough to unify; indeed they never were united, not even by the often exhilarating, often terrifying, power of the Mau Mau oaths of solidarity and commitment. How then might one imagine black Kenya? Muoria named his audience variously, Kikuyu, African, or black, without apparent contradiction especially in his newspaper, *Mumenyereri*.²⁷ Did such a vast inclusiveness of the political imagination also demand, in political practice, an

²⁵ Godfrey & Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change Based on Observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945).

²⁶ John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau' in Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, Nairobi, & Athens OH: Currey, Heinemann Kenya, & Ohio University Press, 1992), 265–504.

²⁷ Frederiksen, "The Present Battle", 285, 311.

attempt to adopt a new cultural homogeneity or, to the contrary, a greater respect for an ethnic equality in diversity?

Muoria himself did not ask such a question directly. His records of Kenyatta's speeches in 1946 and 1947, however, reproduced in this volume, are wonderful sources for our understanding of how his hero Kenyatta addressed this dilemma. From 1946 to 1952 Muoria was, in effect, Kenyatta's press officer, from before the latter became president of the Kenya African Union (KAU) almost until the night he was arrested for supposedly managing Mau Mau. The KAU purported to represent all black Kenyans, irrespective of what Kenyans still, unapologetically, call 'tribe'. Muoria published only in his own mother tongue—although it is a further sign of the complexity of the times to note that no mother would then have told stories to her children in the standardised tongue of textbook, pamphlet, or press.²⁸ Kenyatta seems to have been just as happy in Swahili, Kenya's lingua franca of wage-employment, trade, and city street. KAU's general meetings were conducted in this common tongue. Yet not even Swahili was 'common'. 'Upcountry Swahili', the language of domestic service in white households and a second or third language for many Africans, was simpler than the 'clean', *safi*, Ki-Swahili of the Indian Ocean coast, its historical home. Only a very determined nationalism, like that of South Africa's white Afrikaners, burning with resentment against British imperialism, would turn a servant's language, 'kitchen Dutch', into the tongue of a chosen nation, Afrikaans.²⁹ The KAU had no such cultural conviction. It did run a Swahili-language newspaper, the 'African Voice', *Sauti ya Mwafrika*, but, less popular than the vernacular papers, it soon folded, unable to generate the emotional fire in which Kenyans might imagine themselves into a homogeneous nation of co-equal fraternity. The vernacular papers had an easier task in persuading local publics of their inner solidarity.

Many Africans, Kenyatta included, saw no contradiction between emergent local civic loyalties and the pursuit of a national political project. Today this might be labelled multiculturalism in pursuit of a rainbow nation. But here we have another historically contingent

²⁸ Peterson's *Creative Writing* explores, among other issues, the controversies surrounding the standardisation of Kikuyu orthography.

²⁹ Isabel Hofmeyr, 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature & Ethnic Identity 1902–1924', in Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido (eds.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987), 95–123.

construct. Renan would not be surprised if it did not last long, since where multiculturalism is the object of government policy it runs the risk of defeating its own purpose of creating a mutually tolerant diversity of citizens. Officially protected ethnic or religious difference can all too easily overwhelm all the many other civic identities that people otherwise enjoy sharing with others who are not of the same official minority status. Cultural identity may, as Kenyans rediscovered in the 2007 elections, poison both individual liberty and neighbourly affection. But that was not the risk that faced black Kenyans in the 1940s. They had then no state power to use or abuse since it was in the hands of whites. While British governments in London saw Kenya's white settlers as increasingly problematic allies in post-war reconstruction, economically essential but hostile to the political reforms that might placate black opinion, Africans thought government and settlers to be at one. That was their overriding problem. Previous African attempts to make government attend to their needs rather than to those of the white settlers had gone unheeded. Africans had been too weak, because too disunited.

The main challenge facing the KAU, as Kenyatta never tired of repeating, was therefore 'unity'. But how was it to be achieved? The means were not at all obvious, as the fate of *Sauti ya Mwafrika* showed. Central control under a vanguard minority with a determined aim was one possibility, a loose alliance of different interests with a minimal joint agenda was another. Neither was easy, when Kenya's peoples were of different languages, and had unequal access to education, to the labour and produce markets and, therefore, to political potential. Politics is costly; it needs transport, communication by press or telephone, a secretary or two, an office, an ability to pay party officials the cost of giving up their other forms of employment. Politics needs supporters prepared to pay such expenses or, better, to make such an investment in their future hopes. Not many black Kenyans could afford politics; few were able to visualise its costs as the price they must pay for realistic hopes of future entitlement to power.³⁰ Vanguard politics, as Mau Mau was to learn, was the expensive option; loose ethnic coalition cost much less. But for a man with Kenyatta's view that tradition was the best guide to action—reinforced by his distaste for what his Soviet Russian mentors had tried to teach him in the early 1930s—there could in

³⁰ For KAU's finances see, Spencer, *KAU*, 149–50, 155, 166, 173–4, 181–2.

any case be only one answer. It was to foster mutual respect between Kenya's several ethnic communities. Their several histories had taught them strikingly similar civic and household virtues; these gave them the right, indeed in honour obliged them, to exercise responsibility for their own affairs. A corollary was that KAU must not commit itself to any policy or action demanded only by a militant minority. A convinced vanguard might too brazenly lay claim to a monopoly on all loyalties. Nationalism should not presume to deprive its several parts of their own road to self-mastery. As Muoria reported Kenyatta to say on his arrival back in Kenya after the war, 'I have not come to rule you so as to tell anyone, do this and do that. But I have come as your servant'.³¹

In Kenyatta's view no vanguard minority, whether of education, ideology, or ethnicity, had the right to claim to know the interests of others better than they knew it themselves. Moreover, the patriots of each ethnic group generally had the same objective, namely, a wider, even global, recognition of their equal status with others.³² They could therefore be allies in principle—if also rivals in practice—in pursuit of political progress. Black Kenya had many patriotic histories to get wrong, not one only. The colony had no common memory; it was a British creation, scarcely a generation old. Muoria, if not explicitly then certainly implicitly, as his writings show, shared Kenyatta's view that African Kenya had therefore to be a multi-national association in the making, a miniature United Nations as Kenyatta called it years later, when President.³³

The problem was that, despite Kenyatta's scruples, he could do nothing to alter the fact that representatives of Kenya's different peoples came to the KAU coalition from different starting points. Some, those in the more northerly, pastoral, areas of the colony, came not at all. The Kikuyu people, inevitably, were the best represented. Over time, they became overwhelmingly so, as others, feeling ignored or threatened,

³¹ See below, 'The Homecoming of our Great Hero', section headed '“All Human Brains are the Same”: Kenyatta'.

³² John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God, and the Modern World', in Jan-Georg Deutsch et al. (eds.), *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate* (Portsmouth NH & Oxford: Heinemann & Currey, 2002), 31–66; idem, 'KAU's Cultures'; idem, 'Writing Competitive Patriotisms in Eastern Africa', in Derek Peterson & Giacomo Macola (eds.), *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Twentieth-Century Africa* (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2009).

³³ Jomo Kenyatta, *Suffering without Bitterness: The Founding of the Kenya Nation* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), 247.

lost interest or looked elsewhere. There was an attractive alternative, immersion in the politics of local government. It was here, in the African 'reserves', that the British allowed Africans some freedom to determine their own priorities and spend their own money in the fields of education, health, agriculture, markets, and law reform. It is in a return to this decentralised past of the late-colonial period that many Kenyans see the best hope for political peace in the future.

Why, back in the 1940s, was Kikuyu domination of KAU inevitable? There were many reasons, if only one was crucial. In an era of poor communication, their territory was the most central, nearest to Nairobi and cheapest of access. At a time when most African education was in missionary hands, the cool, green, Kikuyu hills—at an altitude less susceptible to malaria—were more thickly dotted with mission schools than elsewhere. Many Kikuyu also made a profitable business supplying Nairobi with the charcoal fuel, vegetables, grain, and milk with which other African producers, more distant, could not compete. Kikuyu women traders had for long invested in the slum property market. Where African workers from further afield were long-term migrants, travelling perhaps annually by train, daily Kikuyu commuters enabled Kikuyu road transporters to prosper. As these Kikuyu advantages multiplied, so too did their ability and incentive to invest in politics.³⁴ All Kenyan opinion of whatever colour was agreed, whether in pride or from envy or fear, on the fact of Kikuyu leadership in and around African Nairobi. Some were determined to exploit its strategic energy, others accepted it as a practical necessity, still others feared that such ethnic inequality foredoomed Kenya's future to increasing strife.

Muoria was therefore far from ethnocentric, or alone, in asserting that his Kikuyu people were ahead of other Kenyan peoples in the work of creating the wider Kenyan nation-to-be.³⁵ What did make him unusual

³⁴ Edward W. Soja, *The Geography of Modernization in Kenya: A Spatial Analysis of Social, Economic, and Political Change* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1968); Gavin Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite-Bourgeoisie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), Parts 1 & 2; David W. Throup, *Economic & Social Origins of Mau Mau* (London, Nairobi, & Athens OH: Currey, Heinemann Kenya, & Ohio University Press, 1987), chapter 8; Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Claire C. Robertson, *Trouble Showed the Way: Women, Men, and Trade in the Nairobi Area, 1890–1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Frederiksen, 'African Women'.

³⁵ Muoria, 'How it Feels to be Born a Kikuyu', 85–8, 97–8, 112–14. And see below for discussion of *What Should we Do, Our People?*

was his belief that such group advantage incurred an obligation to help other Kenyans not so well advanced. Unfortunately for Muoria's attempt to moralise Kikuyu leadership, not all Kikuyu were sufficiently privileged to look forward, with him, as politically generous patrons of hope. Those who had cause to despair were increasingly attracted to the secret militancy of Mau Mau. They could not afford the negotiated compromises and leaked confidences that were the nerve-wracking price of pan-ethnic alliance.

That was the final, crucial, reason why Kikuyu dominance of KAU was inevitable. The conservative and radical wings of Kikuyu opinion competed with each other for leadership of KAU. Moderates invested in the politics of hope; militants demanded huge fees from their followers to pay for their defence against social extinction—another reason for Mau Mau to be called the 'greedy eaters'. No other ethnic group was divided enough for opposing wings to feel so driven to impose one political vision on KAU rather than another. One cannot now tell how much Muoria knew of this deepening competition, which by 1951 the militants had won. He cannot have been ignorant of it. His newspaper, *Mumenyereri*, gave space to different strands of opinion. In his editorials he constantly espoused discussion and deplored violence. He disapproved of strike action; he published a detailed exposition of the British view that the royal charter granted to Nairobi in 1950 did not permit the city to expand further at Kikuyu expense—a fear that is often cited as a stimulus to Mau Mau insurgency.³⁶ But later editions of the paper carried dozens of advertisements for 'tea-parties' to be held in Nairobi's African locations. *Chai*, tea, was a common euphemism for a Mau Mau oath.³⁷ Nevertheless, Kikuyu militants were clearly not content with Muoria's brand of journalism, to judge by the emergence of half-a-dozen of what the British thought to be 'intensively subversive news-sheets' in 1951–52.³⁸ But these Kikuyu divisions were confusingly blurred. There were even different Mau Maus—the moderate, land-based, 'Kenya Mau Mau' of southern Kikuyu's elders; the militant, often landless, Mau Mau of Nairobi and the more northerly Kikuyu districts, Fort Hall (now Murang'a) and Nyeri; and a still more combative Mau Mau, originating among the squatters of the White

³⁶ Editorial, *Mumenyereri* 12 Mar. 1950: KNA, MAA.8/106.

³⁷ See the issue of 20–22 September 1952, reproduced in Frederiksen, "The Present Battle".

³⁸ *Corfield Report*, 195.

Highlands. But all, militant and moderate, emphasised the paramount moral need to work one's own land in order to achieve self-mastery. All had the same ambition for household respectability. Any insurgent in slum or forest would have agreed with the desk-bound, car-borne, Muoria that without private self-discipline there could be no worthy public ambition.

There was, then, no ideological difference between Kikuyu moderates and militants.³⁹ What was at issue was political responsibility and strategy, a committee of landed elders who could argue with propertied authority, or a militant cabal that could act with urgent decision. The British were clearly not wrong to fear the power of Muoria's pen. Equally, Muoria had good reason to wonder what vile conspiracy could conceivably have caused the British so to misunderstand him and others who supported Kenyatta the elder.⁴⁰ But such is the fate of men and women who deal in words. An unspoken word will convince no one, a proverb Muoria was fond of repeating. But a word once uttered or written may end up convincing anyone, not only those the author had most in mind. Print has unexpected audiences, audiences hear what they want, and no audience will agree what that might be. Muoria intended to inspire men of maturity. He was still more inspiring to men who feared that maturity might, for them, be permanently denied. One of the militants' new newspapers, *Inoorio ria Kikuyu*, 'The Kikuyu Sharpener', founded in late 1951, pirated its news from preceding issues of *Mumenyereri*.⁴¹ No public moralist can dictate how an audience interprets his words, still less how they then put them into action.

Public moralist

Henry Muoria hoped his words would fire up an audience not yet convinced of its own Kikuyu, let alone Kenyan, existence. He wanted to inspire a patriotic self-awareness that would drive forward the hard, potentially dispiriting, work of collective, social, self-improvement, the

³⁹ Lonsdale, 'Moral Economy'; Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*; Derek Peterson, 'Writing in Revolution: Independent Schooling & Mau Mau in Nyeri', in Atieno Odhiambo & Lonsdale, *Mau Mau & Nationhood*, 76-96; Branch, 'The Enemy Within'.

⁴⁰ The question at the heart of his autobiography, *I, the Gikuyu and the White Fury*.

⁴¹ Bildad Kaggia, *Roots of Freedom 1921-1963* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975), 82-3, 117.

key to political self-determination. In pursuit of this goal, he tried to reconcile what he understood to be Kikuyu tradition with Christian education, common interest with personal ambition. To reconcile such discords gave direction to Muoria's sense of public mission. As a self-educated man to whom nothing had come easily he spoke from the heart. Kikuyu had a duty, if only they could be made to see it, first to themselves and then to other Kenyans. To catch their attention and stir their enthusiasm he had to address their common, daily, preoccupations. Kenyatta and Muoria spoke or wrote to audiences very different from those of today, subject to images, fears, and aspirations that in some respects are no longer familiar to us, even if we recognise their human spirit to be like our own. Only when the texts of a previous century are put into their intellectual context can we catch their intended meaning, reinforced by homely allusion.⁴² To do this we need a better sense of the other voices of the time whom Muoria listened to, agreed with and argued against.

Muoria's audiences will immediately have grasped his purpose. He would not otherwise have been a best-selling author. Those who read him today, however, need a little help. This chapter, accordingly, having explored his time and place, must go on to situate Muoria within his Kikuyu intellectual tradition, show how his thought departed from that of his predecessors and how, too, within his own polemical arena, he differed from some of his contemporaries.

Henry Muoria was what scholars call an organic intellectual. He was certainly an intellectual. He reflected unusually deeply on the condition of his society, he drew general lessons about proper human behaviour from what he saw around him and from what he read. He was also 'organic', in the sense that he derived more of his thought from his own experience of life than from his education, although he was an inveterate reader of other men's wisdom. Like most other Kikuyu, too, he was self-employed. A freelance journalist and independent press editor was at least as insecure as any peasant farmer or casually-employed migrant worker. Nor did Muoria have any of the educational or social privilege that might have separated him from his readers. His formal education fell short of a full primary schooling. He mixed, however, with that small minority of Kenyan men who had been to a full secondary

⁴² The explication of Muoria's language and allusions is attempted in the footnotes to the three texts reproduced in this volume.

school, the Protestant missionary Alliance High School (AHS), in the hills above Nairobi, not far from his family home. Ex-AHS boys, a few of them with university diplomas and even degrees, were to dominate KAU, often known as ‘the teachers’ party’. Later, over half of President Kenyatta’s first cabinet ministers were old AHS boys.⁴³ Muoria lacked their self-confidence and polish. His writing is altogether more earnest than any of theirs in its calls for self-improvement. Their elite education had included Shakespearian drama, the singing of English folksongs, and tennis. Muoria, like Kenyatta, could also quote Shakespeare but had learned most from his railway apprenticeship, from correspondence courses in English and journalism and, above all, from the proverbial wisdom he had picked up from his unlettered parents.⁴⁴ None of his writings was without its cluster of Kikuyu proverbs. Even his English was partly self-taught as, with dictionary in hand, he pored over novels while on duty as a railway guard. What he learned from books, perhaps especially from the Bible, built on what he and his elders already knew they had to achieve: an honourably productive life within their local moral community of self-respect.

Muoria the organic intellectual was also a ‘public moralist’. He cannot be described as a political thinker although, as will be seen, he had original thoughts on the relationship between rural capitalism and political freedoms. What he did was to articulate the social values he saw embedded in Kikuyu—and other African—cultural traditions, draw lessons for his contemporaries, and inspire their daily life with new insights. He wrote for a public that his words helped to create; he reminded them of inherited civic virtues that many no longer thought about or perhaps even knew; he taught that any political claim would lack authority without the backing of private and corporate virtue. He demanded more of individual will than he expected of political reform.

⁴³ B. E. Kipkorir, ‘The Alliance High School and the Origins of the Kenya African Elite 1926–1962’, (PhD. dissertation, Cambridge, 1969); amplified by H el ene Charton, ‘La g en ese ambigu e de l’ elite kenyane’ (PhD. dissertation, Paris 7—Denis-Diderot, 2002).

⁴⁴ For the continued importance of a familiarity with Shakespeare among the Kenyan elite see D. W. Cohen & E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (Portsmouth NH & London: Heinemann & Currey, 1992).

Like similar public moralists in Victorian England,⁴⁵ Muoria had supportive public institutions and social circles to help him order his thoughts and reach his public. In the 1930s and '40s ethnic welfare associations blossomed in Nairobi and other Kenyan towns as first-generation Christian literates tried to bring some social order into what they saw as urban chaos and corruption. The British-run municipal authorities also began to encourage and fund social halls and reading rooms, not least for propaganda purposes in the Second World War. Once the wartime rationing on newsprint was relaxed the African press could flourish, subject to official surveillance and strict laws against any attempt to stir up racial hatred, a concept that could too easily apply to any African expression of dissent. African social and intellectual life did indeed suffer many restrictions and indignities. Poverty also meant that for Muoria's public, food and rent were far greater priorities than reading matter. For all the fact that one can detect the first signs of a distinctively urban civilisation in post-war Kenya it is a source of wonder that a voice like Muoria's should emerge at all in such an environment as Nairobi's in the 1940s, let alone permit him to profit from his calls to courage and resilience.⁴⁶

Muoria was by no means alone in his literary enterprise in the Africa of his time. The 1940s saw a great efflorescence of African literature, artistic and political, all over the continent. The Second World War had caused a widespread political awakening everywhere, not just in Kenya. Many towns, especially the port cities that entered the global public sphere by welcoming in the passing allied soldiers of every colour and nation, now had a growing literate public, eager for both self-improvement and intellectual entertainment, for moral guidance in new urban settings—an eager audience for newspapers, penny pamphlets and, very soon, more substantial novels. This was particularly true of the maritime cities of west and southern Africa. To meet this demand there were also increasing numbers of African writers, literate in English or

⁴⁵ For whom see Collini, *Public Moralists*.

⁴⁶ For African life in Nairobi at this time see references in footnote 34 above, to which should be added: Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 'Making popular culture from above: Leisure in Nairobi 1940–60' in L. Gunner (ed.), *Collected Seminar Papers* (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992), 68–73; Tom Askwith, *From Mau Mau to Harambee*, ed. by Joanna Lewis (Cambridge: African Studies Centre, 1995); Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-building: War and Welfare in Kenya 1925–52* (Oxford, Nairobi, & Athens OH: Currey, EAEP & Ohio UP, 2000); chapters by Achola, Anderson, Lonsdale, Frederiksen, Hyde & Atieno Odhiambo in Burton, *Urban Experience*.

French, second or third-generation products of mission-schooling. In west Africa, Senegal, the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria all witnessed a rapid expansion of popular literature; South Africa's inner-city black locations entered a decade of energetic literary and musical output, chronicled by *Drum* magazine, one of the liveliest periodicals in the world, before the forced apartheid removals to suburban townships closed that energy down during what has been called South Africa's 'silent sixties'. Kenya therefore was not exceptional in this new age of cultural creativity. Nonetheless, the achievements of Henry Muoria and his few local contemporaries were remarkable. Nairobi's African population was smaller than that of Accra, Lagos, or Johannesburg. More middle-ranking jobs that could have supported a literary culture were held by south Asians than by Africans. Kenya's formal African schooling was two or three generations behind that of parts of western and southern Africa. English, in particular, was accessible to far fewer Africans in Kenya than their Nigerian or South African counterparts. To publish in the vernacular, not only in Gikuyu but also in KiKamba and Dholuo, was more profitable than doing so even in Swahili. Nairobi's readerships were smaller, more divided, poorer than elsewhere. Muoria contrived to prosper—perhaps, in part, because he soon dropped the English-language section from *Mumenyereri*.

Muoria benefited, then, from social and educational change, however late they came to East Africa when compared with west and southern Africa. The political and moral arguments he expressed in his newspaper and pamphlets were similar to those declared, for instance, in Nigeria but by a much larger group of journalists, Nnamdi Azikiwe among them, who supported nationalist politics and social reform. But the size of the Nigerian audience was increased still further by the ability of many to read in English as much as in Yoruba, Igbo or Hausa. The didactic pamphlets and penny dreadfuls that emerged from the market town of Onitsha, a famous example of Africa's new popular literature, were entirely in English. In South Africa, newspapers like *The Bantu World*, *Ilanga Lase Natal* and *Inkundla ya Bantu*, published either in English or with English-language sections, were edited by political reformers closely related to social and political institutions older and more deeply rooted in black society than the Kenya African Union could begin to pretend. Like Muoria, they promoted political progress and moral enlightenment, they were responsive to their readers. But their conversations with their public were largely in English. Muoria's Gikuyu was just as 'national' in historical resonance as English, but

his public was only one among Kenya's many moral communities, not the increasingly common audience entered into by the African middle classes of western and even southern Africa at this time—however much their politicised ethnicity later divided them.⁴⁷

Muoria began to create and address his public at a critical moment in the life of colonial Kenya, as his contemporaries did in other colonies. Also as in other parts of the postwar world it was a time of dislocation, of social change engineered from above and, increasingly, of frightened, angry, tumult below. The economic stimulus of war-imperialism had brought thousands of young East Africans to town for the first time, making them strangers to their parents and bringing them new friends, new rivals. Military service had introduced many more thousands to a wider world overseas, to Egypt and the holy land of Palestine to the north—what for some was the centre of their biblically-educated global imagination—and, to the east, to India and Burma, where people even poorer and more divided than themselves were soon to gain independence.⁴⁸ Yet, after the war many Africans found that life back home took a turn for the worse, dashing all hopes that the British might reward them for their sacrifices in fighting the Empire's freedom-struggle against fascism.⁴⁹

The African poor were equally hard hit in town and country. The price-inflation caused by worldwide shortages of food and consumer

⁴⁷ For these last two paragraphs see, from a large literature, Emmanuel Obiechina, *An African Popular Literature: A Study of Onitsha Market Pamphlets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1973); Tim Couzens, *The New African. A Study of the Life and Works of H. I. E. Dhlomo* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985); Stephanie Newell, *Literary Culture in Colonial Ghana: 'How to Play the Game of Life'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Karin Barber (ed.), *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), especially her 'Introduction: Hidden Innovators in Africa' and the following chapters: Bhekizizwe Peterson, 'The Bantu World and the World of the Book: Reading, Writing, and "Enlightenment"', and Isabel Hofmeyr, 'Reading Debating/Debating Reading: The Case of the Lovedale Literary Society, or Why Mandela quotes Shakespeare'. Thanks, too, to guidance from Bodil Folke Frederiksen.

⁴⁸ For excitement and doubt in visiting the holy land see, Kaggia, *Roots of freedom*, 28–30, 37–9. For Burma, Gerald Hanley, *Monsoon Victory* (London: Collins, 1946); Waruhiu Itote (General China), *'Mau Mau' General* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967); John Nunneley, *Tales from the King's African Rifles* (London: Cassell, 1998).

⁴⁹ A propaganda pamphlet to encourage African recruitment and published in English, Swahili, Luganda and Chinyanja, was in English called *A Spear for Freedom* (Nairobi: East Africa Command, ?1943). The army masked the political implications of this title for its Swahili-reading audience by changing it to the simple military couplet, *Mkuki na Bunduki*, 'Spear and Gun'.

goods impoverished black townspeople, always among the lowest paid and often unemployed. Nor were the colonial regime or commercial employers quick to permit to African workers the full rights of trades union representation that might have won them some redress.⁵⁰ In the rural regions of central Kenya, too, where most Kikuyu people lived, many poorer households faced a shocking decline in status as the rich and powerful few, both black and white, exploited the wartime export boom to tighten their hold on property. Farm tenants found their previously agreed land rights were repudiated as much by their seniors in the Kikuyu 'reserve' as by employers on the 'white highlands'. The shock was all the greater in the latter area, on the settlers' farms. African labour tenants here, the so-called 'squatters', had hitherto managed to cultivate and graze larger acreages of their own on the vast white estates, while their poor relations back in the reserves had since the 1930s been fighting a losing battle against the demands of their senior kin, patrons, or official chiefs. And yet, as the war ended, many of these comparatively wealthy squatters found their entitlements to white-owned arable land and pasture were severely, and suddenly, cut back. It was almost impossible for them to recover their rights to ancestral land they may have deserted a generation or more ago back in the reserves; and government settlement schemes for ex-squatters were hedged about with onerous rules of land husbandry that denied self-mastery to household heads.⁵¹ To crown the causes of discontent, many ex-soldiers failed to find civilian jobs at the levels of pay and skills they had enjoyed in the army; and their savings were soon exhausted. There was growing generational friction, as the young found that shortage of land and jobs—each controlled by their parents' generation—made it ever more difficult to marry and embark on their own adult lives of honourable achievement.⁵²

⁵⁰ Makhan Singh, *History of Kenya's Trade Union Movement to 1952* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969); Anthony Clayton & Donald C. Savage, *Government and Labour in Kenya 1895–1963* (London: Cass, 1974); Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Parts II to IV; Dave Hyde, 'The Nairobi General Strike, 1950: From Protest to Insurgency', in Burton, *Urban Experience*, 235–53.

⁵¹ Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* and Frank Furedi, *The Mau Mau war in Perspective* (London, Nairobi, and Athens OH: Currey, EAEP, Ohio University Press, 1987 and 1989 respectively); Throup, *Economic & Social Origins*.

⁵² Lonsdale, 'KAU's Cultures', 113–15.

Henry Muoria began his writing career, then, in the face of a divided African society, full of hope, frustration and, for the poorest, fear of social extinction. He himself was living testimony to the power of will and self-discipline, peasant virtues at the heart of Kikuyu culture. Recalling a political set-back, he reflected, in an agrarian metaphor of resolute perseverance: *Utanamerithia ndatigaga kuhanda*: 'He whose crops have failed does not stop planting.'⁵³ But he was older than the returning soldiers; he was married, with children; he had inherited land; he was able to avoid the daily indignities of a slum existence. It is not surprising that, as a self-made man entitled to call himself an elder, he held, in common with Kenyatta and other leaders at the time, a critical view of the failings of his own people in the face of post-war disillusion. The fault appeared to lie more in themselves than in the colonial rule set over them. Africans were not doing enough to raise their civic aspirations, certainly not as much as he himself had, to prove themselves worthy of economic and political trust. They did not even trust each other. The right to freedom, he believed, must be earned not only by the arduous exercise of self-mastery but also by proof of a cooperative civic sense. Muoria's, like Kenyatta's, was a stern, conservative, nationalism of self-improvement.

In all other respects Muoria's thought was very much his own. Twenty years younger than Kenyatta, he lacked the latter's intricate, perhaps rather inhibiting, sense of Kikuyu history. Kenyatta's imagined Kikuyu past was bound by rules. Muoria's vision of the future was full of opportunity. His philosophical horizons were broader than Kenyatta's, despite the fact that the older man had returned from sixteen years of intellectual exploration in Britain. But Muoria was also less well-educated than another great Kikuyu pamphleteer at the time, Gakaara wa Wanjau, who had briefly studied at the AHS before being sacked for taking part in a student food-strike. Gakaara had also experienced army service in Ethiopia and, after the war, the growing desperation of squatter life in the highlands. Moreover, Gakaara's home district of Nyeri, in northern Kikuyuland, was not as prosperous, nor as well-educated, as Muoria's Kiambu. For all these reasons Gakaara was more penetrating than Muoria in his criticisms of British rule. He asked how far it was realistic to expect colonialism to allow its subjects to pursue

⁵³ Muoria, 'How it Feels', 84; compare Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford, Nairobi, Athens OH: Currey, EAEP, Ohio University Press, 1997), 15-18.

the self-improvement that Muoria demanded of them. Gakaara went further in asking, long before it began to dawn on Muoria, how far the experience of subjection might disable Africans from dreaming such dreams in the first place. Gakaara blamed unequal colonial structures rather than feeble African wills. Africans were not so much lazy as deceived by whites, colonised in mind.⁵⁴

Such comparison with Kenyatta and Gakaara helps us to see what was special about Muoria's thought. Kenyatta was more conservative, Gakaara more radical. Muoria was less inhibited than Kenyatta and more optimistic than Gakaara, although he did sometimes, and increasingly, echo Gakaara's accusation that colonial rule had enslaved the African mind. Above all, Muoria asked his public new questions and offered new solutions. To appreciate the originality of his thought, however, one first has to know more of the intellectual and cultural history that had helped to mould him and his immediate predecessors. Of that history nothing was more important than Muoria wa Mwaniki's own adventurous youth.

The making of a self-taught man

Muoria, son of Mwaniki and his wife Wambui, was born in 1914 near Kabete, southern Kikuyu, a few green, thickly populated but airy miles uphill from Nairobi. Kenya's capital was then an alternately muddy or dusty, ramshackle, Indian railway town of corrugated iron, badly drained, haunted by plague. Kabete was a thatch-roofed Anglican mission station, headed by Canon Harry Leakey, *Giteru*, the bearded one, most of whose days were spent on his veranda translating the Bible into Kikuyu, with the aid of his first Kikuyu converts.⁵⁵ Muoria's parents had nothing to do with the mission, possibly because they were too rich. His father Mwaniki's household was counted among the *ene* or owners of his subclan or *mbari*, more secure therefore, and probably

⁵⁴ For Gakaara wa Wanjau see, Gakaara wa Wanjau, *Mau Mau Writer in Detention* (Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, 1988); Lonsdale, 'Moral Economy', 431–2; Cristiana Pugliese, *Author, Publisher and Kikuyu Nationalist: The Life and Writings of Gakaara Wanjau* (Nairobi & Bayreuth: IFRA & Bayreuth University, 1995); Derek Peterson, 'The Intellectual Lives of Mau Mau Detainees', *Journal of African History* 49 (2008), 73–91.

⁵⁵ John Kimani Karanja, *Founding an African Faith: Kikuyu Anglican Christianity 1900–1945* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1999), chapter 5.

larger, than its allies and dependants, the *ahoi*. ‘*Fundi*’, or ‘craftsman’, Mwaniki also had an unusually responsible job—for an African—with Nairobi’s electrical power company. By the standards of the time the young Muoria did not know household poverty. In all other respects his youth was a struggle.

Muoria’s life cannot be understood apart from his encounter with Christianity. As elsewhere in Africa Kikuyu Christianity emerged, in large part, as adolescent rebellion.⁵⁶ Muoria’s youth was both disobedient and dutiful. He pursued a life unimaginable to his forebears and disapproved of by his parents, but not without a sense of family obligation. Muoria’s experience, subversive of family expectation yet obedient to Kikuyu conventions of respectability, was paralleled by many of his enterprising contemporaries who also went on to make their mark on Kenya’s public life. A sturdy self-reliance coloured everything Muoria later wrote. His life story is given in his autobiography, *I, the Kikuyu, and the white fury* (1994) and elsewhere in this volume. All that is needed here is some indication of how a desire for self-mastery and the new education were reconciled with the stern Kikuyu moral economy of household duty, a challenge that he later generalised in his pamphleteering.

Young Muoria spent his boyhood as he should, herding his father’s sheep and goats, but with a dreamy inattention that brought down the wrath of neighbours. To learn to read was his own idea, on seeing the magical power of print in the schoolbooks of a friend. That Kikuyu should call their Christians ‘readers’, *athomi*, was no accident. But duty to his parents meant that it was not until a younger brother was old

⁵⁶ The archetypal childhood of disobedient Christian literacy was of course Kenyatta’s: See, George Delf, *Jomo Kenyatta: Towards Truth about ‘The Light of Kenya’* (London: Gollancz, 1961), 28; Jeremy Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972), 33–53. Compare: R. Mugo Gatheru, *Child of Two Worlds, a Kikuyu’s Story* (London: Routledge, 1964), 34–71; Oginga Odinga, *Not yet Uhuru* (London: Heinemann, 1967), 31–42; Harry Thuku, with Kenneth King, *An Autobiography* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970), 6–10; E. N. Wanyoike, *An African Pastor* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1974), chapters 2–4; Kaggia, *Roots of Freedom*, chapter 1; Charles Muhoro Kareri, *The Life of Charles Muhoro Kareri*, ed. by Derek Peterson (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 2003), chapter 3. A Christian education pursued in obedience to parents was rare before the 1930s; see, Parmenas Githendu Mockerie, *An African Speaks for his People* (London: Hogarth, 1934), 54–5; Muga Gicaru, *Land of Sunshine: Scenes of Life in Kenya before Mau Mau* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1958), chapter 5; Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, ‘*Mau Mau*’ *Detainee* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1963), 5; Obadiah Kariuki, *A Bishop Facing Mount Kenya: An Autobiography 1902–1978* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1985), chapter 2.

enough to take over as herdboys that Muoria, aged about twelve, felt able to go to Leakey's school. In April 1927 he was circumcised into the *ndege*, or 'bird' age-set, the year in which an aeroplane was first seen in central Kenya. In this he observed convention, taking a necessary step towards maturity and manhood. Yet his observance was far from conventional. He was not initiated with all customary ritual in the company of his age-mates. The then tiny minority of Christians—and Muoria seems to have seen himself as one, although not yet baptised—thought that much of the social and educational procedure of initiation was embarrassingly obscene. He underwent the surgery but avoided the celebration. His father was furious at this eccentricity, not so much because it looked like cowardice but because it prevented a parade of parental honour. Unsupported by his parents at school and longing for the smart clothes appropriate to his circumcised status, Muoria's next attempt at independence was to get a labourer's job in Nairobi. Finding the racial indignities of manual labour in town insupportable he returned to his rural school, maintaining himself by selling vegetables at weekends in the Nairobi market.

Henry—as he now became, taking his name from powerful English kings—was baptised in 1930 at the age of sixteen. This was a tense moment in the history of Kikuyu Christianity, when hard choices had to be made. Probably no more than five per cent of Kikuyu were then 'readers', deeply suspect to their elders. The protestants among them were asked or even pressurised by their missionaries, to make themselves more unpopular still, by opposing 'female circumcision' as it was then called, female genital mutilation as many term it today. Catholic priests made no such demand, since they saw clitoridectomy as a cultural matter on which Christianity was neutral. Henry was among those who signed the *kirore*, 'thumbprint', petition. This requested a ban—at least with respect to the daughters of Christians—on the genital surgery. This had hitherto been integral to the initiation of adolescent Kikuyu girls into the painful responsibilities of womanhood. The petition called therefore for a radical change in domestic culture. It is not clear if Henry made up his own mind to join what many thought was a still more treacherous minority within the Christian minority, or if his local church community gave him no option.⁵⁷ Few of Muoria's Christian contemporaries felt able to take so bold a step or even saw its

⁵⁷ I, *The Gikuyu*, 35, is silent on the matter and memory was not clear.

need. Most 'readers', along with Kikuyu generally, saw clitoridectomy as an essential mark of sexual discipline, moral maturity, and household obedience. It was seen to protect Kikuyu property rights, still under threat from white settlement, and social discipline too, endangered by youthful labour migration and the selfish pleasures of town. Anglican Kikuyu like Muoria were under less missionary pressure to sign than were adherents of other Protestant missions. Young Henry may therefore have followed his conscience but we cannot know that for certain. Anglicans in Kiambu were sharply divided in their attitude to clitoridectomy and the views of Reuben Karanja, the pastor to whom Muoria was closest, are no longer known.⁵⁸

Nor can it now be known how far the divisive, often physically aggressive, local politics of female circumcision persuaded the youthful Muoria to leave home and take his next step into the unknown. But in 1931, at the height of the controversy, unable to afford further schooling but avid for knowledge, he took himself off to the railway training school in Nairobi. There he learned the morse code, the dot-and-dash language of telegraphy. In all Kenya this was, next to teacher training, probably the best training in responsibility then available to Africans. The Railway administration, seeking economies during the 1930s depression, was increasingly employing Africans in jobs that had hitherto been reserved to Asians on their higher, racially determined, pay scale. Henry was appointed as signalman. He could afford to marry. He chose a rare woman 'reader' from his home area, Elizabeth Thogori, who had been at the Kabete mission's girls school. After a second training course he

⁵⁸ The 'female circumcision crisis' has generated a large literature. See, especially: Jocelyn Murray, 'The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy, with Special Reference to the Church Missionary Society's Sphere of Influence', (University of California at Los Angeles PhD. dissertation, 1974); Charles Ambler, 'The Renovation of Custom in Colonial Kenya: The 1932 Generation Succession Ceremonies in Embu', *Journal of African History* 30 (1989), 139–56; Marshall S. Clough, *Fighting Two Sides: Kenyan Chiefs and Politicians 1918–1940* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), chapter 7; Susan Pedersen, 'National Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: The Sexual Politics of Colonial Policy-making', *Journal of Modern History* 63, 4 (1991), 647–80; John Lonsdale, 'Moral Economy of Mau Mau', 388–95; Claire Robertson, *Trouble Showed the Way: Women, Men and Trade in the Nairobi Area 1890–1990* (Indiana UP, Bloomington, 1997), chapter 7; Lynn Thomas, 'Imperial Concerns and "Women's Affairs": State Efforts to Regulate Clitoridectomy and Eradicate Abortion in Meru, Kenya, 1910–1950', *Journal of African History* 39 (1988), 121–45; Karanja, *Founding an African Faith*, chapter 6; Peterson, *Creative Writing*, chapter 4; Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 'Jomo Kenyatta, Marie Bonaparte and Bronislaw Malinowski on Clitoridectomy and Female Sexuality', *History Workshop Journal* 65 (2008), 23–48.

was promoted to be a railway guard. Its long and lonely hours at the back of a train made it an ideal occupation for a young man with a devouring appetite for self-education, now able to read in English.

After the Second World War, and in his early thirties, Muoria abandoned dependent wage-labour for yet another adventure, as freelance entrepreneur in the realm of words. Elisabeth left him, thinking him mad to give up his secure, well-paid, job with the railway. Henry married another, Judith Nyamurwa, better educated than he, who shared his adventurous spirit. Together they epitomised the new age of national, even international, awareness that was so exciting for young Africans who aspired to be citizens of the world and so unnerving to colonial Europeans who much preferred local natives. Muoria was then elected assistant general secretary of the new nationalist congress, the KAU, at its second annual meeting, in Nairobi in 1946. His relations with his fellow officials were never particularly happy and he apparently never read, before he signed, the KAU's impressive memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in August 1946.⁵⁹

While helping to run KAU Muoria was at the same time a patriotic Kikuyu, acting as secretary to his *ndege*, 'aeroplane', age-set association. With more senior Kikuyu politicians he also helped to raise the funds that brought Kenyatta home from Britain. In late 1946, after his return, Kenyatta established himself at Githunguri college, apex of the Kikuyu independent schools that had multiplied since 1929, and funded in part by competition between Kikuyu age-sets.⁶⁰ Muoria hoped to make a big

⁵⁹ British National Archives (BNA, hitherto the Public Record Office or PRO), CO 533/537/38672, enclosure in No. 1: 'The Economical, Political, Educational, and Social Aspects of the African in Kenya Colony'. Arthur Creech Jones, then parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies, minuted on 23 Sep. 1946 that the fifty-three page typescript was 'a most interesting and important statement and some parts will call for a reasoned reply'. There is however no indication on the file that the KAU ever received one. Muoria signed as one of the four-member KAU standing committee; the others were the president, James Gichuru; Joseph Otiende, vice-president; and Francis Khamisi, secretary. Thirty-one district representatives also signed. Muoria, 'How it feels', 98, for his failure to read the memorandum.

⁶⁰ For independent churches and schools, see, F. B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels: A study of some East African Independent Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1961); Murray, 'Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy'; idem, 'The Kikuyu Spirit Churches', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 5 (1974), 198–234; Philomena Njiri, 'The Akurinu Churches: A Study of the History and some of the Basic Beliefs of the Holy Ghost Church of East Africa 1926–1980' (University of Nairobi, Religious Studies MA, 1984); Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, 188–95; Theodore Natsoulas, 'The Rise and Fall of the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association of Kenya 1929–1952', *Journal of Asian & African Studies* 23 (1988), 219–33; Francis K. Githeya, 'The Church of the Holy Spirit', chapter 11

splash on behalf of his own by hiring an Auster light aeroplane, piloted by a European, to fly over the college on a sports day. The British district commissioner refused him permission. But Muoria was not easily deterred from fresh adventures. 'He whose crops have failed does not stop planting.' He built his stone house, he bought his Citroën car. He continued his pamphleteering and popular journalism. And for this, to consider now his place in the intellectual and political tradition of modern Kikuyuland, the seed had been sown in 1939.

The Kikuyu intellectual tradition

Shortly after he became a railway guard, Muoria had read Kenyatta's *Facing Mount Kenya*, one of the first books to be published by a black Kenyan. Muoria was then on duty on the cold night run from the highest station in the empire, Timboroa, to Eldoret, furthest point of the Afrikaner trek from the poverty that had afflicted South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century in the aftermath of the (second) Boer War. It was at Eldoret, in 1939, that Muoria had ordered Kenyatta's book from a kindly Englishwoman, owner of a local bookshop. Reading Kenyatta was a revelation. Muoria realised that Africans could write as well as any white man.⁶¹ He thereupon decided to study journalism. He subscribed to a correspondence course, one of the indisputable benefits of empire, advertised in the *East African Standard*. Muoria then wrote his first pamphlet, the one-hundred page *What should we do, Our People?* while working on the hottest sector of the railway, down to the Magadi soda works at the bottom of the Rift Valley. Published early in 1945, its sales at the Anglican missionary bookshop in Nairobi encouraged him to leave the railway and found his own Gikuyu-vernacular newspaper, *Mumenyereri*, *The Guardian*.

in Thomas Spear & Isaria N. Kimambo (eds.), *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Oxford, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi & Athens OH: Currey, Mkuki na Nyota, EAEP & Ohio University Press, 1999), 231–43; James A. Wilson, 'The Untold Story: Kikuyu Christians, Memories, and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement 1922–1962', (Princeton University, PhD. dissertation, 2002); Peterson, *Creative Writing*, chapter 6.

⁶¹ How far Kenyatta was solely responsible for the published text remains a matter for argument. Mbiyu Koinange told an English friend that he was the author (interview with Nora Williams in Hendon, north London, 22 July 1990); other candidates are Kenyatta's close friend Dinah Stock, and David Goodfellow from South Africa, a fellow student at the London School of Economics.

In editorials and further pamphlets Muoria developed conventional Kikuyu thought in entirely new directions. Kikuyu were insistent that human labour, self-disciplined sweat, was the means to *wiathi* or self-mastery—that is, a ‘straight’, fully accomplished, honourable, life that deserved to be remembered by one’s heirs. It was an ideal held before women as much as men. Such stern insistence was not surprising. In a troubled late-nineteenth century many Kikuyu households had perished, and lineages died out, thanks to drought, famine and smallpox. Wealthier families, with wider investments in marriage and commercial alliances, had the greater chance of survival. Their persistence on the land, their continuing ability to honour their forebears, not only conferred the civic virtue of managing local affairs but also proved the unseen blessing of their ancestors. Kikuyu strove for such wealth through household industry on land that had then been generally available to any man who proved himself a forceful leader, a reliable client, or ‘diligent child’—as a favourite proverb reminded them. Since land was thus accessible to all they had good reason to deplore poverty as the mark of idle irresponsibility.

Kenyatta had discussed all this in *Facing Mount Kenya*. He had therefore stressed that colonialism’s chief sin was its destruction of ‘manhood’, in taking away from Africans the right to decide for themselves how best to master themselves. But Kenyatta was not at all clear how Kikuyu could retain their Kikuyu moral fibre under modern conditions. Muoria had far more confidence on that score. His own experience silenced all conservative fears. He shared none of Kenyatta’s later doubts about the compatibility of Christianity with Kikuyu materialism. He also argued the Kikuyu need for democracy more effectively than Kenyatta, and on different grounds. Unlike Kenyatta he did not insist on the need to respect one’s parents. Muoria also promoted the need for a wider education, and set out the self-respecting duties of wage labour whereas, in *Facing Mount Kenya*, Kenyatta had been confused about the moral worth of both. In all, Muoria’s well-read, but still organic, moral thought added up to a formidable call for patriotic self-discipline in precisely those modern fields of activity that Kenyatta feared would lead to detribalisation, disrespect for tradition and, in consequence, the destruction of one’s will to overcome life’s challenges.

It is vital to realise quite how radically Muoria departed from previous Kikuyu political and moral philosophy. In that, too, he was a self-taught man. Two different schools of thought had preceded him between the wars. Each had mobilised a collective version of Kikuyu history to resist

colonial threats to their land, culture, and minds. While Muoria was less interested in collective history than in individual responsibility, he wrote two histories of the Kikuyu Central Association, as told him by one of its officials, George Kirongothi Ndegwa. Their main message, more confident than Kenyatta's in *Facing Mount Kenya*, was that the Kikuyu love of convincing argument, *kihooto*, enabled people to triumph over the 'enslaving ideas' of colonial subjection.⁶² But Muoria did not, as Kenyatta would have done, draw on precolonial precedent to reinforce this argument. He was a member of a generation perhaps beginning to be ignorant of this earlier history—a history pre-eminently of land settlement and entitlement that after the First World War became a reproachful mirror to colonial expropriation and, therefore, a claim for reparation. Muoria's apparent lack of interest in the more distant past perhaps also reflected the fact that his household was not powerful enough to exploit the claims of a laborious, sweated, history of ancestral achievement. To the contrary, he lived at a time when more and more Africans found themselves in situations for which history offered little guide. He was inspired, rather, by what he understood as the individually inspiring core values of Kikuyu moral economy. He had picked these up from his parents and friends. They were values that sustained the human will in any context, no matter how threatening or new.

The two preceding schools of Kikuyu thought may be called 'dynastic' and 'generational'. Both translated a partisan self-interest—of lineage descent or generational solidarity—into general principles of social progress and renewal. Dynastic thought concentrated on legal matters to do with patriarchal seniority, clan affiliation, and property. Dynastic time was linear; it recorded migration, settlement, alliance, and the clearance or purchase of land. Generational thought focused on moral claims to authority. Kikuyu believed that each successive generation became stained with ill-will and jealousy, the inevitable companions of competitive lineage investment in land, marriage, clientage, and trade. Every so often, about every three decades, Kikuyu enacted ceremonial

⁶² H. Muoria, *The Kikuyu Spirit of Patriotism is for Victory* (1947), amplified in *Our Victory does not Depend on the Force of Arms but on the Word of Truth* (1948), both reproduced in Muoria's translation in *I, the Kikuyu*, 124–36 and 137–47 respectively. For Kenyatta's own hunt for convincing argument see, Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale, 'Custom, Modernity, and the Search for *Kihooto*: Kenyatta, Malinowski, & the Making of *Facing Mount Kenya*', chapter 6 in Helen Tilley, with Robert J. Gordon, *Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European Imperialism, & the Politics of Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 173–98.

transfers of ritual and judicial power called *ituika*, when a new generation, unscarred as yet by successful intrigue or embittered failure, bought out the compromised authority of its elders. Generational thought was therefore cyclical or recursive. The two modes of thought, linear and recursive, were intimately entwined in the daily experience of all. The saying, 'One can never escape one's lineage or age-set' was a rueful reflection on life's complexity. So too was the proverb 'birds which land together fly up separately'. Members of the same age-set—like Muoria's *ndege*—might as young men enjoy each other's company; after marriage they would then compete in wealth, reputation and power, like well-fed birds. While the two strands of Kikuyu moral thought were thus interwoven one can nevertheless detect periods in which first one and then another was the more prominent.⁶³

The first Kikuyu spokesmen and writers of the colonial age came from the more powerful families and espoused dynastic thought. They claimed to be as deserving of government favour as white settlers, since Kikuyu had a civilising mission equal to Britain's. Like their white colonisers they could boast a propertied history of improving the land. They cultivated demarcated, inter-cropped, hillsides—some of them irrigated—where their predecessors, the uncouth Okiek (Dorobo) people, had merely hunted the untamed forests for honey, meat, and ivory. The agents of this Kikuyu civilisation were the tree-felling, hard-digging, land-buying, peace-bringing lineages at the core of each of Kikuyuland's many hundreds of *mbari* or 'sub-clan' settlements. *Mbari* history was one of progress in agriculture and law, as forgetful as any nationalist history of such inconvenient setbacks as famine and war. Early British officials out in the Kikuyu districts—but not their seniors in the central offices of government—had shown much sympathy with this dynastic view of the past. Dynastic thought scored its greatest political success in 1929 when Kikuyu elders gathered before a travelling land-tenure committee of two British officials and the palaeontologist Louis Leakey, *Giteru's* Kikuyu-born son. Having listened to the elders' evidence for all of six and one-half days the committee had recommended the registration of lineage, *mbari*, title to land as it was determined by male descent, at the expense of dependent clients and women. It looked as if

⁶³ See further, Lonsdale, 'Contests of Time'.

Kikuyuland had been saved from white settler greed by its patriarchal lineages and, therefore, for their benefit.⁶⁴

Dynastic history crashed in ruins, however, barely five years later. The British government, hoping to silence Kenya's maddening whine of racial conflict, appointed a land commission under Judge Morris Carter, formerly of the Uganda high court, to settle the boundary between white and black, once and for all. This Kenya Land Commission took evidence from officials, settlers and Africans. It was sympathetic not only to settler tales of pioneer effort on allegedly empty African lands but also to progressive, expert, ideas of how smallholder mixed-farming would increase African production and welfare under state-enforced rules of good husbandry, all within the existing racial distribution of land. The commission therefore declared that *mbari*, dynastic, history was not only unbelievable as a version of the Kikuyu past but also irrelevant to Kenya's land problems. New forms of land husbandry were the key to the future, not the redistribution of land according to the dictates of past history.

Carter had some reason for this harsh judgment. The Kikuyu case was fatally disputed between modest historical claims, pressed orally by land elders appearing before the commission, and manifestly exaggerated ones submitted in print by their educated sons. Moreover, Okiiek witnesses stoutly maintained that it was more often by 'force and chicanery' than by honest purchase that Kikuyu had acquired their land. The Commission, accordingly, believed it was under no obligation to restore the specific land that *mbari* spokesmen claimed was now under white-owned coffee plantations—except in a very few cases like the Church of Scotland mission estate in southern Kikuyuland that features in the third of Muoria's pamphlets reproduced in this volume.⁶⁵ Otherwise Carter granted land to Kikuyu as a whole, as a general act of compensation. But such land was available only because it was empty, either too low, hot, and dry or too high, cold, and wet for smallholder farming. Many Kikuyu later attributed the origins of Mau Mau to the failure of their *mbari* elders, the dynasts, to achieve justice in the 1930s.

⁶⁴ A Fiona D. Mackenzie, *Land, Ecology and Resistance in Kenya 1880–1952* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 75–82.

⁶⁵ See below, 'Kenya is our Reconciler', section headed 'What Kenyatta Told the Kikuyu members of the Catholic Religion'.

Less senior people must be allowed to take the political initiative, no matter how much this offended Kikuyu ideas of due order.⁶⁶

Defeated dynastic history had been largely oral. It was supplanted by its rival, generational history, expressed increasingly in print. The first *athomi*, 'readers', exploited the Kikuyu concept of restorative time and its appropriate social organisation, the candidate generation-set or *riika*, in order to invest their self-interest with patriotic virtue, as the dynastic school of elders had done before them. During and after the Great War—as Muoria was born—colonial time, Kikuyu, and Christian time marched together in a dramatic conjuncture of disaster, confrontation and hopes of renewal. The Great War devoured Kikuyu manpower. Thousands of porters were conscripted into the army's Carrier Corps to carry supplies for the long British campaign in German East Africa (Tanzania). Many died, hungry and sick. Death even marked the end of the war, with prolonged drought and a catastrophic local visitation of the 'Spanish' influenza pandemic. Those were the disasters of colonialism. The confrontation came between generations of Kikuyu. A generational transfer of power, *ituika*, was becoming due, in which junior elders challenged their seniors in a contest of virtue marked by conspicuous sacrificial consumption. The misery of the times certainly suggested that a revival of ritual power was overdue.

But there was another goad to renewal: Christianity. White missionaries had had little success with Kikuyu in their decade of work before 1914. The war, however, brought together two incentives to enter this new ritual community in a moment of revelation. One was fortuitous, the first publication, in any large number, of vernacular Christian gospels, over whose translation young Kikuyu had laboured for years as language consultants to the missionaries. Harry Leakey, Muoria's teacher, was a particularly successful translator because he paid close attention to Kikuyu advice.⁶⁷ Many besides Muoria were intellectually fascinated by the new literacy and sales of scripture boomed. The second attraction of Christian community came when scripture went to war. White missionaries formed the Kikuyu Mission Volunteers, to forestall the army's intended conscription of their adherents, to join the many thousands of unlettered Carriers who had been taken off to war before them. Reverends became temporary gentlemen, officers commanding

⁶⁶ An argument made most cogently in Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*.

⁶⁷ Karanja, *Founding an African Faith*, chapter 5.

their former students, now military porters and hospital orderlies. Unlike the massed ranks of the Carrier Corps, the Mission Volunteers returned home with few casualties. The saving grace of Christianity could scarcely have asked for better proof.

By such means Christian time, enlightenment, became associated with the generational version of Kikuyu time, renewal. Missionaries permitted their young adherents to pay the goat-fees of ritual promotion to their fathers, provided the beasts were eaten rather than sacrificed. *Athomi* also struck out on their own, publishing the first Kikuyu-owned vernacular newspaper. Its name *Muigwithania*, ‘The reconciler’, made explicit the link between Kikuyu and Christian time. *Muigwithania* was an honorific title given to a persuasive elder, someone with enough authority to resolve local disputes, including those between generations. In the pages of the Kikuyu New Testament Jesus Christ had already been naturalised as *Muigwithania*, the mediator of a new covenant between God and man. Moreover, his title of Saviour was in Kikuyu derived from the cleansing or redemption of the land that was anticipated when generations exchanged power at *ituika*. The Bible was as much Kikuyu as Christian, true to Christianity’s inherently polyglot nature.⁶⁸ *Muigwithania*’s first editor, in 1928, was Johnstone Kenyatta, general secretary of the youthful Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). He was in his mid thirties, a few years older than Muoria would be when he in his turn took to journalism. It was no accident that when Muoria published a selection of Kenyatta’s speeches in 1947, reproduced below, he did so under the title ‘Kenyatta is our Reconciler (or Unifier)’. But Kenyatta was not to be the first-published Christian Kikuyu historian.

When Kenyatta, now Jomo not Johnstone, brought out his *Facing Mount Kenya* ten years later, in 1938, he had been preceded by Parmenas Githendu Mukiri, an Anglican from central Kikuyu or Murang’a (the colonial district of Fort Hall), and Stanley Kiama Gathigira, a Presby-

⁶⁸ John Lonsdale, “Listen while I Read: Patriotic Christianity among the Young Kikuyu”, chapter 24 in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Christianity and Social Change in Africa: Essays in Honor of J. D. Y. Peel* (Durham NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 563–93. The first vernacular Kikuyu newspaper, *Wathiamo Mukinyu* or ‘The True Friend’ had first appeared in 1916—but it was owned and edited by the Consolata Catholic Mission. For extracts from its pages: Edmondo Cavicchi, *Problems of Change in Kikuyu Tribal Society* (Bologna: EMI, 1977).

terian from the northern district of Nyeri.⁶⁹ In their books both had focused, in the early 1930s, on the question of how to reconcile Kikuyu custom with social change. This was a vital issue for ‘readers’. They wanted to persuade other Kikuyu of the truth of what they themselves believed—that to be Christian and literate was the truest expression of Kikuyu patriotism, the best form of generational renewal. Not only had they become equal citizens of the wider, literate, world, as all patriots must claim to be, but their literacy also—or so they wrote—made them better able than their elders to reform Kikuyu morals from within. In their correspondence with *Muigwithania* the readers’ printed words could be read away down in Nairobi; elders could be heard only on their own hillside. And it was in Nairobi, not in the Kikuyu ‘reserve’, that the lost, potentially detribalised, souls of migrant male labourers must be reclaimed no less than the bodies of Kikuyu women who sold beans and, it was said, themselves, in city markets. Readers could advise all Kikuyu, a new people; elders could admonish only their own kin and neighbours, the people of old.⁷⁰

Mukiri and Gathigira resolved the question of custom and change by denying that the problem existed. For both, repeated renewal was the very stuff of Kikuyu history. Change was customary. Previous *ituika* had been revolutions. Each past generation had made its own history. Their own Christian generation was doing no more than its predecessors. Christian education was a new way of Kikuyu renewal but firmly in the tradition of *ituika*. Gathigira had less to say than Mukiri about *ituika* but his message was the same. Insofar as Kikuyu had anything like a ‘government’ in the past, he said, it had lain in the execution of elders’ judgments by young adult warriors—and as Christians never tired of repeating, the pen was the spear of today, protective of property and honour. Gathigira added that just as Kikuyu had learned new farming techniques in the past, so too there was no shame in learning agricultural and veterinary practice from white settlers now. For him as for Mukiri the past gave youth the authority to adapt, to change. Christianity and literacy were not foreign to the genius of Kikuyu history. Christians, as *Muigwithania*’s correspondents asserted, were rural

⁶⁹ Mockerie, *An African Speaks for his People*; S. K. Gathigira, *Miikarire ya AKikuyu* (Church of Scotland Mission, 1934, reprinted by Scholars Press, Nairobi 1986). For translation of the latter I am indebted to James Njenga, research associate of Derek Peterson’s.

⁷⁰ For the women’s side of the story see the sources in footnotes 34 and 46 above.

pioneers of a new *ituika*, not, as their elders believed, urban prostitutes who were becoming *chomba*, strangers, detribalised Swahili.

By the late 1930s their contemporary Kenyatta no longer shared their belief in Christianity's patriotism. He knew both Mukiri and Gathigira. The former had accompanied him to London as the KCA's representative in 1930. The latter was a local councillor, leader of the Nyeri opposition to the KCA. For all their assurance that Christianity was no betrayal, Mukiri anticipated a future in which Kikuyu culture would be but a memory; and Gathigira openly admitted that while the future must build on the past—his rationale for writing—the past had many practices too shameful for him to record. In Kenyatta's retrospective view, both had conceded too much both to modernity and to their missionary tutors. Nobody, he argued in 1938, in *Facing Mount Kenya*, could make responsible choices in their lives unless they were proud of their inheritance; how otherwise would one know what was worth fighting for? Without a didactic past as one's guide, all that could be expected of anybody was unprincipled drift, a spineless laziness, detribalisation.

Kenyatta was the more certain of this, not only because of the general Kikuyu crisis over female circumcision in 1929–30 but because of two further learning experiences that were peculiar to him. One had been his horror of a tradition-denying, ultra-modernist, Communism that he had briefly glimpsed, feared and, as his Soviet mentors reported, rejected in Moscow. The other was the functional anthropology learned from Malinowski at the London School of Economics. This taught that all aspects of a society were necessary to each other and to the harmony of the whole. Kenyatta had there found a theory to back his gut instinct that, unless one was very careful, modernity would destroy Kikuyu social order.⁷¹ Mukiri and Gathigira seemed prepared to give far too much away, by backing one version of Kikuyu time alone, that of cyclical renewal.

Kenyatta's ethnography, *Facing Mount Kenya*, by contrast, perhaps indeed in deliberate opposition to his fellow print-historians, tried to combine both concepts of time, not only the generational time he had

⁷¹ See further, John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God, and the Modern World', chapter 3 in Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst, & Heike Schmidt (eds.), *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate* (Portsmouth NH & Oxford: Heinemann & Currey, 2002), 31–66; Berman & Lonsdale, 'Custom, Modernity, and the Search for *Kihooto*'.

himself once fostered in *Muigwithania* but also the dynastic time with which many of that newspaper's correspondents had sought reconciliation. But, in the more closely argued pages of his book, this was a compromise that led Kenyatta to imagine a culture that had none of the independent capacity to change from within that Mukiri and Gathigira had claimed for Kikuyu. In *Facing Mount Kenya*, Kenyatta's *ituika*, in contrast to theirs, was a conservative festival. However resistant it might have been to despotism in the Kikuyu past, Kenyatta argued that it best defended freedom by protecting the authority of propertied elders, who laid down iron laws of good behaviour and social harmony. In his book he portrayed his fellow readers, *athomi*, no longer as pioneers of change, but bewildered, amoral, pitiable beings unable to know which way to turn, for want of any clear guiding principle. Modern education, which he had championed ten years earlier when editing *Muigwithania*, now seemed a threat. It led to individualism, or to new forms of collectivity like trades unionism—something Mukiri had welcomed—to the detriment of the solidarities familiar to Kikuyu, such as kinship and circumcision-based age sets. Kenyatta's rule-bound version of Kikuyu history therefore appeared to deny the possibility of either dynastic progress or generational renewal in a modernising but still Kikuyu future. His last, defiant, chapter called for Africans to be allowed the freedom to choose how best to pluck the benefits of modernity from out of the grip of its oppressions. The logic of the rest of *Facing Mount Kenya* was, however, very different. It was that 'the spirit of manhood', the key to self-mastery and rational choice, was best preserved by cultural conservatism and tribal isolation.⁷²

What then should our people do?

Muoria's approach to social change could scarcely have been more different from that of his hero Kenyatta. To Muoria change brought opportunity; Kenyatta seems to have become increasingly worried by its threats. Muoria's thought led forward with a marvellous conviction and logic. Rather than summarise the argument of his first pamphlet, *What should we do, Our People?* reproduced below, this section will discuss

⁷² For Kenyatta's attempts to argue his way out of this predicament see, Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale, 'The Labors of *Muigwithania*: Jomo Kenyatta as Author', *Research in African Literatures* 29 (1998), 16–42.

his pamphlet literature and journalism of the late 1940s as a whole. They were of a piece, consistently addressed to the questions of what Africans could do for themselves, to what purpose and, increasingly, how they could have the confidence to act in the face of growing British resistance to self-reliant political action, outside the establishment realms of African local government and multi-racial advisory committees. Altogether, Muoria analysed the issues of colonial subjection, cultural integrity, and modernity with little of the tragic sense of a destructive contradiction between Kikuyu self-respect and an imperially-sponsored modernity that Kenyatta feared and Gakaara attacked. In three areas of thought he struck out on his own—to convert the challenges of Christianity, western claims to superiority, and of African social inequality, into his people's assets.

Perhaps the most noticeable difference between Muoria and Kenyatta is the former's continuing belief that Christianity was a benefit to Kikuyu, not a source of confusion and conflict. Kenyatta was no atheist, and knew his Bible well, but was increasingly hostile to the denominational divisions between the mission churches as a source of confusion to Kikuyu politics—as is well shown in the third pamphlet below. Muoria, to the contrary, still saw Christianity as a moral and polemical resource. With his teenage signature on the *kirore* petition for the protection of non-circumcisers, it is not surprising that as he matured he became explicitly concerned to reconcile Kikuyu and Christian belief. The problem must have troubled many of his generation—a second generation of Christians for whom the new faith was no longer a subversion of Kikuyu domestic hierarchy but, increasingly, a support for all constituted authority, whether Kikuyu or colonial. Muoria found this reconciliation in ways not dreamt of by the contributors to *Muigwithania*, nor by Kenyatta, still less by the conservative evangelical majority among the missionaries who then taught in Kenya.

Muoria found his answers in a combination of Kikuyu moral thought and biblical criticism. First, moral thought and theology. He started with the proposition that God wanted good things for his creatures but could not act on his own. He had to work through human hands. To use one's talents therefore honoured God, idleness insulted him. True, Kenyatta had said as much. Thus far Muoria was scarcely original. In colonising and clearing the Okiek forests and civilising them with agriculture, past Kikuyu generations had learned just such a labour theory of value. But Muoria pursued the theology further by giving his own twist to the missionary teaching that Christian prayer had the power to overcome the

Kikuyu fear of spirits and sorcery. To pray without action, he argued, was just as bad as the fear of occult powers; it was itself to believe in a holy magic. Faith was best shown in works, not miracles; God loved a hard worker. While it is true that the motto of *Muigwithania* had been 'Work and Pray', that newspaper had never spelt out that couplet quite as rigorously as Muoria did now. Nor, in his view, was faith in an afterlife a substitute for earthly prosperity. Kikuyu, he argued, should not be deceived that poverty was saintly; Christ had condemned not material wealth but the spiritual sin of greed. One could, in short, be both a good Kikuyu and a faithful Christian.

Muoria was almost entirely alone, again, in considering that biblical criticism might also come to the aid of colonised native subjects.⁷³ This thought, too, must have been his own inspiration. The theologically conservative missionaries of his day would not have countenanced it; Mukiri and Gathigira would scarcely have dared; and for Kenyatta as for other 'readers' the Bible was an endlessly eclectic resource of sacred backing for Kikuyu proverbial wisdom. This common acceptance of Biblical utility was scarcely surprising when one remembers how much Kikuyu intellectual labour had gone into biblical translation in the first place. But it occurred to Muoria that the Bible could do more for Africans than merely reinforce their own ideas. Serious scriptural study might show that God had never intended Africans to be an inferior people. As he pointed out, science, far from disproving God had enabled man to understand better what God intended. Clever Europeans, he went on, had proved that not everything in the Bible was true. Clever Africans ought to carry their work further. They might then discover that what the Bible was believed to say about them was also false, 'Namely that the black men were cursed by their father who ordained that they should be forever the slaves of the white people.'⁷⁴ Muoria's wonderful imagination was able to stretch what was now familiar biblical knowledge to entirely new ends.

He went on to suggest another way of overcoming a sense of inferiority among his fellow Africans. They should not be dismayed by white learning. Here he was, perhaps (one cannot know for certain), arguing against his more radical contemporary Gakaara wa Wanjau, who feared that colonialism had engendered a slave mentality. He was also

⁷³ Not quite alone. See also Kaggia, *Roots of Freedom*, 48–51, 73.

⁷⁴ Muoria, *Our Mother is the Soil, our Father is Knowledge* (1948).

reacting to British scorn for African political ambition, expressed most colourfully by Kenya's governor, the once progressive but increasingly conservative Sir Philip Mitchell.⁷⁵ In response to both lines of attack Muoria asked his readers to remember two encouraging facts. First, while it had to be admitted that Africans could not write before the missionaries came, the wisdom of their preliterate intellectuals, coiners of proverbs, was second to none. Orality was in no way inferior to literacy. Secondly, literacy had in any case started in Africa, with the Egyptians, not in Europe. Here was a home-grown Afrocentrism indeed, even if learned by means of a correspondence course obtained from London! Even Kenya's rulers, the British, had derived all their learning from Africa, through the medium of Greece. Moreover, Europe's very mastery of the art of argument was African in origin, since Socratic method was clearly the same as the Kikuyu ideal of conciliar reasoning. Muoria proved this connection with quotations from Plato's *Republic*.⁷⁶ Western education was simply coming home to Africa. Nonetheless, even if no Kikuyu need be ashamed of their intellectual history, the wiser and better educated among them—perhaps another echo of Plato—were better able to see through the stone hedge of ignorance that hid the future. Ignorance was the fruit of idleness, wisdom of work. Let the ignorant then follow educated advice.⁷⁷ Muoria was not, it seems, in favour of popular democracy. Kenyatta also had his doubts. Since all Kikuyu were circumcised, he complained in 1947, each felt that this proof of physical courage made them all moral equals, not bound to obey any leader.⁷⁸ Social inequality was the final challenge that Muoria faced in his role as public moralist. His arguments in its favour were

⁷⁵ For Mitchell's robust defence of Britain's task, 'to civilise a great mass of human beings who are at present in a very primitive moral, cultural and social state', and his impatience with the ambitions of 'the partially educated' to manufacture 'premature synthetic nationalisms' that would allow 'local demagogues... to achieve the liberty to exploit and oppress the mass of the people', as opposed to 'the British way [of] the gradual evolution of responsible government in communities of a political maturity and moral and social stability capable of exercising political responsibility' see despatch, and annexe, from Mitchell to Arthur Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 30 May 1947, BNA: CO 847/35/6, no. 88, reprinted in Ronald Hyam (ed.), *The Labour Government and the End of Empire 1945-1951* (London: HMSO, British Documents on the End of Empire Series A, Volume 2, 1992) document 45, pp. 129-41.

⁷⁶ Henry Muoria, *Life is War by Action, to Win or Lose* (Nairobi, 1949); idem, *Some Ancient Greek Giants of Knowledge* (Nairobi, 1948).

⁷⁷ See below, Muoria, 'What Should we Do?' Section 39, 'Concluding Matters'.

⁷⁸ See below, *Kenyatta ni Muigwithania witu* (Nairobi, 1947), translated as 'Kenyatta is our Reconciler', section headed 'How the Kikuyu Could be Respected'.

brilliant in making a case for African rural capitalism, freedom of association, and modern industrial relations.

Muoria ended his first pamphlet, *What Should We Do, Our People?* with a chapter on 'wealth and its purposes'. Kenyatta could never have contemplated such an enquiry: his romanticised Kikuyu past was one of a merrie equality, without social distinction, with only rare and evasive references to the generous, well-bred, patronage and upright, friendly, clientage by which Kikuyu moralised their unadmitted social differentiation. Nor did inequality enter the pages of Mukiri and Gathigira. For Muoria inequality was central to his message of self-discipline. It separated the deserving from the undeserving. Drawing on the Kikuyu obsession with clearing away the psychic and physical dangers of the wild, he concluded that wealth was like a broom with which, if one were wise, one swept away bad things, poverty especially, so that good things, light and peace, could be ensured. Ignorant wealth was no good; in foolish men's houses one was kept in the dark, assailed by the stench of goat's urine. Muoria was not afraid to offend his readers by this picture of precolonial squalor. He saw no point in mourning a primitive past.⁷⁹ Kenyatta was proud of Kikuyu history and never risked criticising his elders in this way.

Muoria's thoughts on wealth and its purposes reflected his own experience. For fourteen years at the beck and call of his railway employers, by the mid 1940s he had become an independent entrepreneur in print, a print-capitalist indeed. To his mind the broom of capitalism was a tool of civic as much as private virtue. If England was a nation of shopkeepers, he asked, three years after his first pamphlet, why should not Kikuyu be so too?⁸⁰ He also developed an entirely modern argument for an implicitly qualified form of democracy, where Kenyatta had praised the full democracy of circumcision—before despairing of the anarchic potential of such a universal Kikuyu badge of courage. Business enterprise, Muoria suggested in *What Should we Do*, was just as patriotic as farm production. Some of the previous generation of Christians had dared to say that, but had stopped at the same point, where commercial wealth fended off the material and social poverty that came from working for whites. But, in a later editorial in *Mumenyereri*, Muoria returned to this argument and pursued its logic into hitherto

⁷⁹ Muoria, 'What Should we Do?' Section 38.

⁸⁰ Muoria, *Our Victory does not Depend on Force of Arms* (1948).

uncharted territory. Trade would preserve a future for African children, he pointed out, while white commerce would only encourage more white immigration. That was a critical comment on Kenya's racial inequalities. But Muoria was equally critical of Africans. He asked why it was that most of their businesses failed. His answer was forthright: African traders were ignorant, thieves, and jealous of their partners.⁸¹ They had to change. And this is where his logic took a dramatic new twist; for he called on the colonial state to make this African transition possible. His argument was the classic case for bourgeois liberal democracy, but it was also his own.

Enterprise, he observed, caused dispute; discussion had the potential to bring understanding; and the cooperation that might then be agreed was a precondition for progress. It followed that Kikuyu must be allowed freedom of assembly and speech! Yet, under present legislation, colonial chiefs had the power to prohibit meetings. This was pure oppression, since without discussion Africans could not work for more schools or trade. Nor could they engage in politics, the only means to escape from colonial slavery. Conscious of the resentments of others, Muoria protested that Kikuyu were not proud. It was just that they had more schools and companies than other Kenyan peoples and more need, therefore, of democracy.⁸² It should be neither surprising nor a cause of envy, that they took the lead in nationalist politics.

But universal suffrage does not seem to have entered Muoria's head. That can only be an inference from what he said about social inequality, wisdom and ignorance, since he never had to face the question of the franchise directly: it was not on offer to Africans in Kenya for another decade. But one can pick up more of his social thought in looking at what he had to say about the world of work. His ideas on wage workers came, like others of his reflections, from Plato; and perhaps too from St Paul. His own career was also a good example of the case he argued. Just as men must work, he maintained, so too must nations—and the larger the nation the better its work. It could the more easily divide its labour, just as human beings had different limbs and organs.⁸³ The

⁸¹ Muoria, 'What Should we do?' idem, editorial, *Mumenyereri*, 21 June 1948: KNA, MAA.8/106.

⁸² Muoria, 'The goodness and help of meetings: meetings are more important to us than to other African tribes', *Mumenyereri*, 26 Jan. 1948. Kenyatta never carried his own argument about Kikuyu traders this far: see below, 'Kenyatta is our Reconciler', section headed 'How to Conduct our Trade'.

⁸³ See St Paul, I *Corinthians* 12: 14–26—a more likely source than Adam Smith.

more people performed the tasks for which they were best suited the more Kikuyu would prosper. Politics would give them the capacity to coordinate their various limbs, another argument for more freedoms. But politics was hard work. An idler was ‘an invalid as far as the affairs of his nation are concerned.’⁸⁴ Nor was landlessness any excuse. Not all Kikuyu could expect to farm their own land. Here too Muoria took a totally different line to Kenyatta, whom he reported as saying that Kikuyu had the capacity to progress precisely because all enjoyed the natural authority of landownership; they did not know the kind of proletarian poverty he had seen in Europe.⁸⁵

Kenyatta was myth-making for political ends. Muoria was more realistic. Contradicting all that Kikuyu had written previously on the subject, he argued for the dignity of wage-labour. His predecessors had thought that labour had value only when working in and for one’s own household. To work for others had been thought irresponsible, humiliating, and yet also a selfish neglect of one’s proper duty to build social relations within one’s locality. Muoria urged, rather, that in working for others Kikuyu must hear the same call to exercise responsibility as if they were herding their own livestock. They should love paid labour and not hate their employer, white or black. If they were poor, he urged again and again, it was because they were lazy.⁸⁶ His first reaction to trades unionism, when it emerged out of the Mombasa dock-strike of January 1947, was entirely consistent. He thought that unionism was an essential discipline in an otherwise disorderly workforce. Workers must obey their leaders when, after successful negotiation, the latter ordered them back to work. Negotiation was not collaboration. It followed mature, proverbial, Kikuyu wisdom. Compromise preserved a historically fragile social existence against the ever-present threat of extinction.⁸⁷

Here at last, in his disapproval of worker militancy, we find a point on which Muoria agreed with Kenyatta, the leader whose words he reported with such care after the latter’s return from his long absence—it

⁸⁴ Muoria, *Life is War by Action*.

⁸⁵ See below, ‘Kenyatta is our Reconciler’, section headed ‘Kenyatta’s Words at Waithaka School: “We are not Poor People”’. For the general lore of African respectability on which Kenyatta drew see, John Iliffe, *Honour in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 14.

⁸⁶ Muoria, ‘What Should we Do?’

⁸⁷ Editorial, *Mumenyereri*, 1 Feb. 1947. KNA, PC/RVP.2/27/34.

can scarcely be called exile—in England.⁸⁸ But it has been necessary to explore Henry Muoria Mwaniki's vigorous moral approach to future opportunity in order to appreciate the political caution with which his returning hero, Jomo Kenyatta, faced future challenge.

Kenyatta and the imagination of nation(s)

Henry Muoria's is the only first-hand account we have of Kenyatta's return to Kenya in September 1946 and his first public engagements thereafter. It is a period of Kenyatta's political life that is not well known. Yet it is clearly of vital importance for one's understanding of Kenyatta the man and Kenya's early nationalism as a movement. This new edition of Muoria's record of Kenyatta's return not only gives us a chance to join the eager listeners who crowded around him at the time but also to appreciate how carefully Kenyatta had to feel his way back into Kenya's political life after an absence of sixteen years.⁸⁹

Muoria's accounts make Kenyatta's difficulties clear from the start. He had unrealistic expectations to rebuff, different audiences to please—each with barely compatible political interests, without an agreed sense of who they were or wanted to become, and of whom the most important—the Kikuyu elders—were also the most suspicious of Kenyatta's educated ambition and his political methods. To imagine any nationhood, either Kikuyu or Kenyan, under such circumstances was not going to be easy.

⁸⁸ For Kenyatta's preference for orderly trades unionism, as opposed to strike action see, Rosberg & Nottingham, *Myth*, 267; Makhan Singh, *History of Kenya's Trade Union Movement to 1952* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 158; Spencer, *KAU*, 172; Askwith, *From Mau Mau to Harambee*, 47–8.

⁸⁹ There are in fact two other eye-witness accounts, but they were recorded long after the event and are not easily available. See, John Spencer, *James Beuttah: Freedom Fighter* (Nairobi: Stellascop, 1983), 69–73; Eliud Mutonyi, 'Mau Mau Chairman' (307pp typescript, Nairobi, c. 1968), 72–3. Copy in the possession of John Lonsdale, courtesy of Robert Buijtenhuijs. For secondary accounts, some of which make use of reportage in the semi-official Swahili-language newspaper *Baraza*, see, Rosberg & Nottingham, *Myth of 'Mau Mau'*, 215–17; Spencer, *KAU*, 164–84; Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta*, 227–45; Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, 199–201. For two European eye-witnesses of Kenyatta and his times more generally see Elspeth Huxley, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice: A Journey through East Africa* (London: Chatto & Windus, [1948], 1956), 56–61; Negley Farson, *Last Chance in Africa* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950) chapter XI, 'Jomo and his Kingdom'.

The Mombasa crowds' excitement certainly showed that much was expected of Kenyatta, the man returning from the heart of empire. He himself took care to respond that the fate of his well-wishers lay in their own hands, not in his. Neither magic nor atom bomb could bring about political change. Mature effort was needed for that—a sentiment with which Muoria was naturally delighted to agree. Given the choice between English and Swahili, the crowd demanded that Kenyatta speak to them in Swahili, the workers', not the rulers' tongue. But who were the workers? Were they Kenyans? The dockers in Mombasa were very largely local people, Swahili-speakers, Muslims. Elsewhere in the town upcountry migrants were more prominent, mainly Kikuyu and Luo, and often adherents of Christian churches.⁹⁰

While, therefore, many different ethnic associations in Mombasa provided hospitality, and women were accorded a prominent role, the chief organisers of the welcome were all leading men of the Kikuyu Central Association. They had been released from wartime detention in the previous year but the KCA was still a banned organisation, suspected of having contacted the Italian enemy at the beginning of the Second World War, on evidence provided by Canon Harry Leakey's palaeontologist son Louis.⁹¹ The KCA's leaders thought it more important for Kenyatta to get their ethnic association legalised than for him to lead a pan-ethnic confederation, despite Kenyatta's exhortation that Africans should no longer think in tribal terms but take pride in their common black skin—and common human brains. Moreover, Muoria reported events in Kikuyu, not in Swahili, and in his preface, deplored any Kikuyu who became detribalised, an undifferentiated Swahili, a term of disgrace. As if to echo this sentiment, Kenyatta's own preface was addressed to the House of Muumbi, the mother of all Kikuyu according to the myth of ethnogenesis he had narrated in his book, *Facing Mount Kenya*. He could offer no similarly primordial vision of a House of Kenya, no myth of national-territorial genesis. In his second pamphlet, *Kenyatta is our Reconciler*, Muoria would praise Kenyatta's ability to speak with equal sympathy to many different audiences, African and

⁹⁰ Frederick Cooper, *On the African Waterfront: Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 28–9, 39–41, 69–71, 80, 244–5.

⁹¹ Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, 'Louis Leakey's Mau Mau: A Study in the Politics of Knowledge', *History and Anthropology* 5 (1991), 143–204.

Asian, but many years would pass before Kenyatta became known as the father of the Kenyan nation.

Kenyatta faced a further difficulty, not noticed by Muoria. He would soon forfeit the trust of many of the Kikuyu elders whose support he needed above all. They came to feel that some of his younger associates were trying to hustle Kikuyu into an ethnic unity that would usurp the particularistic self-determination which was proper to lineage seniors. Lineages were numbered in their thousands; each lineage head owed his authority to his inherited responsibility for increasingly fiercely demarcated ancestral land. In one of the first speeches reported by Muoria, Kenyatta spoke as if the soil united Kikuyu. He must have known better than that. Trusteeship for the land did not unite Kikuyu. It divided them by conflicting claims to ownership, it separated them between owners and clients, landed authorities and landless nobodies.⁹² Kenyatta was letting his imagination of nationhood run away with him, but his Kikuyu nation's natural leaders would have none of it.

Muoria then followed as many of Kenyatta's week-end speaking engagements as possible before bringing out his twenty-eight page, one shilling pamphlet, *Kenyatta ni Muigwithania Witu* (*Kenyatta is our Reconciler*). In this he recorded eleven speeches in four months. In this post-war era of hope Kenyatta was clearly much in demand, despite his constant repetition of only three simple themes. These were, the need to respect one's father and mother, tradition; the need, therefore, to respect the differences between the various peoples of African Kenya, even multi-racial Kenya; and the requirement, therefore, for a true education that did not uncritically accept the superiority of the whites who taught it. All these views could have been quoted, more or less verbatim, from the pages of *Facing Mount Kenya*, published almost a decade earlier. All, therefore, betrayed what to many would have seemed a conservative cast of mind, with little to say to the growing number of Africans, Kikuyu especially, deprived of access to land and with little hope of skilled employment in town. Nor could Kenyatta yet be said to have anything approaching a political programme. As with Muoria, public morality came first.

Kenyatta's most often-repeated theme, found in no less than ten of his speeches, was the importance of ethnic loyalty, the best moral compass one could imagine, the sternest encouragement to self-disciplined

⁹² For this last point see, Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, especially 199–201.

effort, supported as it was by the authority that came from ownership of the soil. Detribalisation could only mean a loss of purpose, perhaps the central message of his earlier book. Self-determination had to be rooted in propertied, rural, cultural confidence. It was not to be found in urban cosmopolitanism. Kenyatta had no message of comfort to landless workers in Nairobi. The consequence of this view, secondly, was that all Kenyans should respect each others' cultural differences. Only mutual respect would permit them to agree together—a sentiment he expressed most lyrically when speaking to a transport-drivers association composed of both Kikuyu and Kamba members.⁹³ This was a problem that Muoria the pamphleteer had never faced. But to Kenyatta it was only too obvious that there was no single Kenyan moral community on which to build a political movement, let alone found a sovereign nation. The only requisites for political unity that he could demand therefore were equality of respect between the races and tribes that constituted the colony, equality before the law, and a refusal to humiliate others in return for political favours. Self-determination was at odds with cultural unity in any future nation. In advocating such cultural relativity Kenyatta may also have been consciously promoting his own leadership. Thanks to his travels overseas he could claim more comparative knowledge than his listeners of what other people thought, while weighing it against what Kikuyu tradition had taught him.⁹⁴ Such globally aware patriotism was a demonstration of the self-respect that he preached. One should value other people's learning only insofar as it reinforced and enlarged one's own.

In this assertion Kenyatta was also, implicitly, distancing himself from the common run of educated Africans. These, it was popularly supposed—and he adopted this perspective as his third theme—despised the uneducated masses whom they purported to lead, and were too often seduced by the whites whom they were expected to oppose. Educated men were too proud to be comfortable with their followers, too insecure to stand up to the British. They had lost all pride in tradition, and, a subsidiary criticism, were too often divided by their church denomination. It was a mark of his political courage that Kenyatta was most damning in such criticism when speaking to members of the Kenya

⁹³ See below, 'Kenyatta is our Reconciler', section headed 'What Kenyatta Said to the Akamba Tribe at Machakos'.

⁹⁴ See below, 'Kenyatta is our Reconciler', section headed 'Kenyatta's Main Speech to the Kikuyu Tribe at the Home of Koinange'.

African Union, months before he was elected their president.⁹⁵ But it was also a mark of how difficult it was to imagine a Kenyan nation. Such coherence as ‘Kenya’ possessed it owed to the shared experience of British conquest and colonisation. Such ability as Kenyans might possess to control the state that had created them could come only from mastery of the coloniser’s skills.

But with European skills came European divisions, the different Christian denominations that, like weevils in the grainstore, ate away at Kikuyu unity. Here was a political conundrum indeed. It is not difficult to detect a note of despair in much of what Kenyatta had to say. What he said he most hated was factional intrigue, which encouraged secrecy between Africans and earned the contempt of the British. It is noticeable that in the last two speeches that Muoria has recorded for us, Kenyatta stressed the need to speak openly, to confront the British with uncomfortable truths.⁹⁶ One wonders if he was even at this early stage aware of the dangers of political ambition going underground; it may also, perhaps, suggest a degree of impatience with his old colleagues in the banned KCA.

In his journalism Muoria continued to take the same view. He seems to have published every letter that was sent to him as editor of *Mumenyereri*, exercising little editorial control. This laxity cost him several scrapes with the British authorities, who were never quite able to press home a charge of sedition.⁹⁷ But speaking openly was impossible for Kikuyu who could not share Kenyatta and Muoria’s confidence in the possibility of the constitutional politics of hope. Desperation and secrecy went together. They were the twin seed of Mau Mau. But with secrecy there also grew mistrust, as much between Kikuyu themselves as between Kikuyu and other Kenyans. To openly imagine a plural nation was one thing, to secure a singular commitment to fight for the liberation of a nation—but which one?—was quite another.

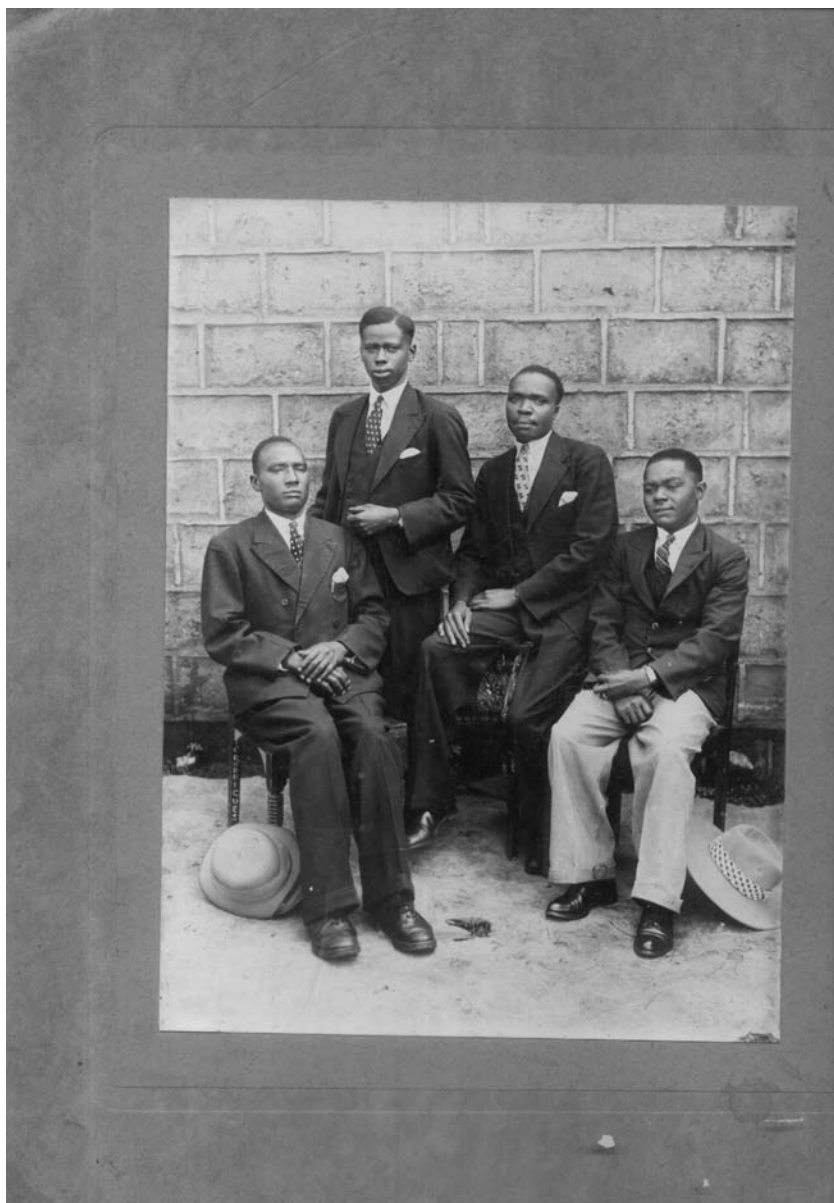
Muoria and Kenyatta in the 1940s speak to us across a gulf of desperation, violence, and the tumultuous politics of decolonisation that

⁹⁵ See below, ‘Kenyatta is our Reconciler’, section headed ‘Kenyatta Speaks to the Kenya African Union’.

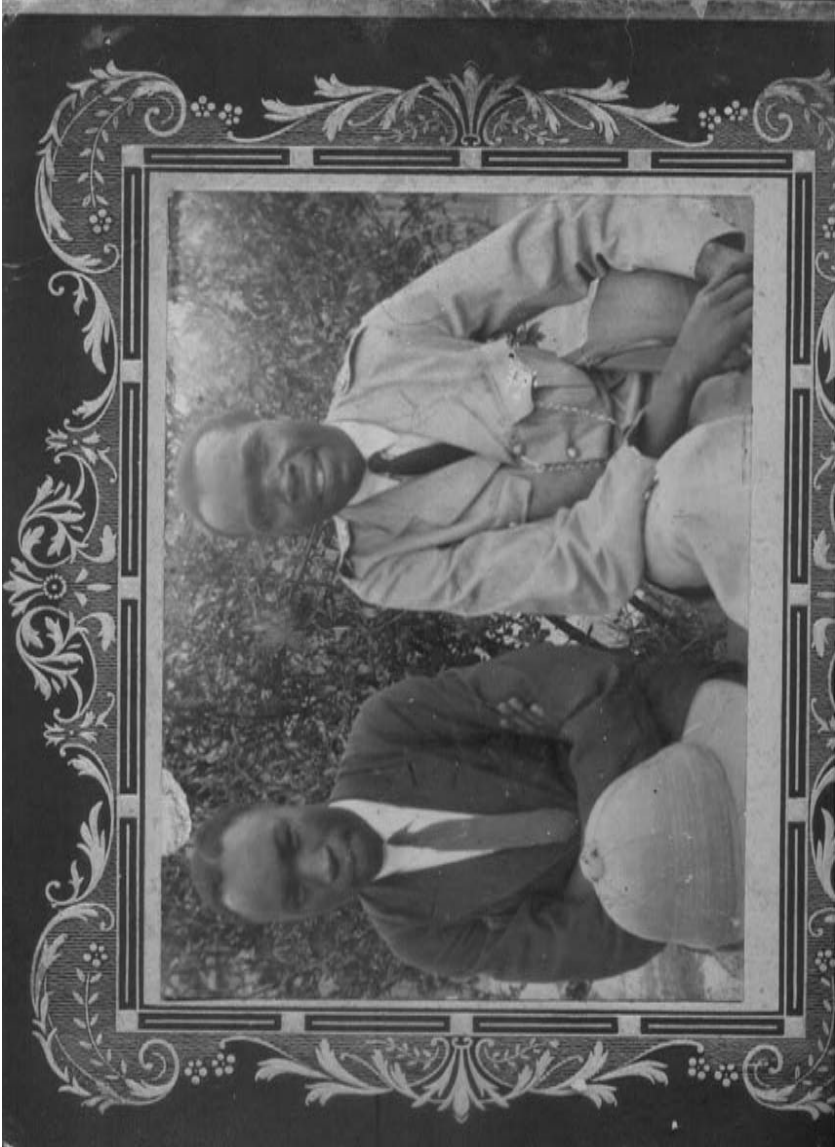
⁹⁶ See below, ‘Kenyatta is our Reconciler’, sections headed ‘What Kenyatta Said to the Akamba Tribe at Machakos’ and ‘Kenyatta’s Speech to the Nyeri District Council’.

⁹⁷ The Reverend John Gatu, briefly Muoria’s assistant editor, remembers him as publishing anything submitted to *Mumenyereri*, without much concern for content (in conversation at Cambridge, 25 April 2008). See also, *Corfield Report*, 196; Muoria, *I, the Gikuyu*, chapters 14 and 16; Frederiksen, “‘The Present Battle’”, 288–99.

then remade a governable Kenya. Far from invalidating their thought, Kenya's subsequent history makes it all the more important to listen to Kenyatta's caution as much as to Muoria's enthusiasm. Both the era and the men need to be remembered. Muoria trusted in the power of individual will to bring political progress, Kenyatta was more aware of the collective difficulties that stood in the way. Private determination and political discretion are not bad partners for restoring a politics of hope.



1. Henry Muoria (second right) and friends, early 1930s



2. Henry Muoria in his East African Railways uniform, and friend

CHAPTER TWO

THE MUORIAS IN KENYA: 'A VERY LONG CHAIN.' AN ESSAY IN FAMILY BIOGRAPHY

Bodil Folke Frederiksen

Introduction

In September 1952 Henry Muoria (1914–1997), a Kenyan newspaper owner, journalist and writer, travelled to London on what was meant to be a visit. He left his wives and children behind: one branch in rural Kiambu, one in the colonial capital, Nairobi. Muoria was an active and well-known figure in the increasingly militant nationalist politics, and the state of emergency in Kenya, declared a few weeks later, prevented him from returning to his home country. The government closed down his profitable and widely read Gikuyu-language newspaper, *Mumenyereri*, and arrested and detained his wife, Judith, who had taken over as the temporary editor of the newspaper. With her young child she was interned in one of the quickly erected detention camps.

When he left for London, Muoria was an established writer and oppositional political figure in Kenya. His newspaper, *Mumenyereri* came out regularly for seven years—between 1945 and 1952. It reported on international and national news, debated ideologies, everyday politics and social issues, and published a number of Jomo Kenyatta's speeches following his return from Britain in 1946. *Mumenyereri* was one of a group of nationalist papers, and because of its regular appearance and well-established network, especially in southern Kikuyuland, it was influential as a platform for Kikuyu and broader nationalist sentiment and closely watched by the authorities. Muoria wrote features, editorials and news reports for his newspaper. In the 1940s and early 1950s he translated pamphlets on social issues from Swahili and English into his mother tongue, and, himself, wrote political and didactic essays in Gikuyu, which were published as booklets. Three of them are reproduced in this volume in their original Gikuyu versions and in annotated English translations: *What Should We Do, Our People* from 1945 is a long essay on politics, morality and everyday life in modern

Kenya. *The Home Coming of Our Great Hero Jomo Kenyatta* is a lively, step-by-step account of Kenyatta's reception by his fellow Africans in Mombasa where he landed on the ship *Alcantara* on September 24, 1946. It goes on to report his words in conversations and speeches over the next days. *Kenyatta is Our Reconciler* from 1947 is a collection of Kenyatta's political speeches in Nairobi and Kikuyuland with Muoria's reflections on context, setting and audiences.

In 1954 Muoria persuaded his third wife Ruth, the mother of five children, to join him in England. The couple settled in modest rented rooms in north London. She had to leave her children behind in the care of her mother, Grace. A son died before she left, and she left behind their three daughters and a daughter from her previous marriage—a painful sacrifice that has thrown shadows over the couple's married life and the lives of wives and children who remained in Kenya. In Britain Muoria was not able to find work as a journalist but he did not stop writing. His writings took a new turn. Over and over, he recounted the story of his childhood, when he straddled the world of traditionalist Kikuyu rural life and mission modernity. He told of his early youth as a labourer, his marriages and his training and work for the railways, which took him far away from his known surroundings in Kikuyuland and Nairobi. He kept up his interest in politics, philosophy and morals and wrote long essays and semi-fictional novel-length tales in his London attic, now in English, meant for publication in the U.K. In order to make a living and support his family, he returned to his first profession and worked as a train guard on the London Underground.

Although Muoria wished to, he never managed to go back to Kenya to live. The journey from his homeland, deep in the struggle for independence, to permanent exile in the imperial nation was decisive in the fashioning of the Muoria family history. The exile of Ruth and Henry Muoria affected all branches of the extended polygamous family. The outcome was a far-flung family, consisting of several clans, spread over London, Nairobi and rural Kikuyuland.

Like other families the Muoria clan has been shaped and sustained by the stories members tell of themselves in dialogue with those told by others. Certain foundational myths of beginnings, breaks, loss and reunion, acted out by protagonists, enemies and helpers, have been told in agreement. Other stories, branching off from the core versions, have been contested and modified according to the narrator's personality, age and gender and position within the family and in society more broadly. The story of the Kenyan nationalist Henry Muoria and his extended

family, as told by differently situated members, is a story of loss and recovery. Some family members have emphasized loss—others recount their version of the family story in the light of eventual recovery.

Muoria's enemies were colonialism and racism, embodied in the British regime. At the time of his departure, it was in a panic over African nationalism and resistance, which had crystallized into the Mau Mau movement. His immediate helper was Moral Rearmament, a movement that in this period supported African business and political leaders. The organisation helped him pay the ticket to Europe. Muoria's long-time helpers were his wives, Elizabeth, Judith and Ruth, and the previous generation of women, Judith's and Ruth's mothers. Together, they took care of the family's children, finances and property in Kenya after he had left. What enabled him more broadly was African resistance against colonialism and his own success as a publicist and newspaper editor, embedded in patriotism and African political organisation.

The early story of Henry Muoria resonates with that of his twenty-year-older mentor Jomo Kenyatta. In their interpretation of family history, Muoria's surviving wife Ruth, his children and his grandchildren constantly referred to the friendship between the two men and marvelled at parallels and at their very different fates. Both men began their working lives as herdboys in the southern part of Kikuyuland, not far from Nairobi, and were driven to the city by curiosity and poverty. They were mission-educated moralists and Kikuyu cultural proponents. They were polygamous patriarchs and married highly independent and gifted women. Both were ambitious and energetic entrepreneurs and writing was one of their enterprises. They authored and published Kikuyu newspapers and perfected their writing skills in Britain. They devoted their writing to a critical celebration of African and Kikuyu culture and to the liberation of their country from the degrading British colonialism. Kenyatta's account of Kikuyu history and customs, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), written as a student of anthropology at London School of Economics under the tutelage of Bronislaw Malinowski, is a foundational text of modern anthropology and a manifesto of Kikuyu cultural nationalism. Muoria's writings on politics, philosophy and everyday morals, emerging out of Kikuyu and African political culture and resistance ten years later, deserve to be better known.

Background and approach

This essay will stitch together a history of the Kenyan branch of the Muoria family, beginning with Henry Muoria himself and continuing with those who were left behind when he travelled. The master narrative is that of a remarkable man whose favourite proverb was ‘an unspoken word convinces no one’, who believed that truth would always be victorious and that writers and journalists no matter where they found themselves had a duty to tell the story. In order to capture both the social environment that made Muoria’s thinking and career possible and his unique independence two routes will be pursued: the dramatic story of Muoria himself who dedicated his life to writing and politics, but learned to cook and make clothes for his children and invented new livelihoods in exile, when times were tough. And the no less dramatic story of the family’s women, several of whom shared Muoria’s intellectual and political pursuits, and who all struggled during a dangerous and changeable period in Kenya’s history to get along and make meaningful and secure lives for themselves and their children. As it will turn out, unsurprisingly perhaps, the ties and networks that have kept together generations and sub-clans have been crafted by women more than by men. Muoria’s freedom of movement and political influence, like that of other powerful men, depended on the skills and labour of resourceful women. The story’s time span is from the end of World War I to the present. The account is necessarily selective. It is refracted primarily through the memories and reflections of Muoria himself, his widow Ruth who joined him in London and started a new family there, their London-born daughter Wangari, and the accounts of several of his daughters and sons and grandchildren who stayed behind in Kenya.

In 1995 I was in Kenya, gathering material on urban livelihoods and popular culture in African Nairobi. I was based at the old Anglican Church Mission Society Centre—now St. John’s Community Centre—in Pumwani, a poor area of the city. Here, I got to know two local young men, then in their mid-twenties, George Muoria and Julius Mwaniki, who became friends and helped me in my work. They were the grandsons of Henry and Ruth Muoria, as I found out when I was invited to their near-by home, met their mother Christine and saw a photograph of Henry Muoria’s characteristic smiling face on the wall. I knew about

the career of this Kenyan journalist from John Lonsdale's 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau'.¹

These young men and their mother took me by the hand and invited me into the family. They were part of the widely dispersed Nairobi Muorias—Henry and Ruth's four daughters who grew up in Kenya, and their children and grandchildren. They were the first to tell me about the extraordinary fate of this gifted Kenyan family. They were keen to talk about their grandfather, who was well known locally, and they always did so in the light of the influence his life and ideas had on the whole family. They told me that the extended family—as constituted by livelihood opportunities, political events and pure chance—consisted of three clans: the rural clan in Kiambu, sons and daughters of Henry and his first wives, Elizabeth and Judith, and their spouses and children; the clan in London, made up of Ruth and Henry himself and their London-born children and grandchildren; and finally their own clan, the Nairobi Muorias, daughters and grandchildren of Ruth and Henry. Socially and economically the three sections of the family seemed far apart, but no matter where, family members identified strongly with the Muoria *mbari*.²

At the time I was struck by the thought that the conditions in which the two young men had grown up and now live in independent Kenya may in several respects be more restricted than those in which their parents and grandparents had found themselves. I was interested in finding out whether their grandfather's private and public political and social ideals had any relevance for a generation of Kenyans born after the country's independence. George and Julius are talented, well educated and keen to work, but they share the hardships of contemporary urban living with millions of young Africans, who, after having left school, have great difficulties in finding work and a social role for themselves. Growing up and living in an urban slum, as they do, means exposure to unhealthy surroundings, crime and insecurity, few economic opportunities, political instability and harassment from the authorities, but also support from networks of family, neighbours and age mates.

¹ Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*, Book Two, *Violence & Ethnicity*. (London, Nairobi & Athens OH: James Currey, Heinemann Kenya & Ohio University Press, 1992).

² A *mbari* is a landowning sub-clan. It may be used more loosely about an extended family.

However, in spite of these beginnings, my research into the history and the present realities of the family in Kenya has had more to do with the question of what constitutes a family than with deprivation and economic differentiation. How did members imagine the family in a situation in which historical circumstances meant that it had been radically divided in terms of space and ‘culture’? What unites and what divides? Are boundaries between nations easier to negotiate than those between town and countryside? Which traits did they think of as characteristic of their family and clan? And what has it meant for the Muorias in Kenya to lose to exile a wonderfully alive and forward looking husband, father and grandfather, and a high spirited, tolerant and warmhearted mother and grandmother? The nation of Kenya also lost out. Why did Henry Muoria not return to the independent Kenya he and his families had fought and made sacrifices for?

These questions emerged early in the research process as a result of dialogue with family members. I address them in the form of an essay and not in a fully-fledged generational biography, which the history of this family might well deserve. The questions have organized the process of collecting material, directing my attention to key persons in the family network. In interviews they were asked to reflect on themes of identity, family and clan, division and cohesion, separation and home. Some of Muoria’s daughters and grandchildren wrote down what they wanted to say and parts of their accounts are included in the essay. This material is supplemented with stories of Muoria’s life and that of his family from his autobiographical writings,³ and features and interviews in Kenyan newspapers. Some members of the family have read earlier versions of the narrative and let me know their interpretations and disagreements, but also their appreciation that Henry Muoria would be remembered.⁴

³ The most important are *The Inquisitive Karamando Gets Work in London* (1954) revised in 1970, unpublished typescript, privately held; *How it Feels to be Born a Kikuyu* (1955), revised 1987, unpublished typescript, privately held; *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe* (1982), unpublished manuscript. Kenya National Archives (KNA): 85-498/325.34109626 MUO; I, *The Gikuyu and the White Fury* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1994).

⁴ I am deeply grateful to Ruth Muoria, Wangari Muoria-Sal, Peter Mwaniki, Julius Mwaniki, George Muoria and other members of the Muoria family in Britain, Kenya and the United States who have been more than generous with their stories, interpretations and hospitality.

The essay opens up by giving an account of Muoria's early days, his youth, his marriages and working life. Then follows the story of his third wife, Ruth, as an illumination of the role of the women in his family, their history and resilience. She is a third generation urbanite, belonging to a lineage of independent women who established themselves in the changing social and economic environment of the Nairobi neighbourhood of Pumwani, from the 1920s onwards. This part of the story is based on interviews with Ruth and her daughters and grandchildren in Kenya. In the next sections daughters of Henry and Judith and Henry and Ruth, his second and third wives, tell about their upbringing, one branch in Nairobi, the other in rural Kiambu, and discuss issues of identity. Finally, the word is given to groups of grandchildren: David, Patrick and Julius reflect on the role of women in the Muoria family, and on what it means to be a Kenyan and a descendant of a highly respected national figure. Their cousins, two sisters, Nuna and Terry, born and raised in Nairobi and resident in the United States, discuss identity, home and exile. And Alex Muoria, a grandson of Henry and his first wife Elizabeth, who has stayed in the rural family home in Nyathuna and carries on with the agriculture that has sustained the family for so long, tells of the pleasures and difficulties of being a Muoria grandson and cultivating a farm. Together, the different voices express the mixture of pride and loss which marks the history and present situation of the Muoria family.

Henry Muoria—early life, literacy, marriages and career

Muoria wa Mwaniki was born in 1914 to what he calls an 'ordinary Kikuyu couple' Mwaniki wa Muoria and Wambui wa Mbari.⁵ His grandfather, the founder of the Muoria *mbari*, established himself with his two wives and children on the fertile lands near Kabete in Kenya's Central Province. His son Mwaniki, Henry's father, worked with electrical installations for 'white people' in Nairobi, and only returned home to his family and land during weekends. Lillian Gathoni, Muoria's sister,

⁵ His daughter Wangari tells, 'Upon questioning his mother about his precise age, he was told that there were many planes flying and men were taken away to fight in the war. He deduced that he must have been born during the First World War, around 1914. As to the date it always remained a mystery as there was no written record'. Interview, London, July 2000.

tells that until their mother converted to Christianity and started going to Church their parents would not let Henry go to school, 'we used to do as we were told by our mother.' Both children worked around the farm and were quite happy, 'we wanted to be where we could feel at home—among cows and goats.'⁶ Muoria, however, pursued his plan of learning to read and write, first in Gikuyu, and managed to get himself to evening classes at Kirangari, the Anglican mission, where he learned English. Two years later, when his younger brother was old enough to look after the cattle, Henry entered day school. Conversion and literacy were two sides of the same coin, and in 1930 the famous Canon Harry Leakey, one of the pioneers of Kikuyu literacy and a translator of The New Testament into Gikuyu, baptised Muoria who was now sixteen. This was how he got the name Henry. Instead of becoming a *mundu mugo*, a traditional Kikuyu seer and wise man, as had been prophesied at his birth, he was 'converted to Christianity... through his great desire to know how to read and write.'⁷

Muoria was one of a very small number of African children in the British Kenya Colony who was in a position to seize the chance of entering the world of reading and writing, and he was able to do so only after overcoming resistance from his surroundings. He ended five years of schooling with the so-called 'vernacular exam'. After that he interrupted school briefly and found work in Nairobi with an Indian plumber's firm. He left his urban job after having suffered the indignity of being slapped by his Asian employer for a small mistake. He now joined the East African Railways as a trainee telegrapher. He was given work as a guard on trains crisscrossing Kenya Colony. Around this time he met Elizabeth Thogori who was to become his first wife. She was a student at the Anglican Mission in Kabete, close to Nairobi, where she was learning knitting and tailoring. They celebrated a church wedding in 1932 after Muoria had been transferred to Voi, a desolate station on the railway line to Mombasa. A year later their first son was born, and in the same year Henry's father died. Henry was transferred to Athi, south east of Nairobi, arid and deserted, and worked as an assistant station-master for three years. In 1935 The East African Railways offered him a place at their training school for further education, and after he had finished he was sent to Eldoret in Western Kenya. His

⁶ Interview, Kiambu, October 2000.

⁷ *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe*, 8.

work with the railways took him far away from his home area and the nationalist and regional politics he was becoming involved in. In 1942, saddened by the loss of a baby daughter and pining for home, he asked for and was granted a transfer to Nairobi. This meant that he was back in more familiar country, 'among his tribespeople', as he wrote in his autobiographical account.⁸ He settled on the Muoria land in Nyathuna, Kiambu, with his wife and children.

During his long hours of travel Muoria worked his way through a journalism correspondence course, which he had ordered from London. He wished to make his views on African and Kikuyu problems and progress known to a broader public. In his autobiographical writings he attributes his determination to become a journalist to having a letter to the editor containing strong criticism of the British presence in Kenya rejected by the *East African Standard*, Kenya's leading newspaper. His return to Kikuyuland inspired him to write his first book, *Tungiika Atia Iiya Witu? or What Should We Do, Our People?* that came out in 1945. Its aim was, as he wrote, to 'provide his tribespeople with a lot of ideas which they could discuss among themselves for their own benefit.'⁹ The book covered education of children, modern homes, jealousy, the necessity of work, a fair profit, co-operative farming, the study of books, the dangers of drunkenness, and more broadly moral issues concerning right and wrong and the importance of choosing the right path. The sale of *Tungiika Atia Iiya Witu?* and other pamphlets from the Church Mission Society bookshop in Nairobi, among other places, provided start capital for setting up his newspaper *Mumenyereri*, a forum for news, education and discussion among Gikuyu-speaking people.¹⁰

Muoria was in contact with several other writers and journalists, among them one of the other prominent, independent Kikuyu pamphleteers, Gakaara wa Wanjau, who used Muoria's newspaper and network to advertise his own works.¹¹ At the time similar didactic

⁸ *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe*, 10.

⁹ *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe*, 10.

¹⁰ He noted that *Ngoro ya Ugikuyu ni ya Gutoria*, ('The Gikuyu Spirit of patriotism is for victory'), which he later included in *I, the Gikuyu*, sold out its five thousand copies in a week. *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe*, 15.

¹¹ Thanks to Derek Peterson for drawing my attention to this connection. On Gakaara wa Wanjau and political writers of the 1940s and 1950s see Christina Pugliese, 'Complementary or Contending Nationhoods? Kikuyu Pamphlets and Songs 1945-52, in Atieno E. S. Odhiambo & John Lonsdale (eds.), *Mau Mau and Nationhood* (Oxford,

books on modern life for Africans were being written by colonial servants, and solicited from African writers by colonial institutions like Christian missions or the East African Literature Bureau. The Bureau also published guidebooks for aspiring African writers and held Gikuyu literature competitions. Muoria was aware of these activities, but not particularly influenced by them. He translated *Hanahela* into Gikuyu, a didactic novel written by A. T. Culwick, a colonial officer from Tanganyika. More important than colonial enlightenment, the source of his modern outlook was frustration at what he occasionally called the 'backwardness' of his own people and a strong conviction that reform was needed, based on his own experience all over Kenya, but particularly in his home region. The thrust of his work was towards education and the value of individual enterprise. In an unpublished manuscript, written in 1944, he emphasized that 'people are not determined by parents, but have free will', a statement which mirrored his own successful social and spatial mobility.¹² His reforming zeal was, however, combined with a strong respect for Kikuyu values and morality. Both ambitions are caught in the title of his newspaper, *Mumenyereri*: the one who guards and the one who observes.

In the mid-1940s, after having proved that it was possible to make a profit from publishing a book, Muoria decided to leave his job with the railways in order to start his newspaper. His wife was not willing to support him in his venture into journalism and thus the dangerous world of nationalist politics. The couple by now had three sons to look after and she thought that by doing so he put the family at risk. Events proved her right. However, Muoria had made up his mind and the couple were formally divorced. This is how Muoria explained the disagreement to a journalist who interviewed him in London forty years later: 'My wife could not comprehend how a man of my calibre could leave a high paying job and a respectable one at the Railways to go into a trade where I had very little time even to sleep, while returns were not handsome.'¹³ In 1945 Muoria entered into a customary marriage with his second wife, Judith Nyamurwa. Judith was a teacher, trained at Kahuhia Teachers' College, and a writer in her own right. She shared

Nairobi & Athens OH: Currey, EAEP & Ohio University Press, 2003) 97–120, and Derek Peterson, 'The Intellectual Lives of Mau Mau Detainees', *Journal of African History* 49 (2008): 73–91.

¹² *The Inquisitive Karamando*, 193.

¹³ *Daily Nation* 12 February 1987.

Muoria's critical views of the British, was committed to the fight against colonialism and supported him in his journalistic and political activities. They wrote a book together, *Muturiri wa Kiriu*, on modern living, or 'what it takes to live sociably'.¹⁴

Muoria met his third wife Ruth in 1947. She was the only daughter of a Kikuyu woman, Grace Njoki, who was a house-owner in Pumwani, the core of African Nairobi. After their marriage, she also moved to Nyathuna and, like Judith, assisted her husband in the writing and production of *Mumenyereri*. Muoria and his extended family lived in two houses he had built on a ridge in the middle of fertile fields of Kiambu. One is a beautifully designed smaller house, which Muoria built of bricks in the mid 1940s in order to show his fellow tribesmen that indigenous materials lent themselves to building modern homes. Brick houses had several advantages over the traditional round mud houses, an issue he had dealt with in his published book. This building enterprise, where he showed in action and not only in words what could be done, was part of his didactic enlightenment project. The second larger building, where Judith lived, a substantial house that he finished in 1952 with the help of his age mates, is the first stone house built by an African in the area. The family farmed and traded in agricultural produce. The children were educated on the income from farming, from paid work undertaken by Judith and, for a few years, from the newspaper, which from 1950 onwards made a profit.

Journalism and the city

Starting a newspaper was not easy, especially in 1945 when war-time restrictions still applied. Paper was rationed and it was not until Muoria convinced the colonial authorities that he was reviving an already existing Gikuyu newspaper, *Muthithu* ('The Treasure'), which had been published by the well-known nationalist politician, James Beuttah, that he was able to push ahead. The first issue of *Muthithu/Mumenyereri* in Gikuyu and English was published in May 1945, and the paper quickly became popular. For a short period it came out every second week, it then speeded up and became a weekly, then a bi-weekly, now in

¹⁴ Thanks to Derek Peterson for this translation. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate a copy of the book.

Gikuyu only. It grew from a circulation of two thousand copies to one of around twelve thousand towards the end of its existence.¹⁵

It is not surprising that a political paper in Gikuyu such as *Mumenyereri* should be in high demand in Nairobi at this time. Nationalist politics were gaining strength after a lull during the war. In 1946 Muoria was one of the group of influential Africans, most of them active in the leading nationalist political organization, Kenya African Union, who in Mombasa welcomed Jomo Kenyatta back from his British exile. Over the next years Muoria followed Kenyatta closely and made sure that *Mumenyereri* reported the important speeches which he made—activities that were stepping stones in the careers of both men as nationalist political spokesmen. The paper reported fully and openly on political issues and brought letters from Africans who were dissatisfied with the politics of the colonial regime. Muoria wrote carefully considered but strongly worded editorials, and the paper announced a host of political meetings and Mau Mau oath ceremonies under the guise of ‘tea parties’.

Muoria’s working environment as a newspaperman was the volatile and politically fraught atmosphere of the city. At this time the ownership and governing of Nairobi, the colonial capital, was extremely contested. In 1950 the colonial authorities decreed that the town of Nairobi had existed for fifty years and celebrated its elevation to city status. This symbolic and self-congratulatory event was turned into a celebration of fifty years of colonial rule. The achievements of the African and Asian populations of the city were neglected. The preparations for the Jubilee and its actual celebration served to focus and dissatisfaction on several fronts among the African population. First and foremost, racial segregation of the three main population groups, Africans, Indians and Whites, had deepened at all levels and included active implementation of the colour bar in restaurants and other public places. African political representation was doled out from above, by nomination only. Segregation was carried out from below by means of finely meshed by-laws on location and regulation of businesses and housing, and on the movement of people. Passbooks had existed and been resisted for a long

¹⁵ On *Mumenyereri* and Muoria as a newspaper editor see Bodil Folke Frederiksen, ‘“The present battle is the brain battle”: Writing and publishing a Kikuyu newspaper, *Mumenyereri*, in the Pre-Mau Mau period in Kenya’, in Karin Barber (ed.), *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 278–313.

time, but now rules were being enforced with great zeal for Africans in the city. They had to carry passbooks with them at all times, showing that they had legitimate business. Paternalism and 'welfare' from above crushed African self-organisation and entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, Kikuyu in the city and some owning land on its outskirts feared that the 'city' might be more land hungry than the town and swallow up land around Dagoretti Market, which was occupied by African enterprises. African townspeople and political organisations protested against the participation of their two nominated town councillors in the celebrations, which were widely boycotted. Strikes and boycotts were aimed particularly at municipal welfare institutions such as canteens and beer halls. In 1947 income from the city's municipal beer halls was halved because of popular boycott, and in 1950 the municipal canteen had to close down.

Muoria did not live in the city, but left his home in Kiambu every day to go to work. On the day of the Jubilee, Muoria himself did not take part in the celebrations or the protests, but 'drove to the town in his old squeaking Ford Four car', and observed the Jubilee pageant and the speeches from a distance in his capacity as a journalist.¹⁶ In his writings he links this day to the beginning of clandestine oath-taking that later came to be associated with the Mau Mau movement.

He ran his newspaper business from changing locations in Nairobi. When Ruth, looking back, characterized her husband, she stressed how in his case 'work' and the 'city' were two sides of the same coin: 'He was from upcountry, but his work was in the city. He only went upcountry to stay. . . . Most of the time he was in the city, only when he goes home, it is home time. Then in the morning he wakes up to get ready to go to town.'¹⁷ At one time he employed four to five people, among them an assistant editor, John Gatu, who later became Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. Muoria also used family labour. Ruth wrote stories for the paper, allegorical tales with a moral, and reported from political meetings, when her husband could not go. Both she and Judith helped with production, packing and distribution of *Mumenyereri*. When the printing machine broke down in mid-1950, Muoria rented a duplicator and continued producing the paper—two thousand copies twice a week from changing urban locations. At this

¹⁶ *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe*, 282.

¹⁷ Interview, London, July 2000.

time political tensions made the production of nationalist newspapers a risky business, as Muoria's first wife had foreseen.

For the first time the paper made a profit, a development that whetted Muoria's appetite for new technologies and for being independent of printers who took fifty percent of his income, as he told in an interview, forty years later: '*Mumenyereri* was selling at twenty cents a week. Of that amount ten cents went to the printer, four cents to the vendor and I collected six cents from each copy.'¹⁸ When he had earned enough money he bought a second-hand printing press from an Indian printer and established his workshop and office in a rented space in Nairobi's central business district.

Muoria situated himself in a network of innovative African entrepreneurs. He collaborated with Asians, who were experienced and well established in the area of printing and newspaper production. He was not willing to go along with the established colonial structures and procedures and was strongly critical of his some fellow editors who let the government assist them financially and with training activities. His intransigence may have had something to do with his departure for Britain. It certainly prevented his return.

Mumenyereri was one of a handful of vernacular papers. Others were brought out by leading nationalists and opposition journalists like Achieng' Oneko, W. W. W. Awori, Paul Ngei and Victor Wokabi.¹⁹ The authorities watched *Mumenyereri* and the other African newspapers closely and Muoria produced his paper under constant threat of being prosecuted for sedition. The paper's report on a strike at the Uplands Bacon Factory in 1947, where two strikers were shot dead by African police officers, did in fact lead to court proceedings. The reporter who wrote the story was sent to prison for six months, Muoria and the printer, Mr. V. G. Patel, were fined. At this time the legislation which made it possible for the authorities to confiscate the printing equipment of publications deemed to be subversive had not been introduced—it came into effect only in 1950. After having paid his fine, Muoria was set free to continue the production and sale of his paper.

¹⁸ *The Standard* 16 June 1989.

¹⁹ On Awori's *Habari za Dunia*, *Radio Posta* and the KAU newspaper *Sauti ya Mwafrika* see Fay Gadsden, 'The African Press in Kenya 1945–1952', *Journal of African History* 21 (1980), 515–535, 515–6; David Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya: The man Kenya wanted to forget* (Nairobi & London: Heinemann, 1982), 20, 40. On Wokabi see KNA A.G. 5/24, 'Seditious Publications: Muthamaki'.

Muoria sought to shake African trust in the colonial masters. In 1950 *Mumenyereri* published a letter warning Africans against believing what they were being told in government pamphlets and publications: 'Whenever you see a European give you anything free, remember that there is something he is trying to get out of you.' An editorial stressed the need for African newspapers: 'There is no reason why the African Press should publish articles just to suit Europeans while the Europeans do not publish theirs to suit the Africans.' Muoria ended by quoting one of his favourite proverbs: 'Chase a man with the truth and he will go away for good. But if you chase a man with a stick, he will turn back to you with a stick.'²⁰

When Muoria left for Europe to widen his journalistic experience and look out for new technology his second wife Judith took over as an editor. 'She was already an experienced journalist and machine operator', as he told in an interview thirty-five years later.²¹ She was in close contact with her husband, who sent her articles from London. The front page of the September 20 issue carried a photo of Muoria and an account of his air flight to London which lasted four days and nights: He reported that flying was like sitting in a swing! Number 456 was the last issue of the newspaper to appear before the colonial government clamped down on the African press.

The authorities did not leave Africans who had been involved in newspaper production alone, and in early 1953 Judith was detained. She recalled the event many years later during an interview: 'I was tipped by a policeman that my husband and I were to be arrested'. She asked him to delay the arrest so that she could transport the printing press to her rural home. 'The man was kind, and he gave me a day or two, where I hired a lorry and we transported the heavy machines to my home.' After that she went to the police headquarters carrying her son Kinyanjui and gave herself up.²² While in detention she kept fighting for her rights and ideals and petitioned the authorities with long lists of grievances: that she was not allowed to collect her older children and stepchildren before being taken away; that conditions in the camp were unsuitable for young children; that she was not told why she was detained and that she had a right to petition; and that she

²⁰ KNA A.G. 5/23, 'Seditious Publications: Mumenyereri'. *Mumenyereri* 14 July 1950.

²¹ *Sunday Nation* 15 February 1987.

²² *Daily Nation* 18 February 1987.

was not allowed to continue the publication of *Mumenyereri* in spite of having been given an ‘application to proceed with the paper’. Her file includes an English translation of a Gikuyu article that she had published in a magazine. She exhorts women to ‘come to the aid of Gikuyu and Mumbi’ and to continue their fight: ‘We must show that we are intelligent and can do anything, in politics we should stand in the middle and cultivate the land that is ours. It is our job to grow food and to know the lands we possess. This we can only do by helping the men in their task of trying to get the land back.’²³

Judith spent seven months in detention camp in Kajiado. Judith and Henry’s two oldest children, Rosabell and Charles, were left in the care of her mother. In London Muoria mobilized liberal politicians in his fight to have her set free, and eventually she was released with their assistance. She returned to live at Muoria’s property in Nyathuna and worked hard to look after and educate her children. After Muoria left for the U.K. there was no further income from publishing activities, and Muoria’s car was sold to finance children’s school fees. Their daughter Rosabell recalls: ‘We were brought up with lots of financial difficulties. Mum had to work as a teacher during the day and as a hotel keeper in the evenings in order to make ends meet. To supplement this we did peasant farming.’²⁴ According to her daughter, Judith was ‘a strong campaigner for independence in her own right and she didn’t worship the white man at all’. In October 1996 an article in the Kenyan newspaper *Daily Nation* praised Judith and other ‘unsung heroines of the freedom war’, and Rosabell followed up in a letter to the editor, writing that her mother ‘felt a lot of satisfaction when the white man capitulated and Kenya became independent.’²⁵

Ruth Nuna and her forebears in Pumwani—marriage to Muoria

Family stories about Henry Muoria’s courage and persistence in his public and private life are balanced, as we have seen, by stories of the actions of the family’s courageous and resourceful women. Muoria was typical in the sense that, like other organic intellectuals in Kenya,

²³ KNA JZ 7/5. Judith w/o Henry Muoria. Thanks to Derek Peterson for notes from this file. The magazine in question was *Gikuyu na Mumbi*, No. 2 November 1952. Gikuyu and Mumbi are the mythical founders of the Kikuyu nation.

²⁴ Rosabell Wambui Mbure personal letter, 15 December 1999.

²⁵ *Daily Nation* 2 November 1996.

he came out of rural mission modernity, profoundly associated with masculine ideals. The backgrounds of his three wives were equally significant: Elizabeth was one of the very early Christian converts, Judith a pioneer on the strength of her education and political awareness, and Muoria's third wife Ruth was representative in that she was the product of a distinct modernity unfolding in towns, associated with women's lives, work and values. The intertwining of rural and urban sets of values have affected generations of Kenyans deeply. Some of the tensions and patterns of mobility characteristic of the Muoria extended family have followed from these different roots and trajectories.

Ruth Nuna Japhet Kinyori was born in Nairobi in 1927 as the only child of a Pumwani woman, Grace Njoki, and a Kenyan Asian, Jan Muhammed, who was a trader. When Ruth tells her life history, the account begins with the dramatic events that determined the fate of Grace's mother Pricilla Nuna Gikiro, whom she considers the founder of her lineage. Ruth's grandmother was one of a generation of pioneer women migrants who settled in the newly established colonial capital, Nairobi, which at this time consisted of a small colonial administrative area, a railway junction and a few scattered townships for Africans.

Pricilla fled from her husband in rural Kikuyuland with her children and first settled in Masikini, one of the five original African villages on the outskirts of the colonial town. When, around 1921, Masikini was destroyed as part of the colonial zigzag policies on housing of Africans, Pricilla moved to Pumwani, paid rent to the Municipal Council for the land and built her own house. Pumwani was established in the early 1920s in segregated Nairobi as the first area in which Africans were allowed to build and own their own houses. It was the heart of African Nairobi and started out as a well-ordered location with space and amenities for a number of households on the principles of English garden cities. However, because of increasing population pressure and the unwillingness of the colonial regime to seriously plan and provide for Africans as legitimate inhabitants of cities, overcrowding and deprivation came to mark the neighbourhood. The colonial authorities came to regard it as dangerous because of poverty, disease and crime, more than because of nationalist politics, which they did not pay much attention to in their urban manifestations until the end of the 1930s.²⁶

²⁶ For the history of Pumwani see Andrew Hake, *African Metropolis. Nairobi's Self-Help City* (Sussex: Sussex University Press 1977); Kenneth McVicar, *Twilight of an East African Slum. Pumwani and the evolution of an African slum* (PhD. Dissertation.

Pricilla married again in the city. Of her thirteen children only four survived into adulthood—a testimony to the dismal social and economic conditions of the urban African population. One of them was Grace. She was elected by her mother to inherit the house and carry on the family business of letting rooms and selling beer. Grace who chose not to marry Ruth's father, as she would have to convert to Islam, did so with her daughter as a companion and helper. Grace put Ruth through school, the first one run by the Anglican Mission, the second better one by the Salvation Army in nearby Kariokor. Encouraged by her mother, Ruth wanted to learn more and was unhappy with the prevailing social realities that meant that 'even if you study so much you cannot get a job because you are a woman. You have to get married, your work is to go and cook and look after children.'²⁷ Ruth was taught spinning and weaving by colonial wives and social workers, and she remembers that they appropriated the income from the sale of the products. She did get a job, however. Because of her excellent Swahili she appeared regularly in a radio programme on hygiene and child rearing, where her task was to impersonate the figure of *Mama Mzee* who would advise listeners presumably keen to learn about the latest wisdom on baby care from Britain. Vernacular broadcast programmes was one of several propaganda initiatives, emerging from the colonial Information Office.²⁸

Ruth's early first marriage was to a Goan. He was married already and the union with Ruth was celebrated in the customary way with the payment of dowry and blessing by parents. Already at the age of nineteen she separated from him, 'he was not my tribe', as she says in retelling her life story. They had a daughter together and she stayed with her mother. Not long after her divorce, she met Henry Muoria on the way to her radio job in central Nairobi. At this time, around 1947, Muoria was a well-known writer and Ruth knew about his work, especially the newspaper *Mumenyereri*. Muoria was a prosperous man—a husband and the father of several children. He owned land, two cars, grew crops and had built a substantial house for himself and his fam-

University of California. Los Angeles, 1968); Luise White, *The Comforts of Home. Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 'Making Popular Culture from Above: Leisure in Nairobi 1945–60', in Liz Gunner (ed.) *Collected Seminar Papers* (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1995).

²⁷ Interview, London, July 2000.

²⁸ On colonial use of radio, see Frederiksen, 'Making Popular Culture'.

ily. His newspaper was doing well. A few days after meeting Ruth, he visited her mother in Pumwani. She liked her daughter's suitor and agreed that he wrote 'good things about people'.²⁹ A fortnight later Muoria offered to give Ruth a lift in his car when she was going to visit her grandmother Pricilla. She had retired to her rural home close to Muoria's own home after having handed her property over to her daughter. Ruth accepted and soon after Henry asked her to marry him. Her reaction was to point out that he was married already, but he persuaded her that he was allowed to marry again and promised to talk to his second wife, Judith.

Ruth's mother was surprised that out of many suitors her daughter had picked Muoria. She did not have reservations about Ruth being in a polygamous marriage as long as she loved her husband and he could provide for her. She did, however, have reservations about rural life and the role of her city-bred daughter on a farm. Ruth assured her that she would not have to do any farm labour as there were people working for her future husband. She let Grace keep her young daughter for company and for reasons of access to schools, and settled in the brick house in Nyathuna, which she shared with Judith, who was friendly and showed her around. For a time, Muoria and his wives and children were able to pursue peaceful and productive lives. However, with the intense political activity building up to the Mau Mau crisis and the increasing suppression of African activities and organisations, everything changed drastically during the first years of the new decade, and especially after Muoria had left for Britain.

Like Judith, Ruth was made to bear the brunt of British suppression of particularly Kikuyu women. She had a troubled time after Muoria's departure. Kiambu was one of the hearts of Kikuyu political activity and unsafe for the wives of a well-known African journalist, as Judith's fate had demonstrated. Ruth took her children, left Nyathuna and returned to her mother in the city. Pumwani, however, was another centre of unrest. The authorities repeatedly screened inhabitants, ostensibly to find instigators of the Mau Mau oath-taking ceremonies, in fact to empty the city of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru, who were the key groups behind the nationalist uprising. The screening operations could take place at any time and took many forms. Ruth describes one in which men, women

²⁹ Interview with Ruth's daughter Christine Gathoni, Nairobi, November 1999.

and children were made to march past police cars where African informers, hidden behind dark windows, would point out troublemakers:

I used to go for screening carrying my baby on the back.... Everybody was taken out of their houses and made to walk in the sunshine. The baby I carried on my back, the other one I held in my hand.... We had to go there. I used to pray to God, because sometimes they used to choose anybody at random. Not because they had done something wrong. They were paid for arresting more people.... Lots of women were arrested...at that time they did not choose. Even the Vicar, they used to arrest. They used to accuse even Christians. They were bad people.³⁰

Luckily, Ruth was not among those picked up. She moved on from the insecurity in Pumwani to a house in Makadara, an African neighbourhood further to the east. Her husband's urgent wish that she join him in London in 1954 came at a very difficult time, but by going Ruth probably saved him from deep depression—a condition he describes in his autobiographical manuscripts³¹—and enabled him to be a happy father and to continue as a productive writer. Henry and Ruth's exile in Britain meant both that the very foundations of the family were shaken, but also that resourceful helpers mobilized and came to their assistance.

*Growing up in Nairobi in the 1950s and 1960s:
The sisters from Pumwani.*

Ruth left for London, certain that Grace Njoki and the network of Pumwani women, in which she was a leading figure, would take excellent care of her four daughters, Mary Njoki, Hellen Wambui, Christine Gathoni and Margaret Waringa. The rural branch of the extended Muoria family could also be relied on to help out. The girls grew up where their great grandmother had settled, in the area known as Majengo in the heart of Pumwani. As we have seen, colonial officials regarded Pumwani as neighbourhood that was almost ungovernable, singling out the women of the area as particularly difficult. This perception from outside stands in strong contrast to the Muoria family's memories of respectable and socially mobile middle class living with an emphasis on education and with women forming the hard-working core.

³⁰ Interview Ruth Muoria, London, July 2000.

³¹ *I, the Gikuyu*, 77.

Although Pumwani was marked by poverty and, after 1952, by the policing and control that were the consequences of the Emergency, it was also a 'smart place'.³² It was known as a neighbourhood where it was good to relax, and it was home to a good number of bars and eating places as well as being well known for prostitution. The area housed several schools, a large maternity hospital and a colonial chief's camp and police station. The two municipal community halls, Kaloleni and Pumwani, hosted a number of activities. There was a library, regular evening classes in home economics, health and hygiene, spinning and weaving, and in languages—English and Swahili. Voluntary associations and clubs were in charge of exhibitions, tea parties and sports.

Grace brought up her four grandchildren as her own daughters. When, for a period, she worked as a nanny for white families, her sister looked after the girls. Grace had small jobs of teaching Swahili locally, but the major part of her income came from letting rooms in her properties in Pumwani, Kawangware and other Eastlands estates, and from running the bar. Unlike her mother, who had sold home brew, she would sell and serve bottled beer in her sitting room. The atmosphere was friendly. Bottled beer was for leisure consumption, whereas it was well known that the men who drank the Kikuyu home brew *muratina* were engaged in nationalist politics. The clientele of the bar were 'professionals' and a 'better class of people', and included a Kenya Broadcasting Company broadcaster and a future manager of the East African Airways.³³ Money for school fees for the girls came from these activities. Once a month Muoria's first wife, Elizabeth, who was a skillful farmer, brought food from the fields owned by Muoria in the family's upcountry home.

Grace was known in Pumwani for looking after the four sisters very carefully. She was 'the one who brought them up, saw them through school, through everything.' The four girls called her 'Mama', and although she was strict they were very close to her: Hellen tells that she is happy that she was brought up by her Grandmother: 'I don't regret it at all.'³⁴ The girls were educated at first locally, later, for their secondary education, at boarding schools. It was known in the neighbourhood that they were the daughters of an important figure. Christine tells that at

³² Interview with Hellen and John Gichache, Ruth's daughter and son-in-law, Nairobi, December 1999.

³³ Interview with Hellen and John Gichache, Nairobi, December 1999.

³⁴ Interview with Hellen and John Gichache, Nairobi, December 1999.

Primary School ‘we were famous because of our father, who was known as a Kikuyu journalist. All the teachers knew him through reading his magazines.’³⁵ The girls had a Kikuyu and Christian upbringing, Gikuyu and Christian names.

The eldest daughter, Mary Grace Njoki, named after her grandmother, went to a Catholic boarding school. She tells her early story like this:

We were staying with Mum and Dad at Eastleigh Section 3 and our Dad used to go to print his magazines and our Mum was selling them at different places. My Dad had a Citroën car, which was taking us to Church. When my Dad went to London we didn’t know, and we moved from Eastleigh to Majengo³⁶ with our Mum. Then later we moved to Bahati because the colonial Home Guard wanted to arrest Mum. After some months Mum got her passport and she went to London 1954. We were left with our Grandmother. She took care of us, educating us, and everything she did for us.³⁷

Her younger sister, Christine, tells of an early childhood made unstable by the Mau Mau emergency, but also full of love:

I am the third born of Muoria’s family, born in 1950. My parents went to London when I was still young.... When our mother was still here we stayed in Bahati Estate where I could hear some gun shots—people were being shot and we were not allowed to go out since it was during the Emergency. After Bahati we moved to Eastleigh and stayed with a landlady called Josephine Muthoni who now owns Sun City Cinema and is a very rich woman.³⁸ We came back to Majengo where we stayed with our grandmother after my mother left us. We were told that she flew to London with a bird called *Hongo*. We were taken care of by our grandmother who loved us so much.³⁹

Grace was a well-known figure in Pumwani. Her great grandson Julius, son of Christine, now in his thirties, tells that ‘she was known all around as *Mother Bigi*...because she used to be huge.’⁴⁰ She became front-page news during a Miss Kenya Beauty Contest when, bored with the predictability and lack of action of the prize-giving event, she jumped

³⁵ Personal letter from Christine Gathoni, November 2002.

³⁶ Majengo—‘buildings’ in Swahili, is the centre of Pumwani.

³⁷ Personal letter, November 1999.

³⁸ Josephine Muthoni was earlier in detention camp with Muoria’s first wife, Judith. With Judith she complained about conditions in the camp. Her assistance to Ruth is another testimony of the strong network of women, functioning in African Nairobi. See footnote 26.

³⁹ Personal letter, November 2002.

⁴⁰ Personal letter, November 2002.

onto the stage and successfully challenged the contestants. Julius' cousin Nuna, daughter of Hellen, remembers that her great grandmother looked after her frequently: 'She looked very prominent. I used to think of her as a queen. She was big. She was sitting on that chair there and everybody was coming to her, she was giving instructions, that was a very beautiful woman.... I think we called her *Mama*... or *Nyanya wa Majengo* ('Grandmother of Majengo'). We had a lot of *Nyanyas*, you know.' Nuna thinks of her as a rich woman who would give her and the other great granddaughters small gifts and whose house was 'beautiful and clean'.⁴¹

After Grace's four granddaughters had grown up and had children of their own, they went on conducting their family celebrations in the house in Majengo with Grace as the towering center. And after her death in 1977, the sisters have held a memorial party, *ukumbusho*, every year on the day of her death, a celebration which involves a visit to their grandmother's grave, cooking and eating a meal of rice and chicken, and pouring Tusker beer on the ground outside the house as a greeting to the deceased.⁴²

Education, private enterprise and urban property have been central to the power of women in the Nairobi branch of the family. Henry and Ruth's four daughters have worked either as professionals in business organizations or as independent entrepreneurs. Ruth, who inherited the Pumwani house from her mother, has left it to Mary, her eldest daughter and the fourth woman in a direct line of descent to own the property. The other three daughters have inherited the houses their grandmother built in the Eastlands estate of Makadara and other urban property. All have small pieces of land in the family's rural home in Kiambu.

Beer is still sold in Pumwani as part of the family business—now from a regular bar owned by Mary and run with family labour. The bar, which adjoins the house where her sister Christine lives with her sons, their wives and her grandchildren, consists of two large rooms with a jukebox, acquired by the family in the 1950s, and a more recent pool table. The atmosphere is still friendly and the billiards and beer are both very popular with young Tanzanian men who operate profitable sale of second-hand clothes, *mitumba*, and, like their great grandmothers who came to Pumwani in the 1930s and 1940s, lead migrants' lives.

⁴¹ Interview with Nuna Gichache, Oakland, April 2003.

⁴² Interview with Nuna Gichache, Oakland, April 2003.

*Links and splits: Nyathuna, Nairobi,
London—1960s to 1990s*

During the 1960s and 1970s the three branches of the Muoria family in London, Nairobi and Kiambu were busy keeping the families afloat and putting children through school and further education. Letters kept up the contact between the London and the Kenya families in Nairobi and Nyathuna. Henry Muoria was a regular correspondent, writing in Gikuyu from his north London home. He told news of life in London and about the lives of Ruth's and his seven London born children, four sons and three daughters. Besides working as a guard on the London Underground, Muoria had to learn to cook and make clothes for the children when his wife had health problems. In a difficult period around the late 1960s, Ruth's mother assisted the London family financially. Money and assistance again flowed from mother to daughter, but this time from Majengo to the Metropole.

Ruth's Nairobi-born daughters did not have much contact with the upcountry family but they would visit once in a while. Christine remembers paying a long visit to the landed Muoria clan after her uncle had been killed in an accident: 'When we were there we were able to see our grandmother Nyiuru Wambui and our stepmothers Thogori and Judith...and we were also introduced to our step brothers and sister Rosabell. We also visited Gikuni and met our great grandmother.'⁴³ The grandmother she refers to was Henry's mother who was still alive and resided in Nyathuna. The great grandmother was Grace's mother, Pricilla, the founding matriarch of the Nairobi Muorias, who had retired to a comfortable life in the countryside, made possible by her daughter's remittances from the city.

In the 1950s and 60s, when Muoria's sons and daughters grew up, income from cultivation and trade in agricultural products was not enough for an expanding family. Land ownership was contested in the fertile tracts, and Muoria's first wife Elizabeth was involved in several cases of litigation. In the early 1970s the *mbari* got together and invested in a bus, an enterprise that Alex Muoria, the grandson in charge of the rural farm, thinks would have made the family prosperous had it been sustained.⁴⁴ At the same time a growing economy made urban

⁴³ Personal letter, November 2002.

⁴⁴ Interview, Kiambu, October 2000.

living possible and attractive. So, several of the Kiambu Muorias came to town. Judith's son Mwaniki was employed by the City Commission and his brother Kinyanjui worked in Barclay's Bank. Elizabeth's son John Mwaniki was a sculptor and taught art at the famous Starehe School for boys, situated close to Pumwani. James Kinuthia Gitau, his equally gifted brother, was a graphic artist. He went to art school and was subsequently employed by *The Standard*, the newspaper that had dismissed his father's letter to the editor and thus started Muoria's career as a journalist.

Gitau had a troubled career. He lived with his wife, Fedelis Njeri, and four children in the smaller brick house where his mother, Elizabeth Thogori, had stayed after her divorce from Muoria. He was unhappy about his parents' divorce and was torn between his rural home and life in the city. His ambition was to be able to live a comfortable urban life, rather than being dependent on the limited and unstable income from cultivating the land. In spite of his efforts, he did not manage to generate enough income from business activities and his newspaper job to make his wish come true. However, like his father he distinguished himself in the newspaper industry: when Muoria returned to Kenya in 1989 and paid a visit to *The Standard*, his son was given credit for having started the paper's art department and influenced its lay-out, while Muoria was praised for being a pioneer African journalist.⁴⁵ Gitau died in 1990 after a long illness.

His half-brother, Charles Mwaniki, son of Henry and Judith, who had grown up next door in Nyathuna, was also aware of the tension between rural and urban life as it played itself out in the Muoria family. Mwaniki, who died in 2008, was a trained nurse, and after sixteen years in Nairobi, working for the City Commission, he ran a medical clinic named after his mother near the rural family home. He traced the urban-rural ambivalence back to the different outlooks of Henry's wives and to an ambivalence in Henry himself, the founder of the family. In Mwaniki's view, although his father worked, married and owned land in the city he 'was not an urban person. He had a plot in Eastleigh, but he did not build there. He built here, in his community.' On the other hand Ruth and her children were urban: 'They have a garden here, but they don't cultivate. We wouldn't squeeze them here, where they don't fit.' Charles himself, though settled in Kiambu for the last

⁴⁵ *The Standard* 16 June 1989.

part of his life, was not immune to the pleasures of city life, 'you feel better when you visit town.'⁴⁶

The lives of the Nairobi Muorias have involved travel and mobility. In 1962 Mary, Ruth's eldest daughter went to London to live with her parents and take her O-levels. From the mid-1960s onwards other Muoria children started travelling between their two homelands. Urban-rural traffic, already ingrained in the family, translated itself into transnational mobility. Rosabell from the second marriage, born in 1950, saw her father for the first time when she travelled to London in 1969. She took a secretarial course in the U.K., sponsored by the Bible Society of Kenya. Wangari, the eldest of the London Muorias, born in 1955, first visited Kenya in 1975 with her sister Juliet and brothers Peter and Josphat. Wangari remained in Nairobi, working and getting to know her family. Nine years later Peter Mwaniki met his future wife in Kenya. They married in the U.K. They were the ones who actively recreated the links—carrying greetings, photos and stories that restored the family spirit and re-presented the family experience as something that was relevant to all branches.

Kenya's independence intensified Muoria's wish to return home, but obligations to his London family and an uncertain political situation in Kenya made it impossible. He returned to Nairobi in 1975 for the first time since 1952. Kenya was deep into a political crisis connected to Kikuyu political and economic dominance. Kenyatta's hold on power was uncertain. Muoria took tea with the President and had dreams of re-launching his newspaper, but the idea of publishing a newspaper in Gikuyu was then extremely controversial. Family members warned him not to go ahead with his plans. All in all, he did not experience sufficient political and economic encouragement during his test visit for him to give up his life in Britain, and he returned to London. He had been away from Kenya's political life for too long and the political culture had changed in ways that he was not conversant with. Muoria's visits to Kenya in the late 1980s and early 1990s in connection with the deaths of his first and his second wife stirred an interest in his life and ideas and contributed to bringing the family together. On these visits the political climate was very different from that of the mid-1970s and Muoria was welcomed like a hero in his home area. People came

⁴⁶ Interview with Charles Mwaniki, Kiambu, November 1999.

from near and far to greet him and national newspapers brought out interviews and lengthy features on his life and achievements.

Henry Muoria's funeral at Nyathuna in 1997 brought almost the whole of the London branch of the family to Kenya. After his death Ruth, his widow, stayed on for a longer spell in the Kibera house of her daughter Hellen and her son-in-law John. However her visits are becoming less frequent as her health is fragile. She is supported in London by her children and grandchildren and the British health care system.

Identities—London, Nairobi and Kikuyuland

All family members share a pride in being a Muoria and refer to the family history as a source of identity. But they are also aware that the complicated and dramatic family experience, with its forced separations and remaking of links across economic, social and spatial differences, has fostered a variety of possible identities and potential conflicts. Muoria never saw himself as anything but Kikuyu and Kenyan. In Britain he was in exile. When, during an interview in his London house in 1987, he was asked about his identity, his answer played with the crucial difference between a 'house' and a 'home', known to all Kenyans: 'I am a Kikuyu, a Kenyan who was born to Mwaniki wa Muoria and Wambui wa Mbari. My home is in Nyathuna, Kikuyu. In London I have only a house.'⁴⁷

Wangari in London considers language is a key to identity. In her view it is significant that those that were brought up in the rural areas all speak Gikuyu, even Henry's grandchildren. Among the Muorias in Nairobi, Ruth and Henry's daughters speak Gikuyu. The urban grandchildren speak Swahili and English but understand Gikuyu. As for the London branch, Muoria's sons and daughters understand Gikuyu but cannot speak it—like their nieces and nephews in Nairobi.

⁴⁷ *Daily Nation* 18 February 1987. This was the year of the highly controversial court case concerning the right to determine the burial site of S. M. Otieno, a case in which discussions of the difference between 'house' and 'home' turned out to be crucial. See David William Cohen & E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 1992).

Judith's daughter Rosabell, interviewed in 1999, characterized her father as a pure Kikuyu person. However, as a consequence of its dispersal the Muoria family had split in three clans, characterized by degrees of 'Kikuyuness':

As for me there is no debate about my identity—I am a pure Kikuyu person and I am very proud of that. When I saw my Dad—I have been with him in London several times—he identified himself with his own tribe. I have never known him to speak to me in English unless we were in the company of non-Gikuyu speakers. So I am Kikuyu through and through and my Dad was also Kikuyu through and through.

To her a Kikuyu identity is closely linked to pride in being African and equal to but different from Western people. Kikuyu identity is nurtured by growing up in Kikuyu culture. Rosabell explains, half jokingly, that although her father encouraged his children to feel like Kenyans and Kikuyu, the family in London may be more English than Kikuyu:

There are many things that they don't understand, especially Kikuyu cultural trends. I believe one adopts the culture one grows in... Culture, I take it as the total way of life of a particular society or people. Culture is not in a name but in a way of life. A culture—you grow up in it, it is something you are taught, you somehow have to live with it... it is acquired through living in it... When we come to Nairobi—okay they are Kikuyu, but without the culture. They may not claim to be so much Kikuyu because they have to adapt to the culture where they are... So we are three cultures: The Kikuyus, that is the rural Kikuyus, the half Kikuyus, and I think the ones in London are maybe a quarter Kikuyu.⁴⁸

When this idea of degrees of Kikuyuness was presented to Muoria's widow, Ruth, she disagreed and insisted that her London children are full Kikuyus, brought up 'in the customs of the Kikuyu' to 'respect elders': 'They are proud to be Kikuyu. But they are born in London.'⁴⁹

In Rosabell's view relations between generations are a touchstone of Kikuyu culture. Children who grew up in the rural areas used to respect and keep a certain distance to their parents:

Upcountry now, where we think we are Kikuyu... like Mama, if she told me off over certain things I didn't do right, there is no way that I can answer back. Oh no, there is no way. I will just keep quiet and be

⁴⁸ Interview with Rosabell Wambui Mbure, Nairobi, November 1999.

⁴⁹ Interview, London, July 2000.

sober.... The present generation is more free to say what they feel and what they want.

On the other hand, relations to grandparents are close and characterized by equality: 'Children believe that their grandmothers cannot be wrong. A grandmother can be friend, more than Mama.'⁵⁰ Grace Njoki's upbringing of her granddaughters is an example, as is the close relationship between Ruth and her grandchildren

More generally, from contact with the London branch of the family and from living in Britain for several years, Rosabell has found that Kenyan and British understandings of what constitutes a family differ a great deal. The polygamous character of the family has meant that for the Kenya Muorias there was a great flexibility when it came to bringing up children—primarily located in networks of women. Another distinct feature of the extended family in Kenya is that it upholds traditions of strong horizontal cohesion between people from the same generation. Age sets mean that half brothers and sisters as well as cousins are considered brothers and sisters.

The grandchildren on being Kenyan, being African and being a Muoria: Nairobi, Nyathuna, Oakland

The historical transformations of the Kenyan society that have occurred in this period have meant that creating a space for the survival and security of the family in rapidly changing and often volatile political situations has been a great challenge. In the case of the Kenya Muorias the traditional reliance on women as caretakers of children and for primary livelihood was strengthened by the absence of Henry Muoria. In this situation in addition to the over-all economic responsibility the family's women have had the task of making sure that the younger generation had access to school and further education, and of instilling appropriate (but flexible) social and moral values. Undoubtedly the women of the family have lived up to it. They have exploited tendencies towards a matrilineal family organization that were already inherent in the social upheavals occurring from the 1920s onwards in the wake of rural-urban migration by men and women. In the optic of family members, female strength is a double heritage, stemming from being

⁵⁰ Interview with Rosabell Wambui Mbure, Nairobi, November 1999.

Kikuyu and from belonging to their particular family. When talking about sisters, mothers and grandmothers, Judith's daughter Rosabell emphasized that Kikuyu women are powerful, their oral wisdom is still alive and available: There is 'a saying in Gikuyu for every occasion to make you strong. Even when the husband goes the woman still remains very strong. They are like the backbone.'⁵¹

Now, where does female thrift and enterprise situate men, and particularly the young men of the family? Do they agree about the power of women, and do they value the Kikuyu identity, which is part of the family heritage? In an interview, David, Patrick and Julius, sons of three of the Pumwani sisters, confirmed that their mothers were very strong. They located the immediate source of the women's power in two generations of women: their great grandmother, Grace—'I think our mothers have inherited something from her—that thing of dominance, control. They are always in charge'—and their grandmother Ruth: 'she's unique! She has been an inspiration.... She told us so many things about when she was a child, when she grew up, when she was about to get married to grandfather.... It is very good to have such an interesting grandmother.' Kikuyu identity more broadly has been one source of authority for the family's women and another has been their ability to hold important positions or build and manage enterprises. They have had responsible positions in their working lives that reinforced their position in the family: 'Most of what they say, it goes.' As an illustration, they told that when the husband of one of the sisters left her for a second wife, her grandmother, Grace Njoki, made sure that the two sons stayed with their mother and thus the family was kept together: 'The Kikuyus from a long time back, when you have children you have to stick to them. Our mothers were taught by their grandmother not to let the husbands go with the kids, even if the divorce comes, to stay with the children.' The cousins saw this as a distinct characteristic of Kikuyus—other tribes will let husbands get away with appropriating children from a split-up marriage. They explained that 'that is why they forced us to be named after Kikuyus—the mother's side.'⁵² According to the traditional Kikuyu naming practice the first son and daughter are named after the paternal grandfather and grandmother. The sub-

⁵¹ Interview with Rosabell Wambui Mbure, Nairobi, November 1999.

⁵² Interview with Patrick Muoria, David Muoria, Julius Mwaniki, Nairobi, December 1999.

sequent children will be named after the maternal grandparents, and, following that, paternal and maternal uncles and aunts. In their case, however, if they did have a name from their father's side of the family it was because in school one had to, but it was less important than the maternal name. David, Patrick and Julius considered the naming practice privileging women a distinct characteristic of their family, but not one that they themselves would carry on.

The young men were less sure if female strength was characteristic of their own generation, in relations between themselves and their sisters and wives. One claimed that the oldest men of the family were the ones who took important decisions, 'nowadays they have let the men take over'—another said that relations between the sexes were characterized by 'respect and equality'.⁵³ For the family's young women, sisters of the three young men, the sources of authority and self-confidence that were available to their mothers are no longer there. They do not have the certainty of belonging to a particular 'natural' ethnic community and they do not want that kind of identification—it is out of tune with the times. Like their mothers, they have had the possibility of getting good secondary education and some have continued in higher education institutions. However, their economic situation is uncertain. Their mothers entered the labour market in the relatively confident and prosperous 1960s and 1970s under an economic regime that favoured Kikuyu enterprise. In the present situation of economic decline and growing insecurity getting a regular job for a young educated person is extremely difficult and several of Muoria's grandchildren consider going abroad to live and work.

Like most of their cousins of both sexes, David, Patrick and Julius have finished secondary school either in Nairobi or at a boarding school in the rural areas. One has been to college and two are now employed in private business organizations: Patrick works in a computer firm and David is employed in a mobile phone company. Both are doing well. Julius, one of Christine's two sons who still lives in the family compound in Pumwani, is a self-employed businessman and runs a barber shop called *Soul Brothers* with his brother George. The saloon is located in a shack on the roadside and is decorated with eye-catching brightly coloured wall paintings of young men and women, showing

⁵³ Interview with Patrick Muoria, David Muoria, Julius Mwaniki, Nairobi, December 1999.

the latest haircut fashions. George is a talented fashion designer who buys, redecorates and sells second-hand clothes from a stall at the nearby Gikomba Market, in sharp competitions with immigrants from Tanzania and the Congo who regard cutting-edge fashion as their business niche. George has a daughter with his Kikuyu wife, and Julius is married to a Luo woman and has two sons. In order to look after his growing family, Julius has built a small house in a plot on the outskirts of Nairobi, left to his mother by his grandmother. He lets the house and goes there frequently to supervise that things are in order and to collect the rent. While he and his brother manage to make ends meet, their chances of significantly expanding their businesses and changing their social situation are small.

Julius tells about growing up in the tough neighbourhood of Pumwani, in the late 1970s and the 1980s, a period in which slums in Nairobi were left to cope with an enormous rural influx and the settlement of numerous refugees from unstable neighbouring countries, without assistance from the government or the City Council:

During our youth there was no time that we were involved in crime or drugs, but we really lived in ghetto circumstances. Prostitution was at a high rate, also there were many drunkards because money was not a problem those days—the economy was good. Mum used to warn us not to go near the prostitutes, also they knew that our father came from their place Tanzania, so they used to respect us.⁵⁴ Our group was known as guys from *Machini*, meaning guys from down land, because we are near to the river.

Machini, named by people who had moved there from *Masikini*, where their great grand mother Pricilla had settled sixty years earlier, lies next to Kamukunji Grounds, a large open space famous for being the site of oppositional political rallies and witness to a great deal of political and social violence. Julius and his friends have also taken part: ‘We also used to organize some gang fights at Kamukunji Grounds to see which group was tougher than the other. Our group used to win always.’ In spite of being members of a relatively wealthy family, Christine and her sons in periods had to fight poverty:

I remember there was a time when things were not good and we ended up collecting metal bars around Gikomba Market and going to sell them

⁵⁴ Julius is referring to the fact, well known locally, that many of the women working as prostitutes in Pumwani come from Tanzania.

to scrap metal workshops or garages. We could get good money by selling and we could spend it buying bread and going to movies. Mum did not like it so we had to stop this business.⁵⁵

Respectability was important and it was linked with Kikuyu ways and customs—what Julius and his cousins would refer to as ‘our culture’, a composite field of norms and ideals, put together by elements from imagined Kikuyu, national and African culture. When asked about their identity, the young men claimed that being African is what is most important to them. Being Kenyan comes next and finally the tribal heritage gets a passing mention: ‘In our age group we don’t think that tribe comes in that much.’ The young men understand Gikuyu and speak some but prefer Swahili and English. They are part of an urban generation who make use among themselves of *Sheng*—a mixture of English, Swahili and other African languages common in Nairobi, like Gikuyu and Luo. They refer to and share their grandfather’s pride in being African and his beliefs in Christianity and education: ‘Most Africans feel inferior. We should be proud of ourselves. There are two hundred and fifty six churches in Kenya. We have Christianity and have gone to school and found out what is good for us.’⁵⁶

The cousins support their family’s tradition of openness towards other ethnic groups and other cultures. Their aunt Rosabell expresses it like this: ‘The Muoria’s have a broad heart that is able to accept with ease people who are different from them.’⁵⁷ In the Kenya branches of the family marriage partners include Asians, Luos and Luhyas. Even for the most urbanized of Kenyans, however, there are moments of cultural truth. One is marriage. When Patrick’s sister got married to a young Luhya man in December 1999 in Nairobi, the wedding was preceded by elaborate bridewealth negotiations. They involved substantial delegations and senior spokesmen from both sides, drawing on Kikuyu and Luhya culture to an extent where problems of translation threatened to become acute. They were overcome in the end not least because of the tolerance and understanding on the part of the Muorias.

The Nairobi-based cousins regret the lack of connections to their rural cousins, uncles and aunts. Most of them did not visit the family home in Nyathuna until the late 1980s, when they were almost grown

⁵⁵ Personal Letter, November 2002.

⁵⁶ Interview, Nairobi, December 1999.

⁵⁷ Personal letter, December 1999.

up. They went during a home visit by their London-based grandparents. The young men in Pumwani have felt that something was missing when they were children, because almost all the people they mixed with in the dense and sociable neighbourhood would go regularly to the rural areas in holidays to visit their family: 'Them, they used to go. So when they came back they would say, 'ah, those guys, they don't go to their places, they don't have any rural places', they used to tease us.' They explained that the grandmother is the central figure making connections between the town and the countryside branches of the family: 'Our family... when you go upcountry you normally go and see your grandmother. Okay, the grandmother is not around, she is in London, so there is no way we could.' On the whole, however, urban life has suited them and they do not feel that the lack of connection to upcountry has been a serious problem when they were children. Now that they are adults they desire closer relations between branches of the family: 'Nowadays, I think, I myself, I insist that... we should have contact, should be going there, should be talking to them, so we know how they live and they know how we live—become one family.'⁵⁸

They now like to visit their cousin Alex who is in charge of the family farm in Kiambu, with his uncle and his mother. Alex Muoria is the son of James Gitau and has inherited his father's artistic talent. He draws, paints and makes skillful clay figures. However, as the eldest of four brothers and sisters he has responsibility for his widowed mother and his siblings. He had to leave school two years before graduating and assist in the cultivation of the land because of economic difficulties and his father's illness. He is grateful that Muoria has left the family with sufficient land to cultivate: 'We pretty much depend on the past, what our grandfathers did. Me I feel lucky because we have a garden, a big garden, compared to others.' So that, although money for hiring seasonal agricultural labour and for paying school fees may be difficult to find, there is enough produce—spices, cabbage, maize, sweet potatoes, beans and *sukuma wiki* ('spinach')—to provide for the family. Especially after an electric pump for the irrigation system has been installed. 'I would like to stay in the rural areas. Farming, I think it's good. I would like to build a very good house and put my farm in very good order.' Alex is now in the process of building his own home,

⁵⁸ Interview, Nairobi, December 1999.

the third substantial building on the Muoria land. He is happy to be part of the Muoria *mbari*:

My grandfather could marry many wives... The land was divided between wives. The children of those wives belonged to the family, that is the *mbari*... who are all the same root. They became a long chain—I believe it was a very long chain. And they had similarities—they have some common things.

Like his grandmother, his uncle in London, and his cousins in Nairobi, he singles out the significance of religion in giving cohesion and hope to the family.

The part I like about Kikuyus, they knew God. They used to worship at a *Ngumo* tree, a fig tree. They would go to the shrine and pray for rain and stay, and by the time they came out it would rain. I tried to compare with the Bible and I saw that they were facing Mount Kenya, so they were also facing Mount Sinai. I saw they knew God.⁵⁹

His far-away cousin Terry in Oakland California certainly feels that she is part of the Muoria *mbari*: 'Being a Muoria means being royalty—it gave us a certain status in school, although we were from a poor area in Nairobi.'⁶⁰ She is one of Hellen and John's six daughters and grew up in Kibera, a large mixed Nairobi neighbourhood, with her parents and sisters. She finished her secondary education there and has now spent more than ten years in the United States, graduating in Business Studies and Hotel Management. Her elder sister, Nuna, has joined her, works for an attorney and lives round the corner from her.

Nuna and Terry both affirm that their Kenyan identity is important to them though they are temporarily 'dislocated', as Nuna terms it. She has happy memories of her grandparents—'my grandma is a beautiful proud woman'—and thinks that 'being a Muoria is just nice.' She has known for a long time that she wanted to live in America although she is 'Kenyan to the core'. Californian living suits her and she experiences a great deal of interest in her African background. Both sisters notice that African identity, names and language enjoy a high prestige in American popular culture: 'It's cool, actually, now in Oakland, to speak Swahili. I know a couple of local schools, which teach Swahili. There is an interest in Africa and wanting to be African. In sitcoms

⁵⁹ Interview with Alex Muoria, Kiambu, October 2000.

⁶⁰ Interview, Terry Gichache, Oakland, April 2003.

nowadays you'll find a word in Swahili, in advertisement and in radio commercials. So I think Swahili is part of popular culture.' The high value put on things African has strengthened Terry's resolve to return to Kenya. She notes her own paradoxical trajectory: 'For me it's the reverse. Before I came, I wanted to be African American, but when I came here people wanted to be Kenyan and African.... Right now I think I am a Kenyan most importantly, and an independent woman.'⁶¹ Both identities have been strengthened by her life in America.

Within the plethora of possible identities those of Henry Muoria's grandchildren who were born in Kenya seem to have made their choices: whereas Muoria's sons and daughters still want to keep up aspects of belonging to the Kikuyu community, Alex, Patrick, David, Julius, Nuna and Terry all identify with 'Kenya' and 'Africa' more than with Kikuyu heritage, no matter whether they live in rural Kenya, Nairobi, or the United States.

Conclusion

Like other colonized societies, Kenya underwent massive political and economic change in the period. As a consequence of the region's incorporation in a new global political economy, urbanization and centralization, livelihoods became diversified and the population was no longer solely dependent on trade and agricultural produce; land became scarce and processes of rural class differentiation led to a growing mobility, affecting both men and women, and more or less permanent states of migration. Women and young people have taken advantage of the possibilities that the establishment of a diversified economy and the growth of urban centers have represented. In some urban settings, as we have seen, social organization centred round generations of women and tended towards a matrilineal social order. In the early period young men in particular, but also some women, made sure to harvest the fruits of education which came hand in hand with mission Christianity. Later, with independence, reading and writing became everybody's birthright. Spatial mobility had been a reality for a long time, but for most people it was limited to movement between the town and the countryside—a process that deployed members of

⁶¹ Interview, Oakland, April 2003.

an extended family network in accordance with family obligations and economic opportunities. Divisions and links between rural and urban living increasingly became a theme in the lives of Kenyans. Urban living and the new mobility meant that for some sections of the population the ideal and possibility of a nuclear family structure was attractive. Housing arrangements and income levels in the cities made the perpetuation of larger kinship-based family organization difficult. However, Kenyans continued depending on each other in extended family networks and many families have kept features that were characteristic of earlier polygamous structures. Similarly, they have continued drawing on both rural and urban resources in their fight to lead decent lives

Henry Muoria published his newspaper and wrote his pamphlets in a period that has turned out to be decisive in the development of Kenya's politics and society. In the decade after the Second World War politics were conducted in a complex negotiated and fought-out relationship between colonizers and colonized. For a long period the use of force was the crowning argument in these fights. Power was taken away from elderly rural patriarchs and habitual orderings of relations between genders and generations in the African population became destabilized in the wake of urbanization and the growth of political organization. From the 1930s onwards, and decisively in the 1950s and 1960s, Kenyans moved from being unhappy subjects of an alien colonial regime to achieving and enjoying the full rights and confidence of citizenship in an independent nation. Independence, however, came only after the confrontation between British colonialism and Kenyan nationalism and the conflict over loyalties during the crisis of the Mau Mau had torn the country apart and created deep splits within and between communities, splits that particularly affected the Kikuyu. Identification with tribe remained strong in the first decades after independence among Kenyans, but it was intersected with investment in the nation and the continent of Africa—historically configured spaces that increasingly became meaningful and worth fighting for in the course of the 20th century. Muoria's appropriation of the pen from the colonizers and his activities—writing and publishing in the service of enlightenment, as he saw it—exemplify a particular trajectory of great and continuing importance in Kenya's political culture: one which has celebrated a modified modernity, dialogue and democracy.

Like countless other families in Kenya, the Muorias were shaped by these economic, social and political forces. Both men and women embraced what colonial modernity had to offer—education, Christianity,

individual autonomy, urban living, changed relations between the sexes and between young and old. Their extended family consolidated itself in nuclear units, but kept and cultivated features from a different and more collective familial organization: the possibility of having several persons in charge of the primary care of children, a special relationship between grandparents and grandchildren, and cohesion within age groups. In certain ways colonialism was a helper more than an enemy. It furthered the subversion of older structures of social organization that had muted women and the young. However, the Muoria family were Kikuyu and nationalist, and during the struggle for independence, the British unequivocally became the enemy of the Muorias as they did to the Kikuyu and more broadly the African population of Kenya.

The fate of the Muoria family from the outbreak of the First World War to the end of the century is in certain ways typical, in other ways exceptional. It was exceptional in that Henry Muoria was a public figure and furthermore in that he had the support of his wives in his anti-colonial political work—not only in his private life but also in his public activities. For this the whole family was punished. Ruth and Henry's British exile was ironic—having to seek protection from British racism and colonialism in the heart of the colonial capital. Against their wishes, the couple, already used to rural-urban mobility, became pioneers of transnational living, finding ways to keep up social and affective bonds between family members separated by great distance.

As for millions of Kenyans, distance and mobility are also elements in the mode of life of the broader family. To those of Muoria's children and grandchildren who reside in London, Nairobi and Oakland, urban living is a matter of course. What many of them have lost is the easy access to the rural resources and values that were available to earlier generations. Some members of the family, those who live in an urban slum, which is what Pumwani has become, have found it hard to get a Kenyan passport. They may be proud of belonging to a talented transnational family and of being Africans and Kenyans, but they have difficulties in getting together enough wealth to become properly married, and in obtaining day-to-day cash for school fees, medicine and doctors' bills. Structural inequalities mean that they are not in an economic and social position to reap the benefits of political independence, which their grandparents fought for. Their cousins, aunts and uncles who are in charge of the Muoria land in Kiambu, work around the clock, irrigating fields sometimes in the middle of the night because of erratic electricity supplies, in order to make farming profitable. They travel to Nairobi in *matatus*

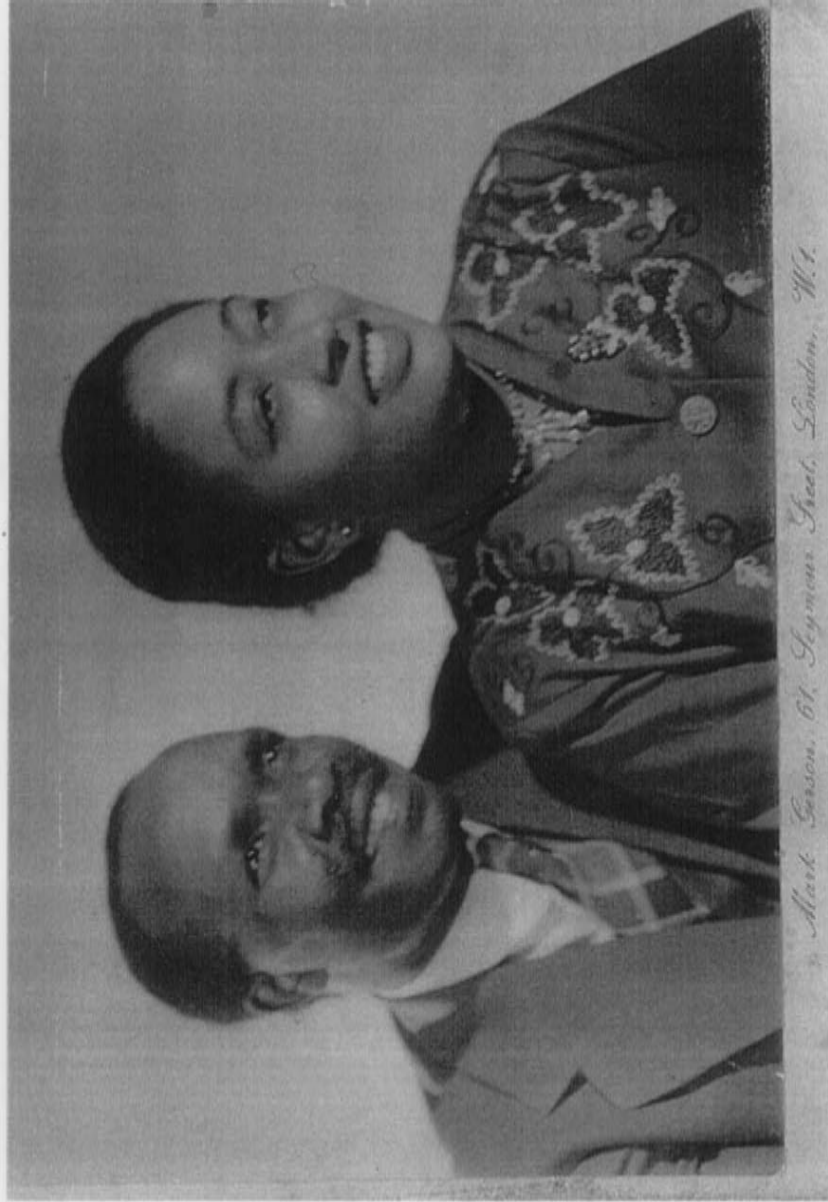
to market their fresh vegetables at the break of dawn. Sometimes they miss the social and economic opportunities of urban life. However, like all Muorias they have a wider perspective: they are strong Christians and deeply engaged in the religious life of the community. Rural-urban traffic is still going on, although sometimes travelling between Nairobi and Kiambu in ramshackle *matatus* on eroded roads is a greater hazard than air travel between London and Nairobi. Transnational mobility comes more easily, but is restricted to family members who are in an economic position to benefit from it. Those who are not may be more limited in their physical and social mobility than earlier generations, but they have greater possibility of mental mobility and of knowing about the world. Access to education is given, not something to be fought for as it was to Muoria and his wives.

Does the founding father hold the transnational Muoria family together? Is it true as Rosabell said, referring to the living memory of her father, that ‘a person does not go away like smoke’?⁶² Stories about the ideas and deeds of the great man have indeed spun a web that has upheld connections between family members. The stories link and make sense of the many worlds that Henry Muoria brought together in his life and works. They contribute to reconciling the paradoxes that were characteristic of his life: he was born into a Kikuyu traditionalist family and embraced Christianity. He grew up in the countryside, but chose the city as his place of work. He invested in both urban and rural property and cultivated a large plot of land in his home area with the assistance of his wives and descendants. He was a wealthy man who came to know poverty in London. He was unwavering in his trust in the importance of his families, both in Kenya and Great Britain, but the political and social upheavals which surrounded him and which he was part of meant that he had difficulties in sustaining connections to all their members, while living as he did in far-away London. He loved his country, detested racism and was cosmopolitan in his outlook and knowledge of the world. He fought for independence, but independence did not need him after it had been consolidated—he was never offered a suitable job or a political role in independent Kenya. His writings will, however, keep Henry Muoria’s memory alive and create a place for him in the dramatic history of independent Kenya’s victory over British colonialism.

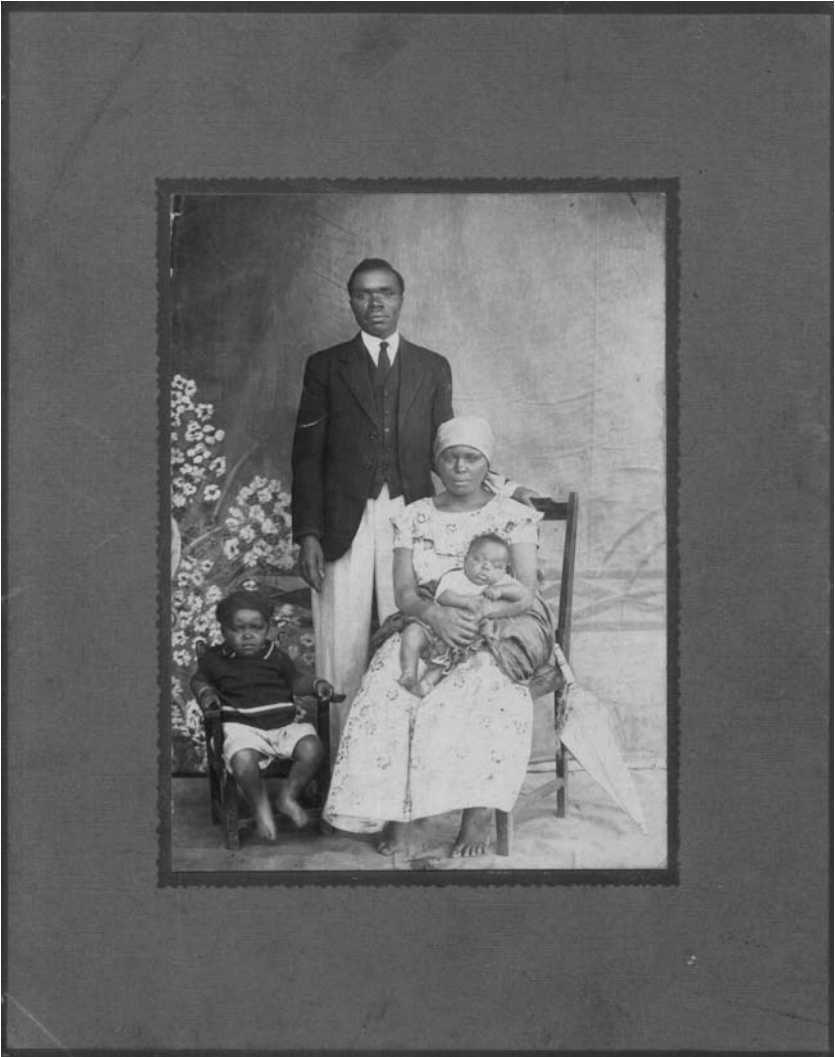
⁶² Interview with Rosabell Wambui Mbure, Nairobi, November 1999.



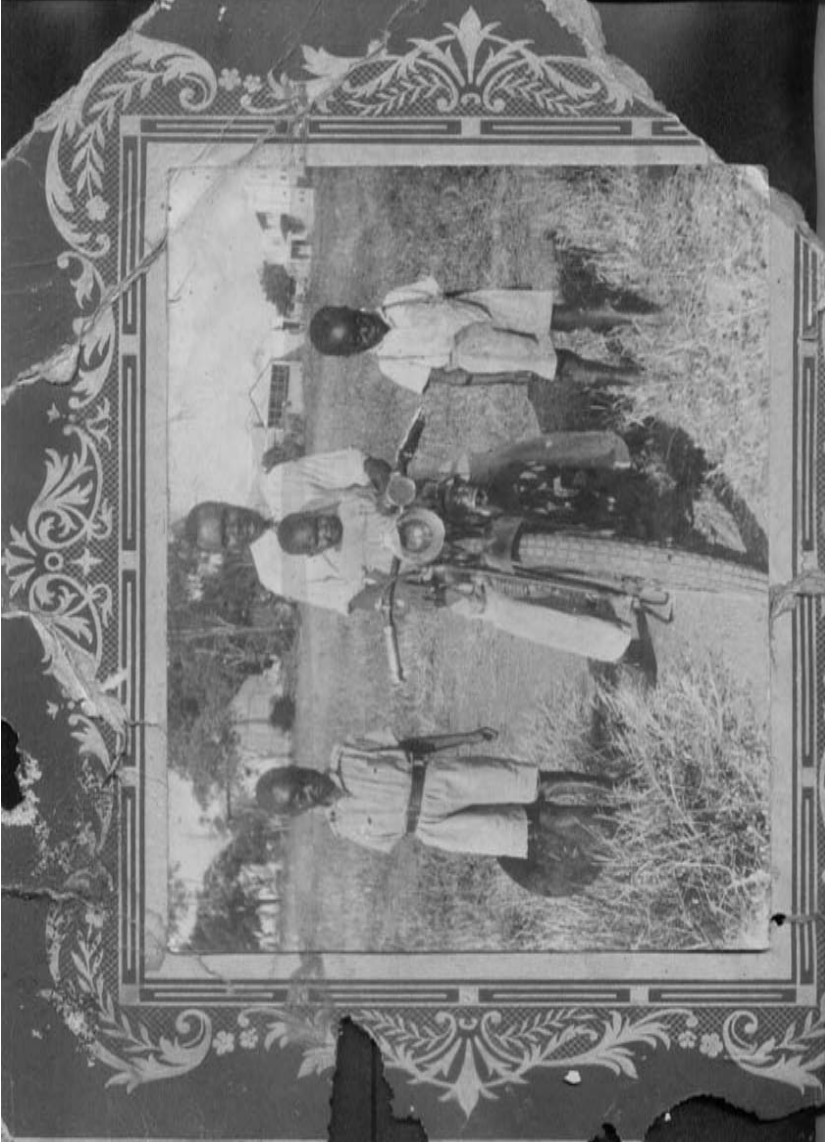
3. Wedding photo of Henry Muoria and his first wife Elizabeth Thogori, best man Mr Charles Karau and his wife Mrs Karau as maid of honour, 1932



4. Ruth Nuna joins Henry Muoria in London, 1954.



5. Henry Muoria and Elizabeth Thogori with their two first-born children
(John Mwaniki and Peter Kigia)



6. Henry Muoria, his children and his motorbike (John Mwaniki, Peter Kigia and Wambui who passed away)



7. Three generations of Nairobi women: Ruth Nuna, her mother Grace Njoki and her daughter Christine Gathoni



8. Henry Muoria received by his two first wives, Elizabeth and Judith, children and grandchildren in Nairobi, 1975



9. Henry Muoria greets his mother-in-law, Grace Njoki, Nairobi, 1975

CHAPTER THREE

THE MUORIA FAMILY IN LONDON—A MEMORY

Wangari Muoria-Sal
(with Bodil Folke Frederiksen)

The only safe way to happiness is to love
The whole race of mankind
Wherever they may be
But true love starts from one's family
The abode of untold sweetness
At seeing one's little ones at home
With plenty to eat and drink
And a roof over their heads
To keep them warm and well satisfied

Arriving and settling in London

My father, Henry Muoria, arrived in England in September 1952, initially to stay for three to six months. Before he went to England he had consulted his friend Jomo Kenyatta, whose political work he supported in his Gikuyu newspaper, *Mumenyereri*, now in its seventh successful year of publication. Kenyatta recommended that he should go to Great Britain to gain more experience. With a thriving printing and publishing business my father's aim was to learn about English methods of newspaper production and distribution. He also planned to buy an automatic printing press.

Kenya was a troubled country. A state of emergency was declared one month after my father left, following the assassination of a chief loyal to the colonial government. More than a hundred political arrests followed. My father's second wife, Judith Nyamurwa, who was running his newspaper in his absence, informed him that it had been shut down and banned by the government. Concerned about his family and the business, my father promptly bought himself an air ticket to return to Kenya. However, when he went to say goodbye to his friends, they advised him not to return to Kenya, because he would almost certainly be picked up by the colonial authorities. Several of his friends

and associates there had been arrested, including Jomo Kenyatta. He decided to write to the Chief Native Commissioner (C.N.C.) enquiring whether he was accused of any crime and was therefore a wanted man in Kenya. The C.N.C. reassured him that no one had accused him of any crime, but added that owing to the Emergency regulations that were in operation, he would recommend that he should not return to Kenya at that time. My father had also applied to the Registrar of Printing Presses for renewal of his licence to run his printing firm, as he still had people working for him in Kenya, and this was where income was generated for his family. However, the Registrar sent a 'Notification of Refusal' of a licence to my father, giving as a reason that he was 'likely to keep or use the printing presses for the printing of a document prejudicial to, or incompatible with, peace or good order in the Colony.' This was dated November 12th, 1952—exactly two months after my father's arrival in London.

My father was not able to get work as a journalist in England, as he had hoped, because he did not belong to a Trade Union. However, with the help of friends, Frank and Cicely Watson, he found employment with the railways on account of his previous experience with the railway profession in Kenya. This helped him to get out, meet people, and forget his loneliness. Initially, my father was in agony over being so far away from home during this fateful crisis, and hearing Africans in Kenya maligned as barbaric and bloodthirsty in the British press. Also he missed his family. This is how he described this unhappy period in his life in an unpublished autobiographical essay:

I found myself sitting in the small room I had rented . . . spending a lot of six pences to keep myself warm by the gas fire. The news published in the English newspapers of the Kikuyu tribe being composed of murderous thugs who were hacking white and black men with *pangas* made [me] feel more distressed in a manner not easy to put into words.¹

Later Peter, my brother, trying to understand our father's experience, described his situation like this:

He had to read all the stuff, which came over while he was here. It was vilifying Kenyatta and all the people who were fighting for independence. It was a terrible thing, as far as the British press was concerned, these terrible Mau Mau, you know, natives getting restless and taking stuff

¹ *The British and my Kikuyu Tribe*, 1982.

which was not theirs. It was appalling. One can imagine what that must have done to him to read that. He never hated the British.²

After two years in London my father earned enough money from his job with the London Underground to send for his wife. He first asked his second wife, Judith, to join him, as she was a trained teacher and would probably be able to find work in England. However, due to other circumstances, she refused. He, therefore, asked my mother, Ruth Nuna, his third wife, to join him. She had four daughters and a son with her in Nairobi, but decided to go. Before she went, she lost her young son to measles because no injections were available. She left her young daughters with her mother—my grandmother Grace—who was the owner of houses, land and businesses in the African areas of Nairobi.

My mother left Kenya in August 1954 to join her husband. This is how she remembers the events that were to turn her life upside down:

Henry was feeling lonely, missed the children. I got the passport, it cost twenty shillings. He sent money for the ticket. He told me to sell one of his cars. Judith had sold the Citroen because of education for the children. Now I had to sell the other one. We went with a plane carrying twenty-six people. It took three days. We did not travel at night, but stopped at the airport in Malta and Nice. When we got to London my husband and Muniya Waiyaki, who is now an MP, were waiting at Hyde Park.

She recalled that she had a premonition that she might follow her husband already when he left for Great Britain, two years earlier:

It is funny. When my husband left and was going to London for six months, people at the airport asked me, “why don’t you go,” and I said, “I’ll follow”. Why did I say that? My husband was not going to stay in London. He was only going to stay for six months or less than that. Why did the word come, “I’ll follow”? And that’s what I did, didn’t I? I followed after that. It is funny to pick a work like that which I didn’t expect to say.³

My mother’s first impressions of London were positive; she observed that the white people were friendly, very different from the hostile colonials in Kenya. However, after a while, my parents began to encounter racism in England, especially when they were looking for places where they could stay together. They were confronted with notices that stated, ‘No blacks, no children or pets’. My father was staying in Lancaster Gate

² Interview with Peter Mwaniki, London, July 2000.

³ Interview with Ruth Muoria, London, July 2000.

in a place for male students only. The Greek owner allowed my mother to stay while they looked for alternative accommodation. Eventually they found rooms in Kentish Town, close to Camden Town Underground station. This was where I was conceived. However, when the landlord discovered that my mother was pregnant they had to move, as no children were allowed. Their third home, a basement flat at 2, Huddleston Road, was owned by two Nigerians. They did not mind children. This place was extremely cold in winter as there was no heating. My parents later moved to one room on the ground floor. It was still very difficult for my mother as she had to keep going up and down the stairs to cook, bath and collect water. By now she had three children in one room. The rent was three pounds fifty a week—half of my father's weekly wages. After three and a half years there and expecting a fourth child, my mother had had enough. She sent my father out to look for a bigger place. He found a house, and by selling his shares, and adding this amount to his savings from his newspaper enterprise in Kenya, he was in a position to purchase a five-bedroom terraced house. The house cost three thousand pounds, and it took my father eleven years to pay off the mortgage by renting out some rooms and also from his wages as a guard with the London Underground.

In January 1959 we moved to our new home, a terraced house in Islington, North London. When my mother first saw the house she cried—she could not believe that the family finally had their own home. This is where we were all raised and my mother still resides there fifty years on. At the time we moved, I was three years old (having been born in 1955), my sister Juliet was eleven months younger than me and Peter was ten months younger than Juliet. I remember arriving in a big maroon moving van. My mother was expecting another baby, my brother Joe, who was the first to be born in our new house later that year. By this time my mother's health had started to deteriorate due to bronchitis, and doctors had advised her not to have any more children. However, she refused to use birth control and went on to have three more children: Margaret in 1960, David in 1962 and Simon in 1964. By the time I was nine all seven children had been born. Every time a child was born in London, my parents would send a letter home, a goat would be slaughtered and a celebration took place at the house of my grandmother and sisters in Nairobi, the house where my mother had grown up.

We first lived on the ground floor of our new house. We had a front and back garden. There were tenants who lived on the first and top

floor. As we got older my parents stopped renting rooms out because of our increasing need for more space. After the long struggle my parents had had initially, trying to settle in a foreign country, they were overjoyed when their prayers were answered, finally finding a place of their own.

School and everyday life

My parents were very keen that we all do well at school. My father bought the Children's Encyclopedia Britannica for us in 1965. Our family was bi-lingual. Gikuyu was the language spoken at home. It wasn't until I went to school that I was properly exposed to English. I recall that during the first week at school we were being taught a song. I was so proud of learning my first English song that when I returned home I sang it to my parents. All they did was laugh at me and correct me, as it was obvious that I had mixed Gikuyu and English, inventing a unique new language. Apparently I was very angry with my parents when they tried to correct me, especially as I felt I knew the song and they did not. Further embarrassment occurred when I was about seven years old. At school we were told to write down our full names, mine being *Jean Wangari Mwaniki*. I had never written down 'Wangari', the name used at home. I asked the teacher how to spell it, and to my surprise she replied rather rudely, 'If you don't know how to spell your name, how on earth am I going to know?' At this age, I don't think I had realised that my background was from another country. My parents may have mentioned it to me but for a child it was difficult to grasp. I did notice, however, that I was the only black girl in my class although there were one or two others in the school.

The following year my sister Juliet started at the same school. I thought she would be together with me and I remember I was so disappointed that she was in another class. She also wanted to stay with me. I went to her classroom and told the teacher that she was my sister and that I would like to take her to my class. Somehow I was allowed to do this and she never returned to that other class. We spent the first year in the same class. Peter joined the following year with no problems. However, when Joe started, his first day was a disaster, he cried and cried all day. Eventually, the Headmistress called me and asked me what strategy my parents used to stop us from crying? I remember telling the Headmistress, whose name was Miss Cross, that our Dad would

take his belt off and pretend to be about to smack us. Miss Cross did this and Joe immediately stopped crying and put his arms around her waist. My younger sister Margaret had no problems—she was a bright girl. However, David the second youngest had a bad experience on his first day. As we were not well-to-do, the other children mocked him for the clothes he was wearing. David, who was quite shy, felt very bad and decided never to say a word throughout his six years in primary school. The school thought that he could not speak, but we would tell them that at home he *did* speak. As he got older he came out of his shell and in secondary school he surprised the whole family and people who knew him by excelling in gymnastics and art and acting on stage. Simon, the youngest, was like Margaret and had no problems in starting school life. Fortunately our school was just round the corner, so mum would look out of her kitchen window, waving to us. Because we were different, we were teased at school. The other children followed us home singing the theme tune from the American comedy sitcom ‘The Adams Family’ substituting ‘Adams’ with ‘The Mwaniki Family’. We were also teased because of our relative poverty.

In the early sixties, black people were referred to as coloured people, and the term black was, at that time, derogatory. At the age of ten I remember my first racial encounter with a (white) boy in my class. We were calling each other names. I called him freckle face and he called me flat nose. I was offended by this and retaliated that I did not have a flat nose. When I got home that evening, I told my parents what the boy had called me, and to my surprise my father confirmed that the boy was right. He said that it was a characteristic of all Negro people. First of all I had never heard of the word Negro, and as there were not many black people around I had not realised that many of us had flat noses. I began to look closely at all the black people I came across from then on.

My father was the only wage earner. He worked for the London Underground as a guard. He found the work dull, but luckily his outlook meant that he would turn a negative situation into something positive. As his job was not very challenging, he was able to engage in creative thinking and daydreaming. This is how he himself describes the condition in one of his manuscripts:

Being forced by circumstances beyond one’s control to earn one’s living in a monotonous type of job, and while one happens to be of a philosophical inclination like me could prove to be very frustrating indeed. In order to avoid the grinding sense of monotony, I felt impelled to form

a habit whose purpose served as well as an outlet of my day dreaming, which was to develop the habit of noting down some of the interesting ideas which might come to my mind now and then while still engaged in carrying on my job.⁴

He always felt that his real work was in writing and being creative.

Although rooms were rented out while we were small, my parents struggled to raise seven children. My mother stayed at home looking after us. She was in chronic poor health and suffered from bronchitis, which was triggered by the cold winters. It made it very difficult for her to climb the stairs. On account of our mother's poor health, our father had to clean, feed us and take us to school. My mother recalls,

Your father was very helpful, even while he was still at work. When he came home he would come and help me wash the nappies, he went shopping, he would cook because I was very ill from asthma. When Simon was four I was sick and had to go to the hospital. Muoria had to stop work to look after the children. We had to phone my mother to help us with some money. He had to take special leave. This was around 1968.⁵

By this time, when I was around fourteen years old, my father had stopped working in order to look after my mother and their seven children. In order to help the family with finances the eldest children started to work for some hours on Saturdays. My father also took a break from writing as this was a stressful time for him. Later, after some years, he resumed his writing activities. The family economy was stretched and my parents could not afford to buy us new clothes. My father had bought a Singer sewing machine and taught himself to sew. I remember being very proud one year when he made my sisters and me a wonderful light blue anorak each, and zip-up strapless bags for our books. All our friends at school admired us. Being the eldest in London I was lucky to sometimes have new clothes, which would then be handed down. We had the same shoes, socks, and uniform all year round.

My mother recalls,

He used to sew clothes for the children because he knew that clothes are very expensive, and he learned himself. He said, "I can buy material." He used to make my dresses too.... Things were not expensive, but wages

⁴ 'The dilemma which faced me as an African parent whose children were born in London and wanted to know more about Africa', in *Let the Truth Cast the Mau Mau Curse*, unpublished manuscript, 1968, n.p.

⁵ Interview with Ruth Muoria, London, July 2000.

were low—seven pounds a week. Where we rented it was three and a half a week.⁶

Seeing the struggle my parents were having the doctors at one point recommended that they put their seven children in care. However, our parents felt bad enough that their children were being brought up so far away from their true home, and could not imagine their children being separated and taken even further away from our small African family unit into strange English homes. Regardless of my mother's poor health our parents insisted on raising and keeping us together. The crisis was overcome and the family stayed together.

In difficult periods we relied on God. We were brought up as Christians and were taught how to pray. We prayed that God would heal our mother. On one occasion she heard about a healing service and decided to attend. To the doctors' astonishment the bronchitis was healed. Later the other health problems also went.

Unlike in Kenya, my parents had no extended family like aunts and uncles, or even neighbours to ease the burden of raising a large family. It must have been very lonely for my parents. Had we lived in Kenya, we would have regularly visited aunts, uncles, and grandparents. Besides his family in London, my dad was a very lonely man. He did not have many friends. The job he was doing was not satisfying. However, my parents were able to keep up with what happened in Kenya through contact with through the transient Kenyan community in London—men and women who came and went. Some pursued education and training, others were involved in politics.

My mother tells,

It was a hard life here. We had no family here. However, there were other Kenyans, some were studying here but they lived in different places. . . . We used to meet at East African House in Hyde Park.⁷ They used to visit, we would cook food. They'd say, 'Oh, when you come to Nuna you have to eat a lot.' Some people came, and when they went home they would tell my mother how I welcome them and cook for them. My mother said, 'I was happy to hear how you welcome people.' When we came to Kenya they would invite us, remembering the day we invited them here. People were travelling, they came to see us and we came to know about home. We also used to send photographs.⁸

⁶ Interview with Ruth Muoria, London, July 2000.

⁷ Prominent Kenyans in London included Charles Njonjo, Mbiyu Koinange and Munyua Waiyaki.

⁸ Interview Ruth Muoria, London, July 2000.

Families in England and Kenya were united through the ties of hospitality. These connections were very important for my parents who otherwise sometimes felt a little lost in Britain.

Leisure

In the evening and on days off my father would usually work at his manual typewriter, which was propped up on a chair, tapping away at the keys. He was working on his manuscripts and keeping in contact with family and friends in Kenya. He also read many books and newspapers, wanting to be informed of developments and news in Kenya and around the world. We went to church regularly. When my father took us to church on Sundays, he would sometimes race us home. Church in those days was poorly attended, but we had to go. The church choir consisted mainly of the seven Mwaniki children. We faced racism in church and our parents would discuss the issues that came up with us, but they did not stop us from going. One Easter when my brother Peter acted as Jesus he was told by the Sunday school teacher to turn around and not face the congregation, as Jesus was not black. My father told us that these people were ignorant and that we were all equal in God's eyes. There were times when the vicar would refer to us as the black kids, a derogative term at the time, which hurt our feelings. I suppose this made us stronger people, more resilient.

We spent much of our time playing in the garden. My father bought us a swing, which made us very popular in the neighbourhood—our small garden became like a local park. It was a very lively and fun time. When the swing broke the children slowly stopped coming, but as soon as it had been repaired, they all came back, knocking at the door. Sometimes my brothers and sisters would stage a concert in our garden for our parents and neighbours who watched from the window, and we would sing songs that we had learnt at school and on the radio. From time to time our parents would take us to the local park. Sensibly, we were not allowed to play on the streets. My mother was fearful of strangers, cars and unruly behavior from other children whose parents did not seem to worry how long their children played outside.

Holidays were but a dream. My parents could not afford to take a large family out of London. However, they did their best in taking us to funfairs and parks. Going out always proved to be very embarrassing. My mother would panic and take a roll call of all the children's names to make sure we had all got on the bus. This would make us an

attraction for the other passengers—a large African family excursion. One day, when I was twelve, my father took us all to the park and left me in charge. He told us to stay and play where he had left us. However, I decided to cross over to the other side where there were swings. Unbeknown to me, my father had returned and searched for us all over the entire park. While swinging at a great height I noticed him walking angrily towards the exit of the park. I shouted to my brothers and sisters and together we ran out screaming. I had never seen him so angry—he thought he had lost his entire family. What would he have told my mother? We walked home in disgraced silence.

For recreational purposes my father would go to the local betting office where people nicknamed him Jim. This was more for socializing than for betting. Sometimes he got lucky, especially if my mother had a dream of a horse that would win. Once, in the early sixties, my mother won three hundred pounds on the football pools—a substantial windfall. All the children received one pound each, and my parents also sent money to our family in Kenya.

My niece Nuna, who came on visits regularly from Kenya in the 1980s, has described my father's routine:

He used to go gambling, he used to go to the horses or something... I used to see him maybe every afternoon going off. And then he would come back. And if he didn't win he would just go straight up the stairs, and then he would say, 'Nuna', that's my grandmother's name, 'Nuna, I'm so depressed, I'm going to sleep because I didn't win.' But he was laughing at the same time.⁹

Upbringing and family relations

Even though all seven of us were born in London, our parents emphasized the fact that we were Kenyans. In my secondary school, I would get into arguments with peers at school who would ask me where I came from. I would confidently reply 'Kenya', but then they would argue that if I was born in England then I was in fact British not Kenyan. I would ask, why then do so many people demand non-white people to 'go back to their own countries'? Surely it was better to say that I was from Kenya than say I was British especially as many of us, at that time, did not feel accepted. There was a lot of negative press. I remember Enoch Powell,

⁹ Interview with Nuna Gichache, Oakland, April 2003.

the conservative politician who became a notorious public figure, who wanted all foreigners to return to their country.

Our parents disciplined us as if we were in Kenya. They taught us much about life through proverbs. Part of our tradition was that parents must be respected and listened to and never challenged. We were reprimanded if we tried to answer back and told that this was not the custom. If we described in detail some of the things that our friends did our parents made it clear that in Kenya we would never get away with similar behaviour. We were taught that African girls were not allowed to sit too close to their fathers, as this was disrespectful. My father and mother were very happy-natured people and loved having children. They never argued in front of us. Dad liked to joke with us and ask us in Gikuyu, 'Whose children are you?' we would answer '*baba's*' (dad's) children'.

My father recounted many stories about when he was small, such as when he first went to school in just a cloth draped across his shoulder with nothing underneath; how he learnt how to read and write against his father's wishes in order to attend the mission school. And also, how with his mother's permission he was able to sneak out during the evening to attend night school: he made fast progress because of his enthusiasm.

My father and mother spoke to us in Gikuyu, and although we replied in English we understood every word. When my niece Nuna visited she was struck by the Babel of language use:

My grandparents would speak to their kids in Gikuyu and they would answer in English. That was very surprising. My grandmother would say something in Gikuyu with a very British accent. . . . And it would go on like that. It was interesting, because even though they were born in the UK they could still catch Gikuyu—it would flow. All the time the parents would speak to the children in Gikuyu and they would answer them in English. And you wonder, how is it? I think it is something in the blood.¹⁰

Whenever we brought our friends' home my father would greet them in Gikuyu, which embarrassed us but amused him. He was very proud of his language and enjoyed telling us what our names meant in Gikuyu. In an autobiographical manuscript he has described a late afternoon

¹⁰ Interview with Nuna Gichache, Oakland, April 2003.

in the family home. We had asked him what was the meaning of our names:

To comply with their request, I found myself telling two of my daughters that their names (Wangari and Wanjiro) are called after some of the Kikuyu clans of Angare and Anjiro and the third one (Nyakenji) bore the name which meant she was called after someone who was a female hair dresser or shaver. All these answers were found to be so exciting that each one was met by wild and unrestrained laughter on the part of the children.

He told Mwaniki that he was named after his grandfather as was the custom with the Kikuyu. He explained that the name was derived from the Kikuyu verb, 'kwanika' which means to 'display' and that the name was associated with beekeeping. On further questioning he told about his father, a self-taught carpenter who worked for a British electrical company in Nairobi, and compared his work as a linesman—having to climb tall poles to which cables carrying electrical currents were fastened—to that of beekeepers who had to climb the trees where the bee hives were placed. He told us more about the bee-keeping profession, about how honey making was one of the jealously guarded skills of the Kikuyu and how the profession gave rise to a number of wise sayings, distilled from the experience of dealing with both the sweetness and pain of honey extraction. One was 'Murio niwiriagira', which means 'sweetness tends to backfire'. The other boy's names he explained like this:

For the boys, I told one that his name (Karera) indicated that he was called after someone who might have been used to moving from one place to another since his name meant floating in the air. Another son (Mbari) had a name that indicated he had been named after someone who had visited a place known as Ubari-ini, reputed to have been headquarters of Kikuyu witchdoctors. The youngest member of the family (Mbugua) had a name that indicated he had been named after someone of a well-known age group whose circumcision might have taken place many years ago before any white man set his foot in Kenya.¹¹

My niece was also struck by the humorous and loving relationship between my mother and father, and also by the freedom that was given to the children in the family. She found relations between parents and

¹¹ These stories are from 'The dilemma which faced me as an African parent whose children were born in London and wanted to know more about Africa', in *Let the Truth Cast the Mau Mau Curse*, unpublished manuscript, 1968.

children more free than what she was used to in Kenya. This is how, later, she has described her experience from visits to her grandparents and aunts and uncles:

My aunties are very outspoken, and they would answer their mum back. You know how children fight, but they would really fight among themselves. My grandfather was very calm, and then they would just go on, even my grandmother would sometimes lose it and join them... she is also loud. My grandfather would just talk to me and tell me in Gikuyu, 'they are always doing this'. He was very soft spoken. He was very humorous. And he would tell me, 'Oh, their mum is always joining them', and he would say, 'Nuna, don't listen to them' in Gikuyu or something. That was the way, you know he loved my grandmother, he would truly call her lovingly... When they came to Nairobi they used to attract a lot of attention. They would hold each other in the street, and you know in Nairobi people don't always do that.¹²

As teenagers we presented a challenge for our parents, because the culture in England was contrary to the culture our parents were promoting at home. TV, magazines and friends influenced us. We would have visiting relatives, such as our sister Rosabell, who came for two years to study in Cheltenham, and my sister Mary, who also came to study in the early 1960s, who would constantly remind us that in Kenya children behaved differently, and that we were very Westernized children. We became aware of the conflict of two different cultures.

My father's writings

My father believed that writing was a way of telling the truth. He had explained to us that proverbs passed from one generation to the next, contained a great deal of useful knowledge. Kikuyu professional men, such as beekeepers and blacksmiths, would 'compete in... a national pool of wise-sayings so as to prove the value of their professions to the community as a whole... In other words their efforts served the same purpose as that of writers of books in other countries.'¹³ So, he saw his authorship first in Kenya and then in Great Britain, as a way of expressing the morals that his forefathers had put into proverbs. He wanted us to be critical of power and understand how it works, using

¹² Interview with Nuna Gichache, Oakland, April 2003.

¹³ *Let the Truth Cast the Mau Mau Curse*, unpublished manuscript, 1968, n.p.

examples from his own life. He saw it as his duty to break the British monopoly on truth and knowledge. My brother Peter tells what it has meant to him:

It is something I have taken in my life. Dad said to me, ‘all knowledge is objective, to acquire knowledge, like science, you can, anyone can apply themselves to it.’ Of course that is what got him into trouble. He learned how power operated. The colonialists did not like that because what we are doing is true, we are messengers of this knowledge, we must pass it on and then you must apply it and that’s it. They did not want that, they thought “hold on here, what about our role.” Africans were very aware of this. And Dad told me how power operates—they are determined to kill the man who tells the truth, so that you can keep the people subjugated. If you can convince people that they are not worthy, and you start it from very young, and you set up structures and institutions which reflect the icon of whiteness so that the great majority will believe it until you get men and women who stand up.... You always counter deception with the truth because at the end of the day deception must bow because it is deception, it is untrue.¹⁴

My father pursued his ideals by becoming a journalist. He felt he had a purpose to fulfill which was to give a voice through his newspaper to the Africans. He was very proud of his country and wanted so much for Africans to work towards bettering themselves and not to depend solely on the white man. He always appreciated the white man bringing the literary skills of reading and writing to Africa, but he wanted Africans to take the next steps for themselves and work positively towards actively developing the nation together. In publishing his newspaper he fought for Africans’ freedom, and he wanted Africans to have a voice. He did not believe in violence to achieve one’s aims; he used to tell us through an African proverb that if a person fights with sticks their enemies would keep on coming back again, but a person who fights with strong words will win. His words were a source of inspiration and encouraged the Africans at that time, giving them hope for the future. The title he gave to one of his numerous pamphlets epitomised this: ‘Ngoro Ya Ugikuyu Ni Ya Gutoria’, meaning ‘The African’s Spirit is for Victory’.

Looking through my father’s letters it is clear to see how determined he was for his works to be published. He saw his own endeavours as part of the struggle for the truth to be known. When he realised that

¹⁴ Interview with Peter Mwaniki, London, July 2000.

his stay in London would be longer than he anticipated, he decided to enroll for a course in journalism, and later he participated in other short courses on how to write short stories and other fiction. He hoped to be able to make money from his writing, as he had done in Kenya. One of my early memories of my father is when I was three years old, when he took me shopping with him to purchase a typewriter. It soon became indispensable for him. When at home, he spent most of his time reading and typing very fast with one finger on his Olympia typewriter. He did not even have a desk, but would put the typewriter on a chair. He was working on his manuscripts, which he hoped to publish in Great Britain, since he had been prevented from continuing his publication enterprises in Kenya.

I came across a letter to a prospective agent written in the early 1970s, in which my father describes his life in England and the work he has been doing:

I arrived in London over 21 years ago as a proud prosperous man who not only owned the most popular newspaper among the Kikuyu tribe, which was known as *Mumenyereri* but also as the sole proprietor of the printing press in which such newspapers and other publications were printed. . . . Everyone black and white at that time knew that the secret of my success was that of expressing myself in writing as an African who was free from slavery mentality which made many of my fellow Africans to believe that they were incapable of doing anything without the white man's help.

Leaning on his extensive prior experience as a journalist in colonial Kenya, characterised by control and censorship, my father believed that a handful of influential white people had succeeded in spreading negative rumours to the world about Kenya with the help of a group of Africans, who were handsomely paid off to sell out their own people. He believed that he was unfairly being associated with the Mau Mau movement, and that that was part of his problem. In his letter to the agent he goes on to explain his belief that some British people wish to

discredit and to belittle me as they were doing to thousands of my fellow tribesmen of the Kikuyu tribe at that time in Kenya. . . . So owing to the stigma which was associated with the word Mau Mau in the minds of all decent thinking men black or white everywhere. . . it has not been possible for any of the British publishers to undertake the publication of any of my manuscripts.

However, Great Britain is different from colonial Kenya:

... what my political opponents white and black, seemed to forget is that England's greatness is based upon a deep-seated respect of the individual and his right to express his views. So as a trained journalist who believes that the truth is always victorious, I have been trying to use such freedom of being on English soil in the service of truth, which I regard as greater and more important than individuals who are mere mortals.

He ended his letter by reasserting his belief that truth will prevail:

It is because I believe in the value of my work that I am now daring to write to you to ask you whether you would be so kind as to agree to act as my literary agent. I believe the effect of truth is to remove stigma of any kind.¹⁵

Nothing seems to have resulted from the proposal—however, that did not deter my father: by the time he stopped writing he had finished nine manuscripts. One of them, *I The Gikuyu and the White Fury*, was published by East African Educational Publishers in 1994. Even though my father was not in good health at that time, he still registered and was pleased that he had finally seen one of his books published.

My father followed politics in Britain and the rest of the world closely, but all his writings dealt with home, with Kenya. My brother Peter recalls,

Over the years it was very much British politics he was aware of, he couldn't follow what was going on in Kenya, unless people visited. In the early years he was in touch. We were always invited to Kenya Independence Day celebrations, and Dad and Mum would talk to lots of Kenyans and know what was going on. We were aware of what was happening in Kenya, not in any great depth, we were aware that there was political unhappiness. None of us got involved. Dad was very politically aware of what was going on in Europe and the world. He used to read two newspapers, *The Times* and *The Telegraph*, I remember asking, why are we reading these two, and he said, "Why would I want to read *The Guardian*, I know its opinions are like mine, I should read what the other opinions are." That is a classic journalist, isn't it? Let me hear what the opposition is saying.¹⁶

¹⁵ Letter to the Managing Director, Messrs Adamaster Press & Literary Agency, 22 November 1973.

¹⁶ Interview with Peter Mwaniki, London, July 2000.

England, Kenya, Africa

As children we never really thought that we could realistically grow up to adulthood in the UK. It remained our belief that we would all return to Kenya while we were still young. We always knew that our father wanted to go back to Kenya. My mother was less enthusiastic and more cautious as she worried for her husband's safety and economic hardship.

Our parents told us stories about life in Kenya. We learnt about our sisters and brothers and our step-mothers. My mother had eleven children with my father, and the first wife Elizabeth Thogori had three boys (she had had others who sadly passed away at a very young age). The second wife Judith Nyamurwa had two boys and a daughter. For us in London it was strange to imagine our parents having so many children and that my father had three wives. My parents would vividly describe the home they had upcountry in Nyathuna—a big house and plenty of land for us to play on. My father would compare our small backyard to the land he had in Kenya and say that it was like our local park. When my father talked about returning to Kenya, we used to get very excited, as all we had to play in was our small back garden, in a London terrace. We were eager and enthusiastic to go to see or indeed live in our parents' homeland. As time went on moving to Kenya proved to be only a dream. It was too expensive and the political situation was still too unstable for my father to go back.

Being the eldest, I was the first of the children to start corresponding with our sisters in Kenya. It was fun receiving letters. From time to time we would also pay a visit to the photographic studios to have a family photo taken so that the family in Kenya could watch us grow. In turn, the family in Kenya would also send us family studio photographs.

I finally got to visit Kenya for the first time in 1975, when I was nineteen years old. When I was about to leave, my father asked me what language I would speak to the family in Nyathuna who did not speak English. I confidently said, 'in Gikuyu, of course.' He challenged me and said that I couldn't speak it. When I replied that I could, he said, 'go on then.' Seconds later I saw him laughing at me. It had just dawned on me for the very first time that although I understood the language I could not articulate it. However, when I came to Kenya it was useful to know some Gikuyu although people laughed at me when I attempted to speak in my broken Gikuyu. They would say that I sounded like the missionary priests in the colonial days.

Only when I arrived in Kenya did I realise how respected and important my father was. It was one thing hearing from my father about his life in Kenya, but actually being in Kenya and hearing about him from other people, and seeing his name in the newspapers was something different. For the first time we felt very proud of our father. We were received like children of a celebrity. We were given VIP treatment. Margaret Kenyatta, Jomo Kenyatta's daughter, was Mayor of Nairobi. We were invited to her office for lunch along with our family from Kenya, and we enjoyed the luxury of being served by waiters. We kept looking at each other—we simply could not believe the story we found ourselves in. It was a bit like the story of the ugly duckling. We had been the ugly ducklings in England, where we were different, and then came to Kenya and realised that we were like swans amongst our own people, and in our true environment.

Discovering Kenya for me was wonderful, the people were so warm, hard-working and, even though there were problems with the economy, the people would help one another and remain very cheerful. I enjoyed the atmosphere when I visited my family upcountry. I spent a great deal of time sitting inside the kitchen, which was a wooden house, outside the main house. It was the custom to cook away from the house. The women would sit around the open-fire and whilst cooking delicious Kikuyu food such as *irio*, and we would laugh and make conversation, while enjoying the smells of the open-fire cooking. The main house would be for sitting, eating and sleeping. I enjoyed hearing stories about my father's earlier days in Kenya, and also hearing stories from my grandmother about my mother, and getting to know the culture. My older sisters who would tell me from time to time how I should be behaving. However, living in Kenya was a culture shock. My father wrote to me often whilst in Kenya, and his letters helped me to learn about the Kenyan culture.

It was a new and wonderful experience to have older brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles because in London we were alone. However, because of the long separation and splits in the family, getting to know my family in Kenya was sometimes very difficult, as there was some resentment. It must have been experienced as unfair that, as soon as we arrived, we got recognition, simply because we were brought up in London, yet we were all from the same father. I think that my older sisters there felt that the family in London were favoured by our parents. In a certain way they considered my maternal grandmother, who had looked after them after my mother left Kenya, as their mother. I found myself trying to explain that my parents loved us all equally and it was

circumstances that kept us apart for so long. I felt hurt for both sides as I knew how my parents felt, and tried to imagine how I would have felt had I been one of the ones left behind.

Looking back, this is how Peter sees the experience of exile and how it affected our father and the rest of the family:

I listened to him from when I was very young about his life in Kenya and what he had achieved. So I looked at it from the exile point of view. There was a great sadness in him, that he did not fulfill his full potential. I grew up with a man who was just left as an observer. He kept writing. I believe he would have wanted to make far more of a contribution, being part of that. He mentioned that once we were educated, or even before that we would go back. This was not our home. We always knew it, it was not our home. But life and circumstances just took their turn.

Looking at both families in UK and Kenya there has always been a longing for a reunion. We grew up yearning for this wonderful land, and our indigenous family grew up longing for their UK family to return home. Although we had both our parents with us, unlike the children left behind in Kenya, I still feel that deep down in my father's heart he was agonizing being so far away from the country and family he loved so much. This meant that even though we had a father physically present, he was mentally present in Kenya. Sometimes we envied our family in Kenya—as far as we were concerned, we were the unlucky ones who had to live in cold, dreary England. I think Peter has given a good description of the complex experience our family became caught up in:

Dad... was aware that he was exiled here with the family. We grew up with mum and dad and we realised when we went to Kenya that this was a privilege for us in comparison to the family who did not grow up with mum and dad, they all missed dad—the two wives and children. And those realities are real, that pain is there although they knew that things were not personal. Though it was a personal pain it was a political reality that was much bigger than any one of us.¹⁷

Dream come true

Thinking about my father's story, it is hard to imagine how far this young herdboys had come. From being a little lonely boy, with just a sheet draped over one shoulder and a stick, looking after his father's

¹⁷ Interview with Peter Mwaniki, London, July 2000.

goats and sheep in the fields of the family farm, north of Nairobi in a place called Nyathuna, to a lonely man living in a studio flat round the corner from fashionable Marble Arch in Seymour Street, London W1. From discovering how to read and write at the age of eleven, to becoming the editor and owner of an influential newspaper. From being a young man deep in thought about life and the future of his own country, to becoming an old man in a foreign land, deep in thought about life and the past. From being a well-known figure in his country to dying in a foreign land, unknown to but a few. Like Moses, he struggled to bring his people to the promised land, but never made it himself.

Even though my family in Kenya felt that they had missed out by my parents living so far away, I felt that we in England also missed out. When my father passed away in 1997 I thank God that his wish had finally come true when his spirit finally saw all his fourteen children and over thirty grandchildren together on his home land. Eighteen family members travelled from England to repatriate our father's body.

Looking at my father's life, it is clear to see that for every negative experience in which he encountered, he made positive counter measures. Where he could have decided to end his life from the grip of the spirit of despair, he decided to make something of his life, even if it was not what he had hoped for. Our parents provided for us even though it was a struggle to bring up seven children alone without outside help. We were rich in love from our parents, and we look back and feel that we were blessed in that way. After my father's death, my sister Juliet came across a note in the attic amongst my father's many papers where he had jotted down a short prayer—on his manual typewriter dated 15th March 1967.

O Almighty God on whom I place all my trust
I pray and thank you for having enabled me to rise in the East
Where you used me in the service of truth

Help me not to go down like a setting sun in the West
Where everything is supposed to be at its best.

But where for the last fifteen years in spite of my efforts
I have not been able to find a friend on whom I can trust
And having entrusted me with seven children who have been born
here

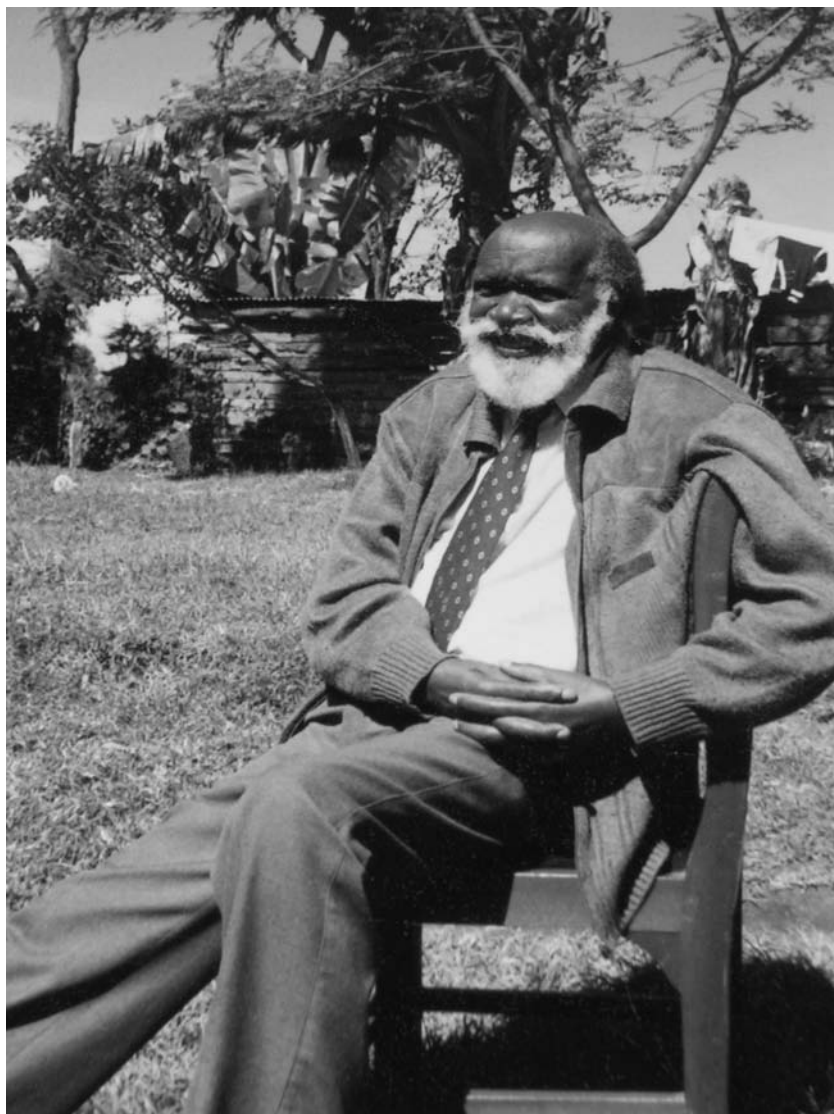
I hope you will help them to grow up to be useful citizens
With a lot of friends to help them and whom they can trust
And I pray and beseech you in the name of the only Son Jesus Christ

Who lives and reigns with you at all times here on earth and the whole Universe. Amen.

Underneath this text there is an addition in hand writing: 'By 1970 March, I am writing my third or should I say fourth book. Could my present efforts be said to be the answer to the above prayer? I will keep on praying and writing since God's help comes in a mysterious way.'



10. Henry Muoria, his third wife Ruth Nuna and their seven London-born children



11. Henry Muoria visiting Nairobi December 1989 at his home in Nyathuna, Lower Kabete



12. Henry Muoria in Kenya, 1975

SECTION II

WORKS

EDITORIAL NOTE ON HENRY MUORIA'S
THREE POLITICAL PAMPHLETS

Spelling

How to spell the name of Muoria's 'nation', 'tribe', or 'people' is not agreed. In their own speech they talk of themselves as 'Agikuyu', 'the people of Gikuyu'. The nineteenth-century Ki-Swahili pronunciation, 'Kikuyu', was adopted by British officials and European settlers, as also by most scholars, in the twentieth century. The people themselves increasingly ask to be called Gikuyu. One editor, Derek Peterson, normally employs this version; the other, John Lonsdale, has shifted from 'K' to 'G'. There is an acceptable compromise, which we have adopted here, namely to use 'K' for all things Kikuyu, since this is the name most widely recognised, except for the language, which we call Gikuyu. We hope that this convention will lead to greater clarity rather than confusion. We have, similarly, adopted the spelling Muoria throughout, although Henry at times used Mworia.

Translations

In all three pamphlets the original Gikuyu text is that of Henry Muoria, as it stood in 1945, 1946, and 1947 respectively. The English translations of the two pamphlets that focus on Jomo Kenyatta, 'The Homecoming of our Great Hero' and 'Jomo Kenyatta is our Reconciler', are based on Henry Muoria's own renderings, made during his London exile, in the 1970s and '80s. We have simplified his language to some extent, while remaining faithful to his meaning. The first pamphlet, 'What Should we Do, Our People', was published in English translation in Muoria's *I, the Gikuyu, and the White Fury* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1994). There are significant differences between this English translation and the Gikuyu original. We therefore commissioned a fresh English translation from Joseph Muriithi Kariuki, who had proved invaluable to Derek Peterson as a research assistant in the 1990s. It is Kariuki's translation that is printed here.

Gikuyu etymologies

In explicating Muoria's Gikuyu writing we have made liberal use of three sources:

- a) Leonard and Gladys Beecher's mimeographed *Kikuyu-English Dictionary*, produced in 1938 by the Church Missionary Society in Nairobi. Consulted at the Presbyterian Church of East Africa archives in Nairobi, box I/Z/26.
- b) Arthur Barlow's very extensive notes on Gikuyu etymologies, which are held as part of his private papers in the Edinburgh University Library, deposits Gen. 1785 and 1786.
- c) T. G. Benson's *Kikuyu-English Dictionary*, published by Oxford University Press in 1964.

These three sources were produced out of the cooperative language work done by missionaries and their Kikuyu interlocutors. Arthur Barlow was colonial Kenya's most prolific Gikuyu linguist. Arriving in central Kenya in 1903, he had by 1906 translated several dozen hymns, a book of daily services, a short catechism, and part of two gospels into Gikuyu. His *Tentative Studies in Kikuyu Grammar and Idiom*, brought out in 1914, was conceived as an aid to the translation of the New Testament. The Beechers' 1938 dictionary grew out of language notes that the Anglican missionary Harry Leakey, the father of Gladys Beecher, composed in dialogue with the Kikuyu convert Mathayo Njoroge. During the 1940s Barlow, working with the Kikuyu schoolteacher Reuben Muriuki, elaborated and revised the Beechers' dictionary. In 1953 Barlow was called out of retirement to head the Kenya government's Translation Bureau. There he agreed with Benson, a lecturer in Bantu languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, to collaborate on the production of a comprehensive Gikuyu dictionary. In 1956 Barlow sent Benson a list of some 29,000 words. His typed notes on the letter 'G' ran to some forty foolscap pages.¹ By 1962 Barlow was infirm, unable to move more than the index finger of his right hand. The 1964 *Kikuyu-English Dictionary* bore Benson's name on the title page, but it drew very largely on what Barlow, the Beechers, and a group of Kikuyu teachers and linguists had done over sixty years of language work.

¹ Edinburgh University Library Gen. 1785/1: T. G. Benson to Beecher, 18 May 1956.

Notes

In our notes we refer to these three sources as 'Barlow' and file number, Beechers, and Benson respectively. It should be noted that some Barlow papers on translation are held in the Kenya National Archives. These are prefixed in the footnotes with 'KNA'.

Muoria's Gikuyu

There were at least five orthographies in which Henry Muoria, writing in the mid-1940s, might have composed these pamphlets. Since the 1910s Protestant missionaries had written Gikuyu with seven vowels, marking the letters 'i' and 'u' with diacritics to indicate vowel sounds that were not native to the English language. Catholic missionaries had devised a competing orthography, in which the five English vowels were thought sufficient to signify a range of Gikuyu sounds. Linguists from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures had in 1930s devised a phonetic orthography for Gikuyu, which employed exotic Greek letters. The Kenya African Teachers Union in 1939 recommended that Gikuyu ought to be written using the Protestant orthography, but without the troublesome diacritics.² And Jomo Kenyatta, the subject of two of Muoria's pamphlets, had worked with linguist Lilius Armstrong on the production of her 1940 book *The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu*. After his return from London, he favoured the use of a modified phonetic alphabet for Gikuyu.³ In two of the pamphlets printed here, 'The Homecoming of our Great Hero' and 'Jomo Kenyatta is our Reconciler', Muoria followed KATU's comparatively simple spelling system. But in the first pamphlet, 'What Should we Do?', Muoria followed the 'Protestant' system, using diacritics to mark Gikuyu vowels. He would have learned Protestant spelling in his youth, when he studied at Harry Leakey's mission at Kabete. Our Gikuyu texts reproduce these two different orthographies accordingly.

² Kenya National Archives MSS (BS) 1/4: KATU, 'Kikuyu Orthography Recommendations', n.d. (but 1939).

³ National Museum of Kenya, Beecher papers, file 12: 'Minutes of a meeting held in Nairobi to discuss Kikuyu Orthography', 18 August 1947.

Gender and Gikuyu language

Personal pronouns in the Gikuyu language are not gendered. The anonymous characters whom Muoria conjured up in these pamphlets might therefore be either male or female. In his English translations of the two texts concerning Jomo Kenyatta, Muoria always rendered the anonymous personal pronouns as ‘he’. We have followed his lead in our translation of ‘What Should we Do, My People?’ but note, in footnote 43 to that pamphlet, where he had doubts about his inclusive use of the masculine pronoun when translating his text into English in London. Was this doubt perhaps prompted by his wife Ruth Nuna?

Editorial interventions

In the English translations of the second and third pamphlets some passages and sub-headings will be found in italics. These italicised passages represent the additions and clarifications that Henry Muoria himself made when translating his texts in London, many years later, preparatory to presenting them to a British, Anglophone, audience—an ambition that we are now delighted to help bring to fruition. We find it entirely admirable that so many years after the event he was still intent on making his much-misunderstood people intelligible to the British who had, in his view, wrought such ill-informed harm on those whom he regarded as his family—as indicated in the title of his first pamphlet. While the italics represent Muoria’s second thoughts, words in square brackets represent our own insertions, the better to recover the sense in English that we believe he intended in Gikuyu.

The Gikuyu texts of all three pamphlets are imperfect in their type, and in several places the text is therefore unintelligible. We have marked passages of this sort with question marks, enclosed in square brackets.

Archival Sources

Archival Sources are as follows:

- BNA British National Archives, Kew, London (Africanists cannot adopt the normal usage, TNA for ‘The National Archives’, a replacement for Public Record Office or PRO, since the Tanzania National Archives were the first to use TNA).

- KNA Kenya National Archives, Nairobi.
NMK National Museum of Kenya, Nairobi.
PCEA Presbyterian Church of East Africa Archives, Nairobi.

Index

The index refers to the introductory essays and to the English language translations of Muoria's pamphlets. Readers of the Gikuyu text should refer to the page immediately preceding the page number listed in the index.

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TUNGIKA ATIA IYIA WITU?

‘Guthii na mbere ni gukinyukia haria ukinyite, na guthii na mbere meciria-ini, ni kumenya undu utaroi, no ungirega gwitikia, witue kime-nyi, ndungiteithika. Ugutura o handu hamwe, urugamite uthiururukaga, urugarugaga, nawe wiirage uthiite na mbere muno’.

Kumenyithania Uhoru wa Ibuku Riri

Uhoru ūria mwandike Ibuku-ini rirī, wandikīrūo andū agima, arīa meciragia tūngīgunwo nikii. Namo ni maūndū maingi, maria materete thiini wario.

No mothe me kwaria ūhoru wa ūria maūndū matarii riu, na ūria magiriirūo ni gūtuika nigetha andū magunike.

Andū aingi matiiciragia wega, tondū hihi amwe mahota gwiciria ati mwandiki andikite ibuku riri, ni getha atonge kana agie na mbia iria ihangūkitie andū aingi mūno, makiugaga ati nocio mūthia wa maūndū mothe.

Ningi angī mahota gwiciria ati riandikitwo niguu mwandiki agie ngumo. No ūria mwandiki angienda kūmenyithia andū arīa meciria mao matarii ūguo ni ūū:

Ati mwandiki niendete andū arīa angī mūno, na niakenagio mūno nī maūndū maria mega, na manene, hindi īria marekwo ni andū airū.

Tondū ūcio andikite ibuku rirī ena ngoro ya kwenda gūteithia andū makīrie gwika maūndū macio narua. Nigetha būrūri warahūke, na andū maiyūrūo ni gikeno na hinya mīrī yao na matonge ona magoche Ngai. Na nikio ateretete maūndū macio mothe.

Ningī angī hihi mahota kūria kūria nwandiki athomeire. Nao acio no amere ati mwandiki nīwe withomithitie, na ena marūa ma ūira wakuo- nania ati meciria make nī magima harī andū arīa agima magitarūo thī yothe handū yarūma.

Na andū acio mamūheire marūa macio marutanaga ūū:

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT SHOULD WE DO, OUR PEOPLE?¹

To move forward is to step out from where you are standing. To move ahead mentally is to know something you had not previously known. If you refuse to believe [that] and make yourself a know-it-all, you cannot be helped. You will remain in the same place, stand, circle around, jump about and deceive yourself that you are moving ahead.²

About the book

This book is addressed to adults³ who are concerned about what we can do to help ourselves. It discusses many issues.

The book is concerned with the present and what should be done to help the people. Some ill-wishers may think the writer has written it to earn money and get rich. Very many people are misled into thinking that money is the means to every goal.

Others may think the book is written to make the writer famous. The writer would like to tell those who think this way that: He loves other people very much, and welcomes the many good and great things done by black people.

He has therefore written the book in order to help people do the following as quickly as possible: to awaken the country, to fill people with happiness and strength, and to make them rich and praise God. That is why he has raised these issues.

Other people may ask where the writer was educated. To these, he would reply that he is self-educated, and he has certificates to testify that he is of sound mind like other adults the world over.⁴

The people who awarded him this certificate teach that it is up to the individual to mature⁵ in his mind and body so that he can help himself, his family, and other people wherever they are.

That is why the writer has already helped himself and continues to help his family. The debt he wants to pay now, as he writes this book, is to help others.

Atĩ nĩ igũrũ rĩa mũndũ we mwene, gwĩtua mũgima meciria-ini, na mwĩrĩ-ini, nigetha ahote gwĩteithia we mwene na andũ ake, na andũ othe harĩa marũma.

Tondũ ũcio-rĩ, mwandĩki nĩarikĩtie gwĩteithia, na no areteithia andũ ake. Na rĩu thĩrĩ ũria ekwenda kũriha, akĩandĩka Ibuku rĩrĩ, nĩ ũcio wa gũteithia andũ arĩa angi.

Tondũ ũcio nĩ wega ũthome Ibuku rĩrĩ ũkĩmenyaga atĩ rĩandikitwo na ngoro ya gũteithania. No gũteithania ti kũharagania nĩ gũcokanĩrĩria, gũthũrana nĩ kũharagania na kwendana nĩ gũcokanĩrĩria.

HENRY MUORIA.

Kirangari, 4th January 1945.

1. *Kĩrĩro kĩa Mwandĩki*

Ndĩna kĩa kĩnene,
Na tha nacio nĩ nene,
Ngoria rĩrĩa maũndũ manene,
Magekwo nĩ ciana cia Mũmbi nacio inenehe.

Ĩni mangĩtikĩra acio ciana cia Mũmbi,
Gwĩka ũrĩa meciria ma mugĩ,
Wa maũndũ maya mega ma ũguni,
Ekuona na agatangĩkĩra matwike ameki.

Hiũha mũrũ wa maitũ;
Thũ nĩ weno ũka na rũhiũ;
Ūrimũ nothĩni nĩ ininwo na ithecwo na itimũ,
Na itwarũo igathikwo ngurunga-ini ya Rũirũ.

Ĩra atumia moige ngemi,
Amu nĩ tũrokeirũo nĩ mũgeni,
Ūgĩ wa gũtuonereria njĩra ya ũguni,
Oknya mũciĩ wao wa gikeno tũtwike ageni.

He kĩrĩma kĩnene kĩa mahiga,
Naruo rũnyanjara nĩ rwa hinya,
Rũtingihaicĩka no hũthũ tĩga ona hinya,
Mwĩyohei mĩthiori mũrute wĩra na hinya.

Igũta nĩ thũ na nĩ njĩhia.
Ciagĩrĩrũo nĩ kũninwo itige kwĩhia,

With this in mind, it is good that you read this book knowing it is written in the spirit of helping ourselves.⁶ To help each other is not to disperse⁷ but to return together; to hate each other is to scatter in all directions, and to love each other is to join together.

HENRY MUORIA.

Kirangari, 4th January 1945.

1. *The Writer's Lament*⁸

I am very sorrowful
And full of compassion.⁹
I ask when great things
Will be done by the children of *Mumbi* to make them grow.

Yes, if only the children of *Mumbi* were to agree¹⁰
To carry out what the mind of someone
Who knows about good and useful things
Sees, and concerns himself with how to perform them.

Hurry up, my brother.¹¹
Here is the enemy, come with a machete.
Eliminate ignorance¹² and poverty and stab them with a spear.
Take them for burial to the Ruiru caves.¹³

Tell women to ululate¹⁴
For a visitor has come amongst us.
Wisdom¹⁵ to show us the way to helpfulness
So that we become visitors at the home of happiness.

There is a big stony mountain.
Its steepness is hard.
It cannot be climbed with ease but with difficulty.
Tighten your belts and work hard.¹⁶

The lazy¹⁷ are enemies and sinners.
They should be eliminated to end their sinfulness.

Giai na ūrūme na mwende kūhiūhia,
Wira wanyu ūthire muge nītwethiranīria.

2. Ūria ūmenyo ūtūteithagia

Ūngikorūo wīna bata wagūthiī handū nokorūo ni ūi njīra ya gūthiī handū hau, ndūngīona thīna. Tondū ūmenyo waku wa njīra no ūtūme ūkinye narua hatarī thīna.

No ūngikorūo ndūi njīra yaho, ūtūike nīkūrīrīria ūkūrīrīria no ūkue ihinda iraya tondū wakūrūgana na mūdū o wothe ūrītūnga ūkīmūria njīra. Na rīngī ūhītīe, kana ūkorūo nī ūhītītīe, wīrūo atī njīra ya gūthiī handū hau ūkwenda ūmītīgīre o hana.

Rīu ningī wambīrīre gūcoka ona thutha oharīa ūkīire, kinya ohau werūo ūhītīirie njīra. Mīnoga, mang'ūrīka, korūo nī ihinda inene, macio mothe nīmo monekaga tondū wa kūrīgwo nī njīra ya gūthiī handū harīa ūngikorūo ūkienda gūthiī.

Ūguo noguo gūtariī thīnī wa maūdū mangī. Īndī njīra cia gwīka maūdū mamwe ni hinya kuona mūdū wa gūtwirīra, kana wa gūtunia, nago bata ūrīa ūninagūo nī gīthomo nī ūcio wa kuonia andū njīra ya gwīka ūndū mūna.

Īndī matukū maya-rī gīthomo gitū nī kīnyinyi. Na nīkīo tūtiri na maūdū mega kūrīgana na ūrīa tūngīkorūo tūkienda. Na nīkīo nītwahota kwenda gwīka ūndū, ta kwambīrīria wīra mūna, na tondū wa kūrīgwo nī njīra ya kūwīka, tūkageria na twaremwo, ona twarīgwo tūgatarika kana tūkoiga atī ūndū ūcio ndūngīhoteka.

Kwoguo-rī hīndī irīa andū mehariirie kūruta wīra ona ūrīkū, tiwega gūtirika. Na kīgīria kīrīa kīngīgīria gūtirika kuoneke, no andū magīire na ūmenyo. Tondū ūmenyo nī ūgī naruo rūhiū rūgī rūtirī mūtī rūtangītīnia. Ningī nītuonire atī, mūdū ūi njīra ya gūthiī handū, athiaga onarua hatarī thīna kana kūrūo nī ihinda.

3. Ūmenyo mwega wa mbere

Mūdū o wothe nīagīrīrūo nī kūmenya atī kīrīa atindaga akīnogerā akīruta wira ona ūrīkū, nīatī thīna ndūkamūkore Agakorūo akienda ahote gwīteithia we mwene, na andū ake. Ūguo nī kuga mūtumia wake, ciana ciake, nyina na ithe kana andū arīa angī mamūkoniī.

Gūteithia andū aku nī kuga nī ūhote kūmahe nguo na irio. Nakorūo nī ciana ūhote gūithomithia. Ona ningī hīndī ya ndwari, ūhote kūmagūrīra ndawa.

Be brave and delight in hurrying,
Complete your task and say you have achieved it.

2. *How knowledge helps us*¹⁸

If you want to go somewhere and you know the way, you will face no problem. Knowing the way enables you to arrive without trouble.

But if you don't know the way, and you start asking, it will take longer because you will stop to ask whomever you meet. Sometimes you may lose the way, or you may have missed it already and will be told you went wrong at such and such a place.

You will start going back to where you are told you got lost. Fatigue, fury, and waste of time are all the fruits of losing the way to your planned destination.

This often happens. And it's difficult to find people able to tell or show us how to do some things. Education does away with the need to show other people what to do.

However, these days our education¹⁹ is limited and so we do not have things as good as we would like. For when we start a project before we know how to do it we just try, and when we fail we give up and say it's impossible.

Therefore, when people plan to do any work it is not good to abandon it. Once people have acquired knowledge they can understand how to avoid giving up. For knowledge is sharpness and a sharp machete can fell any tree.²⁰ We have already seen that someone who knows the way to a certain place gets there fast, without wasting time.

3. *The good knowledge of progress*

Everyone knows that he sweats now so that misery will not face him later. He looks forward to helping himself and his people. That is to say his wife, children, father or mother, or even his kin.

To help your people means being able to clothe and feed them, and to educate your children. And during sickness you are able to buy them medicine.

Nguo na irio ititūraga. No kinya wagūra ūmūthī igathira, rūciū ūkagūra ingī. Nakūngikorūo nīūguo-rī, no kinya ūcarie handū harīa ūrirutaga mbeca cia gwiteithia ona cia gūteithia andū aku.

Harī andū matarī tha, matatindaga magīteithia atumia ao, kana ciana ciao. Kana nyina na ithe, ona kana andū ao. Mūndū ūrīa ūtariī ūguo-rī, nī ūrīa ūrikītie gūthūka, akagīa na mūtugo mūru, kinya akamenyera kwaga tha. Na tondū ūcio meciria make makuhīhīrie o ma nyamū ya gīthaka. Tondū-rīrī, nyamū noanga īteithagia nyina kana ithe na ūndū ona ūrikū?

4. *Maciaro makwaga ūmenyo kana wagi*

Ungīaga handū haria mbeca iriumaga no kinya ūthūke, tondū wa kīeha gīkūhīnje. Na gwakorūo ndūrī mūgima mūno meciria-nī, ūtuīke mūici; Īndī watuīka mūici nīwatuīka mūragani. Waiya ūnyitwo ūthīi njera ūkohwo maūndū maku makīrie gūthūka. Akorūo nīworagana nawe ūnyitwo ūkoragwo. Na maūndū macio mothe mekuoneka tondū wa kūrigo nī ūrīa ūngīka wone mbeca.

Gūgagītuīka atī thīna kana wagi nī thū cia andū. Īndī nīkwagīrīrie irūo nacio kinya ininwo būrūrī-inī ūyū witū. Tikuga nguga atī andū arīa othe moraganaga, moraganaga tondū wothīnī, aca. No andū arīa athini nī mahota kūragana makīria ma arīa mena indo. Tondū mūndū ūtarī na kīndū, hīndī irīa angībatario nī kīndū kīu makīria, no erirīrie kūgīa nakīo na njīra irīa yothe arīkīona nayo, ūguo nī kuga kūiya kana kwaga kūiya. Īndī hīndī irāi angīnyitwo akīiya, tondū wa gūthūra ndakamenywo atī nī mūici, niahota kūraga mūndū ūcio ūkūmūnyita. Na nīkio tugire atī, mūici nowe mūragani.

Tondū ūcio-rī, nī gīkeno kīnene, hīndī irīa mūndū onete hakūruta inbeca. Naho handū hau nī mawīra-inī ma comba, kana mawīra-inī ma mūndū ma wonjoria wa mūthemba o wotha.

Na nīkio harī mūndū ūrīa mūgī, nīagīrīrūo nī kūruta wīra wake wega na kīo, na kwīgītīra maūndū-inī mothe marīa ma gūtūma wīra ūcio wake ūthūke.

Maūndū macio mathūkagia mawīra ma mūndū marehagwo no andū arīa angī. Arīa maragia mohoro moru makūnina kīyo kīa andū arīa angī. Na tondū ūcio-rī, hīndī irīa mūndū ona ūrikū egūkwīra atī ndwagīrīrūo nī kūruta wīra waku na hinya kana na kīyo-rī, ona ūrīa ūgūkwīra ūtīge wīra mwambe mūgacere-rī, mūndū ūcio tigūkūguna egūkūguna. Īndī nigūgūte aragūte, na andū ta acio nīo wagīrīrūo nī kwīgītīra.

Clothes and food are short lived. When you buy them today, they wear out, and you will buy more tomorrow. That is why you must know where to get money to help yourself and your family.

Some people without compassion fail to help their wives, children, parents or even their kin. Such a person has become repulsive,²¹ with awful behaviour, to the point of lacking compassion. His mind²² is close to that of wild animals. For has any wild animal ever helped its mother or father in any way?

4. *The fruits of ignorance or poverty*²³

If you have no source of income you become poor, and worry makes you waste away. Also, if you are not very mature²⁴ in mind you become a thief. Moreover, when you become a thief, you become a murderer. If you murder someone, you are arrested and finally you will be killed. All these things come from not knowing how to find money.²⁵

It is therefore true that poverty or want is an enemy of the people. We need to fight them until they are eliminated in our country.²⁶ I'm not saying that all those who kill do so because of poverty. No. [But] the poor are more likely to kill than the wealthy. For if someone lacks something and is in dire need of it, he will strive to get it by any means, which is to say by theft. However, he may kill anyone who catches him stealing, since he will hate to be called a thief. That's why we say a thief is also a murderer.

To find a good source of money therefore brings great joy. Such a source can be [found] in white people's companies or in other people's companies.²⁷

Therefore a wise person should work well and diligently and stop doing anything that might cause his work to fail.

Poor people—those who speak evil of other people's diligence—can cause one's work to fail. Anybody who says you should not be working hard and diligently, or tells you to go visiting instead, is not helping you. He's misleading you, and you should avoid such people.

Tondū ūcio-rī, menya atī hatirī kīndū kīega, ta kūmenya ūria ūngīka mbeca cionekage, cia gwīteithia, ona cia gūteithia andū aku nacio. Ona ningī hihi cia gūtigara. Kwoguo tigaga kūheneka onarua wīcirie mbere ya gwika.

5. *Gwīciria na gwika*

Kūmenya ūria ūngīka nīguo wonage mbeca nī kuo gwīciria. No kwī meciria moru ta kūiya. Ningī kwī meciria mega, ta morute wīra waku na kīyo, na hinya ona kwenda kūnene. Norīrī, gwīciria tigwīka. Gwīka nī ūndū ūngī, na gwīciria nī ūndū ūngī. Gwīciria gūtionagwo no ciiko nī cionagwo. Tondū ūcio meciria mega mamenyekaga na ciiko iria ikuoneka ciakorūo injega.

Hatirī kīndū kīega kīonekaga o ūguo no hūthū, no thīna witū ithuī andū airū nī kwenda indo iria cionekaga no hūthū, na tūgathūra wīra wothe wa hinya. No tūgakorūo ningī tūkienda indo njega. Tondū wa gūthūra wīra ūria mūndū angiruta one kīndū kīu ekwenda tūkaga kūgīa na kīyo. Tondū ūcio-rī, ūkienda kūgīa na kīndū kīega kana ūndū mwega-rī, no kinya ūnogere kindū kīu kana ūndū ūcio.

Naguo ūcio nī ūira mwega wakuonania atī angīkorūo nī ūkwenda wīcirage wega no wīrutire gwīciria wega nī atīa, kana ūthiage thiritū na andū arīa meciragia wega. Ona kūngikorūo gwīciria kwega ti ūhūthū-rī, nīwahota gwīciria ūndū ūmwe mwega o kahinda kanini, na hīndī irīa ūngīambirīria gwīka ūguo wīcirītie, ūtuīke nī ūndū kana wīra mūnene mūno ūgūkua ihinda (iraya) mūno ūgīthira kana ūkīrika, ta mwaka kana makīria.

Wahota gwīciria ūria arī wega ithuī andū airū tūngīenda nyūmba nene ya mahiga ya ngoroba ithathatū, (ya itiniyo ithathatū gūthīi na igūrū) na wone ūria mbeca icio cia kūmīaka ikuoneka. No rīria nyūmba iyo ūngīambirīria gwakwo, ndīngīhota gūthira na mūthenya ūmwe kana mweri ūmwe ūria we weciririe o mūthenya ūmwe.

Ūguo nī kuonania ūria ciiko irī hinya makīria ma gwīciria. Na nīkīo tūremagwo nī kūrikia mawīra maingī marīa tūkoragwo twīcirītie nī mega tūkiambirīria.

Ihinda nī kindū kīriaga kana kīninaga indo ciothe, ona meciria mega nī mahota kūninwo nī ihinda tondū wagūikara mūno. Mūndū akariganīrūo nī ūria endaga akīambirīria wīra ūcio. Kwaguo-rī, wenda kūruta wīra waku kinya ūrikie; geria kūririkanaga ūria watanyite ūkiambirīria wira ūcio. Na nīūkīrikia ngoro ya mbere yacoka.

So you should know what must be done to get money to help yourself and your family, or even to save. And don't be easily cheated but think before you act.

5. *Thinking and doing*²⁸

You have to think in order to know how to get money. But there is a wrong way of thinking, such as planning to steal. There is also a good way of thinking, such as planning how to work vigorously, honestly and with interest. But thinking is not doing. Doing is different from thinking. Thinking is altogether different. Thinking is not visible, actions are. So good thoughts are known through actions that are seen to be good.

Nothing good comes easily. The problem with we black people is that we like what comes easily and hate working hard. Yet we love good things.²⁹ Because we hate the work that achieves good things, we eventually lack the necessary effort. For if you want to get something good, you must sweat for it.

This is good advice: if you wish to think well, you must learn what it takes to think well, or associate with those who think well. Although good thinking is not easy, one can think up a good idea fairly quickly, [but] when you start to put it into practice, it may involve lengthy work, taking a year or more to complete.

You might [for instance] think of how we Africans might have big, six-storied, buildings, and come up with ideas of how to raise the money for their construction. But when such construction starts it cannot be finished in a day or a month, even if its idea took just a day to conceive.

This shows how difficult actions are when compared with thought, and this is why we are unable to complete projects that we think are worth starting.

Time consumes resources. Good thoughts can similarly be consumed by time, by delay, so that one forgets what one wanted when the work began. So, if you want to finish anything, try to remember what your aims were when you started. You'll complete a task once you have reached that first goal.

6. *Gītūmi kīa mahoya na gwītīkia*

Gītina kīa ūhoti witū wothe, ona kīa mawīra maitū mothe, ona gīa ciugo citū ciothe, ni ‘WĪTĪKIO’ amu rīrī, ūngīaga gwītīkia atī ndahota kwandīka ibuku tarīrī ndirandīka, no nemwo. Tondū ndingihota gwītīnania icigo igīrī, kimwe gīa kuuga atī nī ngūhota, na kīrīa kīngī ndingihota. No kīnya ngīe na ngoro imwe nayo igīe na Wītīkio atī ndahota, na no hote.

Andū aingī matiūi gitūmi kīa mahoya ona gia gwītīkia, ona gwaŭīka no mahoyaga na no metīkītie. Tūhoyaga Ngai atūhe kīndū kīrīa tūtārī nakīo, na tuongererūo hinya ūrīa tūrī naguo. Īndī tūngīhoya atī tūheo mbece cia gwaka mūthigiti mūnene (ihoero inene rīa mahiga), na atī tūheo hinya wa gūcaria mbece icio; Tūcoke o mūndū gwake mūciī aikare thi, atindage o akīhoya Ngai na ndarī wīra ekūruta, tīga o kūhoya na kuga ūrīa etīkītie, mahoya macio make ona wītīkio ūcio wake nī wa tūhū.

Tondū rīrī, ekūhoya atī Ngai atūhe mbece cia gwaka ihoero nacio, ageterera atī Ngai nīegūtūma mbece icio na ūndū wa kīama. Tondū ūrīa etīkītie nīatī Ngai nīegūtūhe mbece icio oro ūguo na kīama tondū ati nīendete mūhoi ūcio. Ūguo nī kūrigwo kūnene. Kīrīa andū mahoyaga, kana kīrīa magīrīrūo nī kūhoya, nīatī Ngai amahe gwīciria kwega, nīguo ciīko njega cioneke, na hinya wa kūruta wīra ūcio marīkītie gwīciria nī mwega, Ona wītīkio wa ati nī mekūhota kūrīkia wīra ūcio ona wakorūo ni wīra wa hinya atīa.

Icio nīcio ina bata kūhoyūo kūrī Ngai witū. Īndī tigūtinda mūciī ūkihoya ūtarī wīra ūkūruta ūkīrīraga tondū wa mehīa maku torīa andū aingī mareka matukū maya.

Ūkristiano nī wendani, na tha itarī mūthia na gūkirīrīria kūnene mūno, na kūhorera kūnene, no rīrī, kūngīcoka gūtūike atī Ūkristiano nī mūndū kuga na kanua gake, na kwanīrīra na hinya ūkiuga ūrīa wītīkītie, na ūrīa andū arīa angī matetīkītie Ūkristiano tocio no ūtuīrūo wa andū arīa mena kanua kanene na meyendete, tondū kwīragwo īkanua yarīire itarī kanua. Īndī nītūhoe Ngai ūndū ta ūcio ndūgatūkore, tondū nīwambīrīrie kuḡa kuo. Nīgetha Ūkristiano witū ūtūre ūrī o wendani, na tha, na gūkirīrīria kūnene na kūhorera kūnene, ona kīyo nīgetha ciīko citū ituīke ūira wa ūrīa twendete Ngai.

Na ningī atīrīrī, ūngīhe mūndū ūhoro wa kūndū ūrīa gūtārīi, kana wa mūndū ūrīa atārīi, ūrīa mūndū ūcio ekaga mecīria-inī make nī kūhūra mbica ya kūndū kūu kana mūndū ūcio. Nīgetha ahote kūigua na kūmenya wega ūrīa ūkuga.

6. *The reason of prayers and belief*

The root of all our abilities, all our work and all our words, is belief.³⁰ For if I do not believe I am capable of writing a book like this, I will fail to finish it. I cannot cut myself in two, with one part saying that I can't do it and the other saying I can. I must be resolved³¹ and believe that I can, and I will.

Many people don't know the reason for prayers or belief, even though they pray and believe. We pray to God to be given what we lack, and to increase the strength we already have. But if we pray to be given money to built a big mosque³² (a big stone building), and are given the strength to look for the money, but [then] everyone stays at home praying and reciting his beliefs without doing anything, all prayer and belief will be useless.

This why: whoever prays that God will give the money for a place of worship may hope God will send that money as if by miracle. He believes God will send the money simply because God loves a worshipper. This is a big delusion.³³ What people should pray is for God to give them good thoughts so that they undertake good actions—and the strength to work so that what they have conceived will be done. They should also believe that they are able to accomplish this task, no matter how hard.³⁴

These are the important things for which to pray to God. Don't spend time praying at home without doing anything, only crying on account of your sins—as some people do these days.

Christianity is love, compassion without end, great patience, and great civility.³⁵ But when it's taken to mean people confessing with their mouth, shouting loudly what they believe in and what others believe, such Christianity is what loud-mouthed and self-centred people conceive. As it is said, *ikanua yariire itari kanua*, 'an animal with a mouth consumed one without'. Let us pray God that this does not happen to us, since it has started to creep in.³⁶ For if our Christianity is to remain as love, compassion, and deeds, our actions must be our evidence of how we love God.

When you tell a person about a certain place, or about another person, in his mind he takes a picture³⁷ of that place or person. That is how he hears and knows what you tell him. He sees and understands your idea in his own mind without difficulty.

Agakiona o wega meciria-ini make na akaigua o wega uhoru waku hatari thina.

Tondū ūcio-rī tūngikienda gūtongorio nī ūhoru ūcio nī getha tūmenye mūdū mūkigu na mūdū mūgi-rī, no tuge atiri: Ati mūdū ūria mūgi ahūraga mbica njega mūno meciria-ini make, ya mūdū ūcio kana ya kūdū kūu, ūkona ati nī-igūkenio mūno nī ūhoru waku, tondū nīaraigua o makiria ūria ūkūmwira.

No hari mūdū mūkigu-rī ahūraga mbica thitu na thūku meciria-ini make, akaremwo nī kūigua wega ūria ūkūmwira, ūkona ati ndegūkenio nī ūhoru ūcio waku, tondū ndekuona ūhoru ūcio ūria ūkonainie na mabataro make, tondū nī hinya hari mūdū mūkigu gūthikiriria ūndū ūngi tiga o ūria ūmūkonie, kana ūria ūngimūgana ta kūmwita mwega na mūgi, na kūmwira nī tūthi tūkarie kina, ūhoru ūcio noguo wī bata hari mūdū mūkigu. Riu-rī, kūringana na ūhoru ūcio-rī, tūngienda kūmenya wītikio wa mūdū-rī, kana woria eciragia Ngai atarii-rī, no tuge: Ati hari mūdū mūgi; hīndi iria ekūheo ūhoru wa Ngai, niahūraga mbica njega mūno meciria-ini make, akona o wega ūria Ngai arī mwega na wa kūmakania, na ūria arī mūnene, Na akaigua o wega gitūmi kia ndelo icio.

No hari mūdū mūkigu-ri, ahūraga kabica kanini na koru meciria-ini make, akaga kūmenya kana kuona ūria Ngai arī mūnene, kana ūria ari wa kūmakania. Akona Ngai arī wake wiki na ti wa andū aria angī, kwoguo enda kīndū, ageciria nī Ngai wenda, ningi amena kīndū, ageciria ni Ngai wakīmena; tondū wa ūria tuonire ati mūdū mūkigu ndangihota kūigua ūndū ūngi tiga o ūria ūkonainie na mabataro make.

Kwoguo kaūdū gatarī bata, kūrīwe akona ke bata mūno, na kawira kanini akona arī wira mūnene mūno tondū woria akunderetie meciria. Tondū mūdū ndangihota kuona mbere ya haria woni wa maitho make wakinya. Githi ndūgūkiona ati mūdū mūkigu ndarī bata ona kūrī Ngai?

Mawira marīa manene, ona manyūmba marīa manene me mabūrūri-ini, kiambiriria marī meciria, na magicoka gūtwika ciiko tondū wakūrutwo na moko ma andū. Githi ndūgūkiona ati Ngai onekaga wega makiria tondū wa ciiko cia andū.

Angikorūo nī wendete Ngai-ri ruta wira waku na hinya na ūkindiirie. Tiga kwīgana tondū nī hinya waku ūraitanga ūkiaria ūria wī mwega na ūria wītikitie kana ūria ūrutite wira waku ūkagira. Reke andū angī moigage ūguo nowe ūthi na mbere na wira waku. Na ciiko ciaku nī ikwaria wega, na ina ūira mwega gūkira kanua gaku.

We can distinguish a stupid person from a wise one³⁸ in this way: A wise person always takes a good picture in his thoughts, of that person or place, and is very pleased with your news, since he understands clearly what you tell him.

A stupid person, however, takes a bad picture in his mind and fails to understand what you tell him. He is therefore not pleased with what you say, since he doesn't see how it relates to his own needs or [because you would not] praise him by saying he is good and clever. It's only when you say you will give him something to eat that a stupid person is pleased. Following this line of argument, if we wish to know someone's belief, or how they think about God, we can say this: when a clever person is told about God, he takes a good picture in his mind, and sees how good, wonderful, and mighty God is. He clearly understands the purpose of this matter.

A stupid person takes a small and rotten picture in his mind and fails to understand how great God is or how marvellous He is. He sees God as belonging to him alone and not to others. When he wants something, he thinks God wants it too, and when he hates something, he thinks God hates it as well. A stupid person cannot see beyond his own concerns.

Because of his deficient mind, an unimportant matter is important to him and a small task is huge. He cannot see beyond what his eyes see. Can you understand now that a stupid person sees no good, even in God?

The big jobs and big buildings in the country were initially ideas, and they later became actions because people's hands implemented them. God is best revealed through people's actions.

If you love God, put in effort and be patient in what you do. Do not boast,³⁹ as this is just misusing your strength, boasting how good you are and what you believe in, or how you have done your work perfectly. Let other people say these things for you, but get on with your work. Your actions are better proof than your mouth.

When you say how good you are and how well you have done your work, you show your heart is filled with impatience, wishing for good things but lacking knowledge. You will develop a poor reputation, become demoralised, and fail to work hard, since by boasting to other people you will achieve nothing.

Tondū rīrī, kwaria kworīa we wī mweга, na kwa ūria ūrutite wira waku weга, gūkuonanīa ati ngoro yaku nyūritwo nī githethūko, na kwīrīrīria wītwo mweга, na ūmenywo weга. Na ūngīrīkia kūmenywo na njīra io no ūthae; ūremwo nī kūruta wīra waku na hinya; tondū kīndū kīrīa ūtarī nakīo na ma, nī ūkūgīa nakīo na ūhorō wa kwaria na kwīra andū arīa angī. Tondū rīrīa ūkīmenyirūo na wetwo mweга-rī, nīkī kīngī ūgūgīcaria? Tūgūkiuga o rīngī atī, reke ciiko ihunjie weга waku gūkīra warie na kanua gaku.

7. *Ciana na mūrere wacio*

Tene mwana aciaragūo, akarerūo, aigana wa kūmenya ūndū, akarekio rūru, na aneneha akagūranīrūo ūhorō wake ūgathira, akorūo nī mwana wa kairītu, arerūo na aneneha nake akagūrūo akahikio ūhorō wake nago ūgathira.

No matukū maya-rī, ti ūguo, twīgatagati-inī ka mūtīgithūkano wa maūndū ma tene na ma rīu, ciana imwe irarerūo na gītene na ingī na kirīu.

Warekia mwana waku oro ūguo, egūthīi thiritū na andū oru, agīe na mecīria moru, ona mūtugo mūru, wa kūiya na wa kūgera ngero iria ingī ciothe thūku, eyagīre bata, ona age bata harī andū arīa angī, andū moigage kaba atangīaciariirūo tondū worīa amaheire thīna, na kūmaiya na kūgero ngero iria ingī ciothe thūku.

8. *Gwīcīria kweга kwa mwana matukū maya*

Ūrīa mūndū angīcīria weга ūndū wa mwana wake matukū maya no ūrīa angī mūthomithia. Tondū arīkia gūthoma mūno, nīegūtwīka wa thiritū njega. Tondū mabuku mekuo maingī mūno, mena mecīria mega na ūguni mūingī wakūmūteithia muoyo-inī wake wothe. Ona rīngī angīkorūo nī wa kīhumo kieга, nīahota kūguna būrūri tondū wa ūgī ūcio wake.

Tondū andū arīa magunaga andū thīinī wa mabūrūri mangī, ona andū arīa marītūguna būrūri-inī ūyū witū nī andū arīa moī gīthomo mūno, kana mena ūgi mūingī.

Tondū ūcio-rī, ūkienda mwana waku athome mūno, no ūgīre na mbeca cia kūigana, tondū hatirī gīthomo gīa tūhū. Tūgūkīona atī, waga kūruta wīra na hinya na kīo kīnene, ndūrī kīndū ūkona tīga o gūthīna. Tondū ūthayo na ūthīni itwaranaga njīra īmwe.

For when you are known to be good, what else can you look for? Instead of boasting about yourself, let your action preach your goodness.⁴⁰

7. Children and their upbringing

In past times, after a child was born and had grown up he was left on his own. After he became mature, his marriage was arranged. That was all that was done for him. If a girl, she would be raised and on attaining maturity, would be married.⁴¹

This is no longer the case today. We are in the middle of a transition between past and modern life.⁴² Some children are raised in past ways, others in modern ways.

If you neglect your child, he will fall into bad company, acquire bad thoughts, bad behaviour like stealing, and commit every kind of crime. People will lose faith in him and say it were better had he never been born, because of the trouble he causes them.

8. Thinking well about children these days

The most important thing to consider about your child these days is his education.⁴³ If he is well educated, he will be in good company. There are many good books with good and helpful ideas to help him throughout his life. With a good foundation,⁴⁴ he might also help the country with his knowledge.

Educated people will help people even in other countries. The well educated are those who will help this country develop.

If, therefore, you want your child to be well educated, you must have enough money, since there is no free education. If you fail to work hard and diligently, you will find nothing but misery, and ignorance and poverty will walk by your side.

Nacio nĩ thũ cia andũ kana rũrĩrĩ rũrĩa rũngĩnyitwo nĩ ũthayo, tondũ no rũthĩne na rũage bata. Tũgũkiuga atĩa? Atĩ tũrute wĩra na hinya, na kwenda kũnene, nĩguo twone inbeca cia gũthomithia ciana citũ, nĩguo itwike cia thiritũ ya andũ ega, nĩguo ciagĩre ikaguna bũrũri witũ.

9. *Gwĩcĩria kwegwa kwa mwana kwa matuku marĩa magoka*

Nĩ tuge atĩ nĩwetungumania, kinya wahota gũthomithia mwana waku, ohĩga o wega, na oima cukuru. Wĩra waku we ũrĩ ithe tũgũkiuga nĩ wagĩthira. Tondũ-rĩ, wakĩhota atĩa kũmũhe wĩra?

Githĩ andũ arĩa maheyanaga wĩra ti Thirikari na makambũni marĩa manene mena mbeca nyingĩ? Īni, no rĩrĩ, makambũni macio-rĩ, ti ma andũ airũ. Ningĩ thirikari-rĩ, tiga hihĩ hĩndĩ ĩngĩ ĩrĩũka-rĩ ti ya andũ airũ.

Thirikari na makambũni macio manene nĩ cia andũ. Na kũngĩkorũo nĩcia andũ-rĩ, nĩ kuuga onao mena ciana ciao. Nao nĩ maraithomithia ũgĩthomithia waku. Nĩ ũgũgĩcĩria atĩ kwahoteka mwana waku onerũo wira hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mwana wa mwene kĩndũ kũu atarĩ na wĩra?

Aca, gũtingĩhoteka, ũndũ ũrĩa wĩkagũo mabũrũri-ini mothe, ona ũrĩa ũrĩkagũo thĩinĩ wa mabũrũri-inĩ maya maitũ. Nĩ atĩ mwana wa mwene kĩndũ akaheo wĩra mbere, na wĩra ũrĩa ũngĩ ũtangĩmwagĩrĩra ũkaheo mwana waku kana wa mũndũ ũrĩa ũngĩ ũtarĩ mwene kĩndũ kũu.

No rĩrĩ, andũ acio monire kĩndũ kũu atĩa? Tũtikuga Thirikari, tondũ thirikari nĩ athani, na gũtingĩhoteka andũ othe matwĩka athani. Andũ arĩa tũkwaria ũhoro wao nĩ makambuni macio manene mena mbeca nyingĩ.

Tũngĩrora wega-rĩ, no tuone atĩ hatirĩ Kambuni ona imwe yonaga mbeca ũguo tũhũ. No nĩ wĩra marutaga kana makendia indo na mbeca ikoneka. Hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mekũruta wĩra ta wagwakĩra andũ arĩa angĩ manyũmba, nĩ ũndũ megwĩka nacio mbeca ikoneka. Ningĩ hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mekwendia kĩndũ ta irio cia mũgũnda kana nguo, nĩ indo mendagia nacio mbeca ikoneka.

Kwoguo makambuni mothe handũ marũma, monaga mbeca na njĩra ya kũruta wĩra mũna, makarĩhwo tondũ wa wĩra ũcio, kana ningĩ magathondeka indo na makendia kana makagũra indo kuma kũrĩ athondeki, nao makendia.

Magakĩhota kwandĩka andũ angĩ wĩra, na menda kũruta andũ acio wĩra makamaruta ningĩ makamahe mũcara o ũrĩa mangĩendera, mũnene kana mũnyinyĩ. Naguo ũguo noguo gũtariĩ, na noguo kũrihanaga matukũ mothe.

These are enemies to people, who [then] become ignorant, poor and useless. What can we do? We must work hard, with much love, to find the resources to educate our children. They will then be in good company, become good, and benefit our country.

9. *Good thinking of children in the days to come*

Let us say you have worked hard and managed to educate your child, who gets knowledge and leaves school. Your role as his father is then over, for can you give him a job?

Are not jobs offered by the government and big companies? Yes, but these companies do not belong to black people. Nor do black people run the government.

Nonetheless, the government and big companies do belong to people. And if the owners are people they also have children. They educate them as you educate yours. Do you think your child will find a job if the owner's child is unemployed?

No. It's impossible. It is the practice in other countries, and will be in ours, that the company owner's child will first be considered for a job, and another less important job will be given to your child.

How did these people get these companies? We won't consider the government since it governs, and not everybody can rule. We will talk about the big companies with a lot of money.

If we look closely, we will find that no company simply discovers that it has money. They do business to earn money. When they do something like building houses for people, they are working to generate money. And when they sell commodities like food, crops or clothes, they are trading to generate money.

So all companies, wherever they are, generate money by working and getting paid for it. Or they make things to sell, or sell what they have bought from manufacturers.

They are able to employ people, and when they want to dismiss them, they do so. They pay the salaries they wish, large or small. This is what happens now and will happen in future.

Norĩrĩ, ithuĩ tũrĩ andũ airũ-rĩ, harĩ ũndũ hihi tũngĩka tũgĩe na ũndũ mwega ũguo wakũrehe mbeca nyingĩ, na wagũtũra kinya tũhote kũhe Ciana citũ wĩra?

Maũndũ mekuo maingĩ mũno marĩa andũ mangĩka mone mbeca, no kĩrĩa gũtarĩ nĩ aruti a mawĩra mau, tondũ andũ aingĩ arĩa mekuo rĩu, maiyũrũo nĩ ũiru, ũtunyani, ũici na kwaga kwĩhokana ona kwaga kwĩhokeka. Andũ ta acio-rĩ, nĩũgũgĩciria marĩ wĩra mangĩhota kwĩhĩtũkĩria? No mambire manine ũiru, na ũtunyani, ũici, mahorere na mambĩrĩrie kwenda maũndũ mega.

Mehokane na mendane, na hatirĩ wĩra ona ũmwe marĩerekagĩra na ndũthiĩ na mbere. Rĩu-rĩ, we mũthomi wa maũndũ maya-ri nĩ wĩthagathagĩte ũnine ũiru ngoro-inĩ yaku, kana ũkwenda andũ angĩ mambe manine wao mbere? Ningĩ nĩ wĩthagathagĩte kwenda andũ arĩa angĩ ũtuge kũmamenya oro ũguo tũhũ atĩ nĩ ũndũ amwe nĩ athĩni na angĩ ni atongu gũgũkĩra?

Kĩhumo kĩa ũũru wothe nĩ rĩrĩ; akorũo mũthomi o wothe wa ũhoru ũyũ nĩekũmenya na ngoro yake atĩ we nĩamenaga andũ oro ũguo tũhũ, kana hihi akaigua ngoro yake ĩgĩkena hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mũndũ ũngĩ arĩ ũgwati inĩ kana thĩna-inĩ o wothe, nĩagĩrĩrũo nĩkũmenya atĩ kũu nĩkĩo kĩhumo kĩa maũndũ moru, tondũ ngoro ya mũndũ ũrĩa ũngĩkorũo ĩkienda noguo mũndũ ũcio arĩkaga, na noguo arĩciragia, na noguo arĩaragia, kũringana na kwenda kwa ngoro yake.

Mũndũ ta ũcio ahota kũgeria kũhitha ũũru ũcio wake na njĩra ya kwaria na mĩromo atĩ nĩ araiqua kĩa mũno tondũ wa mũndũ ũcio, no ũhoru wa maheni kana wa ũhinga ndũtũraga, no kinya ũkeyumbũra kahinda gatarĩ kanene gatanathira.

Wendani ũrĩa ũrĩ thĩ-inĩ witũ, ũngĩkorũo nĩ wa-ma na ndũrĩ na ũhinga na maheni kana ũiru, nĩguo gĩthĩmi gĩa ciĩko citũ. Tondũ ũcio hĩndĩ ĩria tũngĩona andũ gĩkundi, mekĩte ũndũ mwega, no tũmenye onarua ati kĩrĩa kĩagĩre ngoro ciao mbere ya gwika ũndũ ũcio mwega nĩ wendani, na nĩguo ũiguano. Na ũndũ ũcio wao mwega ni ũgũikara ũrĩ mũgima ihinda rĩrĩa rĩothe andũ acio marĩkoragwo marĩ na wendani, na ũiguano. No rĩrĩa wendani ũcio ũngĩambĩrĩria gũthira, nago ũndũ ũcio wao no wambĩrĩrie gũthira.

Tondũ ũcio-rĩ maũndũ macio moru marĩ thĩinĩ wa andũ nĩmo kĩgĩria kĩrĩa kĩgĩrĩtie bũrũri ũyũ witũ ũthiĩ na mbere, ona gĩtũmĩte wage gĩkeno.

But is there something sustainable we black people could do, to generate enough money and employment for our own children?

There are many things people can do to get money. What is lacking are the workers to do them. Many people today are full of jealousy, corruption, a tendency toward thievery, and dishonesty. Do you think such people can ever generate any work? They first need to end corruption and theft; they must be patient and cultivate the love of doing good things. They must be honest and love each other. [Only] then will they succeed in whatever work they attempt.⁴⁵

Now, you who read these ideas, are you prepared to end the jealousy in your heart, or do you first want others to end theirs? Are you ready to love other people, and to stop hating them because some are poorer or richer than you?

The genesis of all evil is this: if in his heart the reader knows he hates people without good cause, or is happy when someone else is in danger, he should know that this is the beginning of evil. [For] what his heart desires he will do, think, and speak.

Such a person may try to hide his bad side by saying that he feels for the one in trouble, but lies and hypocrisy do not last. They reveal themselves soon enough.

If the love in us is real, without hypocrisy and lies, it should be the measure of our actions. When we see a group of people who have achieved something good, we know immediately that what first entered their heart was love and unity. The good thing will last for as long as they remain in love and unity.⁴⁶ But when the love starts to fade, their achievement will also start to end.

Therefore, the evil things inside people are what cause our country not to develop, and cause unhappiness.⁴⁷

Na ūrĩa mündũ o wothe ūrĩa ūkũmenya ūguo agĩrĩrũo ni gwĩka, nĩ kũgeria kũnina ngoro ĩyo thũku o kahora, tondũ mūtugo mũru kana mwega ndũthiraga na mũthenya ūmwe tiga o mündũ akorirũo arĩ njamba nene mũno. Yakuga nĩndatiga gwĩka ūna kuma ūmũthĩ, na agatiga, no andũ othe ti njamba. Ithenya rĩa ngoro ĩyo thũku, mündũ agĩe na goro ya wendani na-ya kũiguanĩra tha.

Na ya kũria tũngĩgunwo nĩkĩ ithenya rĩa ingĩgunwo nĩkĩ. Na tweka ūguo, wĩra nĩ ūkuoneka wa bata mũno, ūkaguna ciana citũ, ona andũ arĩa angĩ megũciarũo thutha witũ.

10. *Kũhũthĩra ūmenyo*

Gĩkeno kĩnene mũno kĩa ūmenyo ni atĩ hĩndĩ ĩria ūngĩmenya gwĩka ūndũ, ūrĩkaga o ūguo no hũthũ hatarĩ hinya. Ningĩ ūngĩmenya atĩ kũrĩhana ūna no ūkeharĩria.

Tondũ ūcio-rĩ, hatirĩ mūtino ona ūmwe wonekaga tondũ wa kũmenya, kana wa gũtuĩka wĩ mũgĩ. No mūtino o wothe wonekaga tondũ wa kũrigwo, kana ūrimũ na ūthayo. Tondũ ihĩtia rĩmwe nĩ kũmenya atĩ gwĩka ūna nĩ wega. Na tondũ wa ūgũta na guoya, ūkarega gwĩka ūguo ūkuona arĩ wega.

Tondũ rĩrĩ, tũngĩmenya atĩ nĩ kũriura ūrĩa twikaga nĩgũthondeka mĩgũnda itũ ĩgakara ĩmĩthagathage, nĩguo mbura yoiria tũhande.

No mündũ wakũmenya ūguo wothe na ndeharĩrie-rĩ, tondũ wa ūgũta-rĩ, mündũ ūcio ndangitwo mũgĩ. No etwo kĩrimũ na gĩthayo na ūguo ti kũganwo.

11. *Ūrĩa bũrũri ūyũ witu ūrĩikara thutha*

Tũngĩambĩrĩria gwĩciria ūhoro wa bũrũri ūyũ witũ-rĩ, no tuone atĩ wathanagwo nĩ andũ erũ. Na ūrĩa mwathi wa kĩndũ angĩenda gwĩka nakĩo no eke. Na ūrĩa athani aitũ matanyĩte mũno matukũ maya, nĩ atĩ magerie o ūrĩa mahota andũ arĩa angĩ erũ tao maingĩhe. Na nĩ twagĩrĩrũo nĩ kũmenya atĩ maingĩha, nĩ maingĩhia ciana. Na ūrĩa athani aitũ mariciragia makĩria nĩ ūrĩa ciana ciao ingĩkara wega, ota ūrĩa na ithuĩ tũgũtanya Ciana citũ cikare wega. Na gũikara wega ni gũthirũo nĩ thĩna. Na tondũ ūcio-rĩ, mawĩra marĩa tũrutaga matukũ maya nĩ kwahoteka makarutwo nĩ ciana ciaene wĩra ūcio kũringana norĩa tuonire. Na tondũ ūcio-rĩ, twaga kũnina ūiru gatagatĩ-inĩ gaitũ ithuĩ ene-rĩ, tũcarie na tũnenehie Mabiachara maitũ-rĩ, matuĩke ma gũtũra-rĩ, githĩ ndũkuona atĩ Ciana citũ ona rũrĩrĩ ruitũ no kinya rũkona thĩna?

All who learn this should gradually try to leave such bad thoughts, for neither bad nor good behaviour can end in a day unless one is very brave and says 'I have left such and such a thing today' and leaves it. But not every one is brave. In place of those bad thoughts, one should have thoughts of love and compassion towards others.

To think of love and compassion is to think of what can benefit us and not what will benefit me. When we do this, we will find important work to benefit our children and those born after them.⁴⁸

10. *To use knowledge*⁴⁹

The good thing about knowledge is that when you do something, you can do it with ease. Knowing the cost, you will be prepared.

Being knowledgeable therefore carries no danger. Disaster comes from ignorance. One common fault is to know that to do such and such is good and then, through laziness and fear, fail to do it.

If we know it will rain, we will prepare our land early, ready to plant when the rains fall.

Nobody can be thought clever who knows all this and, from laziness, fails to prepare. He will be called stupid or idle, what nobody wants.

11. *What our country will like be in the future*

If we think about our country, we can say that white people rule it. A ruler can do what he likes with a subject. Our rulers nowadays hope there will be more white people in future.⁵⁰ The more their population increases, the more children they will have. Our rulers are thinking of how their children can live well, just as we hope our children will live well. To live well one must be out of poverty. It is therefore possible that the kind of work we [Africans] do nowadays will be done [in future] by the owners of the companies we discussed earlier. So, if we cannot end our jealousies and expand our businesses, cannot you see that our children and our community will remain poor?

12. *Ūrĩa twagĩrĩrũo nĩ gwĩka*

Tondũ wa kũmenya ūrĩa bũrũri ūyũ witũ ūrĩhana thutha-rĩ, nĩtwagĩrĩrũo nĩ kwĩharĩria tondũ wa ihinda rĩu. Tondũ twarega gwĩka ūguo, tũkũhana ota mũndũ ūcio ūmenyaga ati nĩkũriura, na ndathondeke mũgũnda wake.

Tũngĩciria mũno-rĩ, no tuone atĩ bata witũ ūrĩa mũnene gũkĩra marĩa mangĩ nĩati tũikare muoyo. ūguo nĩ kuga atĩĩ thuĩ tũrĩ andũ airũ tũtikae gũthira.

Amu ūndũ wa kuoneka ūtũike atĩ niũgũtũnina no tũiyũrũo ni guoya na kĩmako kĩnene mũno, na tũgerie o ūrĩa twahota kwĩgitĩra ūndũ ūcio ndũgatũkore.

No rĩrĩ, ūthĩni na ūrimũ nĩ maũndũ ma kũnina rũrĩrĩ. Na tondũ ūcio icio nĩ thũ cia andũ. No rĩrĩ, ithui tũrĩ andũ tũngĩka airũ-rĩ nĩ atĩa tũreka nĩgetha tũnine ūrimũ na thina ūrĩa ūiyũrite bũrũri-inĩ ūyũ witũ?

Andũ a gũtonga marĩ na ūrimũ ūtonga ūcio wao ndũrĩ gitũmi kũrĩo. Tondũ matingĩmenya ūrĩa mangĩhũthĩra ūtonga ūcio na njĩra ya kũmaguna. Ithenya rĩa ūtonga ūcio kũmahe gĩkeno nĩ ruo ūngĩmahe. Tondũ no mambĩrĩrie gwĩtia mũno atĩ nĩatongu, magere ngero cia mĩthemba yothe atĩ nĩguo marĩhe na mbecha icio ciao. Mariganĩrũo atĩ harĩ ngero itangĩrĩhĩka na mbia, mambĩrĩrie kũrĩota kana kũnyamara.

Tondũ ūcio-rĩ twagĩrĩrũo nĩ gwĩcokere ria hamwe, tiatĩ twake hamwe ithuothe, no nĩ meciria-inĩ, na ciiko inĩ, tũnyite kahinya gothe tũrĩ nako, ka ūgĩ gothe tũrĩ nako, tũirorie hamwe. Na kũiroria hamwe nĩ kuga tũcarie na kĩyo o ūndũ wothe ūrĩa ūngĩtũma tũikare muoyo na tũgĩe na gĩkeno na thayũ.

Andũ aingi meciragia atĩ ūmenyo kana ūgĩ ciumaga kũraya. Na atĩ matathire kũndũ kũu makagĩre ūgi ūcio ndũngĩmakora. Tondũ ndũrĩ hakuhi nao.

Kwoguo makoiga atĩrĩrĩ, 'Tondũ ithui nitwagĩkĩgire-rĩ, na tũtirĩ ūndũ tũngĩmenyera-rĩ, mũtireke tũhane o ūrĩa tũrĩhana, na tũikare o ūrĩa tũrĩikara'.

Ūgũo nĩkũrigwo kũnene, tondũ-rĩ, kwenda kana kĩyo irĩ thĩinĩ wa mũndũ, ningĩ nĩwe wĩkuĩire meciria make, amenye ūrĩa angĩona kĩndũ kĩrĩa ekwenda, na ūrĩa ekũruta wĩra ūcio na kĩyo kĩnene kana kĩnyinyi.

Ningĩ amenye kũiya nĩ kũru. Maũndũ macio matirĩ kũraya, no marĩ thĩinĩ wa mũndũ o wothe. Na nĩmo monanagia ciikoĩ-nĩ ciake.

Ūngĩaga gũtũmĩra meciria maku na ūgĩ ūcio ūrĩ thĩi-nĩ waku na njĩra irĩa ĩngĩkũrehere kĩguni ndũrĩ ūndũ ona ūmwe mwega ūngĩkona mũtũũrĩre-inĩ waku.

12. *What we should do*

Now we have seen how our country will be in the future, we should prepare. If we fail to do so, we will be like the man who knows it will rain yet never prepares his farm.

If we think hard, we can see our first priority is to survive. That is to say, we black people must not be eradicated.⁵¹

Being filled with fear and worry is what would eradicate us. We should try as hard as possible to see that such a thing never happens.

But poverty and ignorance can eradicate a tribe. They are therefore enemies of the people. We who we are black, what are we doing to eradicate the ignorance and poverty that pervades our country?

People who become rich but remain ignorant will not benefit from their wealth, since they cannot know how to use it beneficially. Their riches give them not happiness but suffering. They boast that they are rich and cause disasters, thinking that they can then repay the cost. They forget that some disasters cannot be compensated with cash, and will only start to drift into misery.

Therefore we should try to come together,⁵² not to live in one place, but to gather together our thoughts and deeds, collect whatever strength we possess, all our knowledge, and examine it closely together. We must try very hard to do whatever enables us to survive and live happily and peacefully.

Many people think that knowledge or wisdom come from far away, and that they cannot get knowledge without travelling to those far-off places.

So they say, 'Because we are ignorant and know nothing, let's be whatever we will be and stay the way we are.'⁵³

This is to fail to understand that aspiration and effort are within anyone who has a mind, who knows how to achieve what he aspires to, and how hard or lazily he needs to work.

He also knows that stealing is bad. These things are not far off, they are within us and are shown in action.

If you fail to use your brain and knowledge in beneficial ways, you'll find nothing good in life.

Angikorũo bata witũ ũrĩa mũnene nĩ tũkare muoyo-rĩ, ũrĩa tũkiagirĩrũo nĩ gwĩka nĩ gũcaria maũndũ marĩa mangĩguna muoyo witũ. Na maũndũ macio nĩ irio, na nguo, na ũikaro o na nyũmba.

Icio ciarĩkia kuoneka tũcoke tũmenye ũrĩa tũngũikara na thayũ na gĩkeno gatagatĩ-inĩ gaitũ ithui ene. O na harĩ andũ acio erũ matwathaga, na arĩa matũreheire maũndũ maingĩ mega.

Na hangĩkorũo harĩ ũndũ ũngĩtũma tũmenane nao, wario na kanua, ũninwo na ũriganĩre. Tũcoke twĩcirie ũhoru wa matukũ marĩa megũũka, na ũrĩa tũngĩtwara bũrũrĩ na mbere tũrĩ o rũmwe. Nĩgetha gĩkeno kũingĩhe, thĩna na ũrimũ cianinwo.

Na maũndũ macio matingĩhoteka hangĩaga ngwatanĩro itũ ithuothe. Tondũ hatirĩ mũnyaka wonekaga tondũ wa kũmenana kana gũthũrana makĩria nĩ thĩna na ruo rũingĩ ruonekaga tondũ wacio.

13. *Ūhoru wa irio na mĩgũnda*

Gũtanya gwitũ mawĩra-inĩ mothe-rĩ, nĩ ũrĩa tũngĩmanenehia kũringana na mabataro marĩa marĩũkaga. Na tondũ ũcio-rĩ, tareke tuone ũrĩa wĩra wa kũrĩma ũngĩnenehio.

Mũndũ angĩaga kũrĩa no akue, ũguo nĩma nĩ ũiyo nĩ mũndũ o wothe, Na tondũ ũcio ũrĩa tũngĩgĩka nĩ kũmenya ũrĩa tũngũikara tũkionaga irio mahinda mothe, ona mĩaka yothe.

Na tondũ irio ciumaga mĩgũnda-rĩ ũrĩa twagirĩrũo nĩ kũgĩa mĩgũnda minene, ya kumaga irio nyingĩ.

Matukũ maya mũndũ arĩmaga mũgũnda wake o wiki, akahanda kirĩa ekwenda, na irio iria agethaga itingĩgana andũ aingĩ, tondũ atũmĩire hinya wake wiki, ũguo nĩ wega.

No ũrĩa wega makiria-rĩ, na ũrĩa ũrĩmi ũngĩneneha kũringana na kwenda gwitũ-rĩ, nĩ rĩrĩa andũ a handũ hana, kana a rũgongo rũna, mangĩhotha mbeca.

Mbeca icio makagũra gĩthaka nacio kana, magakombora. Ningi magũre macembe ma Ng'ombe, na ng'ombe cia kũgucia macembe macio. Kana mataragita makũrĩma namo.

Hĩndĩ ĩrĩa maiĩkia kũrĩma mũgũnda ũcio, magaciranĩra kĩrĩa mekũhanda. Na rĩrĩa magetha irio icio ciao, magacokania ndundu megecيريا thogora ũrĩa mekwendia irio icio naguo.

Angikorũo kwĩ ng'aragu, makendanĩria na thogora ũtarĩ mũnene matanyĩte omatikae gũthĩi hasara. Na cio mbeca icio ciao ikĩragie o kũingĩha naguo wĩra wao ũkĩragie o kũneneha.

If our greatest need is to survive, we must look for what will improve our lives, such as food, clothes, and shelter.

Once we have these [essentials], we should consider how to live in peace and happiness among ourselves and even with the white people who rule us and have brought many other good things.

If there is anything to make us hate them, let it be spoken of openly, with finality, and then forgotten. Let us think about the days ahead and how we can develop the country together.⁵⁴ Happiness will prevail and poverty and ignorance will be eradicated.

These things are impossible without the unity of all. For hatred achieves nothing good, only misery and pain.

13. *Matters of food and gardens*

Our aim in all [kinds of] work is to improve it according to what the future demands. Let us now see how farming can be improved.

If we don't eat, we die. This is a truth known to all. We must therefore know how to secure food all the time, every year.

Because food comes from gardens, what we should do is to have big parcels of land to produce food. These days everyone cultivates his land alone, plants whatever he wants, and the food he harvests cannot satisfy many people because he has invested his own strength alone.

A better way to farm is for people from one place or one village to contribute money.

They use this to buy or lease land. Then they buy ploughs and oxen to pull them, or even buy tractors to cultivate the land.

Once they have prepared the land, they should decide what to plant. When they harvest their food, they decide together at what price they are going to sell it.⁵⁵

If there is famine, they should sell fairly, taking care only that they do not sell at a loss.⁵⁶ Their money will increase and their work too will grow.

Hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mamenya atĩ mbeca cigana ũna nĩ ikũhota kũrũgama wĩra witũ, icio ingĩ makĩria ya icio cia kũrũgama wĩra makagayana. Na mũndũ wao o wotho akona cia kũruta mabata make nacio kũringana na gũtanya gwitũ.

Uguo nĩ wega wĩ karatathi-inĩ gaka. No rĩrĩ we mũthomi wakwa-rĩ, nĩ wĩharĩrie gwĩka ũguo na kũhotha mbeca icio? Kana hihi ndũngĩona gĩkeno ng'ania makĩgĩa na kĩndũ tawe? Ririkana maciaro ma meciria ta macio.

14. *Indo cia mũndũ na indo cia mũingĩ*

Matukũ-inĩ maya tũrĩ namo-rĩ, ũrĩa o mũndũ witũ areka nĩ gũcaria indo na njĩra yake. Akorũo ena kiyo na ona mũnyaka, agatonga. Na ũrĩa ũkwaga kiyo na aga mũnyaka agakĩara.

Kwoguo mũndũ arathiĩ ũrĩa oĩ na ũrĩa ũngĩ ũrĩa oĩ.

Hihi ũguo nĩguo wega, kana nĩ kwagĩrĩire tũthiĩ ũrĩa mũndũ oĩ na njĩra ĩmwe, na njĩra iria ingĩ tũthiĩ ũrĩa tũ tũrĩ ithuothe?

Ta atĩrĩrĩ, mũndũ agĩe na wĩra wake ota ũrĩa tũtariĩ riu, na tũcoko tũgĩe na wĩra ũngĩ witũ tũrĩ ithuothe. ũguo nĩguo mwandĩki ekuona arĩ wega.

Tondũ ũcio-rĩ, nĩ twagĩrĩrũo nĩ kũgĩa na ugo mwerũ, na tũ-ũrũmie naguo nĩ ũyũ:

‘ATĨ ŨNDŪ O WOTHE WAGŪTŪREHERE GÍKENO NA ŪIGUANO NÍ MWEKA. NAGUO ŨNDŪ O WOTHE WAGŪTŪMA TWAMŪKANE NA TWAGE GÍKENO NÍ MŪRU.’

Namo macio makoragwo arĩmo gĩtina kĩa mawira maitũ mothe.

Nĩguo hĩndĩ ĩrĩa tũkũruta wĩra kana tũgwĩka ũndũ ona ũrĩkũ, tũkorĩa kana nĩ wagũtũigwithania kana kiguni kia-guo nĩ kĩĩ. Na angĩkorũo ndũngĩtũigwithania kana ũtũgune, tũkaũtiga.

15. *Rũrĩrĩ rwitũ nĩ kuongerereka kana nĩ kũnyĩha rũranyĩha?*

Macokio ma mwandĩki kũringana na kĩũria kũu, nĩ atĩ nĩkũingĩha tũraingĩha.

Tondũ worĩa thirikari ĩteithĩtie andũ, gũkagĩa na Thibitariĩ nyingĩ bũrũri-inĩ, andũ matikuaga (mũho) ta tene. Ningĩ andũ mohĩga magĩe Mandagĩtari mao, marĩkĩragia kwaga gũkua.

If they find that a certain sum of money will run their business, they should be able to share the profit among themselves. Each of them will make enough money to meet his needs.

This is the goodness in this pamphlet. But, my reader, are you ready to subscribe money? Will you rejoice when so-and-so profits in the same way as you do? Remember the fruits of such ideas.

14. *Private and public property*⁵⁷

Today, all of us look for property. If one is hard working and lucky, one gets rich. Anyone who does not work hard and is unlucky becomes poor.

People are following different paths. Is this the best way, each following his own path, or is it better for all of us to follow one path? Shall we each continue to have our own work as now, but in addition all work together at a common task? The writer thinks this would be best.

We should therefore have a new motto to follow: 'THAT ALL THAT BRINGS HAPPINESS AND UNITY TO US IS GOOD.⁵⁸ ALL THAT BRINGS DIVISION AND UNHAPPINESS AMONG US IS BAD.' This should be the basis of our work, so that when we work, we can ask if it will unite us or what its benefits will be. If it does not unite or benefit us, we should discard it.

15. *Is our community's population increasing or decreasing?*

The writer's answer to this question is that it is increasing.⁵⁹ Because the government has helped the people, there are many hospitals in the country and people are not dying as they did in the past. When people get educated, they'll have their own doctors and live longer.

Andũ maga gũkua nĩ kũingĩha maingĩhaga na maingĩha no makenda kũndũ kũnene gwa gũikara. Na hĩndĩ ĩria ndeto ya gĩkinya hau-rĩ, tũgakĩrikana atĩ ti ithuĩ twĩyathaga, nĩ thirikari ĩtwathaga. Tũgakĩ-ĩra andũ arĩa matwaragĩrĩria atĩ matũthaitanĩrĩre gwĩ thirikari tũheo ũikaro hĩndĩ ĩria twahihinyana mũno.

No rĩrĩ, harĩ bata ũrĩkũ andũ matarĩ ũndũ mwega, na ciiko njega, aici, atunyani, irimũ, na athĩni kũingĩha? Hatirĩ bata kũingĩha tondũ maingĩha no thĩna mekũingĩhia.

Tondũ rĩrĩ, tahũra mbica ya Rũrĩrĩ rũmwe rũria andũ aruo matuĩkite aici, na atunyani, ithayo, na andũ a haro, na matangĩguana, na matarĩ wĩra mwega mangĩhotera tiga o kwenda kũria na kũiya, na kũharana na irimũ na athĩni.

Kũingĩha kwa rũrĩrĩ ta rũu-rĩ, kĩguni kĩa?

Tahũra mbica ĩngĩ ya rũrĩrĩ rũngĩ rwĩna maũndũ mega. Rũhoreri, rũiguaĩne, rwĩna kiyoy na rwendi kũruta wĩra na kiyoy, na wĩra wa hinya, rwĩna ũgĩ mũingĩ ta wa gwaka nyũmba njega, na thaka na theru na cia gũtura.

Ūgi wa kũrĩma mĩgũnda wega na kũmĩnorĩa, rũkamenyerera irio rũtikae gũkorũo nĩ ng'aragu. Rũkarĩithia mbũri na ng'ombe wega kũringana na mũtugo mwega. Rũkagĩa na ngwatanĩro maũndũ-inĩ kana mawĩra-inĩ mothe na andũ aruo magakoragwo magĩkurwo nĩ kwenda gũteithia andũ arĩa angĩ. Na rũkehokana, na o mũndũ agakoragwo ena wendi wa gũtuĩka wa kwĩhokeka. Kwoguo akaga maheni na agathũra kũgĩa na kĩndũ atarutĩre wĩra. Ūgũkĩona atĩa harĩ ndũrĩrĩ icio cieri? Ningĩ ũkwenda tũtuĩke a rũrĩkũ?

Ngwĩgereria atĩ ithuothe no twende tũtuĩke ta rũrĩrĩ rũu rwĩna maũndũ mega. No rĩrĩ, kwenda ni gwĩka? Ningĩ-rĩ, nĩatia tũreka nĩgetha tũnine aici na njĩra ya kũmaneana moko-inĩ ma watho, nĩguo maherithio o mũndũ kũringana na ũru wake?

Angĩkorũo wahota kũhĩtha mũici, nĩ kuga o nawe ũrĩo mũici. Na ũkwenda tũtuĩke ta rũrĩrĩ rĩu rũtarĩ bata. Tondũ o ũria wothe ũiyaga kana wĩkaga o ũndũ ũria ũngĩ ũtarĩ mwega, nĩ rũrĩrĩ rũake amenithagia.

Ningĩ-rĩ, nĩ atĩa tũreka nĩguo o mũndũ witũ agie na ũndũ oĩ, ta ũbundi kana ũgĩ wa gwaka wa gũtura wa gũthoma wa kũina wa kũrĩithia wa kũrĩma wa kwendia kana wakũruta wĩra ũngĩ o wothe?

Ningĩ akorũo wĩna ũbundi waku-rĩ, nĩ atĩa ũreka wongerere ũgĩ ũcio waku, ona nĩ andũ aigana ũronia ũgĩ ũcio waku?

If people don't die they increase in number and need more space to live. When matters get to this stage, we remember that we do not govern ourselves, the government does. We therefore ask our representatives to plead on our behalf to the government for more shelter when we get overcrowded.⁶⁰

But do we need the badly behaved people—thieves, spivs, fools, the poor—to increase? There's no need for them to increase, for if they do so too does misery.

This is why. Just picture a community whose people have become thieves, spivs, fools, aggressors, and divided.⁶¹ They can do nothing other than eat, steal, and mix with fools and the poor. What use is population increase in such a community?

Picture another community with good things, where people are peaceful, agreeable, hardworking, and knowledgeable in many ways, such as how to build good, clean, and long-lasting houses. Their wisdom behind good farming makes the land fertile, producing the food to prevent famine. Wise people herd goats and cows according to good husbandry. This community is united in its labour and its people are keen to help others. They trust each other, and everyone wants to trust the other, so they do not lie, nor hate what they have not worked for. How would you compare those two communities? Which one would you wish us to emulate?

I imagine we would all wish to be like the community with the good things, but are wishes deeds? What are we doing to eliminate thieves? Are we taking them to the authorities so that they are punished, each according to his crime?

If you protect a thief it means that you too are a thief and want us to be like the useless community. For whoever steals or does wrong discredits his community.

What are we doing in order that each of us should know some skill, carpentry, studying, singing, herding, farming, trading, or other kinds of work?

If you are a skilled artisan, what are you doing to improve your skill, and with how many others are you sharing your knowledge?

16. *Ūgĩ na ūrimũ*

Kũhĩga nĩ kwenda maũndũ mega na kũmenya gĩtũmi kĩamo. Nakuo gũkĩga nĩ kwenda maũndũ moru na kũrigwo nĩ gĩtũmi kĩa wega na ūru.

Harĩ ūgĩ mĩthemba itatũ, wa ngoro, wa mĩtwe na wa moko, ūgĩ ūria mũnene kũrĩ macio mangĩ nĩ wa ngoro, ūkarũmĩrĩrũo nĩ wa mĩtwe, naguo wa mĩtwe ūkarũmĩrĩrũo nĩ wa moko.

Ūgĩ wa ndini kana wa magongona nĩ wa ngoro. Ūgĩ wa gwĩciria ta wa kũmenya kwaria mĩarĩrie mĩingĩ nĩ wa mĩtwe, naguo ūgĩ wa gũthondeka kĩndũ ta ūbundi wa gwaka kana wa gwĩka ūndũ ūngĩ o wothe na moko nĩguo wa moko. Tondũ ūcio-rĩ, hatirĩ ūgĩ wa macio matatũ ūngĩgĩa bata kana ūtuĩke mũgima ūmwe wamo ūngĩehera. Tondũ ūcio-rĩ no kinya maũgĩ macio matatũ marutithanie wĩra, nĩgetha mũndũ atuĩke mũgima, kana mũgi.

Tondũ-rĩ, mũndũ angĩgĩga na ūgĩ wa ndini na age ūgĩ wa gwĩciria, ciĩko ciake no ituĩke ta ciokĩgu harĩ andũ arĩa mena meciria. Ona mũndũ ūcio ndangĩhota kwĩra andũ aria angĩ ūria ngoro yake ikũigua.

Ningĩ mũndũ angĩgĩa na ūgĩ wa mĩtwe na age ūgĩ wa ngoro, mũndũ ūcio ndangĩgĩa na kĩharĩro, no atuĩke mbũurũ ya gũthiaga o harĩa aigua he mwago, tondũ ūgĩ wake ndũrĩ na gĩtũmi kana mĩri, na nĩyo ngoro.

Naguo ūguo noguo tũngiuga harĩ ūhoro wa ūgĩ wa moko, tondũ naguo ndũngĩrutĩka hatarĩ maũgĩ macio merĩ twagweta.

Na tondũ ūcio-rĩ, nikĩo andũ aingĩ magegaga hĩndĩ irĩa mona mũndũ mũthomu mũno, agĩka maũndũ matarĩ mega, makoiga atĩrĩrĩ, 'Ĩ ndikuona ng'ania arĩ mũndũ mũgĩ mũno, na Gĩthũngũ, egwĩka maũndũ ta macio nĩkĩ?'

Kũmenya Gĩthũngũ tikuo bata gũthira, ningĩ Gĩthũngũ nĩ mwarĩrie, mũndũ aragia maũndũ marĩa ecirĩtie, na meciria mega nĩ marĩa moimanĩte na ūgĩ wa ngoro, kwoguo angĩkorũo mũndũ ndari na ūgĩ wa ngoro no ūgĩ wa kwaria rũthiomi, rũthiomi rũu rũake no atũmiire na kwaria maũndũ matarĩ ma ūgima, na maheni na mwĩtĩyo wa-atĩ nĩ mũgĩ na Gĩthũngũ. Na wahota kuona andũ aingĩ matarĩ ūguo.

Ningĩ angĩkorũo ekwaria maheni na Gĩthũngũ, ona mwarĩrie wake no aragie maheni, na maũndũ mangĩ matarĩ ma gima tondũ ndarĩ na mĩtugo mĩega. Tondũ mĩtugo mwega umanaga na ūgĩ ūcio wa ngoro.

Tondũ ūcio-rĩ, twenda Ciana citũ igĩe na ūgĩ wa ūguni-rĩ, nĩ irutwo mũno ūhoro wa ndini, nigetha ūgĩ ūria ūngĩ ūgĩcoka kũgĩa meciria-inĩ mao ūgĩe na gĩtina kĩega kĩna mĩri mĩrũmu.

16. *Wisdom and ignorance*

To be intelligent⁶² is to love good things and know their meaning. To be foolish on the other hand is to love bad things, and to fail to distinguish good from bad.

There are three types of knowledge; spiritual, mental and manual.⁶³ The greatest of all is the spiritual, followed by the mental and then the physical.

Religious and sacrificial knowledge falls under spiritual knowledge.⁶⁴ Knowledge that enables one to learn many languages falls under mental knowledge, and the knowledge one uses to build things or to do practical things with one's hands is physical knowledge. None of the three is unimportant, and none can function without the others. The three types of knowledge must work hand in hand for someone to be complete in themselves or wise.

For if someone has spiritual knowledge but lacks mental knowledge, the educated will think his actions foolish. He won't be able to tell others what is in his heart.

On the other hand, if someone with mental knowledge lacks spiritual knowledge, he has no foundation⁶⁵ and will become a vagabond,⁶⁶ always going wherever he hears there is enjoyment. His knowledge has neither reason nor spiritual roots.

We can say the same about physical knowledge, for it cannot be realised without the two other sorts of knowledge we have mentioned.

This is why many people are amazed when they see a highly educated person doing unacceptable things. They ask, 'I find so and so to be fluent in the English language, why does he do such things?'

To know English is not important. English is a language, and with it one speaks what one has conceived in one's mind. Good ideas come from the heart, and so if someone has linguistic intelligence without spiritual wisdom,⁶⁷ he will use that language to speak of immature things, of lies, and of his pride in knowing English. You can find many people who behave in this way.⁶⁸

If he tells lies in English, he will always tell lies and other immature things, as he lacks good habits. This is because good habits come from spiritual knowledge.

Therefore, if we wish our children to have valuable knowledge, let them be trained in religious matters, so that the other knowledge they learn will have a good basis⁶⁹ and firm roots.

Ndūngīhota kūrutana, ūndū ūtoī gītūmi kīaguo, na tondū ūcio-rī, ūkīenda kūruta mwana waku ūhoru wa ndini, no wambire gūtūika wa ndini we mwene. Na ūmenye ndūkae kūmwīra atī, ūthīni nīguo ūtūmaga mūdū athīi igūrū no ūmwīre atī ūtonga wa mūdū mūkīgu ndūngītūma athīi igūrū, tondū worīa aigite ngoro yake harī ūtonga ūcio.

Na ūmwīre atī, mūdū mūgī ndaigaga ngoro yake harī ūtonga wake no aigaga ngoro yake harī Ngai, tondū nīwe ūmūhete ūtonga ūcio.

Kīndū kīrīa kīrī bata gītīonagūo oūguo tūhū, no nīgūcario gīcaragio na hinya mūno gikīoneka. Gīkanogerūo na gīgothīthinīrūo. No kīndū kīrīa gītārī bata-rī, gītīcaragio ona gītīthīthinagīrūo kana gīkanogerūo. Ona gītīhoyanagwo.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, ūtonga na ūthīni nī maūdū merī, ūmwe wī bata na ūrīa ūngī ūtarī bata. Na ūngīkorūo ūkuga atī Ngai witū aheyanaga maūdū marīa matarī bata-rī, ta ūthīni-rī, ndūngīkorūo ūkīaria ma. Makīria no ūkorūo wī mūkīgu na mūthau. Na maūdū macio ūkorūo ūkwaria nīguo ūhorerie ngoro yaku ūtīge gwītanga.

Nīngī ūngīkorūo ūkuga Ngai witū aheyanaga maūdū marīa mega-rī, na nīwe ūmenyereraga andū-rī, wakorūo ūkīaria ma ūngiuga atī Ngai nīwe ūheyanaga ūtonga na akamenyerera andū matīkae kūiga ngoro ciao harī ūtonga ūcio wao.

Kūrī andū aīngī-rī, maūdū no merī marī bata, ‘Kūrīa, na gūtonga’. Na matīngīhota kuona gītūmi kīa ūndū ūngī ūtakonainie na maūdū macio merī.

Tatuge atīrīrī, harī andū aīngī mangīguo mīgambo ya kīnanda ūigwe makiuga atīrīrī, ‘Mīgambo īo ona yagira-rī, nī-īrīagwo?’

Nīngī angī mangīona mahūa-rī moigaga atīrīrī, ‘Rīu ona mahūa mathakara-rī, nī marīagwo?’ Kuga ūguo gūkuonania ūrīa mugi akunderetie mecīria. Tondū wa gwīcīria atī kīndū kīrīa kīrī bata no gīa-kūrīa, no atī kīndū gīothe kīrīa atangīhota kūrīa gītīrī bata.

Kūrī ndūrīrī īngī-rī, na irīa irīkītīe kūhīga-rī nīcugaga atī he maūdū mana marīa magucagia ngoro cia andū, mīario-īnī kana cīiko īnī, na maūdū macio nī maya: MA, WEGA, ŪTHAKA na GĪKENO.

Na tūngītua gūtaūra maūdū macio na ciugo nyīnyī-rī, no tuge atīrīrī, harī mūdū mūgīma-rī, wīna ūgīma ūrīa tūgwetire-rī, wa ngoro, na mūtwe na moko rī, nīabataragio nī kwaria MA, ūguo nī kuga agathūra kwaria maheni, ngoro yake īgagītūika atī īkūgucio nī MA.

Nīngī hīndī irīa ekūruta wīra ona ūrīkū-rī, akenda kūruta wīra mwega, na ūguo nāguo nī kuga atī agathūra wīra mūru ngoro yake īgagītūika īkūgucio nī WEGA ūcio.

You cannot teach what you do not know. So if you want to teach your child religious matters, you must be well grounded in religion yourself. Take care not to tell him that it's poverty that makes one go to heaven, but tell him that a fool's wealth can never take him to heaven, since it's in wealth that the fool puts all his hopes.

Tell him, rather, that a clever person does not place his heart in wealth but in the God who gave him wealth.

Important things are not found easily; they need a lot of effort. You get tired and sweat for them. Unimportant things, however, are never looked for, and they don't make one sweat or get tired. People don't even borrow them.

Therefore, wealth and poverty are different, one is valuable and the other worthless. If you say our God gives worthless things like poverty, you won't be telling the truth. Further, you might well be foolish and immature. You will be saying such things to console your heart in its troubles.

If you say our God gives good things and takes care of people, you will speak the truth, for God gives wealth, and yet prevents people from putting all their trust in it.

To many people, there are only two important things, 'eating and wealth'. They fail to see anything else.

If people's [singing] voices are recorded, you will hear people say, 'These voices may be good but are they edible?'

And when they see flowers, they say, 'The flowers are so beautiful, but can they be eaten?' In so saying they show themselves to be simpleminded, for they think that only edible things are valuable, and that things which cannot be eaten are useless.

In other countries knowledgeable people say that four things attract human hearts in word or deed. These are: TRUTH, GOODNESS, BEAUTY, and HAPPINESS.

If we briefly explain these, we can say that a mature person, with the kind of maturity we described earlier—spiritual, mental and physical—is supposed to speak the TRUTH.⁷⁰ This means that he hates lies and his heart is attracted by TRUTH.

Hĩndĩ ya kinya ya kũruta wĩra mũna na moko, kana gũthondeka kĩndũ o giothe akenda gũthondeka kĩndũ gĩthaka. ũguo nĩ kuga atĩ ŨTHAKA nĩguo ũkagucagia ngoro yake.

Namo maũndũ macio mothe magakorũo magĩkwo atĩa nĩguo mũndũ agĩe na GÍKENO, na tondũ ũcio nakĩo gĩkeno gĩgatuĩka atĩ nĩ gĩkũgucia ngoro ya mũndũ ũcio.

Rĩu-rĩ, tũngiuga ũrĩa tugire tũkĩambĩrĩria gũtereta gũkũ-rĩ, ngwĩciria no ũigie gĩtũmi wega, tondũ tugire atĩ ‘Kũhĩga nĩ kwenda maũndũ mega na kũmenya gĩtũmi kĩamo. Nakuo gukĩga nĩ kwenda maũndũ moru na kũrigwo nĩ gĩtũmi kĩa wega na ũũru’. Na tondũ ũcio-rĩ, tareke tũterete ũhoru wa mũndũ na ũgĩ wake kana ũrĩa mũndũ amenyaga maũndũ thĩinĩ wa gĩcĩgo gĩkĩ gĩgũka.

17. *Ũrĩa mũndũ amenyaga maũndũ*

Kũrĩ andũ arĩa meciragia atĩ kũrĩa na gũtonga nomo maũndũ mega-rĩ rekei tũmere atĩ ũguo tĩguo. No tũkĩmera ũguo-rĩ, ti atĩ nĩ kuga tũkuga kũrĩa nĩ kũũru, ona kana gũtonga nĩ kũũru, aca. No ũrĩa tũkwenda kuga nĩ atĩ wega nĩ mũingĩ gũkĩra mawega macio merĩ ma ‘kũrĩa na gũtonga’. Ningĩ wega wothe ndũtonyaga thĩini wa mũndũ na njĩra imwe teyo ya kanua goiki.

Kwoguo-rĩ, kũrĩa nĩ wega ũmwe ũrĩa ũtonyaga thĩinĩ wa mũndũ na njĩra ya kanua, na aga kũrĩa akahũta, akerirĩria kũrĩa, kwoguo rĩciria rĩa Irio rĩgakoragũo rĩrĩ mũtwe wake thaa ciothe. Tondũ ũcio akamenya atĩ kũria nokuo kwegu, na hatirĩ wega ũngi.

Ũrĩa tũkuona tondũ wa ũhoru ũcio nĩ atĩ kũmenya kũrĩa ti ũgĩ, tondũ ona nyamũ nĩ ciendete kũria, na itindaga o ikĩrĩa, ũgĩ wa kũrĩa nĩ hĩndĩ irĩa ũkũmenya atĩ ngũrĩa irio na tondũ wa gĩtũmi kĩna. Ningĩ ciagĩrĩrũo nĩ kũrugwo ũna. Ũcio nĩguo ũgĩ kũringana na ũrĩi.

He njĩra ithano iria igeragĩra ũmenyo wa mũndũ na ũmenyo ũcio ndũthiaga Nda, ũthiaga mũtwe kana tombo inĩ wa mũndũ.

Nacio njĩra icio ni Maitho, Matũ, Maniũrũ, Kũhuha, Mũcamo; na tũngĩrora wega-rĩ, no tuone atĩ njĩra icio ithano cia kũgera ũmenyo hatirĩ itarĩ na wega wayo, na ũũru wayo, kana itabataragio nĩ ũndũ ũrĩa ũmĩguithagia wega, na ikarakario nĩ ũndũ ũrĩa ũmĩgwithagia ũũru.

Ta atĩrĩrĩ, Maitho makenagio nĩ kuona kĩndũ kĩa, na makarakario nĩ kuona kĩndũ kĩũru kana gĩtũti. Matũ makenagio nĩ kũigua mĩgambo mĩa, na makarakario nĩ kũigua mĩgambo mĩũru ta ya hiti, kana ya marebe makĩgamba. Maniũrũ magakenio nĩ kũigua mũnungo mwega, na

When he's doing his work, he loves doing it well. That is to say he hates bad work in his heart, and is therefore attracted by GOODNESS.

When the time comes to do physical work, he loves to build beautiful things. This means that BEAUTY attracts his heart.

These [good things] are done to get HAPPINESS, because happiness attracts a [mature] person's heart.

Now, if we repeat what we said at the start of this discussion, I think you will understand the argument well. We said that 'Intelligence is to love good things and know their meaning. And foolishness is to love bad things and to fail to know why they're bad.' Let us now discuss man and knowledge, or how a person comes to understand.

17. *How a person understands things*

To those who think eating and wealth are the only good things, let us say that is not so. To tell them this is not to say that eating is bad or getting rich is bad. No. What we wish to say is that goodness is more than those two other kinds of goodness, 'eating and being rich'. Goodness does not enter someone by the mouth alone.

Eating is a good that gets into a person by mouth, and if he fails to eat he gets hungry and desires to eat, so that the idea of food pervades his mind all the time. That's why he knows that eating is the only good and that there is no other.

What we find here is that knowing to eat is not wisdom, since even animals like to eat, and spend their time eating. Knowledge of eating is when you know you will eat for a particular reason. Food is supposed to be cooked in a certain way. That's wisdom in the field of eating.

One's knowledge passes through five senses. This knowledge does not go to the stomach, but to head or brain.

These senses are sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste. If we look closely, each of these five senses has its good and bad attributes, and can make us feel good or bad.

Now, eyes are pleased to see something good and are displeased to see something bad or ugly. Ears are pleased to hear a good voice and displeased to hear horrible voices, like those of a hyena or of iron boxes being beaten.⁷¹ Noses are impressed by good smells but displeased by

makarakario nĩ kũigua mũnungo mũru. Mwĩrĩ, kana moko, makenagio nĩ kũhutia kĩndũ kĩa, kihoro kana gũkoma handũ hega, no ikrakario nĩ kũhutia kĩndũ kĩũru ta mwaki kana gũkoma handũ homũ.

Nako kanua ota ũrĩa ithuothe tũ gagakenio nĩ kĩndũ kĩ mũrĩo, na gakarakario nĩ kĩndũ kĩrũrũ.

Ūguo nĩguo mũndũ amenyaga maũndũ na hĩndĩ irĩa ena gĩkundi kĩnene kĩa maũndũ macio mega, no agakena. Na nĩ tuonire atĩ gĩkeno nĩ ũndũ ũmwe ũgucagia ngoro ya mũndũ.

Thĩna wonekağira hĩndĩ irĩa angĩkorũo nĩ migambo miega ũrathikirĩria, kana nĩ maũndũ mariri ta mahũa ũrerorera, o kahinda kau ũgeciria ũhoro wa kũria. Ūngĩka ũguo ndũrĩ wega ũngĩona wa maũndũ macio mothe. Ona ndũrĩ ũndũ ũngĩ ũngimenya gĩtũmi kiaguo. Tiga o kũgĩa ũngigia na meciria makunderu, matarĩ na kamweke ka maũndũ macio mothe tuona maria, mothe meturanira mathiaga kũhoreria ngoro ya mũndũ. Akoroũ, nĩ mũgĩ agakiria kwenda Ngai na kũmwĩtigĩra tondũ wa wega ũrĩa mũingĩ ahete mũndũ ũcio.

18. *Wĩra na aruti aguo*

Tugire atĩ bata witũ ũrĩa wa mbere nĩ atĩ tũikare mouyo. Na ũrĩa tũkiagĩrĩrũo nĩ atĩ tũcarie maũndũ marĩa matũmaga tũikare muoyo, na marĩa mongagĩrĩra muoyo gĩkeno.

Ūngĩaga kũruta wĩra, no ũtuike mũndũ ũtarĩ bata. Ningĩ ũngĩago kũruta wĩra mwega ndũngĩona gĩkeno, ũngĩkorũo wĩ mũgĩ. No ũngĩkorũo wĩ kĩrmũ, ndũngĩhota kũmenya wĩra mwega nĩ ũrĩkũ kana wĩra mũru nĩ ũrĩkũ.

Hatiri wĩra hatarĩ andũ, kwoguo wĩra wonekaga tondũ wa andũ, na ũrutagwo tondu wa gĩtũmi kĩna.

Mũruti wa wĩra o wothe angĩaga kwenda wĩra ũcio ekũruta, ndũngĩthii na mbere.

Na tondũ woguo, kwenda kũria gwithi-inĩ wa mũndũ nikuo gĩthimi kĩa ũhoti wa haria angĩkinya wĩra ũcio.

Na tondũ ũcio-rĩ, tũngĩenda kũmenya haria mũndũ angĩkinya wira mũna-rĩ no tũrore kwenda gwake ũrĩa kũigana.

Tondũ rĩrĩ, ũngĩambĩrĩria gũcimba mũgũnda ũtekwenda ona hanini, no ũremwo ũtanakinya ona ha,

No ũngĩambĩrĩria wĩna kwenda, kũnyinyi hihi wahota, gũkinya gatagatĩ.

No ũngĩambĩrĩria wĩna kwenda kũnene wahota kũnina gũcimba mũgũnda ũcio onarua.

bad smells. The body or hands are impressed when they touch a smooth thing or rest in a comfortable place. But they are displeased if they touch something bad, like fire, or rest on a rugged place.

As we all know, the mouth is pleased by something sweet but displeased by something bitter.

That is how one knows about matters. When someone has a host of good things, he is happy. We have seen that happiness is something to attract the human heart.

Problems start if, when you listen to a good voice or look at beautiful things like flowers, you also start to think about eating. If you do this, you will get no pleasure and, moreover, fail to grasp the relevance of anything else. You will have only a simple mind, with no time for the things we have seen above, all of which combine to soothe the human heart. It is an intelligent person who knows God and fears Him for the great good He has given.

18. *Work and workers*

We have said our greatest need is to survive. What we should do is look for whatever enables us to survive and adds happiness to life.

If you do not work you will become a nobody. If you do not do good work, you will not find happiness, although perhaps you might be intelligent. But if you are a fool, you cannot know which work is good and which bad.

There is no work without people [to do it]. So, work succeeds when there are people who work for a specific reason.

Any worker who does not love his job will never progress.

So the love inside a person is the best measure of how far he can work.

If therefore we want to know how far someone will do some specific task, we can look to see how much he loves the work.

That is because if you start digging a piece of land reluctantly you won't go far.

If you start half-heartedly, you may perhaps get half-way.

But if you start with great love,⁷² you may finish digging the entire piece of land.

Tūgakiona atī wendi kana kīyo kīa mūdū nikio gītūmaga ahane ūria akoragwo ahana. E mūtongu kana e mūkīa. Na ari mūgī kana e kīrimū.

Tondū ūcio tiwega kūruma Ngai hīndī ĩria ekuga atī arita (akīga) nī ūhoru wa Ngai kana, athīna nī ūhoru wa Ngai. Tondū ūngīkorūo ciīga, ciaku ciothe nī ng'ima-rī, ūguo nī kuga ūkorūo ndūrī mūtuiku guoko kana kūgūrū, kana o kīga giaku o gīothe-rī, nī wīra waku gūtūmīra ciīga icio na kūruta wīra wa hinya.

No ūngīremwo nī gūtūmīra ciīga icio tondū wo-thayo na gūthūra wīra wa hinya-rī, ndūrī na bata kuga atī Ngai nīwe ūtūmite ūthīne kana wage bata, we mwene nīwe wīyagīire bata mbere.

Ūngīkorūo nī ūkaigua ūhoru ūyū ūtegūgūkenia-rī, tondū wa gūkwīra harīa ūhitīrie-rī, githī ūguo tiwega gūkīra gūkwīra maheni atī wīna kīyo kana maūdū mega hīndī ĩria ūtarī namo.

Ngai nīatūhete indo ciothe, na agatūhe ūgī wa gūcimatha, ūngīremwo nīgūtūmīra ūgi ūcio nī igūrū rīaku. Na hatirī njīra ĩngī ya gūtūmīra ūgī ūcio tiga o ya kūruta wīra na hinya.

19. (*Mwako*) na aki

Nyūmba citū nī kīndū kīmwe gīa kuongerera muoyo witū gīkeno, ona gīa gūtūma mūdū aikare muoyo, tondū rīrī, ūngīaka nyūmba njega, no ūkenage. Na ūngīaga nyūmba ūtuīke atī ūrīraraga nja, no ūragwo nī heho, na mbura, na andū oru.

Tondū ūcio andū aria ogī magīrīrūo nī gwaka nyūmba njega, nīguo magīe na gīkeno. Ningī ikenage maitho tondū wa ūthaka wacio, nayo ngoro ĩkene oro ūndū ūmwe.

Nyūmba njega-rī, nī kuga nī Nyūmba theru, na nene, ya gūtūra matukū maingī, ona thaka. Tondū ucio-rī, tūngīciria ūhoru wa nyūmba ĩria tūtūruga rīu-rī, kana ĩria twatūruga tene-rī, on kana ĩria andū aitū aingi maīkaraga ona rīu-rī, no tuone atī itiri, na maūdū macio tūgwetire, gūthera kūneneha, gūtūra, gūthakara.

Ningī ciothe nī cihanaine. Na ūngīūria gītūmi, no wīrūo atī nyūmba o yothe yagīrīrūo nī gwakwo te-rīengī, na warī mūgiro gwaka ūndū ūngī tiga o ūcio wakagwo nī andū othe.

Kwoguo mūtugo nīguo warī mūhīnga wa andū maūdū-inī mothe. Tondū wa gūtūika nī mūgiro gwaka ūna, kana gwīka ūna, maūdū mothe ona ciiko ciothe ciahuanaga ta ciakinyite mūthia. Onamo meciria ma andū atene tiga hihi anyinyi ao, matariī o ūguo kūgīa na gīturi.

We therefore see that a person's love or effort determines whether he becomes rich or poor, intelligent or foolish. So it's no good insulting God by saying that if one is foolish, it's God's fault, or if poor, it's because of God. If all your limbs are functional, that is, if your hands or legs are not amputated, it's up to you to use them to work hard.

However, if you fail to use your limbs because of your stupidity or dislike of hard work, you have no right to say that God has made you poor. You are the one who first made yourself of no consequence.

If you feel that to point out your error like this has harmed you, isn't it better to keep quiet rather than deceive yourself that you are hardworking, or to praise yourself without reason?

God has given us everything, [including] the wisdom to look for these things, and if you fail to use it, that's your problem. It cannot be used other than by hard work.

19. *Buildings and builders*

Our houses⁷³ are one of the things that add happiness to our lives and enable us to survive. For if you build a good house, you will be happy. If you don't have a house and live in the open, you will die of cold, rain, and in the hands of evil people.

Therefore, intelligent people should build good houses so that they get happiness. The houses should also impress the eyes with their beauty, to gladden the heart.

A good house is clean, big, durable and beautiful. If we think of the houses we live in today, or of those in which we used to live in the past, or even of those that some of our people live in today, we will find that they do not have the characteristics we have listed, cleanliness, size and beauty.

Besides, they all look alike. If you ask why, you will be told that a house should be like any other. It was a taboo⁷⁴ to build a house other than how people always built.

So a custom closes the door to what people want to do.⁷⁵ Because it was a taboo not to build in a certain way, everything seemed to have reached a dead-end.⁷⁶ Even the thoughts of people in the past, with few exceptions, seem to have reached a dead-end. People just followed one

Na tondū ūcio andū mageraga o njira imwe na ngunderu maundū-ini mothe, meciria-ini ona ciiko-ini.

Ona riu aingĩ aitū matiri marehera gikundi-ni kiu.

Gwīcīria kwa andū gūtiri mūthia, no kūrī andū matarī arute-rī kwīmūthia, tondū ūngigeria gwīcīria ūhorō wa ūndū mūna no ūgakinya mūthia ūkarigwo nī ūrīa ūngīka torīa tuonire mwambīrīrio-ini wa ibuku rīrī.

Na gītūmi nī rīrī, nī tondū Ngai ahenyanite ciiga ciothe cia gūtūmirūo, na kīga kīmwe kīngīaga gūtūmīka ihinda inene, no kīremwo nī kūruta wīra ūrīa kīumbītwo kīrutage.

Na ūira wa ūhorō ūcio nī rīrī, ūngīkorūo, ndūmenyerete gūthiī handū haraya na magūrū, tatuge mairo mīrongo itatū, na hīndī imwe ūtuīke nīgūthiī, ūgīkinya kūdū kūu wakorūo ūnogete mūno, ona rīngī ūrūare kana ūimbe magūrū. No he mūdū ūrīa menyerete gūthiī ūcio ti wīra.

Ūguo nīguo gūtariī kūrīngana na gwīcīria. Andū aingī kuma maciarūo matitūmagīra meciria mao. Tondū worīa makoraga arīa mari mbere yao matekūmatūmīra. Na nīkīo hīndī irīa ūngīenda gwīcīria ūndū ona ūkiendaga no ūkaremwo, tondū wa kwaga kūmenyera gwīcīria.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, aki a nyūmba citū magīrīrūo nī kwaga mūthia wa meciria mao ta andū acio atene. Nīguo mahote gwaka nyūmba cia mīthemba mīingī. Na matige gwīcīria atī nyūmba yakwo ūna, nī mūgiro, wagūtūma andā makue. Kana kūrūmirira mwakire oro ūmwe ta tene.

20. *Mwako wa matukū maya*

Matukū maya, ti mūgiro gwaka o ūrīa mūdū angīenda, gīthiūrūrī kana kīmīena ina, tondū worīa tuonete atī Comba ndūkuaga, tondū wa gwaka o ūrīa mūdū ekwenda.

Nī twagīrīrūo nī kūgunīka o makīria tondū wa gūka gwa Comba būrūrī-ini ūyū witū. Na tūtingīgunīka tondū wa kūmathūra kana wa gūthūra maundū mao. Tondū tūngīka ūguo no mūtino tūngīona, na mūtino ndūrehage gīkeno. Na nī tugire atī ūndū o wothe ūtarī wa gūtūrehere gīkeno nī wagīrīre kūninwo, twatua gūthiī na njira ino ya kūhīga.

Tondū ūcio-rī, nitwagīrīrūo nī kwenda maundū mao mothe marīa mangīt wagīrīra, na tūtige marīa matangīt wagīrīra.

Mwakīrea wa Nyūmba cia Comba wahota gūtwagīrīra, tondū wīna maundū marīa tūgwetire magīrīrūo nī kūgīa na nyūmba njega. Na nīmo

narrow way of thought and action. Even today, many of us have not emerged from such thinking.

Thinking is limitless, but to those who have not been taught, it has its limits. For if you start thinking of something, you can come to an end and fail to realise what comes next, as we found at the beginning of this book.

God gave us organs to use, and if an organ remains unused for some time, it can fail to perform its proper function.

If you are not used to walking long distances on foot, say thirty miles, and then find that you have to, by the time you get there you will be very tired. You may fall sick or your legs may swell. But it's nothing much to one who is used to walking far.

It's the same with thinking. Many have not used their brains since they were born. If you ask, they say the same was true of their predecessors. So, even if you want to think something through, you will not be able to because you are not used to it.

Our house-builders should therefore not restrict their ideas like people in the past, so that they can then build different types of houses. They should neither think that to build a house in a certain way is a taboo that brings death to people, nor follow only one style of building, as in the past.⁷⁷

20. *Buildings these days*

These days, it is not a taboo to build how one wishes, either in a round shape or using corners. As we have seen, the whites do not die for building the way they wish.

We should benefit from the coming of the whites to our country. We cannot benefit by hating them or their things. If we did, we would face disaster and disasters don't bring happiness.⁷⁸ As we have already said, anything that fails to bring happiness should be eliminated—once we start on the road of enlightenment.

So we should like what can benefit us, and leave out what is not beneficial.

The whites' style of housing can benefit us because it consists of the things we said were important in a good house, such as being clean,

gūthera, kūneneha, gūtūūra, na gūthakara. Na ūrīa tūngīhota gwaka nyūmba ta icio, no twendire na kwenda kūnene kwa ngoro kūringana na ūrīa rīu tūrīkītie kūmenya.

Kwoguo tūcarie mbeca na ūndū wa kūruta wīra na hinya, na wīra mwege, na ningī tūrī rūmwe. Tondū twatuīka no kwenda gūtheri hatarī gwīka no wīra wa tūhū, na no ta kīroto. Kwoguo rekei twendane, tūnine ūiru, twīriragīrie o mūdū witū kūgīa na nyūmba njega. Na nī tūgūtoria thū iitū ‘ūrimū na thīna’.

21. *Ngwatanīro ya aaki*

Nī kūrī na andū marutītwo wīra wa gwaka nyūmba cia mahiga ona maturubarī, na tondū worīa tuonire twīna bata wa nyūmba ta icio, ūrīa kwagīrīre nī ati andū acio magīe na ngwatanīro īmwe.

Nao magīe na mwīhītwa mwerū, atī matikahurūka kinya o mūdū o wothe wī būrūri-inī witū akagīa na nyūmba ya ihiga kana ya Maturubarī, ona Nduka ciothe, na Cukuru, mithigiti itū yakwo na mahiga kana Maturubarī.

Ti atī mamakīre tūhū, aca, no nī mamakire kūringana na ūrīa mwakīrūo kana akirūo maigania mbeca, na andū othe merūo na monio ūrīa nyūmba iria tūtūraga rīu itarī njega, nīguo mone gītūmi kīa nyūmba njega.

Na tondū ūcio-ri, aaki acio monie andū angī aingī ūbundi ūcio wa gwaka, na macoke meyamūre njatū igīrī, amwe matuīke wīra wao nī gūcūhia mahiga, na kūmba, na gūcina Maturubarī, nao arīa angī matuīke nī gwakīra andū.

Kwoguo makagūra mahiga na maturubarī macio kuuma kūrī aicūhia na acini, nao maaka manyūmba makarihwo nī ene manyūmba macio.

Thīna witū matukū maya nī atī, aicūhia a mahiga na ombi a maturubarī mendagia goro mūno ota ūrīa mekwenderia comba kana ūhīndī. Makariganīrūo atī andū airū matirī mbeca nyingī ta athūngū kana ūhīndī.

Na tondū wa wagi ūcio, makaremwo nī kūgūra mahiga macio ona maturubarī macio, nao acio megwacūhia mahiga maga agūri, magatiga kūruta wīra ūcio, būrūri ūgakīria gūcoka na thutha.

Ūrīa andū magīrīrūo nī gwīka, nī gūtanya ūrīa mangīendia kīndū raithi nīguo agūri maingīhe, na marore matikae gūthīi ‘hasara’ tondū wa raithi ūcio wao. Ningī matikae kwenda umithio mūnene torīa andū matariī rīu. Na tūngīka ūguo būrūri nī-ūgūthīi na mbere, na mbeca cingīhe, na andū maiyūrūo nī gīkeno magoce Ngai.

big, and beautiful. We will only be able to build such houses if we love [each other] as we have already discussed.

We should therefore look for money by working hard, honestly, and in unity. For wishing without doing is useless, just like a dream. So let us love each other, end jealousy, and then each of us should look forward to having a good house. We will also defeat our enemy, 'ignorance and poverty'.

21. *Association of builders*⁷⁹

Some people have been trained as masons. Since we have found we need [stone] houses, those masons ought to come together in an association. They also [ought to] have a new commitment, not to rest until everyone in this country gets houses, shops, schools, and churches built of stone and bricks.

Not that they should build them for free. No. They should build according to what each client can afford. People should [first] be convinced that the houses we currently live in are not good, so that they can appreciate the need for good houses.

These builders should train many other people in their trade, then get into two groups, with some to carve stone and make bricks, the others to do the building.

The builders will buy stone and bricks from those who have prepared them, then build the houses and get paid by the owners.

Our problem today is that stone and brick merchants sell at high cost, as when selling material to whites and Indians.

But because of [African] poverty, builders cannot afford to buy stone and bricks, and when those who carve stone and make bricks fail to find a market, they abandon the work and the country starts sliding backwards.

People ought to aim to sell things at fair prices so that they get more buyers, but take care not to sell at a loss with prices that are too low. They should also not sell at abnormally high prices, as people do these days.⁸⁰ If we follow this [advice], this country will advance, have more money, and people will be happy and praise God.

22. *Ūturi na aturi*

Wīra o wothe wa moko, wa gwaka kana wa kūrīma, ndūrutagwo na moko matheri. No mūhaka hagie na indo cia cuma cia kūruta wīra ūcio nacio. Ta hiū, na macembe, na thururu. na mathanwa, na nyondo, na mītarimbo na indo iria ingī ciothe tūūi.

Ririkana gūtanya gwitū nī ūrīa tūngihota gwīteithia. Na nī tugire atī, ūrīa twagīrīrūo nī gūcokereria kahinya gothe karīa tūrī nako, na kaūgī gothe tūrī nako, tūtūmīre na njīra irīa ingītūrehere kīguni. Na tondū ūcio-rī, nitwagīrīre tūgīe na aturi agūturaga indo iria twabatario nīcio.

Tene aturi mari okuo, no ūturi wao warī mūnyinyi kūrīngana na mabataro mao marīa marī manyinyi, na waiyūrīo nī mūgīro kūrīngana na mūtugo ūrīa warī kuo.

Matukū maya-rī, nī kūrī andū marutitwo gūtura. Nao matirī wīra marutagīra ūgī ūcio wao tondū worīa indo nyingī iria mangītura ta hiū na macembe na indo ingi nyingī ciūrīte nduka-ini. Na tondū wa kuona ūguo makaga wīra tīga o tūwira tūnini twa gūtura na kūrata mītūngi ya maī, na tūindo tūngī tūnini ta tūu.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, ūrīa twagīrīrūo nī gwīka nī atī aturi magīe na ngwatanīro yao, na make iturīro rīao kana kīganda

Andū agīma marutaga o wīra mūgīma, na mwega, na andū matarī agīma marutaga wīra ūtarī mūgīma, na mūūru, ūtangīkenia ūū kana ūū.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, twatua kūruta wīra o na ūrīkū-rī, rekei tūrute ūrīke o wega, tūtige kūruta manuthu. Naguo ūguo noguo tūngiuga kūrīngana na aturi acio aitū. Merute ūrīa cuma ciūmbītwo, na kīrīa gītūmaga ciūme, na nī mūthanga ūrīkū umaga cuma. Nī tuonire atī kwenda kwa mūndū nīkuo githimi kīa harīa angīhota gūkinyia wīra mūna, naguo ūguo noguo tūngiuga harī aturi acio aitū.

23. *Kūrīma na arīmi*

Tiri nīguo nyina witū, tondū nīguo umaga indo ciothe cia kūguna andū othe athī handū marūma. Hīndī irīa andū mohīga nī mahotaga kuona kana kūruta indo cia mīthemba mīingī mūno tīri-inī, na cia goro mūno ta ‘thahabu’, na ‘fetha’, na cuma cia mīthemba yothe, o na indo ingi ta maguta ma tawa na betūrū ya gūtware mītoka.

No ithūi kīndū kīrīa tūrutaga tīri inī, nī irio cia kūrīa na cia kwendia. Tene nitwarīmaga, na rīu no tūrīmaga. No tūngikorūo nī irio cia kūrīa na cia kwendia tūrīmagīra ota ūguo twoiga rī, irio icio citū ingīagīra mūno, o na ciingīhe mūno kūngīkorūo migūnda itū nī mīnoru.

22. *Blacksmithing and blacksmiths*

Physical jobs like building and cultivation are not done by hand alone. There must be iron tools to help in the work. These include machetes, forks, mattocks, axes, crowbars, and the other tools known to us.

Remember that our aim is to know how to help ourselves. We have already said we should gather all our strength and all our knowledge and use them to bring us benefit. So we need blacksmiths to make the tools we require.

In the past there were blacksmiths but their trade was small-scale, dependent on the needs of the time, and guided by the customary taboos of the time.

Today, there are people trained as blacksmiths. But there is nowhere to use this skill, since many of the tools they can make are stocked in shops. On seeing this, they can only find one-off jobs like repairing water barrels and other small-scale work.

What we need is a blacksmiths' association, with a construction site or factory.

Mature people do mature things and immature people do poor, immature things that impress nobody. Therefore, when we start something, let us do it and complete it properly, not half way. As to our blacksmiths we can say: Let them train in how iron is made and what makes it so hard, and what type of soil makes iron. We saw that one's resolve is the best measure of how far one can do a job of work. We can say the same of these blacksmiths.⁸¹

23. *Farming and farmers*

The soil is our mother, because it produces everything that benefits humanity the world over. When people become knowledgeable, they can produce different sorts of things from the soil. Some are very precious, like gold, silver, minerals, and other things like kerosene or petrol.⁸²

What we produce from the soil is food for our consumption and for sale. We used to farm in the past just as we do today. If we produce food for consumption and for sale, it will increase and be of better quality if our land is fertile.

Tondū ūcio nītwagīrīrūo nī gūcāria ūrīa tūngīnoria mīgūnda, itū, na ūrīa tīri ūtangītwarūo kana ūthererio nī kīgūū.

Ningī andū arīa mathomeire wīra ūcio wa mīgūnda, tūgerie gwīka ota ūrīa megūt-wira kwagīrīire gwīkwo kūrīngana na ūrīmi, o na ūhandi, nī getha irio ciitū ciingīhe. Gūthomera ūndū nī kuga nī gwīcīria makīria ūhorō wa ūndū ūcio, na kwoguo acio mathomeire ūrīmi nī kuuga mena ūmenyo mwega gūkīra arīa matathomeire. Na nī tugire atī wīra witū nī gūcāria ūndū o wothe ūngītūrehere kīguni, na ūgi wa ūrīmi wīna kīguni mūno hari ithui.

Nao andū acio merutite wīra wa ūrīmi-rī, magīrīrūo nī kūgīa na ngwatanīro yao ota ūrīa tuonire tūgītereta ūhorō wa ‘Irio na Mīgūnda’ mahothe mbece magūre Gīthaka kana makombore, nīgetha matūmīre ūgī ūcio wao wa Ūrīmi, nīguo andū arīa angī mone atī ti ūhorō wa tūhū moigaga hīndī rīa mekuga atī kwagīrīrūo nī kūrīmwō ūna. Na kahinda o kau mone mbece cia kūnenehia wīra ūcio wao.

Hīndī ya kūrīma yakīnya-rī, ūrīa andū magīrīrūo nī gwīcīria nī ūrīa mangīrīma narua, matekūnoga, na marime kūnene nīgetha makagetha irio nyingī.

Wahota kūrīma kūnene na ūrīme narua angīkorūo ūkūrīma na ng’ombe kana na ‘Tractor’ ithenya rīa kūrīma na moko. Na nī wīra wa arīmi acio gwīcīria ūrīa mangīgūra macembe na ng’ombe kana ‘Matractor’ cia kūrīma nacio.

Indo icio ti andū aingī mangīhota kwīgūrīra matukū maya, no andū marī aingī no mahote kūgūra tondū kamūingī koyaga ndīrī.

24. *Gīthomo na athomi*

Gūthoma (Education) nī ūndū mūgeni kūrī ithuī andū airū, na nī kwega, no tondū worīa wega ūcio wa gīthomo ūrī mūingī ndūngīhoteka kūheyanirūo ūhorō waguo wothe kabuku-inī gaka.

Ūrīa tūngīka no tūhūrīre Kabica kanini harī ūhorō ūcio wa gīthomo nīgetha tūmenye bata wakīo ūrīa wonekaga na gītūmi giakīo nī kii?

Ūngīrūgama handū o hothe, wambīrīrie gwīcīria, no ūmenye atī magūrū-inī maku he Thī, na nīyo ūkīnyīte, ningī igūrū riaku he Rīūa, na gatagatī-inī ka Rīūa na Thī he kūdū gūtheri gūtari kindū. Ningī wecirangīa makīria-rī, wone atī Thī iiyūrītwo nī indo nyingī, Mahiga, Tīri, Mītī, Nyamū, na Andū arīa angī tawe. Ningī warora Igūrū wone atī to Rīūa riiki rikuo, kwīna indo ingī ta Njata na Mweri. Rīu harīa bata wa gīthomo wonekagīra nī rīrīa mūdū ambīrīria kūūria atūrīrī,

So we should look for ways to make our land fertile and protect it from erosion.⁸³

We should also try to practise what the people who are trained in agriculture tell us about farming and planting, in order to increase our yields. To train in a certain area means that you concentrate and think much about that specialisation. Those who have trained in agriculture have better knowledge of farming than untrained people. We should look for what brings benefits to us, and farming knowledge is very beneficial.

Agricultural experts should form their own association just as we saw when we discussed food and land. They should contribute money and buy or lease land, so that they use their knowledge in farming. When they demonstrate a different way of farming, other people will find that their knowledge is not in vain. They will at the same time find the funds to expand their enterprise.

When the time comes to cultivate, people should think of how to cultivate large pieces quickly, to increase yields without getting tired.

You can cultivate huge chunks of land fast if you use ploughs or tractors rather than hands. It's up to farmers to think how they can buy ploughs or tractors with which to cultivate.⁸⁴

Few individuals can afford to buy such implements today—only when they are many, as in the saying *kamūingi koyaga ndirī* 'a small organised group lifts the mortar'.⁸⁵

24. *Education and students*⁸⁶

Education is a recent experience for us black people, but it's good. Because its goodness is so great, it cannot be described in full in this small book.

What we can do is simply to think through the phenomenon of education in order to see its value and importance.

If you stand anywhere and start thinking, you may find that beneath your feet is the earth on which you stand, and up in the sky there is the sun and, between earth and sky, there is hollow space. On thinking further, you will find the earth is full of many things, stones, soil, trees, animals and other human beings like yourself. If you look up in the sky, you will find there is not only the sun but other things like the moon and the stars. The value of education starts when one asks oneself, what

Indo ici igūkū, thī-rī, nīkī? Na ningī ciūmbītwo atīa? Nacio indo icio nī Tīri, na Mahiga, Mītī, Nyamū, na andū arīa angī na indo cioth ngwata rūhuho na kayū.

Hīndī irīa mūdū ambīrīria kūrīa ūguo, agakīrikana atī kūrīa na Kanua gatheri nī wīra watūhū, agakīoya Karamu akaandikaga o ūrīa egwīcīria indo icio itariī. Ti atī amenyaga na hīndī yambere ya gītūmi kīa indo icio, ona kana akamenya na hīndī ya mbere ūrīa ciūmbītwo. No nī thutha wa mahinda maingī mūno, na wīra wa hinya mūno, wa mīaka magana maingī.

O ūguo mūdū ambagīrīria kūrīa gitūmi kīa indo iria igūkū thī akīandīkaga noguo ekaga ha ūhoru wa indo icio irī igūrū rīake, Rīūa, Mweri, na Njata.

Tondū ūcio-rī, gīthomo nī ūmenyo mūthuranīre mūno, na mūtārīrie mūno o makīria, wa indo icio ciothe ithī, naicio igūrū, nakuo gūthuranīra kūu ti wīra wa mwaka ūmwe, nī wīra wa mīaka ngiri nyingī.

Ūmenyo ūcio ūteithagia andū makagīa na gīkeno, makagīa hinya: guoya ūgathira. Na hinya wa mūdū na ciiko ciothe ūkongerereka maita maingī mūno, mīgiro igathira, maūdū marīa magegagia andū makaheanwo ūhoru wamo wothe, kinya ūkona atī hatiri kīama kīho.

Na atī maūdū maingī mekīkaga na njīra kana watho ūīyo, kana ūngīmenyeka, no ti kīama, kwoguo indo iria ciothe tuonaga, na iria tūiguaga, na iria irī igūrū ritū, igatwirio ikamenywo ūrīa ciūmbītwo, na ūrīa ithiaga. Ona andū nao makamenywo ūrīa mombītwo na ūrīa meciragia.

Na tondū ūcio gīthomo kigeraga njīra igīrī, īmwe ya kwīruta indo iria nene na ikūraya ta njata na rīūa na mweri, na ūrīa ithiaga, na ihenya rīacio ūrīa rīigana, na ūrīa ciūmbītwo na ūrīa kūrī thī ingī tīga īno itū.

Ona kinya gūkoneka atī thī ino iitū ni njata ikahora mwaki wayo, na atī nī githiūrūrī kīhana ta icungwa na nī ithiūrūkaga rīūa) naguo mweri ūgathiūrūrūka thī ino itū.

Gūikaraga gūgīkīragia kuoneka njata ingī makiria ya iria cionirūo tene na irī na ihenya inene mūno, mūno.

Njata icio ona kana thī icio īngī, nyingī cia cio itingioneke na maitho matheri, cionaguo na ndurumeni ihinya mūno wa kuona maita ngiri nyingī ma woni wa maitho ma mūdū.

Īo nī njīra īmwe ya githomo. Īrīa īngi nī ya kwambirīria harī indo iria tūgwetire igūkū thī, mahiga, tīri, mītī, nyamū, na andū, maī, rūhuho, kayū, na ndogo. Na indo iria īngī tūtanagweta.

are the things on earth? How are they created? Such things as the soil, stones, trees, animals, people, and others like the wind and voices.

When someone starts asking himself these questions, he realises that mere questioning is futile. He picks up a pen and starts writing down his estimate of the nature of these things. Not that he understands their reasons at his first or even second attempt. It is after hundreds of years of painstaking work that he succeeds.

In the same way that someone writes in order to ask the cause of things on earth, so he can also write about things in the sky, the sun, moon and the stars.

Education, therefore, is carefully chosen and extensively clarified knowledge⁸⁷ of all the things on earth and in the sky. Such sorting out⁸⁸ is not the work of one year but of thousands of years.

This knowledge helps people to get happiness and strength, and eliminates fear. By it human strength is increased tenfold, taboos are eliminated, and everything that puzzles people is explained until you finally learn that there is no mystery⁸⁹ in them.

Many things happen according to laws, not by miracles. Those things we see and of which we hear are all examined, and their nature and movements are clearly explained. The nature⁹⁰ of human beings and how they think is also understood.

To that end, education follows two paths: the first is to learn about large and far-off bodies like the stars, sun and moon, how they move, how fast they move, their nature, and about planets other than our own.

It is known that our planet earth is a star whose heat has diminished, that it is round like an orange and moves round the sun, and that the moon moves round our planet.

Often, new stars other than those we have already seen are found. These are not visible to the naked eye, but [can be seen] with powerful telescopes that can magnify very many times the visual abilities of the human eye.

This is one of education's paths. The other one is to start on what we said are found on earth; stones, soil, trees, animals, people, water, wind, voice, smoke and other things which we have not mentioned.

Athomi makoria atĩrĩrĩ, ciũmbitwo atĩa? Na tondũ wa kwenda gicokia kĩũria kiu, thutha wa miaka mũingĩ mũno, rĩu nĩkũĩo atĩ ihumo cia indo icio ciothe nĩ mĩrongo kenda na igĩrĩ. Na atĩ ihumo icĩo cĩeturanira igatwika kĩndũ kĩna.

Tondũ ta maĩ meragũo mombĩtwo na na ihumo igĩrĩ, kana ĩgĩtarũo nĩ atarĩ, makoiga atĩ, kĩhumo kimwe gĩgwitwo ‘oxygen’ kia nyitana na himo ĩgĩrĩ cia ‘hydrogen’ igatuĩka maĩ marĩa tũnyuaga.

Nĩ kuonekaga atĩ indo icio nyinyi mũno maita maingĩ, na indo icio nene mũno maita ngiri nyingĩ mũthĩire kana mũthĩũrũrũkire ya cio nĩ ĩhanaine.

Nĩngĩ gĩthomo-rĩ, kihwana ta mũtĩ mũnene mũno wĩna hongwe nyingĩ mũno, na hatĩrĩ mũndũ wi muoyo ũngĩmenya hongwe ĩcio ciothe. Ūria athomi mekaga nĩ kũnyita rũhongwe rũmwe kana igĩrĩ, akeruta ona cio ndaninaga. Kwoguo ndukae gwĩcĩria he mũndũ ũnginina gĩthomo gĩothe toria andũ aingĩ meciragia.

No rĩrĩ, hatĩrĩ ũndũ ũrĩ hinya andũ mangionio njĩra, thĩna witu nĩ kwaga njĩra. Harĩ ĩhĩtia rimwe rĩnene mũno rĩonekaga harĩ andũ acĩo athomi mũno, narĩo nĩ rĩa kuga atĩ gũtirĩ Ngai, na tondũ ũcio nĩkĩo ũgĩ ũcio wothe ũtahotaga kũmaguna.

Ithenya ria bũrũrĩ ũiyũre thayũ na gĩkeno, nĩ ruo na thĩna na kĩnyamarĩko kĩnene kuonekaga, tondũ wa ũria tuonire atĩ ũgĩ wa mũtwe wikĩ ndũngiguna mũndũ tondũ ndũri gitina kana iniri, na gitina kĩa ũgĩ wothe nĩ Ngai.

Tondũ-rĩ, gĩthomo kana ‘education’ ĩtitarĩ ta itonga ũrĩa ũkiragĩa kuongerereka harĩ mũndũ, ũguo nĩ kuga atiriri, indo ikoima na nja ya mũndũ na mũena yothe igĩtuĩkaga ciake. Ona kana gĩkahana maĩ marĩa maitagĩrĩrũo ndigithũ.

Ĩndĩ gĩthomo kĩhana ta mũrĩmi wa mũgũnda, ũrĩa ũrĩmagĩra irio ciake agĩitaga thumu, kĩndũ kĩrĩa gikoragwo kĩna bata na mũrĩmi wa mũgũnda, nĩ irio icio ahandite agakĩmenya atĩ aga kũnorĩa tĩri, irio ciake itiangira. Tondũ niho gĩtina kĩa itio icio ciake ona mĩri yacio ĩrĩ.

Naguo ũguo nĩ kuga atĩ gĩthomo nĩkũrĩmĩra kĩrĩmagĩra ngoro ya mũndũ ĩria ĩrĩ thĩinĩ wake, ĩgakũra na ĩkagĩa na hinya tondũ wa mahuti marĩa moru marĩkia kweherio. Ria kana mahuti ma ngoro nĩ maũndũ marĩa moru ta rũmena, na ũiru ũici, na waganu wa mũthemba o yothe, o ũndũ ũmwe na maheni na haramu (kũriama). Rĩu maũndũ marĩa mega, magathererio makahota gũkũra wega kuma ngoro, namo maũndũ macio nĩ wendani, kwaria ma, ũtheru na wendo wa maũndũ mothe ma ũgima, na mega.

Scholars ask themselves, how are they made? In trying to answer this question over many years, they have learned that all things are composed of ninety-two elements. When these elements combine, they form something.

For instance, water is said to be composed of two elements,⁹¹ one of these is 'oxygen' which combines with two 'hydrogens' to form the water we drink.⁹² It has also been shown that both very small and very big things have similar cycles of movement.

Education is also like a big tree with very many branches. No living person can be expert in all its branches. What scholars do is to take one or two branches to specialise in, but they can never exhaust them. Never think, as many people do, that any one person can exhaust all knowledge.

Nothing is so difficult that people cannot be shown the path. Losing the path is our problem. One problem scholars have is to say there is no God. That is why all their education can never benefit them.

Rather than peace and happiness pervading the entire country, misery and suffering is experienced. As we saw, mental knowledge alone has no base or roots. The basis of all knowledge is God.

This is because education does not increase like wealth. Wealth comes from outside an individual, like water poured into a pot.

Instead, education is like a farmer who grows his food with manure.⁹³ A farmer knows that if he does not make his soil fertile, his crops will not be healthy. This is because manure is the basis of his crops and their roots.

Education cultivates the human heart, because the bad weeds have been removed. The weeds of the heart are bad things like hatred, jealousy, theft, and all forms of misdemeanour like lies and corruption. Good things are cultivated from the heart. They include love, truthfulness, cleanliness and love for mature and good things.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, angīkorūo ngoro ya mūdū ndīrī na maūdū macio mega-rī, kīndū kirīa kīngīkūra ngoro-inī, yake no mahuti mau tuona, na nīmo rūmena, ūiru, ūici, na waganu, haramu, na mathara. Na gīthomo kirīa angīthoma no gīa gwīkīra maūdū macio hinya. Ahote gūthūrana na hinya mūno, ahote kūigua ūiru mūingī, ahote kūiya mūno, ahote kwagana mūno, ahote kūhenania mūno, ona ahote kūrīa haramu nyingī mūno.

Tondū kirīa kīhande mūgūnda nīkīo kīgethagwo; Ndūngīhanda mbembe weterere kūgetha mboco.

Ningī gīthomo (education) kīhana ūtheri wa kūmūrīka nduma-inī naguo. Ūtheri nī gūtūma ūtamaga mūdū one kīndū kirīa egūcaria, no tikuongerera wongagīrīra indo icio.

Tondū rīrī, ūngīmūrīkà nduma-inī, wone indo ithatū, ihiga, na mūtī, na nyamū, ndūngīcoka ūtare indo icio uge: ihiga, na mūtī na nyamū, na ūtheri. Tondū utheri nī wagūtūma wone indo ingī, no tikuongerera wongagīrīra indo icio.

Nakīo gīthomo nī ūtheri wa kūmūrīka maūdū macio mūru naguo. Ūngīmūrīka handū na wone kīndū kīūru, na ūkorūo nī ūkwenda gūikara hau; No kweheria ūngīeheria kīndū kīu kīūru. No ūngīaga kweheria ūikaranie nakīo ndūngītūika mūgī, ūguo noguo tūngiuga harī maūdū macio mothe twarītie.

No rīrī, bata witū ithuī andū airū ūrīa twagīrīrūo nī kūnina mbere tūgīcoka kwīruta maūdū mangī, me mbere nī ūrīa thīna ūngītūthira, na ūrimū, na ūrīa tūngīaga gūcoka gūkua tūtārī akūrū tondū wa kwaga hinya mīrī, na ūrīa tūngīkara būrūrī-inī twina ūrata na ndūrīrī iria ingī.

Na ūrīa tūngīgīa hinya mīrī-ini itū nīgetha tūgīe na meciria mega, tondū ndūngihota kūgia na meciria mega angīkorūo ndūrī mūgīma mwīrī-inī.

Tondū ūcio-rī, tūgīe na atūcirīri, na ma Wakiri maitū, na Mandagītari maitū, andū ogī, na Aaki aitū, na andū ogī na mawīra mothe, marīa matūkoniī. Ta kwendia na kūgūra indo, kūrima ona kūrīithia.

Maūdū nī maingī mūno, marīa mangītūbataria tūngīrīkia kūhīga, na tondū wa ūrimū witū, matukū maya, nīkīo tūtīrī na bata na maūdū maingī, na andū aingī matariī ta metoro, na ūguo nīguo kwīagīra bata.

25. *Mīthemba ya andū arīa mekuo rīu*

Thīna wa andū aingī matukū maya nī atī mekwenda ūndū moigaga hatirī ūndū ūngī mwege ta ūcio mendete. Na nīkīo wahota kūigua andū aingī makiuga atiriri.

Therefore, if someone's heart has none of these good things, what grows in his heart are bad weeds like hatred, jealousy, theft, evil, contempt and self-promotion.⁹⁴ The education he learns goes to strengthen them, so that he is able to hate more, be more jealous, steal more, be worse behaved, peddle more lies, and practise more corruption.

You harvest what you sow. You cannot sow maize and hope to harvest beans.⁹⁵

Education is also like a beam of light to illuminate the darkness. Light helps one find what one was looking for, but it does not multiply one's possessions.

If you illuminate the darkness and find three items, a stone, a tree and an animal, you cannot then count them and find a stone, a tree, an animal and a beam of light. The light has enabled you to find the things. It does not multiply them.

Education is the light with which to illuminate bad things. If you illuminate a place and find something bad, would you want it to stay there? You would just remove it. If you won't remove it, you would not be intelligent. This is what we can say about the things we have referred to.

Before learning anything else, the great need for we black people is to know how to end poverty and ignorance, how to reduce premature death because of poor health, and how to live peacefully in this country with other communities.

How to have good physical health and so have good thoughts, for you cannot have good thoughts without good health.

Then we should have our own judges, lawyers, doctors, scholars, builders and other people knowledgeable in all fields, like buying and selling, farming and herding.

Many things will be needed once we are knowledgeable, but because of to-day's foolishness, we are not interested in them. Most people seem to be asleep and are irresponsible.⁹⁶

25. *Types of people living today*

The greatest problem with people these days is that they like to say there is nothing so important as what they themselves want.

Gĩthomo, Kũina, Gũthaka, kana maũndũ mangi maingĩ matiri bata, ona angĩ maga [??] macio nĩ mehia. Tondũ ũcio tũkagia na andũ a mĩthemba itatũ.

Mũthemba ũmwe ũkoĩga ũndũ ũrĩa wĩ bata o makĩrĩa nĩ gwĩtikia na kuhoya. Na maũndũ maya mangĩ mothe ta gĩthomo ũtonga na gũikarania na andũ arĩa matarĩ etikia nĩ mehia. Tondũ atĩ gĩthomo nĩ ũgĩ wa gũkũ thĩ, na nĩ mehia. Naguo ũtonga atĩ nĩ indo cia gũkũ thĩ na nĩ mehia. Nakuo gũthaka atĩ nĩ mwago wa gũkũ thĩ, na nĩ mehia. Na tondũ ũcio ũndũ ũria ũkĩrĩ bata no gũikara thĩ, na gwĩthikĩra, na kũhoya, na kũrĩra tondũ wa mehia marĩa mũndũ a neka. Tondũ ũcio mũndũ akambĩrĩria kũgarũrũka gĩthithĩ, akahana ta mũndũ mũkuĩre. Onawe wa muona ũkamwĩtigĩra tondũ wa ũrĩa athũkĩte. Naguo mũthemba wa kerĩ nĩ ũcio wa kuga atĩ kĩndũ kĩrĩa kĩrĩ bata no gũtonga, tondũ ũcio ũndũ o wothe wa kũrehe mbeca ũkerũo nĩ mwega, na ũndũ o wothe ũtarĩ wa kũrehe mbeca ũkerũo nĩ mũrũ, na ndũrĩ bata.

Ningĩ andũ aingĩ tondũ wa kũgucio mũno nĩ rĩcĩria rĩu rĩa kwenda mbeca, makariganĩrũo nĩ andũ arĩa angĩ othe arata, na matarĩ arata, magatwĩka atĩ angĩkorũo, ndarĩ ũndũ angĩhenia mũndũ naguo, nĩguo amũrũkie kĩndũ, mũndũ ũcio ndarĩ bata tondũ ndarĩ kĩndũ angioyũo.

Na nĩkĩo matũkũ maya kwĩna andũ aingĩ a maheni, na matangĩhokeka. Tondũ ningĩ [??] wira muna na umwe wao aneo aige, no [??] acio angĩ.

Nakĩo gĩkundi gĩa gatatũ nĩ kĩrĩa gitarĩ harĩa kĩrĩ, na nĩkĩo kĩingĩ matukũ maya. Gĩtiri hari wĩtikio. Nĩngĩ gitarĩ hari gũcaria indo. Wira wao nĩ mbũrũrũ ya gũthĩ o handũ harĩa mũndũ enda, na gwĩka o ũrĩa mũndũ enda, ũguo nĩ kuga atĩ andũ acio magucagio no maũndũ ma rĩu kana ũmũthĩ, ũndũ o wothe ũkonii rũciũ ndũrĩ bata, mwago wa mĩthemba yothe nĩ mwega kũrĩo.

Na tondũ ũcio-rĩ, gĩkundi kũu nĩkĩo kĩrũmĩtie nyĩmbo, cia ndaci, na gwĩka maũndũ maingĩ ma waganu. Nao andũ acio a ikundi icio ingĩ mona ũguo makoiga atĩ, kũina ndaci nĩ waganu, tondũ andũ arĩa mainaga ndaci nĩ andũ arĩa aganu.

Ikundi icio igĩrĩ cia mbere itirĩ na ihĩtia kuga ũguo, tondũ nĩma kwĩna waganu mũingĩ makĩrĩa na no kuongerereka ũrakĩrĩa kuongerereka.

Na tondũ wa maũndũ macio-rĩ, nĩkĩo mwandĩki egũikio nĩ kĩaha, akoria kana hihĩ ibuku rĩrĩ nĩ rikarĩka, nĩ getha hihĩ rĩteithie andũ amwe, arĩa megũkorũo matarĩ athũku mũno, kana arĩa mekwambĩrĩria gũthũka, tondũ nĩ hinya kũhonio mũrimũ ũrĩkĩtie gũikara matukũ maingĩ, ona kana mĩaka mũingĩ.

Education, singing, playing and many other things are not important. Others are heard to say that these are sins. Consequently, there are three types of people.

One group says the most important thing is to believe and pray, and that all else—like education, wealth, and living with other people who are not believers is sinful. That education is worldly knowledge and is sin; that wealth is worldly possessions and is sin; that playing is a worldly pleasure and is sin. That the only important thing, while we live in the world, is to grieve, praying and crying over the many sins one has committed. Because of this, one's face starts to change, and one looks like someone bereaved. Even when you see him, you fear him, for his face has become repulsive.⁹⁷

The second group say the only important thing is to acquire wealth, that any means to get rich is acceptable, and that efforts that do not yield money are worthless. Because they are attracted to getting money, many people forget their friends and foes. They think other people useless unless they can [be used to] deceive or trick others.⁹⁸

That is why there are many liars and untrustworthy people these days. If a group subscribes money to do something or to meet a certain need and entrusts the cash to one of their members for safe keeping, he will cheat the others.

The third and largest group of people are those who have no standpoint. They are neither among the believers nor among the wealth-seekers. They just drift from one place to another doing just as they wish. They are attracted by short-term needs, and think tomorrow unimportant. What is important is every sort of pleasure.

This group therefore likes secular music and is involved in the most despicable behaviour. When people from the first two groups see this they say dancing is evil, since wicked people dance.

The first two groups are not wrong to say this, since there is indeed a lot of wickedness, and it keeps increasing.

So the writer is very worried and asks if, when this book is finished, it may perhaps help some people to avoid being spoiled or drifting into wickedness. [But] it is difficult to cure a disease that has persisted for days or years.

What example might help us to characterise the faults⁹⁹ of the three sorts of people living today?

Hihi-rĩ, nĩ ngerekano ĩrĩkũ ĩngĩtũteithia kuona ihĩtia ria andũ acio a mĩthemba ĩo ĩtatũ ĩkuo matukũ maya.

Reke tuoe ngerekano ya ciĩga ciitũ, tuge atĩrĩrĩ: Twĩna mĩtwe, na thĩĩnĩ wa mĩtwe gwĩ tombo, ũria ũmenyaga maũndũ.

Tombo ũcio ũtwaragĩrũo ũmenyo nĩ maitho, na matũ na maniũrũ, ona ciĩga iria ĩngĩ tũgwetire. No rĩrĩ bata ũria ũrutagwo nĩ maitho tiguu ũrutagwo nĩ matũ kana maniũrũ.

Tondũ ndũngĩhota kuona na handũ hangĩ tiga maitho, ningĩ ndũngĩhota kũigua na handũ hangĩ tiga matũ, na ndũngĩhota kũigua mũrukĩ na handũ hangĩ tiga o maniũrũ.

Rĩu-rĩ, ciĩga icio ciaheanirũo nĩ Ngai, na ndaheanire ituĩke mehia, no nĩ ituĩke cia gũteithia mũndũ ũcio.

Rĩu-rĩ, mũndũ ũcio angicoka oige atĩ maitho make nomo me bata-rĩ, na atĩ ciĩga icio ĩngĩ ciothe nĩ mehia-rĩ; na ũngĩ oige atĩ matũ make nomo me bata-ri, na icio ĩngĩ nĩ mehia-ri, nake ũria ũngĩ oige atĩ maniũrũ make nomo marĩ bata-rĩ, na maitho na matũ nĩ mehia-rĩ, mũndũ ũcio-rĩ, atuĩka mũgĩ kana kĩrimũ?

Nĩ tũĩ maitho me bata kuri matũ namo matũ me bata kũrĩ maniũrũ harĩ ũhoru wa kũigua mũrukĩ. Tondũ rĩrĩ, wahota gwĩtikia ũndũ tondũ wa kuona gũkĩra kũigua, na nĩkĩo kuona gũgũtuĩka atĩ kwĩ bata gũkĩra kũigua.

Nĩngĩ wahota gwĩtikia ũndũ tondũ wa kũigua na matũ gũkĩra kũigua mũrukĩ. No rĩrĩ ciĩga icio ciothe no kinya igĩe na mũndũ nĩgetha atuĩke mũgima.

Īo nĩyo ngerekano itũ. Na tondũ ũcio rĩ reke tuge gwĩtikia nĩ maithe, na gũtonga nĩ matũ, na gũthaka nĩ maniũrũ. Na tondũ ũcio nĩ tũkuona o wega ũria maũndũ macio makonainie.

Nĩgetha tũcoke twĩre mwĩtikia atĩ tiwega gwĩthikĩra, nĩ arute wĩra na akene tondũ kũgĩa na kindũ ũrutĩire wĩra ti mehia.

Nake mĩtongi tũmwĩre atĩ to gũtonga gwiki kwĩ bata, nĩagĩrĩrũo nĩ gwĩtikia nĩgetha ũtonga wake ũmũgune tondũ wa kwaga mwĩtio wa atĩ nĩ gĩtonga. Nake mwendi mwago tũmwĩre atĩ mũrĩo nĩ wĩriagĩra, nĩ wega kũruta wĩra nĩ hinya, na gwĩciria ũhoru wa rũciũ, na atige maũndũ marĩa matarĩ kĩguni harĩ we kana harĩ mũndũ ũria ũngĩ, ona tũmwĩre atĩ ti ũru kwenda Ngai.

Let us take the example of our bodily organs and say this: We have a head and in our head there is a brain that helps us comprehend things.¹⁰⁰

This understanding is transmitted to the brain by the eye, ear, and nose as well as the other organs we have mentioned. But the eye does not play the same role as the ear or nose.

For you cannot see with anything other than the eye, you cannot hear other than by ear, and you cannot smell with anything except a nose.

Now God gave us these organs, and he never gave them out wrongly, but to help the human being.

Now if someone says that only his eyes are useful, that all other organs are evil; and another says that only his ears are useful and other organs evil; and then another says only the nose is useful and that the eye and the ear are evil, are they clever or foolish?

We know that eyes are more important than ears and ears more important than the nose. You may believe something because you see it rather than hear it, and that is why it is said that seeing is better than hearing.

You may also believe something because of hearing rather than smelling it. But everyone must have all these organs in order to be complete.

This is our comparison. Belief is the eye, wealth is the ear and play is the nose. We see clearly how these things are related.

So we tell the believer that it is not good to grieve, he should work and be happy, because to have something you have worked for is not sin.

We should tell the wealthy that being rich is not the only important thing. He should believe so that his wealth will benefit him, rather than merely have pride in his riches. We should tell the reveller that *mūrio ni wīriāgīra* (pleasure also eats),¹⁰¹ and it is good to work hard and think about tomorrow. He should abandon things that do not benefit him. [We should tell him] that it is not bad to love God.

26. *Kūina na gūthaka*

Hīndī yothe tiya gwīthikira, ningī hīndī yothe tiya gūkena, ona ningī hīndī yothe tiya gūthaka. No rīrī, he hīndī ya gwīthikira na he hīndī ya gūkena, ona he hīndī ya gūtheka, na he hīndī ya kūina.

Gūkīga nī gwīcīria atī hīndī yothe nīya gūkena na atī hīndī yothe nīya gūthaka ona atī hīndī yothe nīya kūina, kūu-rī, ona ti gūkīga, nī kūgūrūka gwīcīria ūguo.

Tondū ūcio-rī, nī wega kūina hīndī ya kūina yakinyīrira; tondū kūina nī ūndū ūmwe ūkenagia ngoro ciitū. Tondū kwī nyīmbo cia wendo, cia gūkeno, cia kīeha, ona cia ūcamba. Na ciothe nī ciikīraga ngoro ciitū hinya na gūkeno, kwoguo nī wega kūina.

Tondū ūcio nī kwagīrīre andū arīa moī kūina, na marī mīgambo mīega merute makīria kūina nyīmbo cia kīrū.

Nyīmbo cia tene nīciakenagia andū a tene, ta gīcukia na mūgoiyo, na nyīmbo ciothe iria ciarī kuo. Rīu ititūire, na iria itūire cinagūo nī andū anyinyi, kwoguo ikenagia o andū anyinyi.

Ūrīa ningī andū mangīka nī kwīruta kūina nyīmbo cia kīrū, na kūhūthira indo cia kūina nacio ta inanda cia mīthemba yothe, ngitaa piano na iria ingī ikuo ciothe.

Nī getha hīndī irīa andū marīkia mawīra mao kahwaī-inī, magathiī gūthikīrīria nyīmbo icio njega cia kūhoreria ngoro. Na tondū ūcio nīkwagīrīre gwakwo manyūmba ma gūthakīrūo, ona makūrutagīrūo mbica cia thitima kana Cinema.

Aini acio o nao mahota kuona mbeca ciao na njīra ya ūini tondū mahota kūrīhagia tigiti mūdū o wothe ūrīthiaga kūigua makīina o na kana kuona Cinema icio ciao. Githī ndūgūkīona atī nī, wega kūgīe na ngwatanīro ya aini?

27. *Kūrīithia na arīithi*

Tene kūrīithia nīkuo kwarī wīra wa andū aingī, na ūhiū warī mūingī naguo ūrīithio warī mūnene. No matukū maya-rī, ūhiū witū nī mūnyinyi makīria harī ithuī Agīkūyū. Na ūrīithio naguo no mūnyinyi.

No rīrī, tūngīrora wega-rī, no tuone atī tūtiagīrīrūo nī kwaga ūhiū o biū. Ta makīria ng'ombe tondū wa iria rīa ciana ciitū.

Bata wa mbūri na ng'ombe tene warī wa kūracia, na wakūruta magongona, na kūria irugū andū makagīa hinya mwīrī, bata ūcio ndūri ūrathira no wī njīra ya ithirīro tondū andū aingī maracagia mbeca handū ha mbūri.

26. *Singing and playing*

Not all time is for grieving, neither is all time for enjoyment, nor is it for playing. There is a time for grieving, a time for happiness, a time for playing and for singing.¹⁰²

It is foolish to think that all time is for enjoyment or for playing. It is not even foolishness, it is madness.¹⁰³

It is better to sing when a time for singing comes, for singing is something to please our hearts. There are love songs, songs for enjoyment, mourning songs and heroic songs. All of them strengthen and enlighten our hearts. So it is important to sing.

It is important therefore that those who know how to sing and have good voices learn to sing modern songs.

Traditional songs like *gichukia* and *mugoiyo* used to entertain people in their time.¹⁰⁴ That time has gone, and few sing them, so they entertain only a few.

People can learn to sing modern songs and use musical instruments of different kinds, like guitars, pianos, and so on, so that when people have finished their work in the evening, they can go to listen to these good songs and soothe their hearts.¹⁰⁵ There is, accordingly, a need to build entertainment theatres and cinema halls.

These singers may also earn money by charging fees to those who go to watch them perform. Do you not see that it is important to have a singers' association?

27. *Herding and herders*¹⁰⁶

In the past, herding was the main occupation of most people. There were many livestock and large pastures. These days, our livestock are few, especially among we Agikuyu. Grazing areas are also reduced.

But if we look keenly, we can see that we cannot fail to keep some livestock, especially cows to provide milk for our children.

In the past goats and cows were important in paying dowry, offering sacrifices, and feasting. This importance has not diminished although it is on the way out, since many people pay cash instead of cows for dowry.

Kwoguo bata wa kūracia wahota kūninwo nī mbeca, no bata wa kūrera ciana ciitū na iria ndūnginwo nī mbeca. Tondū rīrīa ng'ombe ingithira ndūngihota kuona iria ona wīna mbeca.

Tondū ūcio nī kwagīrīre andū amwe methure, magīe na ūiguano, magūre ūhiū. Na magūre gīthaka kana makombore, gīa kūrīthia ūhiū ūcio wao.

Na thutha woguo mamenye atī ūrīa magīrīrūo nī kūmenya nī ūrīa ng'ombe icio ngiuma iria riingī, na kīrīa ingīrīa ciikare irī noru, na ūrīa mangīcigitīra mūrīmū itikae gūkua.

Kwoguo ūteithio ūrīa wothe mangīheo nī Ndagītārī wa ng'ombe, ona wa andū arīa merutīte ūhoru wa mīrimū ya nyamū ta ng'ombe na mbūri na ngūkū, ūteithio ūcio makawamukīaa na moko merī.

Ningī magīe na ūhiū ūrīa ūngimarehere umithio ta ng'ondū cia nuthu. Nīguo hīndī irīa martinia guoya wacio makendia makona mbeca nago. Ningī magīe na ngūkū nyingī cia kūrēkia matumbī maingī.

Twagaga kuona umithio mūnene tondū wa wīra witū kūnyīha. Na rīrīa twa mbīrīrīa wīra witū ona ūrīkū, rekei twīcīragīe ūrīa tūngūnenehia o makīria.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, arīithi mahota kuona mbeca na njira ithatū kūrīngana na ūguo twoīga. Ya mbere nīya kwendia iria ria ng'ombe icio ciao, ona kwendia ng'ombe cia gūthenjwo ya kerī nī ya kwendia guoya wa ng'ondū cia nuthu, na kwendia ng'ondū icio cia gūthīnjwo ya gatatu nī īo ya kwendia matūmbī ma ngūkū, ona kwendia ngūkū icio ona cio.

Rīrikana ati kwenda guitū nīkuo gīthimi kīa harīa tūngīhota gūkinyia wīra mūna.

28. *Kwendia na endia*

Twarikia kūruta wīra o wothe-rī, nī mbeca tūrīgīaga nacio. Na mbeca icio tūkagūra īndo iria itūbatairie ta nguo, na irio, na indo cīa kūrīma nacio, na cia gwaka nacio, ona mītokaa ya gūkua indo ciitu nayo. Ona ya gwīkenia.

No rīrī andū arīa megūtūwīka endia-rī ona kana arīa mendegia rīu-rī, nīwega magīe na ūgima harī wendīa-īni gūkīra ūrīa amwe ao matarī rīu.

Tondū endia aingi a matūkū maya matīrī mūthia wa harīa mangīkinyia goro wa kindū Mūdū nīa hota kūgūra kindū na Shillingi ikūmi, na angīthīī one mūdū kīrimū ūgwītīkīra kūruta Shilling mīrongo ītano ndangīona thoni kwamūkīra mbeca icio.

It is important therefore for some people to come together to buy livestock. They should also buy or lease land on which to graze their stock.

They should then learn how to increase their cows' milk production, what they should eat to remain fat, and how disease can be prevented.

The help they get from veterinary doctors and others who have trained in animal health should therefore be welcomed with both hands.

They should also look for livestock that will bring benefit, like sheep whose wool can earn money. They should also keep many egg-laying hens.

Thus, herders can earn money in three ways. First, through the sale of milk and cows for beef; second, by sale of the wool from merino sheep and the sale of the sheep themselves; and third, by the sale of eggs and of the hens themselves.

Remember that our love is the best determinant of how well we perform a task.

28. *Trade and traders*¹⁰⁷

Whenever we complete any sort of work, we earn money. We use this to buy necessities such as clothes, food, farm implements, construction tools, vehicles for carrying goods, and entertainment.

But those who want to be traders or who sell today should trade fairly.

Most traders today place no upper price limit on their goods. One can buy an item at ten shillings and then meet a buyer willing to pay fifty shillings for it, and the seller will not be reluctant to take that money.

Maündũ ta macĩo nĩmo riu maĩyurite bũrũrĩ-inĩ witũ, tondũ wahota kũigua endia aingĩ makĩgana ũria monete umithio mũnene tondũ wa kwendia indo goro irĩa megũkorũo magũrĩte raithi.

Nao andũ acio mekwĩganĩrũo matingĩigua ũguo arĩ ũru tondũ worĩa nao mekwĩrĩrĩria mangĩona indo ta ĩcio nao mendie goro oro ũguo.

Na tondũ ũcio tũgakiona atĩ, andũ akũmenyera mũtugo mũru, na othe hage ũriuga atĩ ũguo nĩ ũru, mũtugo ũcio wahota gũtũũra na andũ acĩo, naguo ũmatũrie thutha wa ndũrĩrĩ irĩa ingĩ. O kinya moragia kiria kĩgiragia magĩe na maündũ mega ta ndũrĩrĩ icio ingĩ.

Ūngĩcirĩa wega-rĩ, no wone atĩ ũtonga o wothe ndũngĩgĩa gĩtũmi ona bata hangĩaga andũ angĩ agũkena hamwe na gĩtonga kũu. Tondũ rĩrĩ, andũ othe mangithira-rĩ, ũtĩgĩrũo indo iria igũkũ thĩ ĩno yothe-rĩ, wakena?

Angikorũo nĩ gũkena ũngĩkena, no ũtwĩke Kĩrimũ kĩa mũthia wa irĩa ingĩ. No andũ aingĩ no maigue kieha mũno na mone indo icio ciothe ta ĩtari bata. Tondũ ũcio tũkona atĩ kĩndũ kigiaga bata tondũ wa andũ aria angĩ.

Hĩndi irĩa ũkwendia kĩndũ na goro ũcio ũtarĩ mũthia nĩ kuga atĩ ndũri na meciria ma andũ aria angĩ. Tondũ rĩrĩ, mwendia o wothe angĩendia kĩndũ kĩrĩa enakio goro o ũrĩa ahota, no kinya andũ aingĩ mathine matigare o acio ene indo, nao mathĩna moragwo nĩ ũthĩni ũcio, magĩtigwo oiki na indo ciao ciage wa kũgũra, githĩ ndũgũkĩona atĩ ti andũ arĩa angĩ ũgũteithia hĩndĩ irĩa ũkwendia kĩndũ gĩaku goro mũno? Mwĩrĩrĩri ndegunaga.

Tondũ wa ũguo-rĩ, ũrĩa mwendia o wothe agĩrĩrũo nĩ kũmenya nĩ atĩ ahana ta mũtungatĩri wa andũ arĩa angĩ, kana mũmateithia. Na gũteithia mũndũ tikũmũikia mwaki-inĩ kana ũru-inĩ o wothe, kũmwenderĩa kĩndũ goro nĩ kũmũikia ũru-inĩ.

Tondũ ũcio harĩamwendia o wothe ũrĩa agĩrĩrũo nĩ kũrora nĩ atĩ ndagathii hasara. Tondũ nĩngĩ agĩthĩ hasara ndecoka kũhota gũteithia andũ acio angĩ kwoguo endie indo ciake atekwenda baita nene mũno hari kĩndũ kĩrĩa ekwendia o giothe.

Tondũ rĩrĩ, ũngĩgũra indo nduka-inĩ, tuge mathabuni iganana rĩmwe (100) gwa Shillingi mĩrongo ĩtano 50/- ũguo nĩ kuga no thabunĩ thumuni 50: 100 ũkũithie na Shillingi igĩrĩ 2/-, ũguo nĩ kuga ati thogora wamo magĩkinya ndũka-inĩ yaku nĩ Shillingi 52/- mĩrongo ĩtano na ĩgiri kana o thabuni thendi mĩrongo itano na ĩgiri /-52.

Such issues now fill our country and you will hear many traders boast of how they have earned big profits¹⁰⁸ by selling at exorbitant prices items they bought cheaply.

When people are told of these abnormal profits they welcome the news, since they too wish to buy the same goods and sell them at the same excessive prices.

We see therefore that once people get used to bad behaviour that goes unquestioned, the behaviour lives on, and keeps them behind other communities. Only then will they ask why they never have a good life by comparison with others.

If you think seriously, you will find that wealth alone is not justifiable or useful if others cannot enjoy it. If all people perish and you are left with all the wealth in the world, would you be happy? If you were happy, you would be the greatest fool. Most people would be saddened and find no use in all that wealth. We therefore find that a thing becomes valuable in relation to other people.

When you sell something exorbitantly, it shows you do not care for other people. If every trader sells whatever he has for as much as he can, many people will become poor and die of poverty, leaving no one to buy their goods. Can you see that you are not helping other people when you sell goods at extravagant prices? *Mwīrīriri ndegunaga (One who pleads in his own case does not gain)*.

What every trader should know is that he is like a servant of others, or a helper.¹⁰⁹ Helping someone is not to throw him into the fire or into any kind of trouble. Selling him goods at exorbitant prices is to throw him into trouble.

Every trader should make sure he does not sell at a loss. If he does, he will not be able to help others, and cannot sell [more] goods without going for abnormal profits.

If you buy goods [wholesale], say a hundred (100) bars of soap at fifty shillings, each bar is worth fifty cents (-/50). If you [then] pay two shillings to get the one hundred bars to your shop, the total cost of the soap will be fifty-two shillings (52/-), and every bar will cost fifty-two cents (-/52).

Kwoguo-rĩ, ũngĩenda magũrũo narua-rĩ, wendie o thabuni thendi mĩrongo ĩtano na ithano-rĩ 100×55, makũrehe Shilling ithatu 3/- igũrũ wa ciaku. Na hihi mathĩre ona rua ũgĩre mangĩ wendie o ũguo narua.

No mũndũ ũrĩa ũgĩthĩ ekinye na thabuni ũmwe Shillingi ĩmwe rĩ, nĩgetha one baita Shillingi nyĩngĩ-rĩ, mathabuni make nĩ mekũregũo, kana hihi magũragũo hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mũndũ athirĩrũo akaga handũ hangi harĩ. Kwoguo maikare hau nduka-inĩ ihinda inene.

Nawe-rĩ, ũkorũo hihi nĩ wendetie macio maku magĩthiraga thabarĩ ithano. Githĩ ndũgũkiona atĩ wĩna baita Shillingi ikũmi na ithano 15/- hĩndĩ irĩa mũrataguo ena ĩmwe kana igĩrĩ?

Tũgakĩona atĩ, kwendia kĩndũ raithi, ũkĩmenyaga ndũrĩ hasara ũkuona nikĩo gĩtũmaga bĩashara o yothe ithĩ na mbere Na atĩ kwendia indo goro o ũrĩa wahota nikuo gĩtũmaga yage kũneneha.

Tũgũkĩrĩkia ũhoru ũcio na ciugo ici: menya atĩ nĩ andũ arĩa angĩ ũgũteithia hĩndĩ ĩrĩa ũkwendia indo ciaku. Tiga kwenda baita nene o harĩ kĩndũ kĩrĩa ũkwedia, menyerera ndũgathĩ hasara. Kenera andũ hĩndĩ irĩa ũkũmederia na ndũkorĩa agũri mekumakũ.

Tanya wendie indo ciaku nyingĩ kahinda gatarĩ kanene, na weka ũguo hatirĩ kĩgĩria kĩa biashara yaku inenehe.

29. *Kũgũra na agũri*

Indo irĩa ciothe ciendagio nduka-inĩ cia andũ airũ, ikoragwo igũrĩtwo o gũkũ gũkuhĩ. Naguo ũguo nĩ kuga acio mendagĩria andũ airũ, makoragwo magĩrithĩtie kũraya kũrĩa ithondekagĩrũo.

Na thogora ũrĩa makoragwo magũrĩte naguo kũu tiguu matwendagĩria naguo, tondũ no kinya makorũo magũrĩte na thogora ũtarĩ mũnene.

Rĩũ-rĩ, twatua kũnenehia manduka maitũ-rĩ tũrĩgũraga indo o gũkũ gũkuhĩ kana hihi nĩ twagĩrirũo nĩ kũgĩrithia kũu ithondekagĩrũo, ta England, America, India na mabũrũri marĩa mangĩ tũiguuga moimaga indo icio?

Mwandĩki ekuona atĩ nĩ wega kũgĩrĩthia indo kũndũ kũu ithondekagĩrũo, nĩgetha ona ithuĩ tũkendanagĩria na thogora ũtarĩ mũnene. Ti atĩ tũgĩrithie tũrĩ ithuothe, aca no nĩ twĩyamũre gĩkundi kĩmwe kĩnene, kĩheane na wĩra ũcio wa kũgĩrithia indo.

Uguo nĩ kuga kĩhothe mbecha, ici nyingĩ cia kũhota gũthinga kĩng'ethũ harĩ ũhoru wa kũrehithia indo, hatari thirĩ. Tũngĩrĩkia kũiguana na twendane, na tũhĩge, no kinya hatirĩ ũndũ ona ũmwe tũngĩenda gwĩka

So if you want them sold quickly, sell each bar at fifty-five cents ($-/55$), $100 \times -/55$. The buyers will have paid you three shillings ($3/-$) on top of what you bought. Your stock of soap will soon run out and you can go for another.

But suppose someone [else] sells a bar for one shilling to make more profit, will his soap be bought? It is bought [only] when somebody has finished up what he had and has nowhere else to buy. That soap will remain in the shops for a long time.

You, perhaps, will have sold your soap five times over. Don't you see that you will have a profit of fifteen shillings, when your friend has one or two?

Selling goods fairly, knowing that you are not selling at a loss, makes a business prosper. Selling goods at exorbitant prices can make a business fail.

We conclude this matter in these words: Know that you are helping other people when you sell your goods. Do not sell them at exorbitant prices. Take care you do not sell at a loss. Be good to people when you are selling to them and you will never [need to] ask where customers will come from.

Aim to sell your goods within a short time, and if you do this there is no reason why your business will not grow.

29. *Buying and buyers*

Goods sold in black people's shops are often bought locally. Those who sell to black people have bought them in far away places where they are manufactured.

They do not sell to us at the same price that they bought from the factory, for they must have bought their goods more cheaply.

Now, when we start expanding our shops, shall we buy our goods locally or will we get them from manufacturers in England, America, India, and other countries that we hear produce these goods?

The writer thinks that it is better to import the goods [wholesale] from where they are made, so that we will [retail] to our people at fair prices. Not everybody should get involved in importing, but one big [wholesaler] group should do this.

The group should contribute enough money to finance the importation of goods without incurring debts. Once we agree, love each other, and become knowledgeable, there is nothing we cannot succeed in. To

türemwo. No rĩrĩ, kũiguana gũtirĩ mbeca kwendagio, ona kwendana ti kũgũrũo kũgũragwo, no maciaro ma maũndũ macio merĩ nĩ manene gũkĩra indo cia mbeca nyingĩ mũno.

Ririkana thũ itũ ĩrĩa tũrarũa nayo ibuku-inĩ rĩrĩ, nĩ thĩna, na ũrimũ, ũrĩa ũtũmaga maũndũ moru moneke, ta ũiru na kũmenana hatarĩ gĩtũmi, kũrĩa ningĩ gũtũmaga mũndũ agĩe na ngoro ya kwanda gũtonga o we wiki.

Tũgakorũo tũkienda mandũ marĩa mega ta: ũiguano, wendani, kwĩhokeka, maiyũre harĩ andũ aitũ othe, nĩ getha bũrũri witũ ũgĩe na gĩkeno, okinya wone atĩ andũ othe, nĩ magũire na mĩhang'Ń, na mathera mĩrĩ na ngoro, kworia mũrimũ ũcio mũru wa ũiru na rũthũro ũrikĩtie kũhonwo, ũgathira ngoro-inĩ cia andũ othe.

Githĩ hihĩ rĩu ndũgũkĩona gĩtũmi kĩa Ũkristiano o makĩria, Ngai witũ-rĩ ti Ngai wa maũndũ marĩa, moru no nĩ Ngai wa maũndũ marĩa mega, ũthĩni na ũrimũ na ũiru, na ũgũta, na gĩko, nĩ maũndũ moru, na timake. No nĩ Ngai wa maũndũ mega, na mũheani wamo, namo maũndũ macio mega nĩ wendani, ũiguano, gĩkeno, ũtheru, wa mwĩrĩ ona wa Ngoro, na maũndũ marĩa mothe mega twĩriragĩria.

Ihĩtia rĩa andũ aingĩ nĩ gwĩtikia ngerekano ithenya rĩa ũhoru ũrĩa ũkwenda kũheyanwo na ngerekano. Tondũ rĩrĩ, ngerekano iteithagia andũ kũigua ũhoru wa kĩndũ kĩngĩ kĩ mbere ya ngerekano ĩo, tondũ nĩ harĩ andũ aingĩ metikĩtie atĩ ũthĩni na Ũkristiano itwaranaga njira ĩmwe, na atĩ nĩ wega gũthĩna nĩgetha mũndũ athĩi matui-inĩ.

Jesu aragia ũhoru na ngerekano, na ũguo nĩ kuga atĩ aragia ũhoru wĩ mbere ya ngerekano ĩo kũrĩngana na ũguo tuona ona angĩkorũo nĩ agwetire ũtonga-rĩ, ti ũtonga arumire no nĩ ngoro ya mũndũ mũkĩgu ũrĩa ũigaga ngoro yake harĩ ũtonga ũcio wake.

Tiwega gũthaya wĩgwatagie atĩ nĩ Ngai wĩtikĩtie, ũguo nĩ kuruma Ngai na niguo mehia.

30. *Gũthũrana na irimũ*

Mũndũ amenagirũo ciiko ciake thũku, kana mĩario yake mĩũru. Mũndũ ekaga na aragia ũrĩa ecirĩtie, ũguo nĩ kuga mĩario yaku na ciiko ciaku ingĩkorũo irĩ thũku, nĩ meciria maku mathũku. Na nĩ wĩra wa mũndũ kwĩyũria harĩa athũkĩire nĩ getha ethondeke.

Ũngĩkorũo wĩ mũici, na andũ makũmene na magwĩte mũici, ũguo ti gũkũmena, no nĩma mekuga na matirĩ na ihĩtia gũgwĩta ũguo, ona angĩkorũo nĩ ũkũrakara tondũ wa gwĩtwo mũici, na wĩ mũici, marakara

agree together does not require money and to love one another costs nothing, but their fruits are more than very valuable goods.

Remember that the enemies we are fighting in this book are poverty and ignorance, which cause bad things like jealousy, unreasonable hatred, and the desire to become wealthy for one's own sake.

We should be looking for the good things: unity, love, and honesty to be possessed by everybody, so that our country will be happy, its people busy, and their bodies and hearts clean. The bad diseases of jealousy and hatred will be completely healed¹¹⁰ from all hearts.

Can you see the value of Christianity now? Our God is not a God of the bad things but a God of good things. Poverty, ignorance, jealousy, laziness, and uncleanness are all bad things and are not from God. He is the provider of good things like love, unity, happiness, cleanliness of the body and heart and all the good things we hope for.

The problem with many people is that they believe in parables rather than in the meanings that underlie them. A parable helps people learn about something beyond the parable. Some people believe that poverty and Christianity follow the same path, that it is good to be poor so that you can go to heaven.

When Jesus spoke in parables, he was speaking of matters beyond them. Even when he mentioned wealth, he did not criticise it. He criticized the desires of the foolish man who rests his hopes in his wealth.¹¹¹ It is not good to become a fool, presuming that you believe in God. This is to abuse God and is sinful.¹¹²

30. *Hating fools*

A person is hated because of his bad deeds and words. We act and speak as we have thought. If your actions and talk are bad, then your mind is wicked. It is a person's responsibility to ask himself where he has gone wrong, so that he can correct his mistake.

If you are a thief and people despise you and call you a thief, they don't hate you. They are not wrong to call you that, and if you get angry on being called a thief, your anger will not be genuine. What

maku ti ma ma, tondū ūria ūgūkorūo ūkienda nī atī andū metikie atī ndūrī mūici. Ūgakienda maheni maku metikio thenya rīa ma irīa andū meyoneire.

No ūngīkorūo ndūrī mūici, na wītwo mūicī, marakara maku nī ma ma. Na ūrīa wagīrīire nī gwīka nī kūgeria kuonia andū acio ūrīa ūtari mūici, na thutha hihi nī megwītīkia tondū ma irīhinya gūkīra maheni

Gūthūka gwa kīndū o gīothe nī rīrīa kīagīte kūhana ūrīa kīagīrīrūo nī kūhana, kana gīkaremwo nī kūruta wīra ūrīa gīthondekeirūo kīrutage.

Nakuo kwagīra gwa kīndū o gīothe, nī rīrīa kīhanīte wega gūkīra ūrīa kīagīrīrūo nī kūhana, na gīkaruta wīra ūrīa gīthondekeirūo wega makīria gūkīra indo iria ingī ihana takīo.

Ningī he kīndū kīngīrūo ti kīūru na tikīega, no nīkīraruta wīra ūrīa gīthondekeirūo o ta mūtugo kwoguo andū, makariganīrūo nīkīo. Ta rīrī, guoko gwaku tikūrūaru, na nī ūraruta wīra waku o wega nakuo. Na tondū ūcio-rī ndūrārīrikana atī wīna guoko gwaku gūtārī kūrūaru, ūguo noguo gūtārīi thīnī wa maūndū maingī.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, kīndū kīmenyagwo nī kīega, gīa kīra handū heho, na kīndū kīmenyagwo nī kīūru, gīaikūrūka makīria ya handū heho, ota ūguo mūndū arīrikanaga atī ena guoko kūrūaru hīndī irīa kūrūarīte.

Tondū wa kūmenya ūguo-rī, tareke twīcirīe ūhorō wa mūndū ūrīa agīrīrūo nī kūhana. Ngai ombīte mūndū atuīke mūgīma maūndū-inī mothe. Ūgīma nī kwenda Ma, kīyo, kwendana, kūhorera, kwīhokeka na ūtheru wa maūndū mothe.

Hīndī irīa mūndū ena maūndū macio mothe, no agatuīka Mūgī na andū magakenio nīwe. No andū arīa matangīkenio nīwe no arīa athūku makīria yake. Tondū mūici endaga mūici ūrīa ūngī.

Kwaga ūgīma nakuo nī kūhenania, gūthaya, gūthūrana, kūgūrūka, kwaga kwīhokeka, ūiru, na gīko kīa mūthemba o wothe.

Tondū ūcio-rī, ūngīkorūo wīna maūndū macio mothe mega-rī, na mūndū akūrume kana agūthūre-rī, ndwagīrīrūo nī gwītanga tondū mūndū ūcio nīwe wī ihītia-inī. Na angīkorūo wīna maūndū macio mothe moru, na mūndū agwītanie na ūmwe wamo, ūguo tigūkūruma egūkūruma, no nī gūkwīra ūrīa ūtārī na nīma ekwarīa.

No rīrī, nīkwahoteka ūmenerūo tūhū kana ūrumwo tūhū oro ūguo, tondū wa gīthithi gīaku, kana werū na ūirū wa gikonde gīaku. No ūcio ti ūndū wa gūtūma mūndū wama etange tondū nīwe wiyūi makīria ya andū arīa angī othe.

you would like are people who will make others believe you are not a thief. You want your lies to be believed, rather than the truth which people have seen for themselves.

But if you are not a thief and are called a thief, then your anger will be genuine. What you should do is show people you are not a thief. In the end, they will believe you for truth is stronger than lies.

Something is bad when it fails to do what it's supposed to do, or when it refuses to do the work it was built to perform. Something is good when it has improved on its nature, and does what it is supposed to do better than other things which are similar.

Some things are neither bad nor good but do the work they were built for, so people forget about them. Your hand, for example, is not sick and you continue using it to work. So you do not remember that your hand is not sick. This is true of many things.

Thus, something is known to be good when it goes up to a certain limit and bad when it goes below a certain point. When his hand is sick a person knows it.

Let us see now how a person ought to be. God created man so that he [can be] mature in all things. Maturity is the love of truth, hard work, love for others, circumspection,¹¹³ and honesty and cleanness¹¹⁴ in every respect.

Someone with all these attributes is wise and people will be happy with him. Those unhappy with him are worse off than he. For a thief [only] loves another thief.

To be immature is to lie, to be foolish, to hate others, to be mad, dishonest, jealous, and [full of] all kinds of uncleanness.

If you have all those good attributes and someone hates or abuses you, you should not be troubled, as the other is in the wrong. If you have those bad attributes and someone associates you with any of them, he is not abusing you, he is just telling the way you are.

But it is possible to be hated for nothing or abused for nothing, because of your looks or the colour of your skin. This is not something a truthful person should worry about, as he knows himself better than other people do.

Kūmena mūdū hīndī irīa ena maūdū mega kana kīndū kīega nīkuo gwītawo ūru, tondū ameneirūo wega wake kana kīndū kīega gīake.

Kūmena mūdū tondū wa maūdū make moru kū nī kūama, no kaba kūmuonia ūru wake gūkīra kūmūmena, tondū rūmena rūa mūthemba o wothe nī mbeū thūku, na wa mītūmīra nīūkūmīhanda ngoro-inī yaku.

Mūmenani o wothe kana mūrumani o wothe akoragwo akīenda mūdū ūcio amenete kana ekūruma atige kūhana ūguo egūkorūo ahana, kana age kīndū kīrīa egūkorūo enakīo. Tondū wahota kūigua mūdū akiuga nī menete ng'ania tondū wa ūndū mūna na mūna, kana tondū wa kīndū kīna na kīna, na ndiendete ūguo.

Ningī nake mūrumani etaga mūdū kīndū kīrīa kīūru gūkīra mūdū ūcio, ta Nguī, ndigiri kana ng'ombe. Uhoru wa irumi wikiriga mūno, tondū ūkuoneka ta ūtathagwo nī ūmenyo kana ūgī. Ūkoneka ta wathaguo nī ruo rūrīa rūrī thīnī wa mūdū.

Tondū-rī, mūdū angīūka atue gūkūhe ūhoru wa maheni ta atīrīrī: Kūrārī mūcemanio kūdū kūna, andū othe mararikanīra ati ng'ombe icoke gwītūo andū na andū othe macoke gwītuo ng'ombe. Ndūngītīkia mūdū ūcio no ūmwīre athīi ūrīa oī tondū ti mūgima.

No rīrī, angīūka mūdū agwīte ng'ombe no ūrakare mūno, rīngī mūrūe mūtīhanie kana mūgerane ngero īngī. No rīrī, hatirī watho wa gwatha mūdū etīkie maheni, we nīūi o wega atī wī mūdū ndūrī ng'ombe. Na hīndī irīa mūdū egūgwīta ng'ombe nī maheni ekwarīa. Nīkī gīgūgītūma ūmwītīkie kinya mūgeranage ngero?

Wahota gūtūwīka ng'ombe tondū wa gwītuo ng'ombe? Maūdū maingī marī hinya o kūigana, na nī wīra wa mūdū o wothe gūtūmīra ūgī wake na njīra ya kūrīgicūra maūdū nīgetha amenye ūrīa angīka aikare na thayū.

Haro na ngūi itarī bata kana kīguni. Carīa Ma ya ūndū o wothe harīa irī, na ndūcoka gūtangīka. Thayū, gīkeno, kīyo, wendani, ūtheru wa ngoro na wa mwīrī, na wa nyūmba yaku. Ūreke ūthaka wa būrūrī kana ūruru ūrīa mwega ūkenagia ngoro, ona nyīmbo njega cia kūhoreria ngoro, ūreke itwīke cia thiritū yaku.

31. *Watho na gītūmi kīaguo*

Būrūrī-inī kwī mandū ma mīthemba irī, moru na mega, kana marīa andū metīkītīe na makarīkanīra atī gwīka ūna nī ūru, na gwīka ūna nī wega.

To hate someone when he is doing well or has something good is called jealousy, since he is hated for being good or for his property.

To hate someone because of his bad behaviour is to be truthful, but it is better to show [him] his wrongs rather than hate him, for all hatred is a bad seed. When you use it, you plant it in your heart.

All those who hate and all who insult, want the one who is being hated or sworn at to change himself or to lose whatever he has. You may hear someone say he hates so and so because of this or that, and I do not like that.

Someone who abuses another man calls him something like dog, donkey, or cow. The issue of invective is very confusing. It appears to be triggered by knowledge or intelligence, [but in fact] it seems to be directed by the pain inside a person.

Suppose someone comes and starts lying to you like this: 'There was a meeting in a certain place, and the people agreed that all cows should be called people and all people cows', you would not believe him but tell him to go his own way.

However, if someone comes and calls you a cow, you would be very angry, and perhaps even fight, hurt each other and cause each other harm. But there are no laws compelling people to believe in lies, since you know very well that you are a human being and not a cow. When someone calls you a cow, he is telling lies. Why should you believe him and cause harm to each other?

Can you become a cow by being called a cow? Many things are very confusing and it is the work of everybody to use their wisdom to unravel the confusion, so as to discover how to live peacefully.¹¹⁵

Wars and conflicts are useless and fruitless. Search for the truth in everything and you will never be troubled. Peace, happiness, effort, love, cleanness of the heart, body and home. Let the country's beauty, the good coolness make your heart happy, and let good songs soothe your heart. Make them your bosom friends.

31. *Law and its purposes*

In any country, there are two types of behaviour. People believe and agree that doing one thing is good, while doing another is bad.

Tondū ūcio-rī, tūngirora ūrīa watho wambagīrīria-rī, no tuone atī wambagīrīria he nyina na ithe hīndī īrīa mūdū e mūnyinyi. Nyina na ithe wa kaana nī mataaraga mwana, wao hīndī īrīa ambīrīria kūmenya ūndū. Makamwīra gwīka ūna nī ūru, na gwīka ūna nī wega. Ūcio nīguo watho wa mbere wa ithe na nyina wa mūdū o wothe.

Ningī makamūkania makamwīra atīrīrī, ingikona wīkīte maūdū macio moru ndakwīrarī, nīngakūhūra mūno. Rīu mwana agagīkūra akīmenyaga atī ūna nī mūru na ndeka ūguo nīngūhūrūo. Tondū wa guoya ūcio mwana agagītīgāra gwīka maūdū moru mothe, okinya akagīa na mūtugo mwega wa gūthūra maūdū moru mothe.

Agekaga o ūrīa ithe na nyina mekwenda nao magakenio nīwe, kīrathimo na thayū igakīyūra mūcii ūcio.

No rīrī, mūdū atuīka mūgīma ndacokaga gwītīgīra nyina na ithe, tondū wa kuona atī rīu ena hīnya o tao kana kūmakīra. Na tondū ūcio-rī, wahota kūigua mūdū akīrūo atī nīarahūrīre nyina kana ithe, ūguo nī kuonania atī ahota kūgera ngero o yothe hangīaga kīgīria kīrīa kīngīgīria eke ota ūrīa ekwenda.

Na ūria mūdū ūmwe angīkorūo ekīenda noguo andū aingī nao mangīenda gwīka o ūrīa mūdū egwīcīria agīrīrūo nī gwīka. Enda kūraga mūdū ūrīa ūngī akoraga, enda kūiya akaiya, tondū ndakīrī na mūria. Ngai arotūteithia gūtīkae kūhana ūguo.

Rīu hīhi wahota kuona wega gītūmi kīa watho harīa ūteithagīria andū naho. Ūgītīgīra andū matīkae kūgerūo ngero nī andū acio oru. Na ūgatūma būrūri ūikare na thayū, na mūdū ūrīa ūtarī na hīnya ndakae gūtunywo kīndū gīake nī ūrīa wīna hīnya.

Tene mīgīro mīingī na thahu ūrīa mūdū egeragīrio ekūgīa naguo tondū wa gwīka ūndū mūna nī watūmaga andū maikare marī ega, na mena mūtugo mwega.

No matukū maya-rī, andū mahota gūtūika ega na athingu korūo metīkia ūrutani wa Jesu Kristo na ma. No rīrī, hatīrī ūndū wa gūtūma andū othe matūīke ega no kīnya kūgīage na aici na andū angī agano mūno, o aria tūtangīhota kuona ngoro ciao.

Tondū mūnnū ahota kuga na kanua gake ūrīa arī mwega, ona rīngī cīiko ciake cionanie ta arī mwega. No acoke akorūo mūdū ūcio nīwe ūgeraga ngero nyingī mūno irīa itangīgweteka.

Kwoguo-rī, watho ūgagīkīrūo kana bata waguo ūgagīkīnyīrīra Gūkerūo kana gūkandīkwo atī, mūdū agera ngero na, ibūra rīake nī rīna. Na hatiīragwo atī tīga ng'ania, no mūdū o wothe ūrīa ūkagera ngero īo. Ona kūngīkorūo nī mūcīrīthania we mwene.

If we look at how the law is conceived, we will see that it starts with one's parents when one is young. Parents advise a child when he starts understanding things. They tell him that doing this is good and doing that is bad. Anyone's first law is from parents.

Parents also warn him like this: 'If I ever see you doing what I have warned you against, I will beat you thoroughly.' The child grows up knowing that if I do such and such, I will be beaten. That fear causes the child to fear doing the bad things he has been warned against and gets into the habit of hating bad behaviour.

He does what his parents want and they in turn are impressed by the child. Blessings and peace come to their home.

However, when he grows up, he no longer fears his parents as he sees that he is stronger than they. You sometimes hear that somebody beat up his mother or father. He can cause a lot of harm if there is nothing to prevent him doing whatever he wants.

Moreover, what one person wants to do is also what other people want to do. If he wants to kill someone, he does so, as he has no one to castigate him. May God help us not to be like that.

Now you may see clearly the purpose of law and how it helps people. It protects people from being harmed by bad ones, and keeps the country at peace. The strong do not take the property of the poor.

In the past, the many prohibitions and taboos that people were taught made them behave properly.

Today, however, people may become good and righteous if they can truly believe in the teaching of Jesus Christ. There is no way to make everybody good. There will therefore be thieves and other very evil people, since we cannot see through their hearts.

One may say with his mouth how good he is, and his actions may show that he is good, but he may in fact cause all kinds of unmentionable harm. Because of that, the law is put in place and its importance emphasized. It is written down that if one commits a crime, there is a specific punishment. There is no exception, but it applies to whoever commits the crime, even to the judge himself.

We therefore see that, if the punishment for murder is death, there is no good reason why that murderer should not be killed, once an investigation shows he is guilty. Money or wealth cannot prevent you from being executed, contrary to what some people think these days.¹¹⁶

Tūgakīona atī angīkorūo watho wakūraga mūndū ūrīa ūngī mūragani nake nī kūragerō, hatirī kīgiria gīa kūgiria mūragani ūcio age kūragerō kūngītūirio na kūoneke o wega atī nīwe ūraganīte. Mbia kana ūtonga o wothe ndūngīgiria oragūo ta ūrīa andū aingī meciragia matukū-inī maya.

Tūgakīona atī ona kūringana na mawīra maitū marīa tūrīkoragwo tūkienda kūmaruta nī kwagīriire tūgīe na mawatho makūgitīra wīra ūcio ndūkae kūgūithio nī andū arīa oru, marīkoragwo gatagatīnī gaitū, na arīa tūtangīmamenya kana tuone ngoro ciao.

Na tondū wa kūhutia watho mūna nī tūrīmamenyaga.

Watho nī gūtara maūndū marīa mangikwo wīra mūna ūthūke. Kwoguo angīkorūo nī wīra wa kwendia kīndū, ūrīa watho wagīrīrūo nī gwīkīrūo nī atī mūndū ūkaiya kana akue kana athūkie kīndū kīna na kīnūhu atagūrīte akaherithio na ihūra rīna.

Maūndū ta macīo mandīkwo tondū ūhoru wakanua nūriganagīra, na wī ngarari, no wī mwandīke ndūriganagīra na ndūrī ngarari.

32. *Gūthūkūma na athūkūmi*

Gūthūkūma nī kūrūtīra mundū ūngī wīra, nake mūthūkūmi nī mūcara aheagwo. Rītwa rīu rīa gūthūkūma rīkuoneka ta rīumanīte na kiswahili, ‘Sukuma’ tondū andū arīa mambire kūruta wīra wa mūcara, maragirio gīthweri na no kinya makorūo meragwo ‘Sukuma’ hīndī irīa magonderera.

Tondū ūcio gūgītūika atī kūruta wīra tondū wa mūcara nī gūthūkūma. Urīa tūkwenda gūtereta harī ūhoru ūcio wa gūthūkūma nī atī: kuona Comba nīwokire, hatirī kīgiria gīa kūgiria andū amwe matūre mathūkūmaga. Tondū ona hīndī irīa tūngīgīa na mawīra maitū no kinya naithūi twende andū agūtūrutagīra wīra.

Ona tūngīthoma ithuothe-ri, no kinya kūgīe na gīkundi kīmwe kīnene kīa andū arīa matangīhota kūmenya gūthoma ona mangīhuhīrūo thongori.

Nīngī nī wega andū mamenye atī rīu ithūi andū airū tuonaga irio tondū wa kuma migūnda itū, Na kūringana na ūrīa tuonire-rī, nī kūingīha andū marakīria kūingīha. Na maingīha no kinya magakinya handū heho, irio icio ciumaga mīgūnda itū irege kūmaīgana, ona ūikaro naguo ūrege kūmaīgana.

Rīu hagītūike atī ūkiendaga na ūtekwenda no kinya ūikare wīra-inī kana githūkūmo-inī o hamwe na andū aku.

And about the work we want to do, there should be laws to protect the work from being undermined by the bad people among us, those whose hearts we cannot discern.

By referring to a specific law, we will be able know them.

The law punishes those things that destroy work. Concerning the work of trading, the law should read that if anyone steals, shoplifts, or destroys such and such a thing without buying, he will be punished in such and such a manner.

Such things should be written down, as oral matters¹¹⁷ are easily forgotten and often subject to disagreement. When written it cannot be forgotten, and is not subject to disagreement.

32. *Labour and labourers*

Gũthũkũma is to work for someone and a *mũthũkũmi* is paid in wages. The word *Gũthũkũma* appears to have its origin from the Kiswahili word *sukuma*, as the first people to work for wages were spoken to in Kiswahili. They must have been told *sukuma* whenever they slowed up in their work.¹¹⁸

That is why working for wages came to be known as *gũthũkũma*. What we wish to discuss is this: Just because the whites came [?to stay] is no reason for people not to work for wages. Even when we have our own business, we will still need people to work for us.

Even if we all become educated, there must be some who will be unable to cope with education, even if it is blown into them.¹¹⁹

It is important for people to know that we black people can find the food that comes from our land, and as we have just argued, people continue to increase. As they increase, they will get to a certain point when the food produced from our land will not be enough for them, just as areas for settlement [will become overcrowded].

The situation will be such that you and your family will have to rely on your education or work, whether you like it or not.

Ündü wa mbere üria twagĩrĩrũo nĩ kũmenya ithuĩ tũrĩ andũ airũ, nĩ atĩ Comba ndũkũinũkaga wa tĩra, wokire gũikara, na nĩ waikarire. Rĩu-rĩ, harĩ bata ũrĩkũ kũmenana na mũndũ ũria mũgũtũrania? Nĩ tuonire handũ hangĩ thĩinĩ wa ibuku rĩrĩ atĩ Hatirĩ mũnyaka ona ũmwe wonekaga tondũ wa kũmenana, no kĩria kĩonekaga nĩ mũtino na ruo rũingĩ harĩ amenani acio na makĩria harĩ mwena ũria ũtarĩ na ninya.

Na tũngĩrora hinya wĩtũ na wa Comba-ri no tuone atĩ nĩ ithuĩ tũtari hinya, na ũguo nĩ kuga atĩ nĩ ithuĩ tũrĩgĩaga na mũtino na ruo rũingĩ.

Tũgakĩona atĩ nĩ wĩra wĩtũ gũcaria ũria rũmena rũngĩaga kuoneka, kana kũrũnina harĩa rũrĩ rũngĩkorũo rwiho. gĩtũmi kĩa rũthire no tũgĩire na ũmenyo wa atĩ he kĩndũ kĩngĩ kĩega kĩ mbere ya kũmenana kana gũthũrana, na nĩkĩo ũiguano, ka kũmenya mabataro ma mũndũ ũria ũngĩ.

Ithuĩ tũmenye mabataro ma Comba, nague Comba ũmenye mabataro maitũ. Na tũgerie kũmanina mabata macio na njĩra ya kũmarutira wĩra kũringana na ũria megũkorũo makienda, na mũndũ wĩtũ o wothe rĩria ekũruta wĩra ona ũrĩkũ, wa karani, wa kũruga, wa kũmahe irio kana wa kũmathabĩria nguo. arute wĩra ũcio na hinya na wendo na mũndũ atige kwenda kũrĩithio ta arĩ mbũri, kana kuga ũria andũ aingĩ moigaga atĩ wĩra nĩ wa mũthũngũ ndũgathira nĩũrutwo na thieya.

33. *Mũtugo ũria wĩkuo na andũ anyinyi*

Angĩkorũo nĩũthomete ibuku rĩrĩ kuma kĩambĩrĩria-rĩ, no ũrĩrikana atĩ hĩndĩ ũria tũ gũteretaga ũhoru wa 'Kwendia Na Endia', nĩtugire atĩ; rũrĩrĩ rĩa kũmenyera mũtugo mũru, na hage ũmwe wao wa kũmera ũguo nĩũru, rũrĩrĩ rũu rũahota gũtũra mĩaka mĩingĩ rũtarĩ rũarahũka, tondũ mũtugo ũcio no ũmatũrie thutha ndũrĩrĩ iria ingĩ.

Nĩngĩ atĩrĩrĩ, thĩinĩ wa ndũrĩrĩ ciothe ciathĩ-rĩ, harĩ mutugo wa andũ anyinyi, na mũtugo wa andũ akũrũ No rũrĩrĩ rĩa kwĩamũra-rĩ, rũtukanie mĩtugo iyo yothe-rĩ mũtugo wa andũ akũrũ ũnyitwo nĩ andũ anyinyi, nao andũ akũrũ manyite mũtugo wa andũ anyinyi. Rũrĩrĩ rũu-rĩ rũahota gũtuĩka rũagĩrĩru? Ona kana rũũgĩ?

Nĩngĩ hĩndĩ irĩa tũgũteretaga ũhoru wa gĩtũmi kĩa mahoya na gwĩtikia-rĩ, nĩtuonire atĩ mũndũ mũkĩgu ndahotaga kũigua ona kana gũthikĩrĩria ũhoru o wothe ũtamũkonĩi takũria na kũnywa. Rĩu twahota gũthiathia nahau kabere tuge atĩrĩrĩ: mũndũ mũkĩgu ekwenda ũndũ, nĩendire, na hatirĩ mũndũ ona ũmwe ũngĩhota kũmwĩra ũguo tiwega

The first thing we who are black people should understand is that the Whites¹²⁰ came to stay, and are here to stay. Why therefore should you hate the fellow you will spend the rest of your life with? We saw earlier that hatred brings no benefit. Disaster and much pain result among those who hate each other, especially among the weak.

If we compare our strength with that of the whites, we will see that we are the ones who would face disaster and much pain.

It is up to us to see that there is no hatred, and end it wherever it may be. For it to end, we have to know that there is something better than hatred. That is unity and the ability to know other people's needs.

We should know the needs of the whites, and they should know ours. We should try to meet these needs by working on them. When any of us works for them, whether as a clerk, or by cooking, feeding them, or washing their clothes, he should work hard and with love. Nobody should need to be shepherded like a sheep. He should stop saying that the work of the whites will never end, and should therefore be done reluctantly.¹²¹

33. *Young people and their behaviour today*

If you have been reading this book from the start, you will remember that when we discussed trade and traders, we said that 'If a community gets used to bad behaviour and no one tells them it is bad, that community may stay for a long time before it gets enlightened. Such behaviour may drag them behind other communities.'

Among the communities in the world, there is different behaviour for young and old. A community that sets itself apart mixes up these two behaviours—the old take on the behaviour of the young, and the young take on that of the old. Can such a community ever be decent¹²² or even mature?

When we talked of prayers and belief, we saw that a foolish person cannot hear or listen to anything of less importance to him than eating and drinking. Now we can go further and say: 'Once a foolish person loves something, he sticks to it and no one can convince him otherwise. A good thing is that which benefits someone, a bad thing

etíkíe. Wega wa ūndũ nĩŭrĩa ũrehagire mũndũ kīguni, na ũru wa ūndũ nĩ ũrĩa ũrehagire mũndũ mũtino. Mũndũ mũkĩgu etikagia o hĩndĩ írĩa ona mũtino ũcio we mwene.

Matukũ-inĩ maya-rĩ, nĩkũrĩ na mũtugo mũĩngĩ mũno mũũru irekwo nĩ andũ, na mangĩthĩĩ oro ũguo, thutha hihi rũrĩrĩ rũitũ rũahota kuona thĩna.

Tareka tuone mũtugo ũrĩa wĩna andũ anyinyi matukũ maya. Tene njohi yanyuagwo nĩ athuri kana andũ akũrũ othe, na andũ anyinyi matirmĩnyuaga, na gĩtũmi kĩrĩa kĩagiragia andũ anyinyi manyue njohi nĩ rĩrĩ: kwarĩ ũgwati wa mbara ya Ūkabi na korũo andũ anyinyi nĩ manyuaga njohi-rĩ nĩkwahoteka mũthenya ũmwe makorũo marĩtwo nĩ thũ ciao kabi, maninwo hamwe othe akũrũ na anyinyi, ciana na atumia, o hamwe na airĩtu arĩa makoragwo arĩo mwĩhoko wa andũ anyinyi, ota ũrĩa rĩu marĩ o mwĩhoko wao.

Tondũ rĩrĩ, ũngĩona mwanake ũtarĩ na tha na mũirĩtu ũrĩa endete, akoiga mũirĩtu ũcio enda kũhũrũo nĩ anake angĩ nĩahũrũo-rĩ na enda kuona ũgwati ũrĩa arĩona nĩone; mwanake ũcio-ri, ti mũndũ, no nĩ nyamũ ikaaria. Ndũrĩrĩ ciothe harĩa ciarũ ma, njamba ciacio ime-nyekaga tondũ wa wendo ũrĩa ikoragwo ikĩgĩtira andũ-anja ao naguo. Na wendo ũcio rĩ, nĩ mũnene gũkĩra muoyo wa mũndũ guo mwene, tondũ hĩndĩ írĩa ũngĩkora mũirĩtu ũcio wendete akĩhũrũo, wahota kũragwo ũkĩmũhonokia ũgwati-nĩ ũcio.

No matukũ maya-rĩ, andũ aingĩ arĩa anyinyi, makĩria arĩa ogĩ na gĩthomo, mũtugo ũrĩa marũmĩtie mũno nĩ wa kũnyua njohi o kinya gũgatuĩka atĩ ũngĩkorũo ũrĩ ũmwe wao, na ũrege kũnyuo njohi tao, ũgwĩtwo mũkĩgu, naũkorio atĩrĩrĩ, ũkĩregete njohi-rĩ nĩ gĩkeno kĩngĩ kĩrĩkũ ũkona?

Kinya andũ aingĩ anyinyi arĩa mekuma na cukuru, moka mawĩra-inĩ, na mona mũtugo ũrĩa wĩkuo, nao makanyitana naguo tondũ noyo njira íragerũo nĩ andũ arĩa angĩ othe.

Gũgatuĩka atĩrĩrĩ, matukũ maya mũndũ mũnyinyi kwaga kũnyua njohi nĩ ũrimũ, na kũnyua njohi nĩ ũgĩ, ũguo nĩguo andũ aingĩ metĩkĩtie.

Tũngĩoya gĩthimi Kĩrĩa giitũ kĩa ũgĩ na ũkĩgu tũgwetire tũkiaria ũhoru wa ũgĩ na ũrimũ-rĩ, no tũthime tũmenye kana ũhoru ũcio wao nĩ wama wa atĩ kũnyua njohi nĩ ũgĩ, akorũo ti wa ma tũtũtĩge na tũambĩrĩrie kũgĩa na mũtugo mwega, ũrĩa gĩtũmi kũ gĩgũtuonereria. Nakĩo nĩ gĩkĩ: Ati kũihga nĩ kũmenya maũndũ mega na kũmenya gĩtũmi kĩa. Na gũkĩga nĩ kwenda maũndũ moru na kũrigwo nĩ gĩtũmi kĩa wega na ũru.

brings misfortune. A foolish person believes [this] only when faced with certain misfortune.'

Nowadays, people have many bad manners. If they continue in this way, our community will face many problems.

Let us look at the behaviour of our people today. In the past, all elderly people drank beer but the young did not. The young never took beer because of the danger of war with the Masai, for if they did take beer and got drunk, they might be attacked by their enemy, the Masai. Everyone, the old, young children, women, and the girls who were and are today the hope of the young men, would be eliminated.

If you find a man with no compassion for the girl he loves, who says he does not care even if she is beaten or exposed to danger, that man is not human but an animal that talks. Among all human races, heroes¹²³ are known by their readiness to protect their women. That love is more than one's life, since if you find the girl you love is being beaten up, you may get killed as you try to rescue her from danger.

These days, the young, especially the educated, have started drinking beer to the point that if you refuse to drink like the others, you will be branded as stupid. You are asked, 'If you refuse to take beer, what other kind of happiness are you waiting for?'

Even youths who leave school, once they are employed and learn this behaviour, take it up because it is fashionable.

So it is said that if a young man does not drink beer, it is foolishness and to drink beer is intelligence. That is what many people believe today.¹²⁴

If we take the yardstick we used to measure intelligence and foolishness, we can see if what they say is true, that taking beer is intelligence. If it is not true, we will leave it and start to behave well, in the way that reason guides us. This is why: 'To be intelligent is to know good things and to know the reason for them. And to be foolish is love bad things, and to fail to know the difference between good and bad.'

Now, let us take the wisdom of taking beer. What is the good in it? The good in beer is that when someone is drunk, he feels a good sensation in his body and is filled with happiness. He forgets all his problems, remembers only his happiness, and can speak about many things he was unable to talk about when sober. He becomes destructive. If he works for a white man, he will run down the work and, similarly, run down his own business.

Rīu tareke tūkīrehe ūgī wa kūnyua njohi. Njohi-rī, wega wayo nīūrīkū? Wega wa njohi nī rīrī: Atī hīndī īrīa mūdū aritwo nīaiguaga wega mūno mwīrī-inī wake akaiyūrūo nī gīkeno kūngī, akariganīrūo nī thīna wake wothe, agatuīka atī kīndū kīrīa ekūrīrikana no gīkeno na kwaria maūdū maingī atangīaririe hīndī īrīa atekūnyuīte njohi, akagera ngero nyingī, akorūo nī wīra wa Comba aingi makaūthūkia, akorūo nī wīra wake we mwene, wa biashara, angī o naguo makaūthūkia.

Magatūmīra mbeca nyingī iria megūkorūo manogeire mūno, o kinya hīndī īrīa mūdū arīrī-ūkūo akambīrīria kwīrira, na kuga ūrīa njohi īnjuru we mwene.

Rīu-rī, angīkorūo kūhīga nī kwenda maūdū mega na kūmenya gītūmi kīamorī, wega we njohi ūkīrīha? Ningī gītūmi kīayo kīha kūringana na maūdū macio mothe twagweta?

Ītūngīkiuga gūkīga nī kwenda maūdū moru na kūrigwo nī gītūmi kīa wega na ūru? Gīthī to tuone atī andū acio nīarige nī gītūmi kīa wega na ūru harīa irī, na kwoguo nī akīgu?

No rīrī, hīhi njohi īī wega wayo tondū korūo ndīrī wega ūcio ndīn-gīnyuagwo nī andū othe athī handū marūma, na hīhi ūru wonekaga tondū wa gūtūmirūo na njīra yokīgu.

Tondū ona mūthaiga wa kūhonia mūrīmū mūna, ūngīnyuo makīria ya watho no ūrage mūdū, naguo ūguo noguo tūngiuga harī ūhoru wa njohi. Na rīu tūmenye atī ti ūkīgu kwaga kūnyua njohi, na nī wega andū anyinyi kūgeria kwaga kūnyua njohi, tondū wa wega wa mīrī yao, wa mecīria mao, ona ūgīma wao maūdūinī mothe.

Ūngīkara wīguīte-rī na ūgīciragia-rī, no wone atī kwī ūgwati ota ūcio wa andū a tene. Na andū anyinyi mangīaga kwīhūga rīu-rī, ona makūra matikehūga. Na magakorūo nī thū yao, imanine hamwe na atumia ao, na ciana ciao, na airītu ao, o kinya hīndī īo niguo makamenyaga atī harī ūgwati gūikara merīgītwo, na hīndī īo īgakorūo arī thutha mūtheri.

34. *Andū erū na ūrīa tūngīruta maūdū kuma kūrīo*

Thīinī wa ibuku rīrī-rī, nī tūteretete o makīria ūrīa gūthūrana kūrī kūru. Na tondū ūcio-rī, tareke tuone thīna ūngī wonekaga tondū wa rūthūro o rūu.

Ūngīmena mūdū namo maūdū make mothe ona ciugo ciake no ūcimene. Tondū ūrīa wothe arīkaga, kana arīkwīraga ūrīciragia no ūru. Akwīra ūndū mwega ūkoiga nī maheni, kana ūkoiga nī kīndū abatairio nīkīo kuma harī we.

They spend a lot of the money they have worked hard to earn, until [they] sober up and start to regret [their] actions, saying how bad beer is.

Now, if being intelligent is to love good things and to know the reason for them, where is the good in beer? Further, where is its justification according to all the things we have discussed?

What if we say that to be foolish is to love bad things and to fail to differentiate between good and bad? Cannot we say that such people do not know the difference between the meaning of good and bad, and are therefore foolish?

Perhaps beer has a value, for if it had none it would not be drunk by people the whole world over. Perhaps the bad things about it come from its improper use.

Even when a drug for curing a certain disease is taken beyond its prescribed dose, it can kill. We may say the same with beer. We know it is not foolish not to take beer, and it is good for young people to try not to take beer for the sake of their bodies, their minds, and even for the health of all they do.

If you remain conscious¹²⁵ and sensible, you will see there is a danger here just like the one described above, faced by people in the past. If the youth do not take care now, they will not take care of themselves when old. They will be invaded by their enemy and wiped out, along with their women, children and girls. They will then learn there is a danger in remaining irresponsible—but too late.

34. *White people and what we can learn from them*¹²⁶

In this book, we have discussed at length how bad hatred is. Let us learn other problems that arise from hatred.

Once you hate someone, you also hate all his things, including his words. For you will think that whatever he does or tells you is bad. When he tells you something good, you will say it is lies, or that he is simply interested in getting something out of you.

Tūgakīona atī, gūthūrana o oguothe nī njīra ya gūkunderia meciria. Tondū rīrī, mūndū angīikara akīmenaga andū o ūmwe ūmwe, na indo o kīmwe kīmwe, rīrī rīngī no amene indo ciothe, na andū othe, Rīu onake mwene eyagīre bata eite kana eyūrage na njīra īngī.

Nakuo kwendana kana kwenda maūndū nī njīra ya kwaramia meciria. Tondū rīrī, mūndū angīikara akīendaga andū o ūmwe ūmwe, na indo o kīmwe kīmwe, na akīmenyaga gītūmi na wega wa andū arīa angī, na wega wa indo, na maūndū marīa mega, no aiyūroū nī gīkeno kīnene mūno.

Tondū worīa ekuona būrūri-inī ūiyūrītwo nī maūndū maingī mega, indo nyingī njega andū aingī aratawe, na maūndū maingī mathaka na mena riri mūingī, wa kūmūkenia o kinya eriragīrie korūo Ngai nīekūmuongerera matukū maingī aikare muoyo, nīgetha akenagio nī mwago ūcio wothe.

Tūgākīona atī gūthūrana na gīkuū imwena ūmwe. Na kwendana na muoyo imwena ūrīa ūngī, na nī tugire atī maūndū mothe marīa mangītūma tūikare muoyo na tūgīe na gīkeno nī mega, na nīmo twagīrīrūo nī gūcaria, na tondū ūcio kwendana na kwenda maūndū mega, nī ūndū wa gūtūma tūikare muoyo na tondū ūcio nī twagīrīrūo nī kwendana na kwenda maūndū mega, nīgetha tūikare muoyo.

Tūgākīona atī tūngīhingūra maitho maitū, na tweherie rūthūro meciria-inī maitū, no tuone atī andū aya erū nī andū akūgegania mūno, na maūndū maingī mao mahota gūtūguna mūno, ona ningī tūcoke tuone atī hatirī ūndū ona ūmwe tūngīhota gwīka hatarī ūteithio wao, korūo tuona ūrīa ūrata witū nao ūngīoneka makīria matukū-inī maya.

Tondū rīrī, ithuothe nī tūūi atī gīthomo nī kīega, no hatirī gīthomo kīa andū airū, no kīa andū erū. Na ūgī ūrīa ūngīoneka wa andū airū, no wonekire na njīra ya kwamba kwīruta ūgī wa andū erū.

Tondū rīrī, angikorūo nī ūkuona ndeto ici irario ibuku-inī rīrī injega-rī, ona icia andū aingī aratawe, na maūndū maingī mathaka na mena riri mūingī, wa kūmūkenia o kinya eriragīrie korūo Ngai nīekūmuongerera matukū maingī aikare muoyo, nīgetha akenagio nī mwago ūcio wothe.

Tūgākīona atī gūthūrana na gīkuū imwena ūmwe. Na kwendana na muoyo imwena ūrīa ūngī, na nī tugire atī maūndū mothe marīa mangītūma tūikare muoyo na tūgīe na gīkeno nī mega, na nīmo twagīrīrūo nī gūcaria, na tondū ūcio kwendana na kwenda maūndū mega, nī ūndū wa gūtūma tūikare muoyo na tondū ūcio nī twagīrīrūo nī kwendana na kwenda maūndū mega, nīgetha tūikare muoyo.

We can see that hating each other is to narrow our mind.¹²⁷ When someone keeps on hating one thing after another, in the end he will hate everything and everybody. He will finally commit suicide.

To love, on the other hand, is to broaden the mind.¹²⁸ One will continue loving one person after another, one thing after another, and will see the value of other people and things. One will eventually be filled with much happiness.

He will see the country filled with many good things, many of his friends, and many other beautiful and appealing things. He will wish that God would increase his life on earth, so that he could take pleasure in all that joy.

Therefore, we see that hatred and death are on the same side and love and life are on the other side. All those things that can keep us alive and happy are good, and should be sought after. Thus, loving good things makes us live, so we should love each other and love good things so that we can survive.

If we open our eyes and remove hatred from our mind, we will see that the white people are a wonderful people. We will also find that there is nothing we can do without them, if only we learn how to acquire friendship with them these days.

We all know education is good. There is no education for blacks and [another] for whites. Knowledge for blacks can only be found by first learning white men's knowledge. If you find what is discussed in this book to be good and helpful, this is because the writer has been shown how to write by white people, and he then decided to share this knowledge with black people. Don't you see that everything is related to each other? Our problem is our failure to see how one thing relates to another.

All the wisdom of education¹²⁹ has been created by the whites up to the point it has reached today. We black people are borrowers,¹³⁰ because there is no black person who took some mud to create that knowledge.¹³¹ For all the time during which this knowledge has been created, we have been borrowing. When the owners of the knowledge find how strongly we borrow, they get angry and ask: 'Do these people know how hard we have worked to create this wisdom? Instead of borrowing it with politeness,¹³² they borrow from us aggressively.'

Tūgakiona atī tūngihingūra maitho maitū, na tweherie rūthūro meciria-inī maitū, no tuone atī andū aya erū nī andū akūgeganiana mūno, na maūndū maingi mao mahota gūtūguna mūno, ona ningī tūcoke tuone atī hatirī ūndū ona ūmwe tūngihota gwīka hatarī ūteithio wao, korūo tuona ūrīa ūrata witū nao ūngioneke makīria matukū-inī maya.

Tondū rīrī, ithuothe nī tūū atī gīthomo nī kīega, no hatirī gīthomo kīa andū airū, no kīa andū erū. Na ūgī ūrīa ūngioneke wa andū airū, no wonekire na njīra ya kwamba kwīruta ūgī wa andū erū.

Tondū rīrī, angīkorūo nī ūkuona ndeto ici irario ibuku-inī rīrī injega-rī, ona icia

Hīndī irīa mūndū aigua heho-rī, na oirīrūo nī mbura-rī, ndetagirīra Ngai amūtūmīre nguo ndume yume igūrū irī ng'ima, kana nyūmba njake yume matuinī irī njake.

No ūrīa mūndū ekaga nī gūtūmīra meciria mau kana tombo ūcio aheirūo nī Ngai, akanyita indo icio Ngai ombire, na nīcio mītī na mahīga na indo iria ingī, agacicokanīrīria na njīra ya gwīteithia he hebo na mbura, na mūcokererio ūcio akawita nyūmba.

Ningī akoya rūa akehumba atige kūiguo heho, kana akanyita ndigi, agacithugundania, mūthugundanio ūcio akawita nguo akehumba.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, nī tūkuona o wega wīra wa Ngai harīa wakinya, na wa andū harīa wambagirīrīa. Wīra wa Ngai nī wa kūmba indo ciothe, hamwe na andū akamaiga gūkū thī. Nagno wīra wa mūndū nī kuoya indo icio na gūtābarīra na njīra irīa īngīmūrehere kīguni na yakūgiria akue, kana oragwo nī maūndū macio matarī mega he muoyo ta heho, na mbura, na ūrugarī.

Ūgī wothe, kana gīthomo o gīothe kīrīa kīama, nī wīra ūcio wa gūcaria na gūtābarīra maūndū macio makūguna andū gīteithagia.

Hakīrī ūguo-rī, hatirī mūndū mūrū wa gūkū gwitū ūteithītie gwaka kana gūtābarira ūgī ūcio, no mūndū mwerū. Na nīkīo hīndī irīa wona mūndū mwerū mūrūtīre ngūbia, na ūmwīte Bwana, tondū nīarūtīte wīra mūnene na wakūgeganiana ūtarī warutwo kinya thī īno yombwo.

Nawe ūtīge kwīmena tondū ūngīonio njīra wahota gwīka o ro ūguo, tondū ūndū o wothe ūngīmenyeka nī mūndū ūmwe, ona andū angī no maūmenye.

Tondū rīrī, gūtīngīhoteka andū othe makorūo bandū hamwe ihinda o rīmwe ūndū ūgīkīka. Kana mone ūndū o ro ūmwe marī othe hamwe. Tondū wonagwo nī andū amwe arīa megūkorūo ho ūndū ūcio ūgīkīka, nao makera arīa angī matoima ho.

Ūguo nīguo tūngiuga harī ūhoru wa ūgī wa comba. Na tondū ūcio-rī, rekei gūthaithana gwitū gūtūike gwa atīrīrī:

That is why our country has failed to create unity between black and white. Many black people these days think that the wisdom possessed by white people is given by God from heaven. [So that] when God sees the time is ripe, he will send that knowledge to us in the same way.

This is very ignorant. What God does is to create all things, causing them to exist here on earth. Then he creates man and gives him ideas to know about many things, to give him a presence in the world. When a person feels cold or is rained on, he does not wait for God to send a complete set of clothing or a complete house from heaven.

What he does is use the brains God gave him, to get hold of the things God created like trees, stones, and other things, and then to join them together as a means to protect himself from cold or rain. He calls this totality a house.

He then looks for skin and wears it to protect himself from cold. He then takes thread and sews it together. This labyrinth of thread he calls clothes.

We therefore clearly see where God's work ends and the work of man begins. God's work was to create everything including man, and place them on earth. The work of man is to prepare these things in ways that benefit him, to protect him from dying from exposure to dangerous things like cold, rain or heat.

The only true wisdom, or the only education that is truly miraculous, is the work of preparing those things which help people.¹³³

No black person of this our place, therefore, has helped to build or harness this wisdom, only the white man. That is why you should salute the white man and call him Bwana, whenever you meet him. He has done wonderful work that has not been done before, since the world was created.

But do not belittle yourself. If you are shown how, you can do the same things, because if one person learns something, other people can learn it too.

It is impossible for everybody to be at the same place at the same time when something happens, or for everybody to see the same thing at the same time. The people who are there when something happens witness it. They then tell the others who were not there.

That is what we can say about the white man's knowledge. Let our plea be 'Show us the way and we will take ourselves wherever the way takes us.' That is to say, 'Show us the knowledge of how to look for things, and we shall follow that way.'

‘Tuonieĩ njĩra, na nĩ tũgwĩtwara o kinya harĩa njĩra ãyo ãrĩtũkinya’. Naguo ũguo nĩ kuga atĩrĩrĩ: ‘Tuonieĩ ũgĩ na njira ya gũtuĩrĩa maũndũ na nĩtũkũrũmĩrĩra njĩra ão’.

Nĩgethe ũgĩ ũrĩa tũkuona, waturanĩrũo na ũgĩ ũrĩa mũrĩkĩtie kuona, ona ũrĩa mũrĩonaga, ũtuĩke wa kĩguni kĩnene, andũ othe a thĩ handũ marũma, magĩe na thayũ na kwage mbara tondũ wa ũmenyo ũcio wa ũguni kũingĩha.

35. *Ũhũni na ahũni*

Matukũ maya kwĩ andũ mekwĩita ahũni, naguo ũhũni ũcio nĩ wa mĩthemba mĩingĩ. Tondũ harĩ ahũni a kũiya, a mbara, a kũragana na ibindo, kana a gwĩka waganu o wothe matarĩ na guoya waũ kana waũ.

Ũguo nĩ kuga atĩ mũhũni o wothe ndarĩ ngero atangĩgera, tondũ we ndarĩ ũndũ kana mũndũ angĩtigĩra. Hindĩ ãrĩĩ tũkuga atĩ ndarĩ ũndũ angĩtigĩra-rĩ’, nĩ kuga atĩ we ndarĩ ndini kwoguo ndoĩ Ngai.

Ningĩ hindĩ ãrĩa tũkuga atĩ ndarĩ mũndũ angĩtigĩra-ri, nĩ kuuga atĩ mũhũni ndoĩ thirikari na kuohwo kana kwaga kuhwo harĩ we no ũndũ ũmwe, kwoguo ti mwathĩki.

Tũgũkĩona atĩa? Nĩ tugire atĩ, mũndũ o wothe ũrĩa ũyaiga kana ũgeraga ngero o yothe njũru, nĩ rũrĩrĩ rũake amenithagia. Ningĩ mũndũ ta ũcio meciria make mahana ta ma nyamũ, gũtigana kwao no atĩ we nĩekwaria.

Tondu nyamũ o yothe ndĩũ. Ngai na ndĩrĩ ndini nake mũhũni nĩ tuonire atĩ ndoĩ Ngai na ndarĩ ndini. Ningĩ nyamũ o yothe ndĩũ watho na ndĩrĩ ũndũ ãngĩhingĩa, namo maũndũ macio nomo mena mũhũni.

Kwoguo mũhũni nĩ nyamũ, na nĩ thũ ya rũrĩrĩ ruitũ. Na ũrĩa kwagĩrĩire nĩ maninwo na monererio njĩra ya gũtuĩka andũ, mathomitio magĩe na ũgĩ wa maũndũ mega, na wendani, na kũyo kĩa wĩra o wothe, nĩgetha mathũre kũgĩa na kĩndũ matarutire wĩra makanogera.

Rekei kwĩrĩrĩrĩa na gũtanya gwitũ gũtuĩka kwamaũndũ mega, namo maũndũ mega monagwo nĩ andũ ega.

36. *Ũiru nĩ kĩĩ?*

Ũiru handũ harĩa wonekagĩra wega wĩ njaga-ri, nĩ kũringana na andũ-a-nja, tondũ mũndũ angĩnyitwo kwa mũtumia wene, ahũragwo akenda kũragwo. Kĩrĩa gĩkoragwo gĩgĩtũma andũ acio mahũre mũnyitwo na hinya mũingĩ-rĩ, ona mamũgũthe na hinya-rĩ nĩ Ũiru.

The knowledge we [Africans] will find, combined with the knowledge you [whites] have already found, and that which you have yet to discover to be of benefit, [will mean that] people all over the world should be peaceful and prevent war as a result of all the increase in beneficial knowledge.

35. *Discontent and the discontented*

Some people today call themselves *ahuni*, the discontented.¹³⁴ This discontent is of different kinds, because of theft, war, penknife murders, and all other sorts of crimes that are committed without fear.

A discontented loafer can create trouble of any kind, for he fears nothing and no one. When we say he fears no one, we mean he is profane and does not know God.

When we say the discontented fears no one, we mean he fears neither government nor imprisonment, so he is rebellious.¹³⁵

What do we find? We have said that anyone who steals or causes disaster of any kind discredits his community. His mind is like an animal's, the only difference being that he can talk.

Animals do not know God and have no religion. We have shown that a hooligan does not know God and has no religion. Furthermore, animals do not know the law and can accomplish nothing. It's the same with the loafer.

Therefore, a discontented man is an animal and an enemy of the country. What should be done is [either] to eliminate them¹³⁶ or show them how to be human, training them in knowledge of good things, love, and hard work, so that they will hate what they have not worked for.

Let our aim be for good things, and good things are seen in good people.

36. *What is jealousy?*

Where jealousy is best seen in its naked form is in [men's] association with women, since if a man is caught with another man's wife, he is beaten to death. The reason people are beaten when caught in such an act is jealousy.

Tondū ūcio-rī, ūngīnyitwo nī andū erī kwa mūtumia wene-rī tuge mūrūme na mūdū ūngī-rī, andū acio erī ūrīa wīna ūiru mūnene nī mūthuri wa mūtumia ūcio. Na hīndī irīa marīrīka gūgwīkīra mītī mwīrī-rī, mūtī ūrīa ūrīringagwo nī mwene mūtumia ūrīkoragwo wīgūmīrūo mūno gūkīra wa mūdū ūcio ūngī, tondū o ūrīa ūiru ūigana noguo nacio ciiko cia mūdū ciigana.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, ūiru kūringana na andū-a nja nīwagīrīire. No harīa ūiru ūtagīrīire-ri, nī kūmena mūdū tondū wa maūdū make mega gūkīra maku. Ūiru wa mūthemba ūcio wonekaga kaingī tondū wa kwīganania kana kwīgerekania. Tondū hīndī irīa mūdū ona egūkīrūo no tonga kana ūndū ūngī mwege, nī ūiru agīaga nago.

Na ūiru ūcio nī rūthūro rūru mūno, rūrīa rūingagīra ngoro ya mwene ūiru ūcio o thī-inī makīria. Na nīwega ūiririkane atī rūthūro rūa mūthemba o wothe nī tuonire atī rūrī mwena ūmwe na gikuū tondū worīa tuonire atī mūdū angīthī akīmenaga andū ūmwe ūmwe, no rīrī rīngī nake emene eite.

Ūguo noguo tūngiuga harī ūhoro wa ūiru, tondū ūngītonya harī andū ona arīkū, arīa mangīkorūo makīrutithania wīra ona ūrīkū, wīra ūcio ndūngīcoka gūthī na mbere.

Hīndī irīa mūdū ena ūiru ūyū mūngī o kūigana harī mūdū ūngī-rī, wahota kūigua akiuga atīrīrī: nī ndiendete kuona ng'ania, ona ndiendete akīgwetwo hakuhī na nī. Ona rīngī nīkuonekaga atī mūdū ahota kūraga ūrīa ūngī tondū wa ūiru guo mwene.'

Rīu-rī, tuonire atī ūiru wonekaga tondū wa kwīganania kana kwīgerekania, na mūdū ūrīa ūngī, gwakorūo nī indo mūdū akenda agīe na nyingī gūkīra ūcio ūngī. Kwoguo kwenda gūtonga o wee wiki nīkuo kūrehaga ūirū. Tūgakīona atī, tūngīenda kūnina ūiru, no tūtigire kwīganania, kana kwīgerekania na mūdū ūrīa ūngī. Ithenya rīa kwenda gūtonga ithuiki twende tūtonge ithuothe, na ūiru nīgūthira. Tūgakīona orīngī atī mūthaiga wa ūiru nī wendani.

Ūiru nī thū ya andū, mweneguo o hamwe na andū arīa angī, na nī ūtūmaga andū aingi matūre thutha ūgatūma andū amwe mathīne na angīkorūo nī matonga, ningī makaga gīkeno tondū worīa megūthīnio nī ūiru ūcio meciria inī mao.

Na tondū ūcio nī wega kwendana ūiru ūninwo, maūdū mothe nī manogagia mūdū ūtonga, gīkeno. No ūndū ūtanogagia mūdū nī wendo, no ti Wendo wa mwena ūmwe, nī wendo wa maūdū mothe mega. Tecirie.

If you are caught by two men, one being the husband of the unfaithful wife, the man who demonstrates most jealousy is the husband. When they start beating you with sticks, the husband will wield the stick with more power than the other man, since jealousy is his spur to action.

So far as women are concerned, jealousy is justified. However, jealousy is not justifiable when someone is hated because he owns better things than others do. This kind of jealousy comes from trying to measure oneself against others, or from trying to imitate them. When a man sees that others are earning wealth while good things are passing him by, he becomes jealous.

This jealousy is a very bad form of hatred that reaches right into the heart of a person. As you will remember, we said that any kind of hatred is on the same side as death, because when someone hates one person after another, in the end he will hate himself and commit suicide.

We can say the same about jealousy, since if it gets into people who are working together, that work will not continue.

When someone is jealous of another you can hear him say: 'I do not like seeing so and so, and do not even wish to hear him being mentioned anywhere near me.' On occasion people have been killed because of jealousy.

We have seen that jealousy is produced when people measure themselves against others or imitate others. If it is [to do with] property, one wants to have more than the other. Therefore, the desire to become rich on one's own brings jealousy. If we want to end jealousy, we must stop measuring ourselves against others or imitating them. Instead of wanting to get rich on one's own, we should strive for all of us to get rich. That would bring jealousy to an end. Once again, we see that the medicine for jealousy is to love each other.¹³⁷

Jealousy is the enemy of people, [both of] the one who possesses it and the other people [of whom he is jealous]. It keeps people back and makes them poor. If they get rich they are not happy, being troubled by the jealousy in their minds.

It is better that people love one other to end jealousy, since [even] things like wealth and happiness can bore people. Love is one thing that never tires, not one-sided love but love for all good things. Think about that.

37. *Gũteithia mũndũ muruaru*

Andũ arĩa agima na ega mamenyekaga mũno tondũ wa tha ciao Nao andũ arĩa matarĩ agima na oru mamenyekaga o wega tondũ wa ũrĩa magĩte tha. Nyamũ ciothe itirĩ tha, tondũ hatirĩ ona ĩmwe ĩrĩraga atĩ mwana wayo nĩakua tondũ ona angĩkorũo nĩ ĩrĩraga mwarĩrie wacio ndũio nĩ andũ aingĩ.

Tha itiguagĩrũo mũndũ wĩna hinya kana gĩkeno-inĩ, no ciguagĩrũo mũndũ wĩ ũgwati-inĩ kana ruo-inĩ o ruothe. Riu-rĩ, ũngĩkiuga atĩa hangĩkorũo hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mũndũ eũgwati-inĩ kana ruo-inĩ o ruothe nĩguo hekuoneka mũndũ wa gũthĩĩ kũmũĩtia mbeca, kana kũmũrĩhia mbeca nyingĩ nĩ ũndũ wa mũrimũ ũcio wake? Kana hihi tuge akamwenderia kĩndũ goro makĩria ya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mũndũ ũcio ena hinya? Mũndũ ũcio ũgũkorũo agĩka maũndũ ta macio-ri, tha ciake ciigana atĩa?

Tũkuona atĩ ndarĩ tha ona hanini, na ũndũ ũrĩa ũmũbatairie no gũtonga hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mũndũ ũrĩa ũngĩ arakua. Tondũ ũcio-rĩ, he kĩrathimo kĩrĩkũ harĩ ũtonga ũrĩa wonekete tondũ wakwenderio andũ arũaru kana magũkua indo goro makĩria ya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mena hinya? Ona kana harĩ ũtonga ũrĩa ũtukanĩtio na indo ta icio?

Hatirĩ kĩrathimo ona kĩmwe, ona mwĩki wa maũndũ macio ndarĩ tha na timũgima, kwoguo nĩ mũru.

Andũ aingĩ arĩa mena ngari ciao bũrũri-inĩ ũyũ witũ, ũguo nĩguo mekaga. Na rĩu hihi nĩ magĩrĩrũo nĩ gũtiga gwĩka ũguo tondũ wa kuona atĩ ti wega, na ti ũgima. No rĩrĩa mangĩrega gũtiga-rĩ, nĩ kwagĩrĩire kũgĩe watho wa atĩ mũndũ arĩhia mũrũaru mbeca nyingĩ mũno ta ũguo mekaga nĩ ihĩtia.

Angĩkarũo ndũngĩhota gũteithia mũndũ mũrũaru o ũguo tũhũ-rĩ, kĩhoto nĩ kũmũrĩhia thogora wa maguta marĩa ũgũtũmira gũthĩĩ na gũcoka. Tondũ hihi ndũkiuma na bata wa gũthĩĩ rũgendo rũu. Kũrĩ andũ arĩa agima-rĩ, hatirĩ kĩndũ mũndũ mũrũaru arutaga tondũ wagũtwarũo kwa mũndũ mũgo. Tha ciiki nĩ itũmaga mũteithania agerie o ũrĩa ahota ahonkie muoyo wa mũrũaru gũkira atonge naguo muoyo ũcio wehere.

38. *Ūtonga na gĩtũmi kĩaguo*

Ūtonga ũhana kĩhato gĩa kũhata maũndũ marĩa moru nakĩo, nĩgetha marĩa mega mone hakũigũo.

37. *Helping the sick*

Mature and good people are known by their compassion, and immature and bad people are known for their lack of compassion. Animals lack compassion, since none cry when their babies die. If they do cry, people do not hear their cries.

We do not feel compassion for strong or happy people but for people in danger or in pain. What can we say when someone in danger or in pain is asked for money [owed], or is charged [a fee] because of his illness? Or when someone sells him something at a higher price than when he is strong [ie., not so needy]? How compassionate is the one who behaves like that?

He has no compassion at all. He aims to become wealthy while the other person is dying. What kind of blessing is received, therefore, for selling things to sick or dying people at higher prices than when they are strong? What kind of wealth is earned in such ways? There is not a single blessing. Anyone who does such things has no compassion, is immature, and so is bad.

Many people who own cars in our country do such things. They should stop doing it, since it is not good and mature. If they refuse to stop [doing it], there should be a law making it an offence to charge a sick person money like that [for giving him a lift].

If you cannot afford to help a sick person for free, it is fair to charge him the cost of the petrol consumed in taking him to and from hospital. Perhaps you had not planned to take that journey. Among mature people a sick person would pay nothing on being taken to a *mundu mugo*.¹³⁸ Only compassion can save a sick person's life, not getting rich and losing his life [sic: while charging a fee might lose him his life].¹³⁹

38. *Wealth and its purposes*

Wealth is like a broom, sweeping out bad things,¹⁴⁰ to make room for the good.

Nyũmba írĩa ihatagwo na kihatũ kũu kĩa ũtonga nĩ mwene ũtonga ũcio. Thĩna wothe ona bata wothe ũkahatwo, rĩu mwene ũtonga agaikara e thayũ-inĩ.

Bata ũrĩa wambaga kũninwo nĩ ũtonga nĩ wa irio na nguo na wa gũikaro. Ũguo nĩ kuuga atĩ gĩtonga gĩkarĩa gĩkahũna, gĩkehumba nguo ciakũigana, na gĩkagĩa na nyũmba ya kũigana.

Indo icio ciothe igakoragwo ikĩmũigana o hamwe na andũ ake, o na igakorũo ikĩoneka no hũthũ hĩndĩ írĩa ciathira.

Nĩtuonire atĩ bata wa irio wonekaga tondũ hĩndĩ írĩa ciaga no mũndũ akahũta akeririria kũrĩa. Naguo bata wa nguo wonekaga tondũ hĩndĩ írĩa ciaga mũndũ nĩaiguaga heho. Na amenyera nguo ciaga akaigua thoni.

Kwoguo ikehumbwo tondũ wa kwĩgitĩra heho na thoni. Naguo bata wa nyũmba wonekaga tondũ hĩndĩ írĩa mũndũ oirĩrũo, no akeririria kwĩyũa, na kwĩgitĩra nyamũ na andũ oru ndakoragwo e toro. Mũtugo ũgakĩgĩa kuo atĩ hĩndĩ ciothe ya mbura na ya riũa na ya nduma na ya ũtheri no kinya andũ mekomage na mahurũkage nyũmba hĩndĩ írĩa mena kahinda.

Tondũ ũcio mabata macio mothe nĩ kuga metetagwo nĩ mwĩrĩ. Tondũ rĩrĩa ũmwe wamo ũtarĩ ho, kana mothe; thina waguo no ũkaiguu.

Tondũ ũcio-rĩ, harĩ andũ ogĩ na irimũ mabataro macio marĩ ho.

Na harĩa matiganĩire nĩ atĩ andũ ogĩ mariaga irio thondeke wega na ina gĩtũmi. Nao andũ akĩgu makaria thũku na ingi itarĩ na gĩtũmi.

Utonga ti ũgĩ, ni amu andũ akĩgu matongete matuikaga ngombo cia ũtonga ũcio wao. Andũ ogĩ mehumbaga ngou njega na theru o na cia kũhumbĩra mwĩrĩ wothe o wega.

Nao andũ akĩgu o na matuĩka nĩ atongu makehumba nguo naĩ, igĩko, na makarigwo nĩ gũtuma nguo wega, imwe ikahumba mwĩrĩ mwena ũmwe, na mwena ũrĩa ũngĩ ũgatingwo njaga o na rĩngĩ mũndũ akehumba karũua ka mbũri kana ka ng'ondũ gakahocio na rũrigi kĩande kĩmwe, nako gakahumbĩra mwĩrĩ mwena ũmwe naguo mwena ũrĩa ũngĩ wothe ũgatingwo ndũũrũ.

Andũ ogĩ magaka nyũmba njega na thaka na ya gũtũũra na nene, na ina ũtheri. Nao andũ arige o na mena ũtonga wao, magaka nyũmba nyinyi na igĩko, na itarĩ ũikaro, tondũ wa kũhatikana na mbũri na andũ o kinya andũ acio makarigwo oo na mbũri nũũ mũnene, o na kana nũũ mwene nyũmba io.

Na ningĩ thutha wa maũndũ macio mothe ikaiyũrũo nĩ nduma na mũrukĩ mũũru tondũ wa mathugumo na mai na mbũri.

The house swept by this broom of wealth is owned by a man of wealth. All the poverty is swept away, and the rich man is left in peace.¹⁴¹

Wealth first sweeps away the need for food, clothes and shelter. The wealthy eats to satisfaction, gets enough clothes and has adequate shelter. All things satisfy him and his family, and are easily acquired.

Food is needed because when there is no food, one gets hungry and desires to eat. Clothes are needed because when there are no clothes, one feels cold. When one lacks clothes completely, one feels embarrassed.

Clothes are worn to shield oneself from cold and embarrassment. A house is needed because when rains fall on somebody, he desires to shield himself from it, and from the animals and evil people who can kill him while he sleeps. So a tradition develops that during times of rain and sun, and times of darkness and light, people must sleep in a house whenever there is time.

The body has all these necessities. When one or all of them is lacking, one feels its need.

Both intelligent and foolish people have these needs. The difference is that intelligent people eat well-cooked food with a purpose. The foolish eat badly-cooked food without a purpose.

Wealth is not wisdom.¹⁴² When foolish people get rich, they become slaves to their wealth. Wise people put on good, clean clothes that cover them properly.

Even if foolish people are wealthy, they put on offensive, unclean clothes that are not properly designed. One covers part of the body, while another part is left naked. One wears a sheep or goat skin which is suspended from one side, and therefore covers only one side of the body while the other is left naked.

Wise people build beautiful, big, long-lasting and well-lit houses. Foolish people, even rich ones, build small, untidy houses without enough space. [These houses] are shared by goats and people, to the point where people do not know if they or the goats own the house.

On top all that, the house is dark and filled with a bad stench because of the goat's urine.

Ngwíciria Agíkũyũ aingĩ no maigue ũru tondũ wa ũhoro ũyũ, tondũ wakũmenya ũguo nĩguo mekaga tene. Na moige atĩ mwandiki nĩ ekũmamenithia hĩndĩ ĩrĩa ekwandĩka maũndũ ta maya. Tondũ maũndũ macio mamwe marĩ okuo na andũ amwe aitũ.

Nake mwandiki no acokerie acio mekuga ũguo ũũ. Atĩ hatirĩ gitũmi gĩa kũhitha ũndũ mũru hĩndĩ ĩrĩa warĩkia kũmenya nĩ mũru. Tondũ kũhitha kuonekaga o hĩndĩ ĩrĩa mũndũ atarĩ aramenya ũndũ mwega na mũru nĩ ũrikũ.

No arĩkia kũmenya rĩ, ekaga ũrĩa ona wega gwĩka, na ndatindaga agítanga tondũ wa maũndũ marĩa ekaga tene atanamenya wega na ũru. No ũrĩa ekaga nĩ kũgeria kuongerera maũndũ mega. No angĩkorũo egwítanga na maũndũ macio atũire ekaga na akiugaga nĩ mega. Nĩ kuga atĩ ndarĩ aramenya wega harĩa arĩ na ithenya rĩa gũthiĩ na mbere kũringana na gũtanya gwitũ, no na thutha aracoka agíciria atĩ kwĩ hĩndĩ ĩgacoka twĩhumbage ithiĩ na tũkomanagie nyũmba ĩmwe na mbũri, ona ningĩ agíciria atĩ hihi Comba nĩ ũkainũka. Angĩkorũo we mũthomi wakwa nĩguo wíciragia rĩ, ririkana atĩ maũndũ macio wíciragia nĩguo ũhorerie ngoro yaku. No ũguo tiguu maũndũ magaikara, no kinya makahana ma Comba, na menda gũkĩra ma Comba mamakĩre, hĩndĩ ĩrĩa tũkamenya atĩ njĩra ya na mbere nĩ ĩno na ya na thutha nĩ ĩno.

Kũrĩa tũgakinya, ona ũgĩ ũrĩa tũkagĩa naguo ona manyũmba marĩa manene tũgaka hatirĩ mũndũ wĩ muoyo matukũ maya tũrĩ ũngihota kũmenya ũrĩa makahana, No Ngai ũrĩa wĩ muoyo ũ moĩ. Wĩra witũ ithuĩ arĩa twĩ muoyo nĩ kũgeria kuonereria o hanini mũno atĩ njĩra ya gũthiĩ na mbere nĩ ĩno. Na mũtirimawa gũthiĩ naguo nĩguo ũyũ, nacio ciana ciitũ, kũria igakinya ona kĩrĩa ikona tũtigakorũo muoyo tũmenye nĩ kĩĩ kana nĩatĩa.

Rĩu reke tũcokere ndeto itũ harĩa tũmĩtigĩire tuge atĩrĩrĩ:—Ũguo nĩguo andũ ogĩ na akĩgu matiganĩte harĩ ũhoro wa irio, na na nguo, na nyũmba o iria othe moĩ bata wacio.

Naguo ũtonga wao ũhũthagĩrũo na mabataro macio mao.

Maakinya hau-rĩ, andũ akĩgu magatigwo na thutha nokĩgu wao, magagĩkaga ciiko itarĩ ng'ima ona matarĩ na ngoro ya kwenda kana ũrũme wa kwenda kũmenya maũndũ mega nĩ marĩkũ, na maũndũ moru nĩ marĩkũ.

Na tondũ wothayo ũcio ũngĩmorĩa kĩrĩa kĩagiragia meke ciiko njega, no magagũcokeria atĩrĩrĩ: Nĩ 'ũhoro wa Ngai', mageterera atĩ Ngai akamarehere ũgĩ wa maũndũ mothe o ũguo wĩ mũgima matanogeire ona hanini tondũ worĩa mathũrĩte kũnoga ũhoro-inĩ wa gwíciria. Kũringana na ũrĩa tũrathoma mũno ibuku-inĩ rĩrĩ.

Perhaps many Agikuyu will feel offended by this argument, knowing what they used to do in the past. They may say the writer is bringing them into disrepute¹⁴³ when he writes of such matters, since some of our people still follow such ways.

The writer can reply to those who talk like this: 'There's no need to hide something bad when you learn that it's bad. You only hide something when you do not know the difference between good and bad.'

Once someone does know, he does what he thinks is good, and is not troubled by what he used to do in the past, when he did not differentiate between good and bad. What he does is increase the good things. But if he is troubled by the good things he has been doing, it means he is not quite sure where he stands. Instead of moving forward, he just moves backward, thinking that a time will come when we will go back to wearing animal skins and sleeping in the same house as [one's] goats. He thinks that the 'white strangers'¹⁴⁴ will return to their country. If perhaps you, my reader, think in this way, know that those thoughts diminish your spirit. For that is now the way things will be—they will be just as the 'white strangers' have arranged. And in that future time, we will know that the road to progress is this one, and the one leading backward is that one.¹⁴⁵

No one living today knows from where or how much knowledge we will get in future, nor what kind of houses we will live in. Only the living God knows. The work of our generation is to try to show the path forward, and the staff with which to walk. We will not know where or what our children will get, since we will not be alive.

Let us take our discussion back to where we left it and say: Intelligent and foolish people differ on matters pertaining to food, clothes, and housing.

Their wealth is used to cater for their needs.

The foolish people are left with their foolishness, they do immature deeds without the desire or courage to distinguish between good and bad.

Because of their foolishness, if you ask them why they never do good deeds, they will answer: 'that is God's affair'. They wait for God to give them wisdom without working for it, because they hate tiring themselves in thought, as we have already read in this book.

Na tondū ūcio-rī, andū ogī magathiī na mbere makaigua ng'aragu ya maūndū maingī. Namo nī ūthaka harī maūndū mo mene, kana harī ūthaka guo mwene. Na harī njira kana ciiga iria ithano tuonire igeraga ūmenyo wa mūndū.

Makamenya atī maitho mao mena ng'aragu ya kuonai ndo njega kana thaka, kwoguo makahanda mahūa nyūmba-inī ciao. Magathakaria nyūmba na riri mūingī. Na maūndū mothe ona mawīra mao mothe magatuika magūkenia maitho. Nayo ngoro igakeno tondū wa kuona indo thaka ūguo.

Hīndī ngoro itangikena tondū wa maūndū macio mathaka no hakorirūo atī hīndī irīa ūrerorera mahūa, kana o ūndū ūngī mwea ndūreciria ūhoru wa ūthaka ūcio. Na ūreciria ūhoru wa kūrīa kana wa ūndū ūngī.

Meciria maitū mombitwo magiagwo nī ūndū ūmwe o ihinda rīmwe. Na tondū ūcio-rī, ndūngihota kuona wega wa maūndū maingī o ihinda rīmwe. Na nīkīo Agīkūyū a tene arīa meciragia mūno moigire atī 'Muhwo na matū merī ndaiguaga'.

Tondū ūcio-rī, nīwega o mūndū eciragia ūhoru wa ūndū ūrīa egwīka kana enaguo, na arīkia gwīciriria ūhoru wa ūndū ūcio na aūmenya agatambirira ūndū ūrīa ūngī, naguo akambirira kūwīcīria ihinda rīagwo mwanya kinya mūthia waguo.

Andū arīa ogī-rī, magacoka makaigua ng'aragu ya mīgambo mīega, magathondeka inanda, na mbeni, na tūrumbeta iria ina mīgambo mīega gūkīra ciigamba na coro kana thongori.

Nyūmba ciao igathera, o na cikaro ciao ciothe hakaga handū mūrūkī mūuru ūngiuma. Magekīra indo cia kūnunga wega nyūmba-inī ciao o na nguoinī ciao, ta mahūa kana maguta makwīhaka mwīrī ona njuīrī.

Magakoma handū hega matckūhinyūo. Hīndī irīa andū arīa matoi ūhoru megūkoma mīaro igūrū na ndarūa-inī.

Utonga wothe ūgakoragūo ūgūteithia mūndū kūgīa na maūndū ta macio, magūkenia mwīrī wake.

Narīo ihinda rikoneka harī mūndū mūgī rīa gūcokeria Ngai ngatho tondū wa kūmūhe maūndū macio mothe mega, mūndū ūcio akagīa na hinya mwīrī o na meciria-ini.

Akaiyūrūo nī thayū ngoro, akahota kūruta wīra wake na hinya, na kūhoya Ngai, nacio indo igakīria kūingīha. O hīndī irīa andū arīa akīgu maroīga atī ūtonga nī wa ngoma. Na ūthīni nī Ngai.

Na tondū ūcio ūguo nī kūruma Ngai, tondū wa gūkīga. Na nīkīo andū aingī megūcīria ūtonga ūcio mawaga, na mathaya, makaiguīraarīa atongu ūiru, magagicīria ūndū ūrīa mangīhoreria ngoro ciao naguo itige gūtangīka.

Intelligent people continue to move ahead with an appetite to know more. They seek the beauty of knowledge or beauty itself. As we saw, there are five senses through which human knowledge passes.

They know their eyes wish to see beautiful things, so they plant flowers in their homes. The flowers beautify their houses, and then all their work becomes something to please their eyes. The heart also is glad to see such beautiful things.

The heart cannot be pleased if, when you look at flowers or other beautiful things, you think not about their beauty but, instead, about other things like eating.

Our mind is such that it is supposed to be occupied by one thing at a time. So you cannot appreciate the good of many things all at the same time. That is why Agikuyu thinkers of the past used to say 'One who is whispered at in both ears cannot hear.'

It is therefore better if one thinks of what he wants to do and then, [only] when he has thought it out and knows it properly, does he go on to the other thing which he then thinks right through.

As for intelligent people, they get an appetite for good music, they make record players, and trumpets with good sounds—better than traditional Kikuyu leg-rattles, horns and bells.

Their houses become clean, and in their homes bad smells are driven away. They apply things with sweet fragrance in their houses and on their clothes, like flowers and body and hair ointment.

They sleep in comfortable places for comfort, while the unintelligent sleep on skin mattresses.

Wealth should help one get such things as make one's body comfortable.

The intelligent person should also find time to thank God for giving him all these good things. He will get strong in body and mind.

He is filled with peace at heart, he can work hard, pray to God, and his wealth increases. Meanwhile, foolish people say wealth is for the devil and poverty is for God.

This is to abuse God out of foolishness. This is why many people look for wealth in vain, become foolish and jealous of the rich, in order to appease their troubled hearts.

Ngai witū Nīwe mūheyani wa indo ciothe njega. Ūtonga nī mwega, Na nī Ngai witū ūuheyana, Na ūthini nī mūru, kwoguo ūheyana gwo nī ngoma tondū nīwe mwene ūru wothe.

39. Ūhoro wa kūrīkia

Mwandiki ekwenda kuga atīrī, akīambīrīria kwandika maūndū macio mothe mandike Ibuku-inī rīrī ndarī na ūgī wa andū ūrīa matariī. Na tondū wa gūtereta na andū hīndī īrīa arari rīandīkīroinī-rī, arona atī kwī mīthemba mīingī ya andū gūkīra ūrīa aregeragīria.

Na ngerekano irīa īngītūma tūigie ūrīa mīthemba ya andū itariī-rī, nī īno:

Atī andū othe mitūrīre-inī yao-rī, mahuana ta andū marī rūgiri-inī rūraya mūno rūa mahiga rūtangīhaicīka. Amwe me hakuhī na rūgiri rūu, na angī mekūrāya naruo.

Rūgiri-inī rūu-rī, o mūndū arīna kahoro gake ga gūcūthīrīria mwena ūrīa ūngī wa rūgiri. Tūhoro tūmwe ni twariī gūkīra tūrīa tūngī, na tūhoro tūmwe tūtīmanīrīte na mwena ūrīa ūngī, kwoguo ene tuo-rī, magītaga kūrīa arīa angī ūrīa marona mwena ūrīa ūngī wa rūgiri.

Rūgiri ruu ohamwe na andū acio othe o na indo ciothe mahuana ta arī gūthīi marathīi o na mbere o kahora matekūrūgama.

Mwena ūrīa andū marī-rī, nī mwena waan thutha, naruo rūgiri rūrī mbere yao, na hatirī ūndū mangīka mahote kūhītūka rūgiri rūu, rūrīkaraga rūrī o mbere yao o mahinda mothe. Mwena ūcio wa na thutha ya rūgiri noguo andū moī wega ūhoro wago, no wa mwena ūrīa ūngī andū no gūcūthīrīria macūthagīrīria.

Kwī ihinda rīkinyaga mūndū ūmwe wa acio macūthīrīrīe akagīa na kahoro kariī gūkīra andū arīa angī, akona makīria mwena ūrīa ūngī wana mbere, nake akahūndūra ūthīi wake na thutha kana na mwena akera andū arīa angī ūrīa arona na kūrīa mbere macūthīrīrīe othe.

Hīndī irīa andū arīa macūthīrīrīe, maigua ūhoro ūcio, makambīrīria gūthonja makīūrānia ūrīa kwerūo, narīo inegene rīu rīkanenehio mūno nī andū arīa marī haraya na rūgiri makīūrīa nīkī kīoneka. Nao andū arīa marī rūgiri-inī makambīrīria gwīkīra hinya gūcūthīrīria na mbere marore kana ūguo kwerūo nīguo.

Na tondū tūhoro tūu tūtīganaine, amwe makona hanini na angī makaga kuona o na hanini kūrīngana na wariī na ūkunderu wa tūhoro tūu, arīa tūhoro twao tūtārī tumīranu o na arīa matarī hakuhī na rūgiri makagita gwītīkia o ūrīa wothe marirūo nī acio me tūhoro-inī.

Our God is the giver of everything. Wealth is good, and God provides it. Poverty is bad, and is brought by spirits,¹⁴⁶ the source of all wickedness.¹⁴⁷

39. *Concluding matters*

The writer wishes to say that when he started writing, he was ignorant about the people around him. But from talking with people while writing, it dawned on him that they are more diverse than he had thought.

A parable that may help us distinguish between people is this: People in their own cultures¹⁴⁸ are like people behind tall fences¹⁴⁹ of stone that are difficult to climb. Some are near the fence, others are far from it.

Everyone has his own hole in the fence through which to look to the other side. Some holes are wider than others, some do not go right through to the other side. So their owners have to ask others what they can see on the other side of the fence.

The fence, the people and every thing else seem to be slowly moving ahead, without stopping.

The people are in the rear with the fence in front of them, and there is no way they can pass the fence, which will always be in front of them. Some people behind the fence know this very well, others simply stare.

Someone among those who are staring may sometimes get a wider hole than others and manages to see right through to the front. He turns and tells the others what he sees ahead.

When those who are looking on hear this, they start to murmur, asking what has been said. This murmuring is amplified by the people who are far from the fence, who ask what has happened. People near the fence start putting pressure, looking in front to see if what has been said is true.

Because their holes are not equal, some see a little and others see nothing at all, depending on the width or narrowness of the holes. As for those whose holes don't go right through and those who are not near the fence, they end up believing what they are told by those near the holes.

Na mündũ ũngĩ angĩcoka amere atĩ ũguo merirũo tiguu, andũ acio no morage mündũ ũcio tondũ wagi wa woni wao ũgitagĩrũo na ũrũme mũingĩ mũno, kana maga kũmũraga marege ũhoru wake biũ.

Tareke rĩu tũtaũre ngerekano io:

Rũgiri rũu rũraya rũa mahiga nĩ Ūrimũ witũ wa ũria gũgekika rũciũ, tondũ hatirĩ mündũ ũĩ rĩria agakua. Andũ arĩa me hakuhĩ na rũgiri rũu nĩ kuga nĩ andũ arĩa ogĩ na gĩthomo mũno ona arĩa ogĩ na ũhoru wa ndini mũno, na arĩa meciragia ũria gũgatuika matukũ marĩa magoka ona andũ arĩa ogĩ na ũgĩ wa mũciarire.

Tũhoru tũu twĩ rũgiri-inĩ rũu o mündũ gake nĩ kuga atĩ, tũhoru nĩ meciria o mündũ make, na gũcũthĩrĩria mwena ũria ũngĩ wa rũgiri, nĩ gwĩciria ũhoru wa maũndũ macio magoka.

Tũhoru tũmwe kwarama makĩria ya tũria tũngĩ nĩ kuga atĩ meciria ma andũ amwe nĩ inaingĩ gũkĩra ma andũ arĩa angĩ na tũhoru tũũ tũtoimanĩrĩte na mwena ũria ũngĩ wa rũgiri, nĩ kuga andũ arĩa matarĩ na meciria makũhota kũmenya ũria gũgatuika. Tondũ ũcio makagĩta kũria andũ arĩa ogĩ ũria megwĩciria gũgatuika thutha-ini tondũ nĩo marona mwena ũria ũngĩ wa rũgiri,

Gũthĩi kwa rũgiri rũu ona mbere nĩ ũria ihinda rĩthiraga, ndagĩka kwa ndagĩka, thaa gwa thaa, mũthenya kwa mũthenya, mweri kwa mweri, ona mwaka kwa mwaka. Na gũthĩi kwa andũ o na mbere nĩ ũria andũ maikaraga magĩciaragwo magĩtwika twana na thutha ningĩ magatuika andũ akũrũ. Na gũthĩi kwa indo ciothe nĩ ũria nacio igĩaga kuo na thutha igathira. Hatirĩ kindũ o na kĩmwe kĩrũgamĩte tiga no gũthĩi irathiĩ o na mbere, tondũ hatirĩ kindũ ki mwambiririo gĩtarĩ mũthia.

Mwena wa na thutha ũcio andũ marĩ, nĩ kuga nĩ mwena wa maũndũ marĩ mahĩtũku, kana wa ihinda rĩria rĩhĩtũku, naruo rũgiri kũgĩa mbere yao nĩ kuga atĩ hatirĩ hĩndĩ kwagaga rũciũ. Rũciũ rũu rũathirahakagĩa rũngi, o ũguo o ũguo kinya rĩ na rĩ. Na tondũ ũcio hatirĩ ũria andũ mangĩka mahĩtũke ihinda, tondũ angikorũo ũmũthi nĩ mweri cigana ũna, tuge mweri ithatũ wa January 1945. hatirĩ ũria ũngĩka ũhĩtũke mweri icio ithatũ, ũtuĩke atĩ, hĩndĩ ĩria andũ arĩa angĩ tũrĩ mweri-inĩ, ithatũ, we wĩ mweriinĩ ithano kana ikũmi, ũkĩendaga na ũtekwenda no mũhaka ũkoruo kuo hamwe na ithuĩ mwerĩ ithatũ, na no mũhaka tũgakinyanĩra hamwe ithuothe mweri icio ithano. Ihinda rĩthĩtũkĩkaga.

Andũ kũmenya ũhoru wa mwena wana thutha wa rũgiri nĩ kuga nĩ ũhoru wa maũndũ marĩa mahĩtũku, kana wa ihinda rĩria rĩhĩtũku. Tondũ mündũ amenyaga wega ũhoru wa maũndũ marĩa arĩkĩtie kuona o na kũigua. No ũhoru wa maũndũ marĩa magoka mündũ no gwĩciria eciragia, na nĩguo gũcũthĩrĩria.

When someone else tells them that what they are being told is not true, they may kill him, because of their staunchly held views. If they do not kill him they completely reject his views.

Let us now unravel this parable: The tall fence is our ignorance about what will happen tomorrow, since no one knows when he will die. The people near the fence are well-educated people, religious experts, those who think about what will happen tomorrow, and those with prophetic insight.

The holes in the fence assigned to each of them are their minds. To look through to the other side is to think about the future.

That some holes are wider than others means that some people have more insight than others. The holes that do not go right through the fence refer to those people who lack insight on what may happen tomorrow. So they depend on what others think will happen, since the latter can see what is happening on the other side of the fence.

The forward movement of the fence is the way time passes, minute by minute, hour by hour, day by day, month by month, and year by year. The movement of the people represents the way they are born as children and then turn into old people. The movement of things shows how things appear and disappear. Nothing stands still, but everything is moving ahead, since nothing with a beginning is without an end.

The rear of the fence, where the people are, refers to past things or past time, and that the fence is in front of them means there is always a tomorrow. After one tomorrow there is always another. This becomes an eternal pattern, so it is impossible for anyone to get ahead of time. If today is a certain date, say 3rd January 1945, there is no way you can bypass this date so that, when the rest of us are on the 3rd, you can be on the 5th or the 10th. Whether you like it or not, you must be on the 3rd with the rest of us, and will have to get to the 5th together with all of us. Time cannot be bypassed.

People's knowledge of the rear side of the fence refers to things past, or past years, since one can know only what one has witnessed or heard. One can only speculate about things to come, and this is [signified by] the staring.

For somebody to get a wider hole refers to people who have more insight than others. The writer beseeches any reader with a courteous heart¹⁵⁰ never to suppose that the writer is here saying that he is more intelligent, or has more ideas, than other people. No. He is just talking about what he has thought. To see the front of the fence better means

Ihinda rīu rīkinyaga mūndū ūmwe akagīa na kahoro kariī gūkīra andū arīa angī. Nī kuga nī mūndū agaciarūo akagīa na meciria maingī gūkīra andū arīa angī. No mwandīki egūthaitha mūthomi o wothe ūrīa wīna ngoro ya ūhoreri ndakae gwīcīria atī mwandīki nī kuuga ekuuga atī nī mūūgī gūkīra andū arīa angī, ona kana atī, akagīa na meciria maingī gūkīra andū arīa angī. Aca no nī kwaria kūrīngana na ūrīa egwīcīria. Na kuona makīria mwena ūrīa wana mbere, nī kuga nī agecīria na akamenya makīria ūhoru wa ūrīa gūgatuīka thutha, o na atī ūndū mūna na mūna, weturanīra ūtuīkaga kana ūrehage ūna.

Nake akahūndūra ūthiū wake na thutha kana na mwena, nī kuga nī rīrīa mūndū ūcio ambagīrīria kwīra andū acio matarī hakuhī na rūgiri ūrīa onete, acio nīo mena thutha, nao arīa me mwena wake nī andū arīa angī ogī take, arīa macūthīrīrie hamwe nake. Kana arīa meciragia hamwe nake. Ūhoru wa ūrīa gūgatuīka thutha, na ūria ūna na ūna ingīturanīra ituīke ūna, na ūrīa kīna na kīna ingīturanirūo ituīke kīna.

Mūndū ūcio ambagīrīria kwīra andū arīa angī ūrīa ecirītie gūgatuīka thutha, tondū worīa ekuona atī ūndū mūna ūciaraga ūndū mūna na no kinya ūtūre ūciarānaga oro ūguo.

Gūthonja kwa andū arīa macūthīrīrie nī kuga nī ngarari cia andū arīa ogī magīkarāria kana ūguo mūndū ūcio oiga nīguo kana tīguo. No andū arīa matarī hakuhī na rūgiri, kana andū arīa matarī ogī metagīrīra o kwīrūo, magakīria kūnegena makīūria ūria wonekete metīkie. Nao andū acio ogī magakīria gwīcīria na hinya na gūtuīria na hinya ūhoru ūcio kana nī wa ma.

Na tondū ūgī kana meciria matiganaine amwe makamenya, angī makamenya hanini, angī makaga kūmenya o na hanini, o mūndū kūrīngana na wariī na ūkunderu wa meciria make. Arīa matarī ogī, na arīa matethagathagīte kūhiga, makagwata gūītīkia o ūrīa wothe marīrūo nī acio meciragia.

Na ūngīcoka ūmere atī ūguo tīgwo, andū acio mateciragia no mende gūkūraga tondū wa kūrakara. O metikagia ūndū ūrīa mendete gwītīkia, akorūo nī mwega kana nī mūru. Na kwaga meciria kūu kwao kūgitagīrūo na ūrūme mūingī mūno, o ta ūria tuonaga atī, hangīkorūo he mūndū wīna thirī waku, na mūndū ūcio nī mūthīni, ūmūrandūre mbeca icio hīndī rīra atarī nacio, no akaruta haro nene mūno na akenda mūrūe. Githī ūguo tīgwo?

Na tondū wa kwaga kūiganania meciria kūu, nīkīo andū amwe matūraga metīkītie ūrīa metīkītie tene, na arīa angī magetīkia ūrīa monete wega gwītīkia.

to think and know what will happen in the future—that when this and that coincide, they produce foreseeable consequences.

To face back or to the side is the moment when someone tells the people further from the fence, the people at the rear, what he has seen. Those next to him are as intelligent as him—all who look alongside him or who think together with him about what will happen in future, how this and that can combine to be one thing and another.

Such a person tells others what will happen in the future, because he understands that this begets that, and that there is a repetitive pattern to events.

The murmuring of those who are staring refers to the disagreements between intelligent people, who argue over whether what one has said is true or not. The people who are not near the fence or are not intelligent, just wait to be told, and start to murmur, asking whether it should be believed. The intelligent people start to think hard and investigate hard if it is true or not.

Knowledge and ideas are not evenly distributed, so some know a little, others know nothing, each according to the breadth or narrowness of their mind. Those who are not intelligent and those who cannot be bothered to think just believe what they are told by those who do think.

If you tell those who do not think that their belief is no longer true, they may kill you out of anger. They just believe what they want to believe, whether good or bad. This lack of ideas is protected by their stubborn courage, in the same way as we find that, if somebody owes you money and is poor, and you go for the money he does not have, he provokes a fight with you. Is that not so?

Because our minds are not the same, some people still believe what they used to believe in the past, and others believe what they want to believe.

That is why there are different kinds of people with different kinds of belief.

But they all agree with the saying that 'Loving is good and hatred is bad.' And so the story ends just as it began, when we said that to hate is to destroy, and that to love is to build and is therefore good.

May God be praised for enabling me to write all these things.

The end

No tondũ ũcio-rĩ, nĩkĩo kũiyũrĩte andũ a mithemba yothe ãna wĩtĩkio ũtiganĩte mũno.

No rĩrĩ, othe-rĩ, nĩ maiguanagĩra harĩ ciugo ici:

Atĩ 'Kwendana nĩ kwegu na gũthũrana nĩ kũru'. Kwoguo ũhoru ũkarĩka ota ũrĩa twambĩrĩirie hĩndĩ irĩa tugire atĩ gũthũrana nĩ kũharagania, na kwendana nĩ gũcokanĩrĩria na nĩ kwegu.

Ngai arogocũo o makĩria tondũ wa kũhotithia kwandĩka maũndũ macio mothe.

Muthia

Endnotes

1. Muoria's question (what should we do, or what might we do?) is addressed to *īiya witu*. *Iya* was a term of affection used between brothers and sisters; it was also used among those who had been circumcised together. In his title, then, Muoria imagines his readership as a family, related through blood—a theme which reappears in the poetry, below, which is addressed to *ciana cia Muumbi*, the 'children of Muumbi'. For *iya*, see Benson, 193.

2. 'Jump about' used to be a common Gikuyu figure of speech to describe how frivolous people behaved.

3. The term translated as 'adults' here is *andū agima*, 'mature people'. Muoria uses the same phrase later in the essay, when distinguishing knowledge from foolishness. His language is interesting in an era in which Kenyans would soon distinguish between elders' responsibilities and Mau Mau's 'hooliganism'.

4. 'Muoria values the personal effort that went into his search for education, and is here thinking chiefly of his correspondence courses. 'Certificates' are *marua*, 'letters'. 'The world over' is important. Muoria wants Africans to see themselves as world citizens.

5. *Gwītua mūgima*, 'to shape themselves into a mature person', a personal responsibility.

6. 'Helping ourselves' is *gūteithania*, a reciprocal verb meaning 'to help each other'.

7. *Kūharagania* is to 'cause to spread out, break up, scatter, disperse in all directions' (Benson, 142).

8. Each stanza here is composed so as to rhyme in Gikuyu. For example, the last words in the third stanza are *ngemi*, *mūgeni*, *ūguni*, and *ageni*.

9. 'Compassion' is *tha*, which is also mercy, pity, or sympathy (Benson, 485).

10. The Gikuyu verb here is *-ītikia*, to consent or believe.

11. 'Brother' is *mūrū wa maitū*, a brother of the same mother.

12. Throughout this text, the Gikuyu *ūrimū* is rendered as 'ignorance'. *Ūrimū* is a form of *kīrimū*, which is an idiot, a fool, or (importantly for Muoria) an untaught person. Fifteen years later, African nationalists commonly stated their aim to be to eliminate poverty, ignorance, and disease.

13. This reference is obscure, but in the nineteenth century the Ruiru area had for a time been the southern Gikuyu frontier—and perhaps therefore a place of danger.

14. To cry out in greeting a distinguished visitor, in this case 'wisdom'.

15. The word rendered here as 'wisdom' is *ūgī*. By the time Muoria wrote this tract, *ūgī* had come to mean 'cleverness, cunning; wisdom... skill, sharpness, perspicacity' (Benson, 549). An older definition is found in A. W. McGregor's 1904 dictionary, which defined *ūgī* as 'tact', 'sense' and 'acumen' (McGregor, *English-Kikuyu Dictionary* [London, 1904]). *Ūgī* was the rhetorical skill that elders used in oral argument. Early missionary translators therefore worried over the word 'wisdom': they thought that *ūgī* connoted 'guile' or 'cunning' more than seasoned insight (KNA: NBSS 1/81: Barlow, 'Translator's difficulties, 27 April 1944).

16. It may be that Muoria is here thinking of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, an abridged Gikuyu version of which was published in 1914, and sold in mission schools for one rupee. (PCEA: 1/A/17: Rogers to Arthur, 27 July 1914). More generally, see Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

17. The word here is *igūta*, a term of reproach. A 1933 dictionary defined the singular *kigūta* as 'one so habitually lazy that he has not the wherewithal to marry; a woman so lazy in her domestic affairs that no one would wish to marry her' (Beechers).

18. 'Knowledge' here is *ūmenyo*. *Ūmenyo* was a novel word used by early 'readers' to distinguish what they learned in school from the *ūgī* (rhetorical skill, or wisdom) that elders possessed. *Kūmenya*, to 'know', was to possess certain skills or aptitudes. See

Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, bookkeeping, and the work of imagination in colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2004), chapter 3.

19. The Gikuyu word rendered as 'education' here is *githomo*, from the verb *-thoma*, 'to read'. Early Christian converts in Gikuyuland were known as *athomi*, 'readers'.

20. Muoria is making a play on words here. The Gikuyu says that *ūmenyo*, 'knowledge', is *ūgi*. *Ūgi* is one way to refer to the rhetorical wisdom of elders (see note 17 above). It is also 'sharpness', as possessed by a machete. Muoria here expands the semantic range for *ūmenyo*, an argument he carries forward below. Cutting down trees was one of the most arduous of Kikuyu tasks; for this, and 'sweat' (below) see John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau', in Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London: James Currey, 1992), 332–34.

21. 'Repulsive' is *gūthūka*, 'be bad, inferior, unbecoming, be spoiled, useless' (Benson, 534).

22. 'Mind' is *meciria*, 'thoughts' or 'reasoning'.

23. 'Ignorance' here is *kwaga umenyo*, to 'lack *umenyo*', the knowledge that early 'readers' claimed for themselves.

24. 'Not mature' is *ndūri mūgima*, 'you are not an adult'.

25. Years later, in his London exile, Henry Muoria thought this argument to be too harshly deterministic and rephrased it to suggest that the consequences of immature poverty were possible rather than certain. See, Henry Muoria, *I, the Gikuyu and the White Fury* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1994), 86.

26. 'Country' is *būrūri*, one of several Gikuyu terms referring to a region, or to the people of a particular region.

27. 'Companies' are *makambūni*, a word Muoria imported from English. The 'other people' Muoria had in mind were most probably South Asians ('Indians' before the Partition of India and Pakistan at independence in 1947). There were very few African-owned businesses before 1945. See below, sections 9, 10, 11, 13, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, and 29 for Muoria's thoughts on African entrepreneurship in commerce, building, blacksmithing, farming, herding, entertainment.

28. 'Thinking and doing' is *gwīcīria na gwīka*. Muoria is almost certainly carrying on his rhetorical competition with his elders here. *Kuuga na gwīka*, 'say and do', was and is a popular political maxim which holds that the authority to 'say' comes from public achievement, from being seen to have 'done' something (Lonsdale, 'Moral economy', 337–38). Muoria argues that (educated) thought must come even before words. Two years later, in 1947, the '40 Group' emerged, adopting the slogan *kuuga na gwīka*, (Gucu wa Gikoyo, *We Fought for Freedom* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979), 295, where *kuuga wa gwīka* is evidently a misprint). The 40 Group was composed of young men, mostly Nairobi residents, known for their criminality, whom some believe to have been a forerunner of Mau Mau, which also adopted the 'say and do' motto. Among the 'Forty's' leaders was Victor Wokabi, a writer and editor who must have known Muoria: one might speculate that Wokabi's comrades saw Muoria as their rhetorical competitor, just as Muoria competed for public authority with earlier elders.

29. Muoria is here echoing a very common white-settler complaint at the time, but from within his own culture.

30. 'Belief' here is *wītikio*, 'assent'. The verb *ītīkia* refers to the sound that elders made when agreeing to an argument made by their peers. Protestant missionaries used *wītikio* to define the Christian's 'belief' in an other-worldly deity. See Peterson, *Creative Writing*, chapter 2.

31. 'Resolved' is *ngoro imwe*, 'with one heart'. For the importance of 'resolve' in Kikuyu culture see Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996), 15–18.

32. Muoria uses the word *mūthigiti*, from the Swahili *msikiti*, 'mosque'.

33. 'Delusion' is *kūrīgwo*, 'fail to recognize, understand; fail to know, be ignorant' (Benson, 382). In a different form, the same verb refers to tangled string (Beechers, 178).

34. It appears that Muoria's Christianity was shaped by conventional Kikuyu belief that God 'must not needlessly be bothered'. See, Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), 237–40.

35. 'Civility' is *gũkirĩrĩria*, 'patience, forbearance, patient endurance', from the verb *kira*, to 'be quiet, stop making noise' (Beechers, 85).

36. Muoria is here voicing a common complaint voice by conservative Kikuyu against the 'born again' Christian enthusiasts of the East African revival movement that had been spreading from Rwanda and Uganda since the early 1930s. This indignation can be seen in Muthoni Likimani's novel *They Shall be Chastised* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1971), where the two chapters concerning Revival are titled 'Confusion'. Likimani is the daughter of the Rev. Livai Gachanja, an Anglican clergyman and a contemporary of Henry Muoria. See also, Derek Peterson, 'Casting Characters: Autobiography and Political Imagination in Colonial Kenya', *Research in African Literatures* 37, 3, (2006), 176–192; and idem, 'Wordy Women: Gender Trouble and the Oral Politics of the East African Revival in Gikuyuland', *Journal of African History* 43 (2001), 469–489.

37. Muoria explicitly evokes photography here: to 'take a picture' is *kũhũra mbica*. The word *mbica* is a Gikuyu pronunciation of the English word 'picture'. The phrase first appears in the Beechers' 1938 dictionary (Beechers, 56). A 1904 dictionary defined 'picture' as *muhianano*, from the verb *hana*, 'be like, look like, resemble' (McGregor, 132). Photography played a large role in African life from the 1920s on: see, Anthony Howarth, *Kenyatta: A Photographic Biography* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), in which the earliest photo of Kenyatta was taken in 1910. Kenyatta got his brother to take photos of Kikuyu daily life to illustrate *Facing Mount Kenya*, published in 1938, and for the frontispiece had himself pictured in the garb of an authoritative elder. Muoria's portrait often occupied a prominent place in his own publications.

38. 'Wise person' is *mũndũ mũgi*, a person possessing *ũgi*, 'wisdom'.

39. *Tiga kwĩgana*, literally, 'stop telling a tale about yourself', from the verb *gana*, to 'sing the praises of' (Beechers, 24).

40. Another echo of the conventional Kikuyu belief that God 'loves or hates people according to their behaviour.' See, Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 233.

41. Muoria seems to see little value in the customary household education he left behind in order to go to school and on which Kenyatta set such store in *Facing Mount Kenya*.

42. *Maundu ma tene na ma riu*, literally, the 'matters of long ago and of now'.

43. See our 'Editorial Note', above, for the difficulty of translating the gender-neutral pronouns of the Gikuyu language—something of which Muoria was aware when making his own translation into English at this point. See, *I, the Gikuyu*, 89, for 'him or her'.

44. *Kihumo kiega*, literally a 'good origin', from the verb *uma*, to 'come out of'.

45. One can see here the germ of Muoria's argument three years later, expressed in editorials in *Mumenyereri* in 1948, that for their commercial enterprises to succeed Africans must be granted freedom of association, to enable them to iron out their jealousies. See above, Lonsdale's, chapter, section headed 'What then should our people do?'

46. *Wendani na ũiguano*, literally, 'reciprocal love and reconciliation'. *Ūiguano* is derived from the verb *-igua*, 'to hear'; *-iguana* is 'to hear each other'.

47. A common self-criticism at the time, shared by Kenyatta on his arrival back in Kenya the following year. See below, 'The Home Coming of Our Great Hero'.

48. Muoria's justification for African capitalism was echoed twenty years later, doubtless unwittingly, by Josiah Mwangi ('JM') Kariuki when, as Member of Parliament, company director and racehorse owner, he was asked to justify himself: '...I do not consider myself a capitalist at all... All I have is sufficient to keep me and my family going, plus of course, when I work hard to get more money, then I am bringing a lot of money to the nation... It is better to have a lot of money to help people and to

encourage other young men to work hard and get more money... [W]hoever does have [money] should try to share it with his own people in one way or another.' Interviewed by Tony Hall for the *Sunday Nation*, 6 Nov 1966, and reprinted in Cherry Gertzel, Maure Goldschmidt and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Government and Politics in Kenya: A Nation Building Text* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), 78–83.

49. 'Knowledge', again, is *ũmenyo*, knowledge that comes from school. See note 18 above.

50. In the late 1940s white immigration increased faster than at any other time in Kenya's history.

51. 'Eradicated' is *gũthira*, 'be finished, come to an end', as in the drying up of a spring, or the burning out of a lamp (Beechers, 206). Muoria feared that anxiety, poverty and ignorance could eradicate Africans. Others feared that whites might try to exterminate them—perhaps prompted by growing knowledge of the Nazi holocaust. See the Kenya African Union's 1946 memorandum 'The economical, political, educational and social aspects of the African in Kenya Colony'. BNA: CO 533/537/38672, enclosure in No. 1.

52. 'Come together' is *gwĩcokere*, 'return ourselves'.

53. In the 1940s only a tiny number of Kenyan Africans, mostly sons of chiefs, travelled overseas, especially to South Africa, for further education. See, Hélène Charton, 'La genèse ambiguë de l'élite kenyane: origins, formations et integration de 1945 à l'indépendance.' Université de Paris 7: PhD. dissertation, 2002.

54. Like almost all other politically-conscious Africans at the time Muoria looked forward to racial equality in Kenya, not African independence.

55. Few Africans shared Muoria's enthusiasm for co-operative farming, although Kenyatta had shown interest in it in the 1930s, when shown examples by Prince Peter of Denmark: Jeremy Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972), 188. The Kenya government made a few such experiments in African farming after the war—a time when British officials admired Soviet collective farming. These colonial experiments failed in the 1940s, as independent Tanzania's failed later, in the 1970s. See, James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chapter 7.

56. It was of course the case that in Kenya, as elsewhere, food prices rose during famines—and in central Kenya food shortages were normally expected every decade, severe famine every thirty years or so.

57. This phrase is literally translated 'the things of the person and the things of the many'. Muoria was correct. Kikuyuland was consumed by conflict over property in the 1940s. See, Gavin Kitching, *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite-Bourgeoisie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), chapter X; David W. Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau 1945–53* (London: James Currey, 1987), chapters 4, 7 and 9; A. Fiona D. Mackenzie, *Land, Ecology and Resistance in Kenya, 1880–1952* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

58. *Uiguano* or 'unity' is, more literally, 'cooperative listening'. See note 46 above.

59. Again, Muoria was correct. In the forty years after the Second World War, Kenyan (and Kikuyu) population grew at around 3% per annum, one of the highest growth rates in world history. See, John Blacker, 'The Demography of Mau Mau: Fertility and Mortality in Kenya in the 1950s—A Demographer's Viewpoint', *African Affairs* 106 (April 2007), 205–27.

60. 'Our representatives' in 1945 were, for Kenya's Africans, two nominated members of the Legislative Council—the Revd. Leonard Beecher, Anglican missionary and Kikuyu linguist, later Bishop of Mombasa and then first Anglican Archbishop of Kenya; and Eliud Mathu, son of a Kikuyu *mundo mugo*, member of Balliol College Oxford, and schoolmaster, formerly at the missionary Alliance High School and more recently headmaster of a Kikuyu independent school. After independence he was President Kenyatta's private secretary. See, Jack R. Roelker, *Mathu of Kenya: A Political Study*

(Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1976). There was in addition a proliferation of advisory committees on which Africans were represented. In the middle of 1946 Muoria was himself appointed to a new Advisory Committee on African Publicity and Information: Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War & Welfare in Kenya 1925–52* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), 257.

61. ‘Divided people’ is *andū matangīgūana*, ‘people who cannot agree’, ‘people who cannot listen to each other’.

62. ‘To be intelligent’ here is *kūhiga*, ‘be clever, wise, educated, sensible, intelligent’ (Benson, 549). The same word also describes the ‘sharpness’ of a knife. Muoria is continuing the discourse he began above, in likening the sharpness that elders displayed in rhetorical argument with the knowledge gained from schooling.

63. The Gikuyu text is corporeal here: the three knowledges that Muoria describes are ‘of the heart’, ‘of the head’, and ‘of the hands’.

64. ‘Religious and sacrificial knowledge’ is *ūgi wa ndini kana wa magongona*. *Ndini* is the Swahili word that Gikuyu writers used for ‘denominations’ or ‘sects’. *Magongona* were the ritual actions that elders carried out under trees when propitiating immaterial powers. Whether these actions should be called ‘sacrificial’ is doubtful: Gikuyu elders’ ritual practices were pragmatic, not simply theological in nature. For divergent views here, see Peterson, *Creative Writing*, Chapter 2 and John Lonsdale, Jomo Kenyatta, God and the Modern World’, in Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt (eds.), *African Modernities* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2002), especially 39–45.

65. By the 1940s *kihariro* commonly meant ‘foundation’. A *mündū ūtari kihariro*, for example, was a ‘person of no standing, no credentials, one whose origins are unknown, irresponsible person’ (Barlow, file Gen. 1785/2).

66. ‘Vagabond’ here is *mbūrūrū*, from the verb *ūrūra*, to ‘roam, loaf, wander about aimlessly’ (Benson, 558).

67. ‘Spiritual knowledge’ here is *ūgi wa ngoro*, the ‘wisdom of the heart’.

68. Is Muoria here showing envy of Africans better educated than he?

69. The word Muoria uses here is *gītina*, the ‘base’ of a multi-stemmed plant.

70. The word rendered as ‘truth’ is *ma*. This seems to have connoted the authority gained in making an effective argument: Gikuyu talked of *ūhoro wa ma*, a ‘true argument’, and *kūuga na ma*, to ‘speak with truth’ (Beechers, 105). Early translators thought *ma* was unsuitable for the abstract concept ‘truth’, and the first dictionaries did not attempt to define the word (KNA: NBSS 1/81: Barlow, ‘Translator’s difficulties, 27 April 1944). But in 1926 the New Testament, translated by a team of missionaries and Gikuyu converts, rendered ‘the truth’ (*John* 8:32) as *ūhoro ūria wa ma*. By 1938, Leonard Beecher could define the word *ma* as ‘true things’ (Beechers, 105); by the late 1940s, Arthur Barlow could argue that *ma* was also ‘fact’ (Barlow, comments on the Beechers’ dictionary, Gen. 1785/2).

71. This could be a railwayman’s memory of freight wagons being shunted together.

72. The word rendered as ‘love’ is *kwenda*, which might also be translated as ‘desire’. Early missionary translations rendered ‘will’ as *kwenda*, as in the petition in the Lord’s Prayer *kwenda gwaku kugie thi*, ‘thy will be done on earth’ (Barlow, file 1786/5: Kikuyu Language Committee minutes, 17 June 1908).

73. ‘House’ is *nyumba*, which by the 1940s meant ‘house’ or ‘hut’. It had formerly referred to the separate homes that the wives of polygamous men created (Benson, 354).

74. The word here is *mūgiro*, a ‘ban’ or ‘ritual prohibition’ (Benson, 112).

75. The Gikuyu sentence represents the custom as a closed door, *mūhingo*.

76. The ‘end’ here is *mūthia*, ‘tip’ or ‘end’, as in the end of a maize cob (Benson, 506).

77. Muoria clearly expected opposition when he later built the first rectangular stone house in his neighbourhood although in the next section he tries to justify himself.

78. ‘Disaster’ here is *mūtino*, ‘misfortune, bad luck, calamity’ (Benson, 449).

79. 'Association' here is *ngwatanĩro*, from the verb *gwatana*, to 'take hold of together'. Labour-sharing arrangements for clearing fields and breaking up soil for cultivation were *ngwatio*. By 1938, *ngwatanĩro* meant 'fellowship, community, society' (Beechers, 38).

80. Price-inflation was caused more by the wartime lack of consumer goods and rising rural producer incomes than by individual traders' practices.

81. An example of 'self-help' blacksmithing was soon to emerge with Mau Mau's artisanal manufacture of firearms. Some guns had the patriotic message 'Made in Kenya' stamped on them (Tom Colchester, formerly secretary to the Governor of Kenya's War Council, in interview with John Lonsdale, 9th Feb. 1977). Closer to what Muoria had in mind was the later development of 'jua kali' or 'informal sector' artisan manufacture. See, Kenneth King, *The African Artisan* (London: Heinemann, 1977); idem, *Jua Kali Kenya: Change and Development in an Informal Economy 1970-95* (London: James Currey, 1996).

82. Kenya has virtually no known mineral resources.

83. While Muoria was right to stress the dangers of soil erosion, the government's conscription of African (often female) labour to dig hillside contour-terraces to defend against it was a source of mounting popular discontent after the war—for which the correspondence pages of Muoria's newspaper *Mumenyereri* provide good evidence.

84. Muoria uses the English word 'tractor' in the Gikuyu text.

85. This proverb was first printed in Father Barra's 1939 collection (G. Barra, *1,000 Kikuyu Proverbs* (Nairobi, 1994 [1939])). The phrase was popularized in 1945, with the publication of Mwaniki Mũgweru's pamphlet *Kamũingi Koyaga Ndirĩ* (Nairobi, 1945).

86. Muoria's phrase here is *githomo na athomi*. Both nouns come from the verb *thoma*, 'to read'. This section appears to reflect most directly Muoria's experience of long-distance learning by correspondence course.

87. This phrase equates *githomo*, 'education', with *ũmenyo*, 'knowledge', but not with *ũgĩ*, the term Muoria uses for inborn wisdom.

88. *Thuranĩra* comes from the verb *-thura*, to 'choose'.

89. *Kiama*, used here, is 'miracle' or 'marvel'.

90. The phrase rendered as 'nature' is *ũria mombĩtwo*, 'how they are made'.

91. *Ihumo*, here translated as 'elements', referred to 'sources', 'origins', or 'ancestries' (Benson, 169).

92. Muoria names the elements in English in his Gikuyu text.

93. The ability to fertilise one's soil with animal or green manure depended on the size of one's property and wealth. Very small holdings could not support the livestock that provided manure, and manure bought on the market increased rapidly in price in these years despite a Local Native Council subsidy (from which only the relatively wealthy Kikuyu landholders could benefit). Perhaps unwittingly, because he may have been unaware of the economics of manuring, (for which see Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, 168, 174, 288-9), Muoria is here equating wealth and wisdom. For his explicit denial that there was always such a direct relationship see, especially, section 28 below.

94. 'Self promotion' is *mathara*, 'the scramble for loot' (Benson, 495).

95. Muoria appears to echo the rhetorical question posed in Christ's 'sermon on the mount': 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?' *Matthew 7: 16*.

96. While Muoria blames idle irresponsibility on a fault of character, Gakaara wa Wanjau would here blame colonial repression for depriving Africans of the chance to bear responsibility. Kenyatta, as we shall see in the third pamphlet, was in two minds.

97. Muoria appears to be adding to his criticism of 'born-again' Christian Revivalists. See above, note 36.

98. In the past, this anti-social wealth ran the risk of being attributed to sorcery. See Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 119: 'The selfish or self-regarding man has no name or

reputation in the Gikuyu community. An individualist is looked upon with suspicion and is given a nickname of *mwebongia*, one who works only for himself and is likely to end up as a wizard [who could be publicly burned to death].

99. The Gikuyu word here is *ihitia*, from *hitia*, to ‘miss a mark’ or ‘go astray’ (Benson, 159).

100. ‘Comprehend’ is *menyaga*, to know.

101. This aphorism is from Barra, *1,000 Gikuyu Proverbs*, 86.

102. Again, one may reasonably speculate that this is a Biblical echo—from *Ecclesiastes* 3:4, ‘A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance.’

103. The verb here is *kūgūrūka*, ‘to be wild’ or ‘to go mad’ (Benson, 130). The word places the self-indulgent person outside the arena of sociable human conduct.

104. *Gichukia* was a young person’s dance, performed at nighttime. *Mugoiyo* was a riddling song, with obscure language, and was more often performed by elders. For which, see Barlow, file Gen. 1785/6: Mugoiyo dance, notes, 1905.

105. The verb here is *kūhoreria*, ‘quieten down’; in adjectival form it means ‘peace-loving’.

106. As with the question of manure (above) Muoria again seems unaware of the degree to which differential wealth affected the ability to own livestock. One of the bitterest Gikuyu sayings was to ask, ‘How can a man of one goat speak to a man of one hundred?’ The feasting he refers to was generally sponsored by wealthy men seeking social acclaim.

107. Muoria may have picked up this commercial advice from his correspondence course. The colonial government issued pamphlets with similar advice in the years after the war.

108. ‘Profit’ is *umithio*, from the verb *uma*, to ‘come out’. The verb *umithia* is ‘to help to take out’ (Benson, 541).

109. Muoria uses the word *mūtungatīri* for a good trader. *Mūtungatīri* was the same word that Presbyterians used to refer to their ordained pastors.

110. The verb here is *-honwo*, to be recovered from a disease.

111. Muoria may have had two biblical passages in mind: *Matthew* 19: 16–26, when Christ says it is difficult but not impossible for a rich person to be ‘saved’, and St Paul’s first letter to *Timothy* 6:10 ‘For the love of money is the root of all evil.’ (Emphasis added).

112. In his London exile Muoria later expanded on this passage to say that to attribute one’s poverty to piety was an insult to God who gave us hands and brains in order to work, and that not to use these gifts was a sin (*I, the Gikuyu*, 109).

113. *Kūhoreria* is to ‘become quiet’ or ‘cool down’. Coolness was a virtue Gikuyu elders possessed: they carried staves of medicinal leaves that metonymically cooled heated conflicts. For a description of *kūhorohia*, see Louis Leakey, *The Southern Kikuyu Before 1903* (London: Academic Press, 1977), 1269; also Peterson, *Creative Writing*, Chapter 2.

114. The term *ūtheru* comes from the verb *thera*, ‘to be bright, shine, sparkle’ (Benson, 504).

115. How far was Muoria reflecting on racist insults suffered during his employment?

116. It is not clear what Muoria had in mind here but no white person convicted of unlawfully killing an African in Kenya was executed before 1960—although capital punishment was prescribed.

117. The phrase here is *ūhoru wa kanua*, ‘matters of the mouth’. For similar, earlier, Kikuyu views on the difference between speech and writing see, John Lonsdale, “Listen while I Read”: Patriotic Christianity among the Young Gikuyu’, in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Christianity and Social Change in Africa: Essays in Honor of J. D. Y. Peel* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 563–93.

118. *Thūkūma* is ‘to push’ (Benson, 535), or to work for wages. One might read *thūkūma* as a comment on the unprofitability of wage labor: while work done on one’s own land built up human relationships and multiplied kin, migrant workers pushed themselves for other people’s benefit. The links between agricultural labor and moral agency in Gikuyu thought are adumbrated in Lonsdale, ‘The Moral Economy of Mau Mau’.

119. Muoria later explained, ‘even if horns are blown into their ears’ (*I, the Gikuyu*, 112).

120. The word Muoria uses here is *Comba*, a derogatory term derived from the Swahili *mjomba* that originally meant ‘maternal uncle’, was then applied by ‘upcountry’ Kenyans to the coastal Swahili in general, and then to Europeans as well. Kenyatta called Nairobi *Gecomba-ini*, to mean ‘place of strangers’.

121. Muoria could here be saying one of three things: (a) that he disagrees with those who think Europeans were unreasonable employers; or (b) that he believes that, if Africans work hard now, they will not in future need to work for whites; or (c), as he reflected later in London, that he disagrees with those who thought that work for white men should really be white man’s work. For this last possibility see Muoria, *I, the Gikuyu*, 113.

122. ‘Decent’ is *rūagīruru*, from the verb *-agīra*, ‘be good, nice, becoming in appearance in quality’ (Benson, 3). It became a common, if sympathetic, Kikuyu criticism of the Mau Mau movement that its leaders took on the responsibility of elders without being landed elders themselves. See Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, chapters 6 and 7.

123. ‘Heroes’ are *njamba*, a ‘redoubtable warrior, man of prowess, fierce character’ (Benson, 331). The word also refers to an uncastrated he-goat or bull; *ngūkū ya njamba* is a cock.

124. That young people now drank alcohol, previously a privilege reserved to their elders, was a common complaint throughout East Africa at this time. For Kenyatta’s criticism of the youthful habit of drinking (European) bottled beer, see his speech to the mass rally of the Kenya African Union near Nyeri on 26th July 1952, shortly before the declaration of the (Mau Mau) state of emergency—in Colonial Office, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau* (London: HMSO, Cmnd. 1030, May 1960 [The ‘Corfield Report’]), 304–05. More generally see, Justin Willis, *Potent Brews: A social history of alcohol in East Africa 1850–1999* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002).

125. ‘If you remain conscious’ is *ūngūkara wīguūte*, ‘if you stay awake’ or ‘self aware’, as when waking from a stupor.

126. In this section Muoria acknowledges how much Africans owe to European knowledge. See above, Lonsdale’s chapter, section on ‘What then should we do’, for discussion of how, two years later, he argued for the African origins of human knowledge, possibly in answer to Gakaara wa Wanjau’s thesis that European colonialism had engendered a slave mentality in Africans but also, more certainly, in angry retort to the then Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, who in a radio broadcast in 1947 had, in Muoria’s words, given a message ‘heart breaking to Africans; ... a scolding and scornful message, saying that the people who are braying like donkeys when giving speeches are not able to do anything because they cannot make roads, bridges, or steam engines and they cannot make motor cars or make clothes...’ Muoria retorted that the Kikuyu had never claimed to be able to make things and that precolonial self-rule was happier than life under colonial rule, with its pass laws, thieves, imported diseases, and the confusion, too, of the many religions [he meant many Christian denominations] introduced by whites. All that Kikuyu wanted was the opportunity to prove themselves to be as wise as the British. From Muoria’s editorial, ‘The Present Battle is the Brain Battle’, *Mumenyereri* 24 Nov 1947: KNA, MAA 8/106. See also, Bodil Folke Frederiksen, ‘“The Present Battle is the Brain Battle”: Writing and Publishing a Kikuyu Newspaper in the Pre-Mau Mau Period in Kenya’, in Karin Barber (ed.), *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy*

and *Making the Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 278–313. Muoria’s criticism of the confusing number of ‘religions’ echoed Kenyatta’s complaints earlier in the year, for which see ‘Jomo Kenyatta is our Reconciler’ later in this volume.

127. ‘Narrowing’ is *gükunderia*, the ‘constricting’ of a road (Benson, 236).

128. ‘Broadening’ is *kūaramia*, which when referring to a path means ‘to cause to become clear’ (Benson, 14). The same word also connotes ‘to enrich’, so this sentence might also promise an ‘enriching of the thoughts’ to the person who loves.

129. *Ūgi wothe wa githomo*, ‘All the *ūgi* of reading’. Muoria here is referring to the skills-based education that students learned in school.

130. *Ahoi*, ‘tenants’ or ‘borrowers’. *Ahoi* in the nineteenth century had often been allies of prosperous landholders, offering cattle and labour in return for the right to cultivate. But by the 1940s Kikuyu property relations were strained, as wealthy capitalists sought to consolidate their holdings. It was this process that gave form to proverbs like *mūhoi ndairaga*, ‘a tenant has no option’ or ‘cannot complain’ (Barlow, file1786/6: ‘Proverbs, notes’, n.d. [but 1950s]). Tenancy relations were always governed by a careful etiquette. At a 1929 meeting in south Nyeri district, a group of wealthy chiefs and landholders described how ‘if a person moves and requests land, he must ask permission... he goes to the landholder and says “I want to become as your child and to serve you”... If he becomes disobedient to his adopted clan he can be turned out and can take nothing with him... In all things (he) must obey his landlord’ (Barlow, file Gen. 762: Record of evidence given by natives at barazas held by the land tenure commission, South Nyeri, 25 September 1929). Muoria here compares whites offended by black people’s self-assertion with equally indignant Kikuyu landholders.

131. Muoria here appears to compare building knowledge to building a thatched mud hut.

132. The offended speaker here asks why self-assertive black people do not borrow with *ūhoreri*, ‘coolness’ or ‘calm’, the courtesy tenants were required to show their betters.

133. The Gikuyu here refers to the ‘only true *ūgĩ*’.

134. *Ahūni*, a ‘vagabond, town loafer, rough, hooligan’ (Benson, 177). It was a common term for urban youth in both Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, so Muoria is here voicing a common complaint, held as much by self-respecting Africans as by nervous whites.

135. The word used for ‘rebellious’ here is *ti mwathiki*, ‘not obedient.’

136. Again, in London, Muoria had second thoughts, calling not for the elimination of *ahuni* but for elimination of their animal nature. (*I, the Gikuyu*, 117).

137. The word here is *wendani*, reciprocal love.

138. A *mundu mugo* is a ‘wise man’, sometimes called a ‘medicine man’ or ‘witch-doctor’.

139. For Muoria to choose to illustrate selfishness, or lack of *tha*, compassion, with this example suggests (as was clearly the case) that car ownership was only for the privileged few among Africans at this time.

140. Sweeping was a central part of a *mūndū mūgo*’s restorative work. A person contaminated by contact with uncivil substances—the dung of wild animals, a dead body—was ritually swept by *mūgo*, using a broom of leaves dipped in medicinal substances. This process was called *kūmūtiirira*, from the verb *tiira*, to ‘build up’. Their homes were then swept out, and the sweepings were deposited in a distant rubbish-heap. See, Leakey, *Southern Kikuyu*, 656; and Barlow, file Gen. 1785/3: notes on *tiira*.

141. ‘Peace’ is *thayu*, which is also ‘blessings’.

142. The Gikuyu phrase is *ūtonga ti ūgĩ*, ‘wealth is not *ūgĩ*’.

143. The verb here is *-menithia*, to ‘cause to be hated’.

144. In the voice of the ignorant Muoria calls the whites *Comba*: see note 120 above.

145. Muoria criticizes those of his readers who presume that white colonists will simply disappear from their country. The seer Mugo wa Kibiru had in the nineteenth century foretold the arrival of white strangers, promising that once Kikuyu had learned the secrets of their power, they would depart. In 1939 Mbiyu Koinange, newly returned from his masters degree studies in America, opened a training college at Githunguri to serve teachers working in 'independent', Kikuyu-run schools. Many Kikuyu saw the opening of Githunguri to be the fulfilment of Mugo's prophecy, a mark of Kikuyu attainment and a portent of the whites' departure. Muoria here may be reminding his readers that Mugo's prophecy demanded of Kikuyu a disciplined willingness to learn, without reservation, the ways of white outsiders—a theme he introduced in section 32 above. For Mugo's place in Kikuyu thought, see John Lonsdale, 'The Prayers of Waiyaki', in David Anderson and Douglas Johnson (eds.), *Revealing prophets* (London: James Currey, 1995), 240–291.

146. The word used for 'spirits' is *ngoma*, the word by which Gikuyu referred to the 'spirits' of their departed ancestors.

147. Kikuyu in the nineteenth century seem to have regarded *ngoma* not as 'wicked' but as unpredictable: one proverb has it that *ngoma itiri muhakire*, 'it is difficult to appease (or shut out) *ngoma*' (Barlow, file Gen. 1786/6: Kikuyu linguistics). *Ngoma* were known to intrude on their descendants' livelihood, bringing misfortune on those who ignored them. Missionaries treated *ngoma* with circumspection: early dictionaries agree that *ngoma* were 'the spirits of the departed', not satanic but irrelevant (Beechers, 156). But in the 1940s and '50s Kikuyu preachers seem to have embellished the Kikuyu people's distrust of *ngoma*. By 1964, Benson could define *ngoma* as 'evil spirits' or even 'devils' (Benson, 311). An alternate translation for this last sentence could therefore be 'Poverty is evil, it is brought by devils, the source of all evil'.

148. The word 'cultures' is *mitūrīre*, 'way of living', from the verb *-tūūra*, 'to stay'.

149. The Gikuyu refers to a *rūgiri*, the fence of quick growing plants that homesteaders grew around their houses. In his London exile Muoria later changed the stone fence into a stone wall: *I, the Gikuyu*, 121–23.

150. 'Courteous heart' is *ngoro ya uhoreri*, a 'spirit of conciliation'.

GUKA KWA NJAMBA IITU NENE
JOMO KENYATTA

(1) *Ngeithi cia Muthamaki witu Jomo Kinyatta*

Ichaweri Ng'enda
P. O. Ruiru,
25-10-46

Kuri nyumba ya Mumbi yothe handu yaruma: Ngumugeithia na ngoro yakwa yothe iyyuiruo na ngatho nene, na gikeno kinene, ni undu Mwene-Nyaga niatuteithitie na agatuhe hinya wa kuonana na kugeithania na moko.

Ndingiona ciugo njiganu cia kuhota kumucokeria muhera ni undu woria munyamukurite na wendo na tugi munene.

Kahinda karia kanini njikarite hamwe na inyui, cioko cianyu niinyonetie ati ti itheru mwina wendo na kiyo gia gutungatira na gukuruai bururi witu uria twagaiiruo ni Mwene-Nyaga.

Ngwihoka ati wendo ucio na kiyo kiu niigutuhotithia tytware bururi witu na mbere thi-ini wa gucariria ciana ciitu uugi munene wa meciria magima, na uhoreri wa ngoro, na utheru wa miiri na micii.

O na ningi tuhote gutungatira na kumenyerera runyondo rua Mumbi na niruo ng'undu iitu. Naguo uguo ni kuga ati kiguni giitu kiria kinene kigiritanitie na kiyo kia umenyereri wa tiri witu.

Ngumumenyithia ati ihinda riri andu airu a mabururi mothe ni marahukite mena kwihokana na mena meciria mega na ma uthingu makuruta mawira maria mena uguni na gwiteithia.

Riu na ithui nitwihūge tutigatuike magondereri maroa makorire rui ruaiyura. Kana muhoi uria utagathimaga.

Giukirei riu tunyitane hamwe twina kiyo na uiguaniri tuhote kwiruta mawira magima na ma gutura tene na tene mena kiguni hari ciana cia Mumbi.

Riu undu uria wa mbere ndiririirie na ngoro yakwa yothe, ni twambe tuonere ciana cia Mumbi nyumba umwe njega ya kuhigira. Nyonete ati mbere ya maundu maria mangi mothe nitwagiriiruo twambe turikie

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HOME COMING OF OUR GREAT HERO¹
JOMO KENYATTA

(1) *Greetings of our spokesman Kenyatta*²

Ichaweri Ng'enda³
P. O. Box Ruiru.
25-10-46

To the members of the House of Mumbi wherever they may be,⁴

I am greeting you with all my heart which is full of gratitude and great happiness because Almighty God⁵ has enabled us in a way that has helped us to find the necessary strength to shake hands and see one another with warm feelings.

I cannot find words good enough to offer you all my thanks for the kindness you have shown me, by your hospitality in welcoming me with love and generosity combined with great magnanimity.

[In] the little time I have been able to spend with you, your actions have clearly shown that you are not joking but are very serious indeed, and full of great love to serve and uplift our country which was given us by Almighty God as our due inheritance.⁶

I trust that such love and energy on your part are going to enable us to make progress for our country and look for great wisdom⁷ for our children, to give them a sound mind and integrity of heart, cleanliness of bodies and homes. While at the same time we are enabled to serve and take care of our teat at the breast of our mother Mumbi, which means our land.⁸ That is to say that our greatest benefit is associated with the energy we put into taking care of our land, our beloved soil.

I want to let you know that this time, black people of all other countries have woken up with full trust in one another, with good thoughts and honest intentions to do good works by way of self-help.⁹ We too ought to be prepared to do our good work so that we do not become like those procrastinators in the legend who are said to have found that the river they had to cross had [meanwhile] overflowed its banks. Or even to become like beggars who are said never to have got enough [meat?] to be able to roast it.

gwaka mucii uria mwambiriirie Githunguri, ni guo ucio utuike kiheo na kiririkano gia ithe witu Gikuyu na Nyina witu Mumbi.

Notuike wakunoorera kana kuhigiria ciana cia mihiriga yothe ya andu airu a East Africa. Niundu utungatiri uria ndiratuire naguo ona uria ndinaguo riu niwakwenda gukuria nduriri ciothe hatari guthutukania ati uyu nu kana nu.

Thaaaai wa Mwene-Nyaga, niutunyitithanie na utwikire kiyo turute wira ucio twi na wendo.

Ni ndungata yanyu.

Jomo Kinyatta, 25–10–46.

(2) *Wega Wa Ngathiti Ya 'Mumenyereri'*

Kiambiriria kia ngathiti cia andu airu iria ikuo matuku maya. Ni Mumenyereri wa maunda mothe. Mega ma Ugikuyu. Ngathiti io ni ngathe muno niciania cia Mumbi handu ciaruma ningi noyo yonanitie uhoru wothe wa njamba ino nene ti Jomo Kinyatta, o kinya ciana cia Mumbi ikona utheri ika hotha mbeca ikamugira.

Riu wakoruo nduthomaga Mumenyereri ukiri wakabira iriku? Nikieha kinene mwana Mugikuyu atuikite Muthwairi.

Thoma Mumenyereri mahinda mothe.

Arise all of you, let us hold one another, determined to work hard, with the unity that enables us to do good work for our country that lasts for ever and ever, and is for the great benefit of Mumbi's children.

Now then, what fills my heart with most desire is that we should, first of all, find a better house where our children of Mumbi can be educated. I think that before we do anything else, we ought to finish building the house which you started at Githunguri, so that it may become a gift and memorial to our father Gikuyu and our mother Mumbi.¹⁰

It would also become an example and a place where the children of all tribes¹¹ could be educated. This is because the service I have been performing, and intend to perform now, is concerned with my desire to uplift all Africans without discriminating as to who is this and who is that.

May the peace of Almighty God help to bind us together and enable us to work hard with enthusiasm and enough love for our country and people.

Your servant

Jomo Kenyatta—25-10-46

(2) *The Value Of Mumenyereri*

The start of all the African newspapers that are found today is 'Mumenyereri', or *The Guardian of all that is noble in the tradition of the Kikuyu tribe*.¹² It is the newspaper praised by many people or the children of Mumbi wherever they are. It is the only newspaper to have given publicity to our great Hero Jomo Kenyatta. It has thus shown people the light that enabled them to subscribe the money with which they paid his fare and brought him home.

If you do not read *Mumenyereri*, what tribe are you?¹³ It is sad to see a member of the Kikuyu tribe become Swahili.¹⁴ You should take to reading *Mumenyereri* every time.

(3) *Guka Kwa Njamba Iitu Nene Jomo Kenyatta*

Kumenyithania uhoro wa kabuku gaka:

Kabuku gaka ni uhoro munene muno kuri andu aria meciragia. Tonduru riitwa riako riandikitwo ‘Guka Kwa Njamba Iitu Nene Jomo Kenyatta’. Nakuo guka kuu gitumi gia gutuika kunene ni tondu, matuku maingi mahituku thu cia ruriri ruitu niikoretwo ikihunjiria andu aingi ati Kenyatta ndagacoka, ona andu amwe makoiga ati mekuhaica mbarathi ciao moige Kinyatta ndakanacoke. Ona makahaica na makigeria guthukia uhoro wa ruriri/ruru rurathime o uria kwahoteka, andu aingi magikana riitwa ria ruriri ruao o kinya umuthi ni kuri andu gikundi aria maiguaga riitwa ria Ugikuyu wao riagwetwo magethithimukwo ni kurimena.

Tondu ucio guka gwa Kinyatta ni gutoria mbara nene, na ni uira wakuonania ati undu uria murathime ni Ngai, hatiri mundo wa thi unghota kuuthukia. Njamba ta Kinyatta nicio andu aria matayaga gukariganira ori ori. Na ni munyaka munene kuri ithui andu aria twi muoyo, amu nituramuona na maitho, njiarua iria igoka thutha niikorigia koruo ni ciamuonire na maitho, ona kana cigue mugambo wake toria ithui turamuigua. Kabuku gaka gakiandikitwo nigetha gathomwo ni andu aria Ngai ahete umenyo matuku maya na gathomwo ni ciana cia macukuru, makiria macuru ma ciana cia mumbi kiumbe. Nigetha mamenyage uhoro wa Njamba iria yatumire cukuru icii cioneke, na agituma Agikuyu aingi aria moi, na matoi, mahago ithaka, na agituma andu airu metikirio magie na aririria ao ciamaini cia Thirikari. Ningi maundu maria riu atanyite ni manene, namo niwega andu maikare mamerigiriire, tondu riu uhoro nduri urakinya muthia. Turi o njira no turathii, twi mihang’o-ini noturetunguma nia uria warahukite nia-rahure uria wi toto. Nake mwandiki egucokeria Ngai muhera tondu wagutuma uhoro uyu wothe ugere maithoini make, na meciria-ini make, ona moko-ini make o kinya ugagukinyira we muthomi uhana uguo uhana riu.

Kuona gwake, kuigwa gwake, na kiyo giake, kiria Ngai amuhete nikio kiheo kiria ahee Agikuyu othe, na undu wa kwandika kabuku gaka. Mwene Nyanga agikarathime gathomwo ni ciana cia mumbi handu cia ruma nacio mbecha iria ikuma hariko atume igathomithia ciana ciao niguo ihane ta Kinyatta, na ituika kiambiria ngwaci nyingi.

(3) *The Home Coming Of Our Great Hero Jomo Kenyatta*

The purpose of this little pamphlet:

This little pamphlet is of great importance to people who think for themselves, for its title is 'The homecoming of our great hero Jomo Kenyatta'. This homecoming is great because for many days past the enemies of our country were preaching to many people that Kenyatta would not return, and some even got on their horses and said he would not return.¹⁵ Even as they mount [their horses] and try to spoil the affairs of this blessed country as far as they can, some others disown the name of their nation, until today there is a section of people who, when they hear the name of the Kikuyu, shudder¹⁶ with hatred.

Kenyatta's home coming could therefore be seen as a big victory in that kind of war.¹⁷ It provides good evidence that no human being can ever spoil things blessed by Almighty God.

Heroes like Kenyatta are the sort of people who are remembered for ever and ever. Those of us now alive have the great good fortune to be able to see him with our own eyes.

Future generations will wish they could have seen him with their own eyes or even hear him, or his voice, as we can these days.

This little pamphlet has been written so that it may be read by people to whom God has given the ability to understand things themselves, and by schoolchildren, especially those belonging to the schools the Kikuyu have built.¹⁸ This would enable them to appreciate the efforts of one of those who made it possible for such schools to exist in the first place.

[Kenyatta] also made it possible for some Kikuyu tribespeople, who may or may not have known the reasons why some lands were given back to them, to live on land that they cultivate as theirs. At the same time, he made it possible through his protest in Europe for some Africans to be selected as representatives of their people in some Government bodies.¹⁹

And now, things which he aims to do in the near future are big and important. It is worthwhile for people to keep on expecting because things have not yet come to an end. We are just on the road but we are going, we are caught up in domestic trifles but are not cast down. Let him who is awake be ready to wake those who still sleep. The writer thanks God for enabling him to have all these things pass through his eyes, mind, and hands, until they reach you, dear reader, in the manner you read them now.

Ndina ngatho hari mutumia wakwa J. Nyamurua tondu wa kundi-thia kwandika maundu maya wega uteithio wake niutumaga mawira maingi ma wandiki maria turaruta riu marutike na uhuthu.

Henry Muoria wa Mwaniki
Kirangari, 22-10-46

(4) *Uria Amenyekire Ati Nieguka*

Ta kuuga mweri 17-9-46 Kinyatta niahurire thimu e meri iria-ini, aki-menyithia muthuri mugathe muno ti George K. Ndegwa ati niagakinya Mombasa mweri 23-9-46. Nake Muthuri ti George K. Ndegwa anyita thimu io akihura copy nyingi muno akihe andu othe aria moi bata wa ruriri na bururi o Kinya agithii we mwene utuku kwa munene wa kiana muthuri mutie muno na mumenyeku wega ti Joseph Kang'ethe.

Kahinda—ini o kau kanini njamba cia ruriri rua Gikuyu ikigomana kuuma Nyeri, Embu, Murang'a na Kiambu. Nao makiaria maki-iguithaniria ati athuri amwe na atumia matumwo Mombasa magathaganie njamba ya ruriri ruitu. Nao athuri acio makihaiwa ngari ya mwaki muthenya wa kiumia mweri 22-9-46 thaa ikumi na imwe, naho hau giceceni ni hari athuri na atumia na anake aria moimagaririe gikundi kiu kia andu acio matumitwo.

His ability to see and listen, his energy to record such events—all of which are God’s gifts to him—by writing this pamphlet he willingly passes them all on as his gift to his fellow countrymen. May the Almighty God bless it so that it may be used for the education of their children, in the fond hope that some of them will grow from a small start to become like Kenyatta himself in their future years, according to the traditional saying: ‘*A good start brings more sweet potatoes later! Or in Kikuyu: ‘Kiambiriria ngwaci nyingi’.*

I also offer many thanks to my wife Judith Nyamurwa for her help in arranging the materials for this pamphlet in a better way. Her help usually enables me to write well and makes things easier in more ways than one.²⁰

Signed,
Henry Muoria wa Mwaniki
Kirangari, 22-10-46

(4) *How it Became Known That Kenyatta is Coming Home*

On the 17-9-46 Kenyatta sent a telegram when he was still at sea, on board ship, which told Mr George K. Ndegwa²¹ they would be arriving at Mombasa on 25-9-46. When Mr George K. Ndegwa received it, he produced many copies and arranged to distribute them to all the elders who knew the value of their nation and their country. Then he went by night to Murang’a, to the home of the former President of the KCA Mr Joseph Kang’ethe²² to tell him about it.

Within a few days, heroes of the country of the Kikuyu met at Nairobi from all parts of the country, Nyeri, Embu, Murang’a and Kiambu. They agreed that some men and women should be sent to Mombasa to meet and welcome our nation’s hero on his return home.

Those who were selected to go to Mombasa to meet him boarded the train at Nairobi station on Sunday 22-9-46 at 5.30 pm in the afternoon. A large crowd had assembled at the station, to give them heart with a good send-off. The assembled crowd was composed of all sorts of people. *Young and old, men and women*, and they all looked happy and cheerful as they waved to those in the departing train. The names of those who were sent to Mombasa to welcome Kenyatta were as follows: From Nyeri, Malaki Wachira. From Embu, Wanyiri wa Karumbi. From Murang’a, Jessie Kariuki who was vice President of the KCA;²³ and Mr James Beuttah,²⁴ leader of the whole group who had been working for the country for many years from the very beginning

Mariitwa ma andu aria matumitwo magathaganie Jomo Kenyatta ni maya. Nyeri Malakhi Wacira Embu-Wanyiri wa Karumbi—Muranga—Jesse Kariuki Vice President wa K.C.A. Muthuri mugathe ti James Beautah uria urutite wira wa bururi kuuma o kiambiriria kia maundu maria mothe mokonii ciana cia mumbi uteti-ini githomo-ini kia Independent na ndini-ini ya African Arthodox Church tondu niwe warehithirie Archbishop Daniel uria wathomithirie atungatiri Ngai a ciana cia mumbi aria matari kaundu moragia mbari ya nyakeru gako-nii uhoro wa Ngai. Mundu wa Kiambuu ni George K. Ndegwa uria ithuothe tui wega ati niwe Acting General Secretary wa K.C.A. ucamba wake ona ugi wake nduri njiriri na mundu ona uriku nake ehanite he ruriri ruake Gikuyu na ngoro yake yothe. Thiini wa meciria make hatiri nii tiga o ithui.

Nao atumia mariitwa mao ni maya: Josephine Wangari ka Philinda Makuo na Liliani Njeri. Nao nimakoretwo mari a niama kuma kahinda karaihu kahituku tiga o mutumia umwe wao.

Mutumia wa Kenyatta Grace Wahu na mwanake wake Peter Muigai o nao mari o rugendoini ruu matumitwo ni kiama no getha o nao magathaganie mundu wao uria merigite kumuona na maitho moiki handu ha miaka ikumi na itano mithiru ni amu Kenyatta acokire Ruraya hindi ya keru mwaka wa 1931.

Mutumia wa muthuri ti George K. Ndegwa ugwitwo Isabella Muthoni oigite ndangitigwo ogetha nake akone njamba io igikinya ni getha ndakaneragwo. Mwandiki wa Mumenyereri nake niathaitanire muno kwi munene wa kiama ati etikirio atwarane na gikundi kiu kia atumwo ni getha ahote kuheana uhoro wa gukinya gwa Kenyatta wega Mumenyereri—ini athomi ayo methomere gukira maheagwo na kanua gatheri. Nake agitikirio atwarane nao, nake agicokia ngatho muno. Acio nio andu aria mathire Mombasa guthaganie njamba iitu Jomo Kenyatta.

No riri ngumwira nama ati kuuma Nairobi kinya Mombasa hatiri witu wahotire kuona toro tondu ngoro ciitu na meciria maitu cia-koragwo ciuritwo ni githethuko gia kuria gugakia ri, na gia kuuria hihi nitukamuona na maitho moiki, hihi ni kurota turarota kana hihi tikurota? Hatiri wahotaga kwihoka meciria make o kinya riria tware gukamuona na maitho maitu, ona ningi ni twarigaguo kana ni ithui tugakinya mbere ya meri tumweterere kana ni meri igakinya mbere iitu atweterere, amu hatiri witu woi ni thaa ciigana meri igakinya.

in connection with all political affairs, education and the founding of Independent Schools. And in religious matters, he was one of those who helped to bring to Kenya Archbishop Daniel Alexander—who introduced the African Orthodox Churches in Kenya and trained the servants of God of the children of Mumbi who are now responsible for the running of such Churches today, without help from the clan of the whites.²⁵ From Kiambu, it was George K. Ndegwa whose courage we all respect as the Acting General Secretary of the KCA. His bravery, self sacrifice, and intelligence are well recognised by everyone. He has wholeheartedly dedicated his life to the service of his nation. In his thinking there is no I, only we.

And the names of woman members are as follows: Josephine Wangari, Philinda Makuo, Lilian Njeri. Two of them had been members of the Association.²⁶

Included in the group was Kenyatta's wife Gracie Wahu, and her son Peter Muigai.²⁷ Their fares were paid by the Association so that they could be present for the arrival of their man and his welcome. Like everyone else, they had not been able to see him with their eyes for the last fifteen years. For Kenyatta left Kenya in 1931 for his second visit to England.

Mr George K. Ndegwa's wife Isabella Muthoni had said she would not like to be left behind at home, where she could only be told of what had happened. She preferred to go to Mombasa with her husband so that she could see Jomo Kenyatta's arrival for herself.

The editor of *Mumenyereri* had earnestly begged the chairman of the selection committee to be allowed to accompany the group going to Mombasa so that he could report Kenyatta's arrival in his newspaper, so that the people could read about it instead of being told what had happened. The chairman had agreed to let him accompany the welcoming committee to Mombasa (*provided he paid his own fare for the train journey*). And those were the people who went to Mombasa to prepare for our hero Jomo Kenyatta.

The Train Journey from Nairobi to Mombasa

What I can tell you is this: From Nairobi to Mombasa none of us could sleep because of the excitement that filled our hearts and minds, wondering when dawn would break and asking ourselves if we really were going to see him with our own eyes. Or were we in fact dreaming about it as the night train made its way to the Coast?

O tutanakinya Mombasa o twingari-ini gugithereruka, naguo ni mweri 23–9–46 na twatigairie mairo mironko ina tukinye Mombasa, tukiona ati bururi ucio wari na mbura nene muno. No riri tondu woria bururi guo mwene uiyuritwo ni mahiga, hatiri tui twa mbura twathiaga na thi tiga o gutherera. Nata rui rumwe ruari giceceni gigwitwo Maji-ya-chumvi ruari runene gukira Thagana Munga no utiganu wa njui icio cieri ni ati Thagana ni rui rua gutura tene na tene, naruo ruu rua Maji-ya-chumvi ruaikarage ta kiuma kimwe ruhue o na ruaneneha.

Hindi iria twakinyire giceceni gigwito Mazeras, tukiruo ati njira ya ngari nithukie ni mbura mahiga magathererio ni kiguu mitambo igatigwo utheri gatagati—ini ka Mazeras na Miritini. Tagieterera hau o kinya njira igithondekwo ikiagira; ngari igikura handu ha thaa inya cia rucini, tugikinya Mombasa handu ha thaa ithano ithenya ria thaa igiri ta hindi iria ngari ikinyaga Mombasa hindi ciothe: Tugikora twetereiruo hau giceceni ni muthuri ti John Wagama, munene wa makarani ma thimu ma Railway na athuri angi Agikuyu.

(5) *Twi Mombasa*

Twaikaranga hau giceceni, mwandikithia wa Mumenyereki akiuria George K. Ndegwa kana niaigwite uhoro wa meri thaa iria irikinya, nake G. K. Ndegwa akimwira ati ni anyitire uhoro giceceni kiria ngari igucereiruo wa ati meri io igwitwo ‘Alkantla’ igakinya muthenya wa keru mweri 24–9–46 ithenya ria mweri 23–9–46 toria tweciregia tukiuma Nairobi.

The confusion in which we found ourselves thanks to that excitement meant that no one could trust their mind until we met him in person. We also wondered if we would be the first to arrive, or if Kenyatta would arrive before us at Kilindini pier.²⁸

This was because none of us knew when Kenyatta's ship from Europe would arrive.

The Heavy Rain that Delayed the Train

While our train was still on its way, in the early hours of the morning of 23-9-46, and while we were about forty miles from Mombasa, we came into heavy rain that drenched the whole area surrounding the railway track. Because the area was dry and stony, no rain water was absorbed into the ground. Every drop seemed to flow over the dry stony land into numerous tunnels and formed large pools of floodwater near the railway station known as 'Maji-ya-Chumvi', which is Swahili for Salty Water.

The floodwater seemed to grow into a big river that reminded one of the Sagana river,²⁹ except that Sagana is permanent while the flood was temporary and would dry up in a few days. As the train made its way to the next station, Mazeras, we were told that the railway track ahead had been made unsafe by floodwater that had washed all the ballast from under the track between that station and the next, Miritini. The train had to wait at the station until the track had been repaired, before it was allowed to pass through to Mombasa.

We left Mazeras about ten o'clock in the morning, arriving at Mombasa at eleven o'clock instead of eight o'clock in the morning when the train was normally due. We were met at the station by Mr John Wagemu and other Kikuyu elders who were expecting us as the welcoming committee from Nairobi.

(5) *Our Arrival at Mombasa*

After waiting a short while at the Railway station, the editor of *Mumenyereri* approached Mr George K. Ndegwa and asked him if he had heard anything about the arrival time of Kenyatta's ship. He told the editor that he had already received information at the last station at which the train had been delayed, telling him that the ship was due to arrive on 24-9-46 instead of 23-9-46 as we had expected when leaving Nairobi. And that the ship's name was, 'Alkantla' [*Alcantara*].

Tugicoka tukireheruo mitokaa iri ya Taxi ikiamba gukua atumia na arume magicokeruo, atumia magitwaruo kwa mutumia umwe Mugikuyu ugwitwo Elizi Waceke o na niwe wa mayitire ugeni o wega. Nao arume magitwaruo thingira-ini wa ciana cia mumbi witagwo Kikuyu Club, na nigwo tene wari wa kiama kiria gietagwo ‘Kiama gia Kunyamara’ na matuku maya niwa Kiama gia Kikuyu General Union kiria kiinukagia andu anja aria amaramaru matuire mamenithagia ruriri rua Gikuyu, Twoima hau thingira—ini ucio tugitwaruo kwa muthuri ti John Wagema, tukigaguruo cai na thutha wa cai andu makiharagania magithii gucera itura-ini ria Mombasa hwai-ini tugicemamia ringi kuu thingira-ini wa Agikuyu, na thutha wa gutabariruo, ageni makigayanirio andu akuu Mombasa makamahe toro.

(6) *Gukinya Kwa Meri*

Meri io igwitwa Alkantla iria Kinyatta okite nayo kuuma Ruraya yakoretwo ikinyite rucini tene muno, tondu ucio ni meri yambire gukinya icukiro-ini riayo mbere ya andu acio mutumitwo kuuma Nairobi. No riri Mumenyereri ya mweri 1–10–46 namba 19 ikiheana uhoro ucio wa gukinya gwa Kinyatta yandikitwo na ciugo ikuga u u:

Rucini rua mweri 24–9–46 muthenya wa keru andu aria matumitwo kuuma Nairobi magathaganie njamba ya ruriri rua andu airu othe ti Jomo Kinyatta nimakoririo marungii hugururu-ini cia iria handu haria hacukagiruo meri hetagwo Kilindini Mombasa. Nacio ngoro ciao naciaiguire wega muno hindi iria maitho mao monire Jomo Kinyatta, gikeno kiria kiari ho gitingiandikika tondu hatiri ciugo iria ingihota kuumbura uria ngoro ciao ciaiguaga. Andu aria mokite hau mari aingi Agikuyu na nduriri iria ingi njiru. Thutha wa gweterera kahinda kanini, muthuri ti Kinyatta akiuma meri—ini na atanakinya haria twari. Mundu umwe akiguthuka akimutunga, akiamba kumugeithia. Na akinya haria twarugamite, mutumia wake ti Grace Wahu akimugeithia, na mwanake wake ti Muigai agicokerera, riu andu aria angi tugicokerera. Hindi iria

Two taxis were soon brought up to pick up the members of the welcoming committee. The women members were taken to the house belonging to a Kikuyu woman called Elizi Wacheke, where they were to stay. The male members were taken to the Kikuyu Club, which used to belong to the association called 'Kiama gia Kunyamara', *which means: 'The poor Man's Union'*.³⁰ But, these days, the Club belongs to the Kikuyu General Union, whose function is mainly to repatriate naughty tribal women³¹ back to their tribal homes because their unworthy activities cause the Kikuyu tribe to be despised.

From there, we were taken to the home of Mr John Wagemu where we had breakfast. Then we were divided into groups, to be taken for a sight-seeing trip round Mombasa Town. In the evening we returned to the Kikuyu Club, where those who lived in Mombasa divided us up again, so that each could be found somewhere to sleep with Mombasa residents.

(6) *The Arrival of Jomo Kenyatta*

The ship called *Alkantla* in which Jomo Kenyatta had sailed from Europe arrived at Kilindini Harbour in the early hours of the morning. So the ship arrived at the quayside first, before the welcoming committee from Nairobi.

But in the issue of *Mumenyereri* dated 1-10-46, issue No. 19, Kenyatta's arrival is reported in these words:

'In the morning of 24-9-46, on Tuesday, the welcoming committee which had been sent from Nairobi to Mombasa to welcome our Hero Jomo Kenyatta, found themselves standing by the shores of the sea at Kilindini Harbour where the passengers were to land. Their hearts were overwhelmed with joy when they saw Kenyatta coming out of the ship down the gangway.

'It was impossible to put into words their feelings of joy as they watched Jomo Kenyatta coming down to where they were standing. A big crowd of Africans of all tribes including other Kikuyus had assembled at the pier to see him arrive.

'Before he got to where the welcoming committee was waiting for him an African broke from the ranks of the waiting crowd and went straight to embrace Kenyatta as his own form of greeting, before anyone else. When Kenyatta managed to get to where we were waiting, the first to greet him was his wife Gracie Wahu. She was followed by his son Peter Muigai, and then the rest of us took our turn to shake hands with him.

maikanirie guoko kwa rugeithi na mutumia wake. Atumia aria moimite Nairobi makiuga ngemi ithano cia kahii. Nako kayu ka ngemi icio ga gicanjamurangoro cia Agikuyu aria othe mari hau tondu no o moi gitumi kia ngemi na gikeno na kieha igitukana na angi tugiita maithori. Nacio nduriri iria ingi ikigega muno.

Ucio niguo uhoro uria uheanitwo wa gukinya gwa Kinyatta thiini wa Mumenyereri io tugwetire na hau kiambiriria.

Muthuri mugathe muno ti Kinyatta arikiya kugeithania na andu agitonya nyumba iria iigawo mirigo akarore mirigo yake. Nao andu gikundi kinene makiiyura miromo-ini ya nyumba io O Kinya muthungu wa Borithi agithaitha Kinyatta ati ambe athii akahuruke hanini akore mirigo yake yothe yacokererio na oigaga uguo ni getha andu acio manyihanyihe, hindi iria oimire arorete mutokaa-ini, akirumiriruo ni gikndi kiu, andu amwe makoigaga na githweri ati Agakhan wa andu airu niakinyire' Agakhan ni munene wa ahindi aria metagwo makoja. Mutongoria wao undini-ini ne uteti-ini wa mabataro mao, na ni ende-two muno ni ahindi ao, nake nikiyo agerekanagio na Kinyatta ni andu a Mombasa.

(7) *Kuhuruka Hutiri-ini Igwitwo Britania*

Arikiya kuma nyumba-ini io ya kuigwo mirigo agikora mutokaa wa Taxi wimuige tayari ni muthuri ti James Beautah, agitonya mena mutumia wake na mwanake wake, ona mwandikithia wa Mumenyereri, mutokaa ukimutwara okinya Hutiri io igwitwo Britania, na nikuo ahurukire hanini kinya thaa cia irio cia muthenya igikinya. Kahinda ini o kau ahurukite niguo andu aingi muno maikatire magiukaga kumugeithia makiumaga. Na thutha hanini muthuri ti James Beautah agitonya akinengere Kinyatta marua maria moimite kwi munene wa kiamagia K.C.A. muthuri ti Kenyatta arikiya kumathoma mwandikithia wa Mumenyereri akimoya akiona uria moigite. Namo mandikitwo na

‘When Kenyatta and his wife were shaking hands, the women members of the welcoming committee began shrieking their traditional cries known as: ‘Ngemi’, *which had to be repeated five times according to the custom as they are shouted out to greet a newly born baby boy whenever one is born among the tribe.*

‘The shouting of those traditional ‘Ngemi’ gladdened the hearts of the Kikuyu tribe who knew the meaning behind them. But such cries might have only astonished the other Africans forming the large crowd which mixed with them at the pier. *As a matter of fact, some were heard to say: ‘The African Aga Khan has arrived’.*³² But the kind of joy most people experienced made them shed tears of happiness at Jomo Kenyatta’s safe arrival.’

That was the end of the report published in *Mumenyereri* telling its readers about the arrival of Jomo Kenyatta.

Kenyatta at Mombasa

After such greetings, Kenyatta went towards the big warehouse where his luggage was being stored along with that of other passengers. He wanted to take care of it. But as he did so, a great crowd of Africans began to follow him. It was clear that if he went into that big building, the crowd would have blocked its entrance.

The situation was saved by a white police Inspector who asked Kenyatta to leave the goods shed and take a rest while the police took care of his luggage. As Kenyatta left the big building, the large crowd turned away from it. That is what the police wanted, to stop them blocking the entrance to the store.

(7) *Resting at the hotel called Britannia*³³

After leaving the warehouse, Kenyatta found a taxi waiting for him a few yards away. Mr James Beuttah had made all such arrangements. Kenyatta, his wife and son, got into the taxi and were driven to a Hotel called Britannia in the centre of Mombasa Town. The editor of *Mumenyereri* also managed to get into the taxi. Kenyatta rested at that Hotel before the midday lunch. While he was still taking his rest many people came, greeted him, and left.

akinengere Kinyatta marua maria moimite kwi munene wa kiama gia K.C.A. muthuri ti Kenyatta arikia kumathoma mwandikithia wa Mumenyereri akimoya akiona uria moigite. Namo mandikitwo na ciugo cia kuhota gutonya ngoro ya mundu o wothe thiini tondu moigite atiri:

Thaai thaai thathaiyai Ngai. Ngai arogocwo, ni undu Ngai wa mai-the ma Maithe maitu Nyumba ya Mumbi, niagiuite mahoya maitu na agatuinukiria njamba iitu twendete muno Jomo Kenyatta ngoro cia ciana, atumia na athuri niigwetereire na kinyi wa utugi twihokete ati Mwene-Nyaga niegugukinyia na thayu itina riri ria rugendo ruaku riti-garu. Thaai thaai. Hau muhuro hagacoka hagekiruo maritwa ma andu aria matumitwo handu-ini ha kiama. na hagacoka hagekiruo riitwaria munene wa kiama, gia K.C.A. ti Joseph Kang'ethe.

(8) *Uria Kinyata Atarii*

Riu hii no ukuroo ukienda kumenya uria Kenya tta atarii muhanire ahana ota uria mbica yake tuonaga itarii na ndenjaga nderu, ningi ni mundu mweru muraya no ti muraya muno, na ndari kihara, na nderu ciake ina tubui tunini, na niekuoneka ati hindi iria aari mwanake ari hinya muno, na nikuga ona koruo ni hindi iria Comba utokite, angiari o njambe ya kuhura Ukabi. no riu ni mukuru hanini na ti muno tondu ni warika ia Kihiumwiri na niakinyitie handu hagwitwo guka. Ningi ena, njarumi na magego make me thenya, hau nitakuga ni mundu muthaka. Naguo mwaririe wake ni wohoreri muno, ekwaria or wega ta muthuri atari na ruhagaro rua kanua ningi hindi iria egutereta muikaire handu, ndangiarika kahinda kanene ategutheka ningi ni wa itheru riingi tondu matingiikarania na andu gakundi marege gutinda magitheka tondu wa ndereti ciake. Ena gучuhi kia mbete kinene muno gia thahabu gia guoko gwake kwomotho kiara kiamuira na ningi ena muti umwe muiru wa icera wi ngoci na wacuhitio muhiano wa njogu haha nyitiro, naguo nimugemie muno, nake ndauigaga thi nikudwenda. Naguo ati uthondeketwo ni andu airu.

Meciria make mekuonania ta ari mundu mugo. Na nigetha umenye ni mundu mugo-ri, ta tiga ngwire uria atwirire ekire meri-ini magiuka. Ati nimutugo wa meri-ini kugia na mathako ma mithemba miingi ma gucindana na ciuthi cia mithemba miingi. Nakio gicindano kimwe

A little while later, Mr James Beuttah brought him a letter from the chairman of the KCA. After reading it, Kenyatta placed it on the table near the editor who picked it up to see what it said. It was written in unusual words that could penetrate anyone's heart—for it said:

'Peace, Peace beseech ye God. May God be praised because the God of our forefathers and their forefathers, who take care of the House of Mumbi, has listened to our Prayers by bringing home our great Hero whom we respect deeply and love dearly, Mr Jomo Kenyatta. The hearts of our children, women, and elders are waiting for you with the circumspection of well-mannered people while trusting God to enable you to travel with his peace on the remainder of your journey home. Peace Peace'.

Then below those words, the names of the welcoming committee were given before the signature of the then President of the KCA, Mr Joseph Kang'ethe.³⁴

(8) *What Kenyatta Looks Like*

By now, perhaps, you might like to know what Kenyatta looks like. He looks very like the picture we usually see of him, with his beards [sic]. The colour of his skin is a bit lighter. He is of medium height, and he is not balder. His beards have mixed few grey hairs with the black ones. It appears that when he was a young man, he was physically strong. That is to say, if he were born before the coming of the white man, he could have been a leader of tribal warriors who fought the Masai.

But now it looks as if he is a bit old but not very old since his age group is that of Kihiumwiri.³⁵ He has reached the stage when he could be called grandfather. He has a gap in his upper teeth, which the tribe regard as a mark of handsomeness. His way of talking is very quiet and peace-loving,³⁶ like an experienced elder. He laughs a good deal when in discussion with others. He is full of humour and is given to making others laugh by the way he tells stories. He has a big golden ring on the little finger of his left hand. He carries a black walking stick which he holds in his right hand as he walks along. It has a crooked handle at the end and is carved in the shape of an elephant. It is a highly decorated stick of which he is so fond that he does not go anywhere without it. It was made by black people of West Africa. And it was given to him as a present by a West African Chief whose name ends like his own with two Ts as in Atta. The carved head of an elephant is supposed to represent the saying: 'The elephant does not fail to carry its heavy tusks'.³⁷

gikagwo kuu meri-ini ni gia kwigereria undu. Ta kuga andu makaruta tubeca tunini ta 2/50 riitwa ria mundu rikandikwo, akoiga we ekwigereria ati meri io igakinya mucii muna thaa ciigana una, meri itigairie muthenya umwe ikinye mucii ucio. Andu aria othe mekwenda mageka oro uguo. Nake uria uricinda, meri yakinya kuringana na kwi gereria gwake, akaheo Shs 100/-.

Riu ati hindi iria meri io mari nayo yoimire mucii umwe ugwitwo Port Said irorete mucii ugwitwo Eden, Kenyatta akigereria thaa iria igakinya Eden, na aria othe mendete gucindana makigereria oro uguo. Na hindi iria meri yakinyire Eden, no Kenyatta wahotainire tondu thaa iria oigire noyo meri yakinyire. Nake agikiheo Shs. ciake 100/-. Athungu aingi o undu umwe na andu airu aria maari nao makimukenera muno. Ningi thutha ucio agicoka akiringiririo oige riria meri igakinya Mombasa, ati akiamba kureganga: no akiringiririo muno, agitikira, mari ohamwe na athungu aria angi mari nao. Na uhoro uria munene, na ati iutari wekika hindi ingi meri-ini oro imwe, hindi iria meri yakinyire Mombasa no Kenyatta wahotanire hindi ya keru, na athungu aingi makigega o kinya amwe makamuragia kana ni muthaiga enaguo, tondu ucio wari undu megeni thiini wa meri wa mundu umwe kuhota uhoro wa kwigereria na meciria hindi iria meri gakinya na akamenya mahinda meri, o thiini wa meri ini or imwe. Tondu ucio Kinyatta nita mundu mugo, o na ningi andiki a mabuku Ruraya nitao ago aria mari a Gikuyu tene tondu andiki aingi nimarathaga maundu na makaya gutuika ota uguo marathire. Na nimugukimenya ati Kinyatta ni mwandiki wa mabuku tondu ucio ni mundu mugo, na twetikira utaarani wake hatiri kigira gia tugunike.

As a Witchdoctor

His thoughts tend to indicate that he would have been born a witch doctor.³⁸ The evidence for saying that comes from what he told us he had done on board ship when coming from Europe. For he said it was the custom for people sailing in a liner to hold different matches and competitions. One such competition involved gambling on a given subject. That is to say, people pay a stake of Shs. 2/50 to enter their names for the competition. Then each is asked to guess the time the ship will arrive at a certain port on the way to its destination while still two days from its due time of arrival. All the competitors take part in the guessing game. The prize for guessing the right answer was one hundred shillings.

So, when that ship left Port Said, heading for Aden, Kenyatta guessed the time it would arrive at Aden. Other passengers did so too, each guessing different times according to what each thought would be the right time. When the ship got to Aden, it was found that only Kenyatta had guessed right because he had forecast the exact time of arrival. He was given his Shs 100/-.³⁹

All the other passengers sailing with him, black and white, cheered him warmly as the winner. He was then persuaded, once again, to forecast when the ship would arrive at Mombasa. He refused to do so at first but the other passengers persuaded him and eventually he agreed. Other passengers who wished to guess the ship's arrival time did so too. But to everyone's surprise a strange thing happened, which had never happened twice before on that ship. For when the ship got to Mombasa, it was again found that Kenyatta had correctly forecast its arrival time. He received his second Shs 100/-. This so surprised other passengers that some of them began to ask him if he had some kind of African medicine that enabled him to make the right forecast? He told them 'No'. But Kenyatta told us it was the first time one person had twice made a correct forecast on the same ship.

That is why I said earlier that Kenyatta has a mind like a witchdoctor's. Moreover, in advanced countries like Europe, where Kenyatta had lived, writers are regarded in the same way as Africans regard their witchdoctors. Kenyatta is also a writer in his own right. The reason for [giving] such respect to writers is because what they write in their own time, is usually found by the next generation to be true in later years. So Kenyatta, being a writer of books, is also a witchdoctor. And if we take to believing his advice, there would be no stopping us from gaining more benefit from it or from him.⁴⁰

(9) *Irio Cia Muthenya*

Thutha hanini thaa cia irio igikinya, tugithii nyumba ya irio nakuo kuu irio ikiheanwo githungu. Nacio irio ciagurithitio ni ciama cia andu airu a mihiriga ina amwe a aria maikataga Mombasa, Kikuyu General Union. Nyanza Province Association na Uganda African Association. macio nimo mariitwa ma ciama ria cianyitire muthuri ti Kinyatta ugeni hindi ya muthenya wa mbere akinya Mombasa. Na andu othe aria moimite Nairobi na andu amwe a ciama icio nimarianiire irio icio me hamwe, nao othe mari ta andu mirongo ina, atumia na arume. Hindi iria Kinyatta aari kuu. Hutiri-ini thaa cia irio itanakinya niguu andu gikundi kinene muno ta ngiri igiri mokire makiyura hau nja makienda kumouna, akiuma nja hau mwari akimageithi, na akimera ati nimekuonana nake kirabu-ini ki Railway kuu Mombasa tondu niguu atongoria a ciama icio cia munyite ugeni matabariire.

Irio ciarikia na guthira, niguu muthuri ti James Beautah acokeire andu othe Ngatho, ni amu muthuri ucio ti Beautah niwe wari mutongoria wa andu aria moimite Nairobi, agikimenyithia ati nigikeno kinene tondu wa Ngai gwitikira agatuonania na mundu ucio witu thutha wa miaka ikumi na itano, agicoka akiuga at Kinyatta niekwaria ciugo nyinyi.

Muthuri ti Kinyatta akirugama akiuga atiri na githweri. 'Ndina ngatho muno tondu wa Ngai kuhotithia kuonana na inyui hindi ino na makirin ya uguo ndina gikeno tondu wa gucoka bururi uria nii ndaciariiruo. Ngumwira nama ati ruci-ini hindi iria gukiire, ni nyumire nja ndacuthiriria bururi uyu ndaciariiruo, na hindi iria ndiwonire maithori maitika'.

'Tiwega ithui andu airu gwiciria uhoro wa umihiriga, kiria kina bata nigwiciria uhoro wa ugima na uhoreri wa ngoro, na ugie na uiguano na ningi twende na tutie gikonde giitu kiiru. Nii ndi Mugikuyu, no ruriri ruakwa rua Agikuyu ni runyinyi muno, riu uria twagiriiruo ni gwika ni kwendana tutekurania ucio nuu nigetha tuo bururi witu wa andu airu na iguru. Nguga o ringi ati ni ngatho muno, na uhoro ucio ngwaria ndina ngoro yakwa yothe, na ati tuhoe Ngai tugie na hinya wagutungatira bururi witu ucio Ngai atuhete'.

Aarikia kwaria maundu macio, agiikara thi.

Nao andu aria angi maririe ni muthuri ugwitwo Hamisi Bin Baraka munene wa kياما kيا Nyanza Province Association agicokeria Kinyatta ngatho, na akiuga ati Ngai atuteithie tutuikie ta andu a nyina umwe. Nake Lilian Njeri akiaria ciugo njega cia kuga ati ona atumia niwega marahuke matungatire bururi o undu umwe na arume. Mutumia wa

(9) *The Midday Lunch*

After a little while, the time for the midday lunch arrived. We moved to another room where the food was served. All was prepared according to English custom. Before we could get to grips with it, we were told the lunch had been paid for by four African Associations. They were the Kikuyu General Union, Nyanza Province Association, Uganda African Association and the Africans whose homes were in Mombasa. These were the groups that welcomed Kenyatta as their honoured guest on his first day in Mombasa.

All the members of the welcoming committee from Nairobi as well as others living in Mombasa were there to take part in the lunch. At table were members of the political associations responsible for providing the lunch. There were about forty people, including the men and women guests.

While Kenyatta was still waiting and resting before lunch, a large crowd of Africans assembled outside his Hotel—over two thousand men and women from all East African tribes. They said that all they wanted was to see Jomo Kenyatta. When Kenyatta was told, he came out of the Hotel and went straight to them and began to greet as many of them as possible. He also told them that they were going to see each other at the Railway Club that afternoon, at the meeting arranged by the African political groups who had invited him that day. So saying, he went back to the Hotel.

After lunch, Mr James Beuttah, the leader of the welcoming committee, offered his thanks for it. He told those present that it was a great joy and thanks to God for enabling us all to meet our honoured guest, whom we had not been able to see for the past fifteen years. He then said Kenyatta would say few words to them.

Kenyatta's First Words Since His Return

Kenyatta stood up to give his first little speech since his arrival that morning, speaking in Swahili to all of them:

‘I’m very happy and grateful indeed to God for enabling me to see you today. Above all I’m delighted to return to the country where I was born. I want to tell you the truth, which is that this morning, towards dawn, I woke up and came out of my cabin and gazed at this country where I was born. When I saw it, tears began to flow from my eyes.

‘Another thing I’d like to say is that it is no good for we Africans to keep on thinking in terms of tribes.⁴¹ What is more important is to think in terms of adulthood and benevolence in our hearts. To acquire

Mujaluo agicoka akiaria agicokia ngatho na akiuga Ngai ahoyuo andu airu mendane o na ningi acokerio ngatho tondu wa kuinukia mugeni ucio witu utuire bururi ucio munene.

Thutha wa andu aingi kwarangia miario ta io yagucokia ngatho, andu makiuma kuu Hutiri-ini io igwitwa Britania mak haragania, Kinyatta makihaica mutokaa mena athuri angi magith guceranga itura ria Mombasa.

(10) *Mucemano Munene Thingira-ini Wa Railway*

Thaa ikumi ciakinya andu aingi muno magicemania thingira-ini ucio wa andu a Railway. Nao andu aria maari hau nimakiria ngiri itha-thatu. Tondu maiyurite nyumba, na makarigiciri [??] guothe tondu ucio gutiaiguikaga wega tondu wa andu aci [??] nja makienda kuona Kinyatta makaga ha kugera.

No hindi iria Kinyatta atonyire thingira-ini ucio andu makirugama o wega.

unity, to love our black skins. I myself am a Kikuyu, but my Kikuyu tribe is composed of only a few people. So, what we ought to do is to love one another without discrimination as to who is this [or that], so that we will be able to uplift our country and our African people in a manner that makes us move forward.

‘I would like to say once again, thank you very much. I can assure you that I’m speaking to you from the bottom of my heart. Let’s pray God to give us the strength to serve our country which He gave us.’ After so saying Kenyatta sat down.

The Support He Was Given

The next person to speak was from Mombasa, called Hamisi Bin Baraka. As well as the chairman of the Nyanza Province Association, he thanked Kenyatta for his good words and said he wished God could help all of us to act like people of one mother.

Then it was the turn of Lilian Njeri, who said that even women ought to be fully awake so that they could serve their country like their men folk. Another speaker was a Luo woman who offered her thanks and said prayers should be said to God so that Africans could love one another. She also thanked God for enabling our guest to return home from a far-off country where he had been for many years. After other people had spoken in support of Kenyatta and thanked him for his wise words, the time for midday lunch was over.

The invited guests left the Hotel peacefully, thankful for a lovely lunch. Kenyatta and his friends got into the car and were taken for a sight-seeing trip around Mombasa Town.

(10) ‘*All Human Brains are the Same*’: Kenyatta⁴²

At four o’clock in the afternoon, a lot of people had already assembled at the Railway Club. The number of Africans sitting inside the building as well as those standing outside was more than six thousand. The noise they made was deafening, as those standing outside wanted to get in, to see Kenyatta. But there was not enough room to accommodate them since those already inside filled every available space, [the Club] was full to the capacity.

When Kenyatta entered, everybody inside stood up as a mark of respect. The Chairman of the Kikuyu General Union, one of the organisers, announced the meeting’s timetable. Then it was time for

Mwandiki wa Kikuyu General Union, agithomera andu makuonania uria maundu mabaciriiruo. Na thu wake, muthuri ti Kinyatta akiambiriria akiuga atiri, na githweri.

Atumia aya, na Athuri aya, riu ningwenda kwaria na inyu mukwenda ndimwaririe na Githweri kana na Kingeretha? Andu othe makiuga mekwenda githweri. Kinyatta agikiuga atiri; niwega, ningugeria kwaria na githweri no tondu woria mui ati njiriga kwaria githweri tene muno, kuria ndirihitagia nikuriruguragwo. No tondu githweri ni mwaririe witu andu airu, ndingihota kuriganiruo ni kwaria tondu ingiriganiruo ni mwaririe witu nitakuga nindiganiiruo ni andu aitu. Agicoka akiuga atiri:

Arata akwa, kuuma riria ndoimire guku, ni njerete muno mabururi ma Ruraya, na ni ndirutite maundu maingi. Ningiri, ningoretwo ndina kahinda ga kurora na gutuiria matombo ma andu othe athi. Athungu, China, Ahindi, na andu Airu, no ngumwira na ma ati matombo macio mothe ni mahuanaine, no kiria kina utiganu ni uhuthiri wamo. Nduriri iria irikitie kuhuthira matombo mao muno, niithiite na mbere makiria, nacio nduriri iria itahuthagira matombo mao, nicio ithutha na niguu ithui andu airu tutarii. Nyina wa kaana angioha kaana kau gake guoko hindi ria gaciaruo, guoko kuu no guikare oro uguo na gutingikahota kuruta wira. Nake mundu angirega kurutithia meciria make wira mat-ingikahota kumuguna.

Kindu kiria kina bara muno hari ithui andu airu na kiria twagiriiruo ni kumenya ni ati tutuikie agima na tugie na uhoreri wa ngoro. No ugima ucio ti kuoha tai na gwikira iratu maguru, no makiria ni ugima wa kwenda kuruta wira na moko maitu, na gutiana ithui ene, na tugie na mwitio na wendo wa Gikonde gitu andu airu, na tumenye ati hatiri undu wikagwo ni andu eru utangihoteka gwikwo ni andu airu mangikoruo mena uiguano.

Uiguano nikio kindu kiria kinene, na nikio ithui andu airu twagire, tondu o riu ndiraria haha, ni hari andu amwe airu mariteng'era makere thu cia andu airu ati Kinyatta ekugaga una riu hau aheo ciringi igiri akene.

Akiuga ati ngumwira na ma ati thu iria nene na iria igiritie tuthii na mbere ithiini witu, na niguu mumenye ati niguu-ri. Hena thimo imwe ya githweri yugaga ati 'Kikulasho ki nguoni mwako'. Tondu ucio tungienda guthii na mbere, niwega twambe tuhote thu io iitu igiragia tuiguane. Niki gitumaga andu airu moranie atiri Ugwika uguo kai wi Muhindi kana, kai wi Muthungu. Athungu, na Ahindi, ni andu o ta

Kenyatta to make his awaited speech, as he stood at the front to ask the people in Swahili:

‘Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to talk to you, but I must ask you whether you want me to address you in English or in Swahili?’

The thundering answer came back from the audience as if in one voice:

‘In Swahili’. This made Kenyatta say: ‘It’s all right, I’m going to try to speak to you in Swahili. But as you already know, I haven’t spoken Swahili for many years. So, where I make a mistake, it should be corrected. But, since Swahili is our own language I cannot forget how to speak it. For if I were to forget it, it would mean that I had forgotten our own African people.’ He went on to say, ‘My friends, since I left you here at home, I’ve made various visits to the many countries of Europe and have studied many things. Moreover, I had the time to investigate the brains of all human beings, Europeans, Chinese, Asians and Africans. And the truth is that *ALL THESE BRAINS ARE THE SAME*.⁴³ What makes them different is the use to which they are put. Those nations which have been able to use their brains more than others have made great progress, while those nations which have not been able to use their brains have remained behind others. That is what we Africans have been doing.

‘For if a mother were to tie her child’s arm when it is born, that arm would remain like that and the child would never be able to use it even when he grows up. And if a man doesn’t use his brain, it will never be of any use to him. The most important thing we Africans ought to know is this: That we should attain maturity, that we should be honest in our hearts. To be mature does not mean putting on a nice tie,⁴⁴ wearing nice shoes but, instead, it means having the desire to work hard with our hands and to respect one another. To have pride and love our black skin as Africans.

‘And to know that there is nothing which white people can do which cannot be done by Africans if we are united.’⁴⁵

‘Unity is one of the most important things in the world and it is what we Africans lack. This is because, even as I speak, there are some Africans [here] who will run to go to tell the enemies of the African people what Kenyatta has been saying to the people. And there, he will be given a shilling or two to make him happy.’⁴⁶ Then he went on to say:

‘I’m telling you the truth when I say that our big enemy that prevents us from going forward is within ourselves. In order to make you appreciate this truth, and the meaning behind it, there is a Swahili say-

ithui na hatiri undu mekaga uria ithui tutangihota gwika, niwega andu matuike agima.

Agicoka akiuga ati we mwene ni Mugikuyu, No ni njui ati Agikuyu ni Karuriri kanini, no hindi iria ndirari Ruraya ndiratetagira Agikuyu oiki, no makiria ndiratetagira nduriri ciothe njiru cia mwena uyu wa Africa ya Irathiro. Tondu ucio akira andu niwega matigecirie ati riu Kinyatta ni oka, niwega mahuruke amahe kiria oimite nakio Ruraya, kana agarure maundu na undu wa kiama e wiki, agikimera ati we mihuko yake ni mitheri ndiri kahuti. Ningi akimamenyithia ati ndokite na inde cia mbara ta Atomiki Bomu, agicoka akiuga atiri.

Twina kindu kimwe kinene gukira indo cia mbara ta icio igwitwo Atomiki Bomu, na kindu kiu ni uiguano na kiyo kia wira. Twaiguana na twaruta wira na kiyo ni tukuoya bururi witu na iguru, Utonga-ini, na Ugi-ini, na Ugima-ini, wa miiri iitu.

Ningi ni hari na undu ungi ingienda kumwira, ati nii muoyo uria riu utigaire thiini wakwa, nindihariirie ndimutangatire, no nii ndiukite ndimwathe, ndimwirage ikai uu, no nii ndoka ndindungata yanyu; akoruo ni mukwenda ndimutangatire, niwega, no akoruo mutikwenda, ni ngwiinukira gwitu Gikuyu ngerimire ta, andu aria angi. No angikoruo ni mukwenda ngoro yakwa imutangatire. No Kimiiyukie! Aarikia kwaria ciugo ic agiikara thi.

Thutha ucio hakiarangia andu gakundi a gwikira uhoro wa Kinyatta hinya na kumucokeria ngatho, na kuonania uria uiguano wi mwega. Na kurikiriria, munene wa Mombasa ugwitwo Senior Chief Abdalla, akiaria ciugo cia ugi muingi na njega muno, akiuga ati uiguano ti kurorana na maitho matheri, no makiria ni gwitikira kuho thamihothi ya kuruta mawira macio, maguteithiriria andu airu. Nake munene ucio eetaga Kinyatta na ritwa ria gitio kinene, tondu amwitaga 'Mugeni wetu Mutukufu'. Naguo uguo na Ugikuyu ni kuga 'Mugeni witu Mutheru'. Mucemanio ugithira andu makiuma ngoro ciao ina gikeno kinene.

ing that asserts: 'Kikulacho ki nguoni mwako'. *That means: 'That which eats you up is inside your clothes'*.⁴⁷ If that is so, if we want to make any progress, we must overcome the enemy that prevents us from making such progress and from becoming united.

'What makes [us] Africans keep asking one another, "What makes you think you can do this or that like an Indian? Or like a European?" I can tell you that Indians and Europeans are human beings like ourselves. There is nothing they can do which we cannot do as well. It is better for Africans to attain maturity as full human beings.'

He went on to say that he is a Kikuyu himself:

'But I know that the Kikuyu are a small tribe. When I was in Europe, I did not restrict my political activities to the Kikuyu tribe alone. But above all, my political activities were concerned with the affairs of all East African people.'⁴⁸

He went on and told the audience that:

'Nobody should think that, because Kenyatta has now returned, we can take a rest so that Kenyatta can give us what he has brought from Europe. Or that he can change everything as if by a miracle, all by himself.' He told them that his pockets were clean, even of dust.⁴⁹ He also said he had not brought any fighting weapon like Atomic bombs.⁵⁰ He went on to say:

'But we have something greater than any weapons of war, like Atomic bombs. And that is our Unity and our willingness to work hard. For if we become united, and are ready to work hard, we shall be able to uplift this country of ours in all its aspects. Economically, Educationally, and in the Health of our people and our bodies.

'There's something else I'd like to tell you. And that is: I am prepared to serve you with the life which is still left in me. I have not come to rule you so as to tell anyone do this and do that. But I have come as your servant. If you want me to serve you, that is all right with me. But if you don't want it I will go back to my home among the Kikuyu to become a farmer like everyone else. But if you still want my heart to serve you, I can only say: Here I am, throwing it to you all!' After so saying, he sat down amid wild applause from the excited audience.

After him, a few others spoke in his support and thanked him for his words, as well as emphasizing the importance of Unity. At the end, the meeting was closed by a speech from Chief Abdulla of Mombasa who called Kenyatta by marvellous praise names. He called him 'Mugeni wetu Mutukufu'. In Gikuyu that is to say 'Our Exalted Visitor'.

The meeting soon ended with everyone's heart feeling much better for what they had heard for themselves.

(11) *Kiraro*

Hindi iria mucemaniao wathirire, Kinyatta mena [??] wake uria moimite Ruraya nake ugwitwo Brother Francis, magitonya motokaa wa Taxi uria wa makuaga, na tondu woria andu aingi mendete kumuona, makinyita motokaa mari aingi o kinya motokaa ukiremwo ni gukura, akigeithio muno, magicoka makirekia motokaa ugithii.

Nyumba iria Kinyatta oneiruo ya gukoma ni ya muthuri mugathe Mugikuyu ugwitwo John David Wagama, munene wa turani twa Thimu twa Railway. Nake mutumia wake ugwitwo Ruth, na muiritu wake ugwitwo Grace Njeri uthomete kinya High School wa waragia Githungu hakuhi ene kio, nimarutire wira muingi muno wagutuga ageni aria othe mari kuu kwao hwai-ini ucio, irio iria ciariiruo ni nyingi amu hatiri mundu utaigana kuhuna. Tondu ucio niwega hindi iria uguthoma Kabuku gaka ukamacokeria ngatho tondu wa gutuga njamba ya Ruriri rwitu, na utugi muingi uguo, o undu umwe na andu arin matumitwo magathaganie njamba io handu-ini ha ruriri.

Hwai-ini ucio wari na gikeno kinene muno, tondu wa ndereti cia muthuri ti Kinyatta tondu woria ciari njega na cia uguni imuingi. Tatiga ngwire ndereti imwe oigire hindi iria aariaga rio. Akiuga atiri Ati andu aria mamenithitie ruriri rua Gikuyu muno makiria ni andu a mithemba iri, muthemba umwe ni wa arume aria magucagia Rigicu, tondu hindi iria ta Muhindi kana Mucumari, aikariire Rigicu atwaruo haria ekwenda, no akarumaga mundu ucio akamwita uria Ahindi metaga andu, 'Bejuti, konda pesi'. O hakuhi kugutha mundu ucio na iteke, ungcoka uthii bururi ungi muonane na Muhindi kana Mucumari, akurie wiwa muhiriga uriku, uge wi Mugikuyu, Muhindi ucio ona kana Mucumari ucio, no agaguthekerera, akera andu aria mungikouro mwinao, atiri: Aya Agikuyu nio matugucagia na Rigicu kuria bururi wao, matiri kiene ona hanini.

Namo maraya nio mekaga ihitia riria inene, tondu ruriri ruitiga giruo niundu wa atumia aruo, kwiyenda, no Muhindi kana o Muthungu angikoruo niekumenya ati enda mutumia wa Mugikuyu kana Muiritu wa Mugikuyu ni ekumuona o riria angimwenda tondu wa mbia ciakeri, ahota gutia Agikuyu naki? No akoiga ati ruriri rua Agikuyu nituhu tondu atumia ao matiri ugima wa ngoro na uthingu uria utumaga atumia magie kiene.

Agicoka akiuga ati Comba ni witigirite Ukabi muno, ona Ruraya mabuku ni maingi maria mandikitwo uhoro wa Ukabi. Na gitumi kiria gitumaga Ukabi witigiruo ni tondu wa urume na kwaga kugarura

(11) *Where We Slept at Mombasa*

At the end of the meeting, Kenyatta and the friend who had accompanied him from Europe, Brother Francis, got into the taxi which they had used throughout the day.⁵¹ And because so many people, waiting and listening outside, wanted to see him, they took hold of the taxi so that it could hardly move. He had to shake hands with so many of them before they eventually allowed the car to move off.

That evening Kenyatta was to spend the night, with others, at the home of Mr John Wagemu. He was the leader of the Railway telegraphy clerks. His wife Ruth and daughter Grace Njeri, who spoke English almost like a native, worked hard to provide all their guests with enough food for the night. All of us had enough to eat. The reader of this pamphlet should thank them for their kind hospitality and the warm welcome they gave our honoured guest on behalf of the African people of East Africa.

The Type of People Who Spoil The Name of the Kikuyu Tribe

It turned out to be an enjoyable evening with Kenyatta telling us some interesting facts which were also educative. For instance, while he was still eating his evening meal, he told us that the people who helped to spoil the name of the Kikuyu tribe were of two types. Rickshaw pullers were one such type.⁵²

“They are mostly men. When they carry Indian or Somali passengers, with orders to take them somewhere, the Rickshaw men agree to do so very willingly since it is their duty. On the journey, the Indian or Somali sits comfortably in the Rickshaw with one man pulling it in front, while one or two men push from behind. That Indian or Somali orders them to run faster. If they fail to do so, he gets angry and starts shouting and abusing them, with the Indian using words they are very fond of applying to Africans like: “Bejuti” go faster.⁵³ He looks as if he might try to give the pullers a big kick to make them go faster.

“When you go to another country and happen to meet that Indian or Somali, he may ask you very politely what tribe you belong to in Kenya. When you tell him you belong to the Kikuyu tribe, he suddenly bursts out laughing wildly at you. Then he tells those with him: “These Kikuyu are the people who pull us along in Rickshaws in their country. They are of no importance in their own country.”

“The second sort of people to make our tribe hated are prostitutes. They commit great sins. This is because a nation is respected through

mutugo wao. Githomo-ini methutha, no m [??] itio-ini na ugima-ini, uria witigirithagia ruriti menaguo.

Tondu ungimakia Mukabi, no akugerie itimu agwite 'Nagaichiria Ngai. Ningi angithii wira kwa Muthungu, aheo uboco wa Mutu, oragia Muthungu atiri. Ugwiciria nii ndi Mukavirondo ndie mutu; ndingihota kuria mutu, he Mucere na Nyama, na ĩria, tondu nicio irio cia Masai.

O na ningi Athungu aingi, metikitie ati guca mokire Agikuyu ni mangianiniruo ni Ukabi. No hau ithui Agikuyu ni tui ni maheni, ni amu kuuma tene Agikuyu mari o njamba. Na aria twi muoyo riu nituganagiruo ni maithe maitu uria mahuraga Ukabi na makiria mbara iria Ukabi wahuriiruo Githunguri-ini gia Gicamu o na riu ngumo yayo ndiri ya thira tondu yatuikira ngerekano, yakuonania ati hindi iria andu mangihuruo muno meragwo mahuritwo ta Ukabi wa gwa Gicamu.

Ngerekano icio cia Ukabi, na cia andu a Rigicu, na Maraya kuringana na uguo gwateretiruo ni Kinyatta ikuonania uira mweka wa uria andu mecokagia na thutha, na iria ingi igatuonia uria andu metwaraga na mbere. Thutha wa ndereti icio na ingi nyingi. Gugigikomwo o na thayu.

the good behaviour and pride of its women. But if an Indian or Somali knows he can buy any Kikuyu woman or girl, how can you expect him to respect the Kikuyu people? He would say that the Kikuyu nation is useless because their women have no self-respect in their hearts or the pride that makes women respected and valuable members of the tribe.'

Another thing he told us that evening was that the White people fear *and respect*⁵⁴ the Masai tribe. 'Even in Europe, plenty of books are written about the Masai. What makes White men respect the Masai is that they are brave and virile, so that they don't change their way of life so easily.

'Yes, educationally, the Masai are backward. But in their traditional pride and self-respect, which makes any nation respected, the Masai are ahead of others. If you threaten a Masai, he will point his spear at you and call you "Nagaichiria Ngai" (*which is a Masai expression of anger.*) And if he were employed by a white man who offered him maize meal or flour like other Africans, the Masai would ask him: "Do you think I'm a Kavirondo⁵⁵ to be given maize flour for food? I am a Masai and I cannot eat maize flour. Give me rice, meat and milk which are the food for Masai."

'Some white men still believe that, if they had not come to Kenya, the Kikuyu would have been exterminated by the Masai', said Kenyatta.⁵⁶

That is Pure Lies

Since my paper was intended for Kikuyu readers, I felt it wrong to create the impression that they were cowards. I therefore added these lines to my report. But we Kikuyu know that is not true but lies. For from the very beginning, the Kikuyu were good fighters who were not afraid to die and to fight the Masai. For our fathers keep on telling us who are still living how they used to beat the Masai in battle, especially how the Masai were defeated at the great fight that took place at Githunguri gia Gichamu. Even today that fight is still remembered whenever people are beaten up. The common saying being, 'They have been beaten like the Masai who were defeated at Githunguri gia Gichamu.'⁵⁷

Summing up the Value of Kenyatta's Stories

Those examples of the Masai, the Rickshaw Pullers, and the prostitutes are valuable because they indicate, as Kenyatta shows with evidence, how people can be made to go backward while others show how people can go forward. After those interesting conversations, the time came for everyone to go to bed in peace.

(12) *Gwithagathaga tondu wa Rugendo rua Ngari. Gucera Mombasa na Kunyitwo Ugeni ni Kiama gia K.A.U.*

Rucini rua mweri 25–9–46 muthenya wa gatatu muthuri ti James Beautah akirehe mu [??] wa Taxi na thutha wakugarura uhoro na ene mucii, tugikuo o [??] a kwa mutumia uria ugitwo Elizi Wacheke tondu nikwo mirigo [??] othe yaigitwo. Nake ni mitumia gitonga na mutugi o kuigana Nyumba io yake ni kwenderio endeirio ni muthuri ti James Beautah tondu yari yake tene.

Twoima hau tugithii giceceni kurora uhoro wa matigiti Nakwo uhoro uria twonire ni ati tutingioneruo makumbi maria maikaragwo ni comba, tondu ati nimarikitie na kuiyuroo ni athungu a ahindi. Tondu ngari yu maga Mombasa thaa ikumi na nuthu cia hwai-ini na hindi io twari giceceni kwari tathaa inya cia rucini. Thutha waguteretanga na anene a Railway, magituika ati Kinyatta mena mugeni wake uria moimite Ruraya nake mahota kuoneruo kumbi ria guikara thi noti ria gukoma, no ati ithui aria twoimite Nairobi tuoneruo ikumbi ritu ithuiki. Tugikiuga niwega.

Twoima hau tugithii Posta kuhurira andu a Nairobi thimu magatweterera. Twarikia kuhura thimu, tugicoka tugithii kuonio uria kuu Posta kurutagwo wira, tutongoretio ni Mugikuyu umwe urutaga wira kwo Turani turia twothe turutaga wira nyumba io ya kuhuriruo thimu makigeithia Kenyatta mena gikeno kinene, na tugicoka tugitwaruo he muthungu uria. Munene wa Posta, nake akigeithia Kenyatta akenete o muno na okimuria uhoro wa Ruraya. Thutha wa guteretanga hanini, tukiuma kuu tugithii wabici ya D. C. tukonane na Muthungu umwe wa Thirikari ya Muthubari, uria urumbuiyagia maundu ma andu airu Ugutwo Kelly. Nake agituhe ite ciaguikarira owega. Na agitugeithia ena gikeno kinene. Magitereta na Kinyatta handu ha ithaa igima, akimwira uria tiri wa guku gwitw uthukite, na maundu mangi maingi makonii hinya uria wiho mwathanire-ini. Thutha hindi iria twatuire guthii, akira Kenyatta ati hihi niegwiciria hindi iria ariona Kahinda ga gucoka Mombasa. ni arimuonia mucii wa wa Mombasa wega. Kinyatta akimwira ati o na riu mena mugeni wake, uria utari wakinya Mombasa, na ahota gukena akoruo hihi kwi maundu makonii andu airu angienda kumonia. Nake Muthungu ucio agitikira, akiuga ni eguthii gutuonia manyumba ma andu airu thaa inyanya.

Twoima hau tugithii tukiona iciriro ria andu airu, na tugikora Senior Chief Abdalla, agitutwara nyumba ya iguru ati tukone D. C. tugikora atari kuo, naho hau githaku-ini kia nyumba io ya iguru. Tukiona

(12) *Preparing for our train Journey: Visiting Mombasa and the Welcome from the Party of the KAU*

On the morning of 25-9-46, our third day at Mombasa since coming from Nairobi, Mr James Beuttah brought a taxi. After saying many thanks and goodbye to our hosts, we were taken to the home of a woman called Elizi Wacheke. All our luggage was there. She was clearly a rich woman, and generous by nature. We learned that her house used to belong to Mr James Beuttah when he lived in Mombasa, who sold it to her when he left.⁵⁸

After leaving, we went to the Railway to make arrangements for our journey to Nairobi and buy tickets for our trip on the train that afternoon. At the station we were told we could not have the accommodation we wanted in the Second Class because the train was full of Indian and European passengers travelling to Nairobi.⁵⁹

After further discussion, the Railway officials agreed that Mr Jomo Kenyatta and his friends could have Second Class sitting, but not sleeping, accommodation, and that the Welcome Committee would be given Third Class accommodation together, as a group. We agreed to that. It was ten o'clock by the time we had completed these arrangements; and the train for Nairobi was not due to leave Mombasa station until half-past-four that afternoon.

We then went to the Post Office to send telegrams to Nairobi to say we would be arriving by train the next morning. (*For the journey from Mombasa to Nairobi takes the whole night to cover the distance of over 300 miles.*) When the Africans working in the Post Office saw Kenyatta they were excited and welcomed him warmly. After the usual handshaking they offered to show us how they did their work. We were led through the building by a member of the Kikuyu tribe working there. He even introduced Kenyatta to his white master, in charge of that Post Office. He greeted Kenyatta warmly and asked him about London.

From the Post Office, we went to the District Commissioner's office to see a certain white man, Mr Kelly, who was in charge of the African building programme for the Municipal Authority of Mombasa, as we had earlier been told.⁶⁰

Mr Kelly received us with due respect, to the extent of providing us with chairs to sit on in his office, while also shaking our hands normally.⁶¹ Mr Kelly talked with Kenyatta for some time while we sat there. He told Kenyatta about the bad state of the African soil and of many other things connected with the difficulties of ruling the country. When we were about to leave, he told Kenyatta that whenever he

mirango iria yaari ya andu a Mombasa a tene muno, Nayo mirango io igemetio na undu wakugegania, na nimitungu gukira mirango ya comba. Na hihi niyakuaga matuku maingi igikarikia kugemio ugwo. Andu aria tworirie ukuru wayo, magitwira ati hihi ininite ta miaka magana matatu.

Twoima hau tugithii kuona mucii uria waari wa Athungu aria metagwo Warenu. na nigwo njera matuku maya, na tukiona micinga iria maruaga nayo iri o haria yatigiruo, nayo imwe yayo yandikitwo mwaka wa 1809 na 1815, nitakuga ukuru wayo ni miaka 137. Ningi tukiona athungu magithambira, iria-ini matukanite na atumia ao mehumbite tukwo tunini muno. Muthuri ti James Beautah okiuga 'u u ni atia kai andu aya matari thoni?' Padre ucio mari na Kinyatta akimwira ucio ti undu munene ni wira matuire ungiri wawona ndungiuria icio.

Twoima hau nigwo twathire kinya Hutiri iria igwitwo Britania, o kuria twari Muthenya ucio ungi, tugikora andu matwetereire. Tondumuthenya ucio nigwo kiama gia K.A.U. ruhonge rua Mombasa many-itaga Kinyatta ugeni na undu wa kumugurira irio icio. Na ni haari andu ta 35 arume na anduanja aria makenanagira na Kinyatta.

visited Mombasa again, he would try to find the time to show him round Mombasa town.

In reply, Kenyatta told him that even now, he had a friend with him who had never seen Mombasa before, and that he would be pleased if there were some African things which he could show them that day. Mr Kelly agreed and said he would show them some African buildings that afternoon.

From there, we went to visit the African Court rooms. There, we met Senior Chief Abdalla who took us to an upper room to see the District Commissioner [D.C.]. But we found that he was not in his office.

Seeing Wonderful Old Doors

But on D.C.'s office verandah, we saw what we were told used to be the people of Mombasa's doors in the olden days. They looked very old indeed. They were also highly decorated by being carved in a marvellous way. They were made of thicker, more durable wood than modern doors. It was work that must have taken the carpenters involved a long time, to make those doors so beautiful by decorating them so nicely. When we asked how long it was since they were made, we were told they might be over three hundred years old.⁶²

The Old Guns at Fort Jesus Jail House

From there, we went to see the old building put up by Portuguese sailors in the last century, known as Fort Jesus. These days, it is used as a prison. Outside it, and still facing the sea, we saw their big guns stationed where they were left many years ago. A close look showed that one of them was made in 1809 while the other was made in 1815—which shows that, by counting the years since then, they were made over 137 years ago.⁶³

The Sight of Swimming White Men and Women

Since Fort Jesus is near the sea, we looked a little further, where we saw some white men and women enjoying themselves, swimming at the edge of the sea. They were wearing scanty coverings, with men in trunks and women in bikinis.⁶⁴ When Mr James Beuttah saw them, he was so surprised that he exclaimed: 'What's all this! Aren't these people ashamed?'⁶⁵ The padre who had accompanied Kenyatta from Europe replied: 'That's nothing new to them. They're used to it, and if you had seen them previously in Europe, you would not comment on it'.

(13) *Irio na Miario*

Muthuri ugwitwo Stephens muratawe wa Kinyatta kuuma tene, akionania uhoro ati mwene giti wa kiama gia K.A.U. ruhonge rua Mombasa ndarikuo e Nairobi, na ati muthuri ti Senior Chief Abdulla niwe ukwaria handu-ini ha kiama gia K.A.U. ciugo cia kunyitta muthur ti Kinyatta ugeni. Hindi iria Senior Chief Abdulla arugamire okiuga ati ni gikeno kinene tondu wa kuona mugeni witu mutheru ti Jomo Kinyatta uria wathire Ruraya handu ha miaka 15 mihituku, na riu ehamwe nao akiuga ati tutimwitte arie irio ciiki, no tumwitite ngoro yake ikenanire na ngoro ciitu na tumwire ati niwega agerie gututeithia o uria ahora ndakae gutigithiria.

Nake Kinyatta agiukira agicokia ngatho na muhera tondu wa kunyitwo ugeni, na akiuga niwega ngoro cia andu airu ciikare ikimenyaga ati hena undu munene uria ucigwatie ati, na nigwo rangi wa miiri yao na ngoro io itumite mamunyite ugeni noyo ngoro ya uigwano, twaiguana hatiri undu o na umwe tukenda gwika na tutiike. Na niturionaga hindi ya gukenanira na kuria irio ciitu twi hamwe.

Thutha wa miario andu magikinyatana na kandu magigekira mwiri mena gikeno na ngatbo ngoro.

(14) *Gucerio Mombasa*

Thutha wa kandu, nigwo muthungu ucio wa Muthubari ugwitwo Kelly okire na mutokaa, agikua Kinyatta na James Beautah na mugeni wa Kinyatta ugwitwo Brother Francis na mwandikithia wa Mumenyereri.

Kenyatta is Invited by KAU Mombasa Branch

From there, we went to the Britannia Hotel, where we had been the previous day, for this was the day that the Kenya African Union Mombasa Branch had arranged to welcome Kenyatta by giving him midday lunch. There were about 35 invited guests at the lunch, men and women from Mombasa and Nairobi.

(13) *'If We Are United, We Can Do Anything': Kenyatta*

The difference between the KAU lunch and others was that, instead of making speeches after lunch as previously, this time speakers were required to speak before they were served their meal.

At the meeting Mr Stephen, who was a friend of Kenyatta from the very beginning, spoke first and told the assembled guests that the Chairman of KAU Mombasa Branch⁶⁶ was away in Nairobi. And that Senior Chief Abdalla would act in his place and speak on behalf of KAU in the chairman's absence. He would speak the words of welcome to our honoured guest Mr Jomo Kenyatta.

When Chief Abdalla stood up, he said it was a great joy to see our honoured guest who had gone to Europe fifteen years ago. But today, we are with him in this room. We did not invite him here simply to eat with us, but so that his heart and ours may be gladdened together. And to tell him that he should keep on trying to help us, not giving up his fight for Africans.

Then Kenyatta stood up and said he was grateful for being welcomed with such warm hospitality. He said that black people should always appreciate the importance of what it is that grips their hearts. That is the colour of their skin and the spirit that prompted them to invite him today—for it is the origin of our Unity. 'If we are united, there is nothing we cannot do that we want to do—which would give us another opportunity to enjoy being together.' After the speeches, the guests began tackling their food with grateful hearts.

(14) *Visiting Mombasa*

After KAU's welcome for Kenyatta had concluded to everybody's satisfaction, we had only a little time to wait before Mr Kelly, member of the City Council, arrived to take Kenyatta around as he had promised earlier that morning.

Makiamba gutwaruo nyumba iria njeru ciakiiruo andu airu ni thirikari ya muthibari ya Mombasa, nacio tukiona ati ni njega muno Na tugitonya imwe yahetwo Mugikuyu, tugikora mutumia wake na twana. Tugicoka tukionio nyumba ya muthemba ungi. Hindi ria Kinyatta onire nyumba icio okiuga ni njega muno, na oruo twahota gwaka niwega Agikuyu twiyakire tunyumba wega twa mahiga tutheru nigetha ciana itige gucoka kurumwo ndutu maguru.

Tugicoka tukionio nyumba imwe nene makiria iria irakiruo du airu ya guthakagiruo, no ndiri irarika, nayo ni nene na [???] ika ni rituika nyumba yabata. Twoima hau tugithii kwonio kia mbia cia gwaka nyumba icio njega ugwo ciumaga. Tondū uhro uria munene, ni ati mbia iria ciothe andu airu mahuthagair makigura njohi ya Muthubari umithio ucio wothe nigwo uturaniiruo o kinya igatuika mbia nyingi muno cia kuhota gwika maundu manene ugwo.

Tondū ucio ciiko icio nene ugwo ciikitwo ni andu airu matekumenya. Na nikio kwiragwo ati wa kirimu witimagia na mugi. Ngatho ya manyumba macio ndiri kuri andu airu ni amu hatiri mundu ucokagirio ngatho tondū wakunywa njohi muno tondū ucio nigwo witagwo uitangi. No Athungu nio mena ngatho io, tondū wa ugi wao makamenyerera mbia icio iguitangwo ni andu airu, magacoka mageka giiko kinene. Nao andu airu magiciragie ati ni mendetwo muno tondū wagwakiruo nyumba ta icio o hindi iria ario marutite mbia icio ciothe matekumenya.

Tugithii kuu kirabu kiria kinyuagiruo njohi tugikora andu airu magana maingi muno, amwe marungii, na angi maikarite thi makinywa njohi, angi matumite mutongoro muraihu urorete na haria njohi itahagiruo andu othe magicuthiriria Kinyatta magegecire muno, na angi makimwaragiria githungu o ta uria mukumenya ariu mekaga. Ni kuri na tucegu twakitwo kuu mwena-ini wa kirabu kuria andu aria mekwenda kunywa njohi maikarite thi maikaraga Naruo ruthingo rua tucegu tuu ni ruhure mbica nyingi muno cia moko, nacio mbica icio nica mathekania. na ati muhiri ni mundu muiru mumera umwe wirutite muno.

Twarikia kwona, Muthungu agitwira kuu nikwo mbia nyingi muno cia Muthubari ciumaga. Kinyatta okimuria ni mithemba i igana ya njohi inyuagwo kuo? Nake Muthungu akimwira ni mithemba iri ya mutu na ya munathi, Tondū woria thaa itari nyingi cia gucera makiria, tugicoka na giceceni. Tugitigana na Muthungu, natukimucokeria ngatho muno.

He had his big car with him and four of us got into it without difficulty, namely, Mr Kenyatta, his friend Brother Francis, Mr James Beuttah and the editor of *Mumenyereri*.

The first place we were taken to see was the Mombasa Municipality's building site for new African housing. We saw that they were good and beautiful houses *in spite of being too small*. We entered one of them, allocated to a member of the Kikuyu tribe. We met his wife and children, *they looked happy and contented*.

Then we were shown a new type of house built a little distance from those we saw first. Kenyatta was excited when he saw them and said they were very good. He thought that, if possible, we Kikuyu should try to build good, if small, stone houses like them so that our children would no longer have their feet eaten by jiggers.⁶⁷

Then we were taken to see another large hall being built for African sports players, where one could also perform plays. The building was still under construction. When completed, it will be very beautiful indeed.

Where the Money to Build Those Houses Comes From

When we left the building site, we were taken to see where the money comes from to build those houses. When the editor thought about it later, he was surprised to find that it comes from what Africans spend on buying Municipal Beer. For the profit from beer sales is added together and soon it accumulates sufficient funds to build those good and beautiful houses for African workers.⁶⁸

That means that something worthwhile, like building beautiful houses for themselves, is done with Africans' money without their knowledge. It reminds one of the tribal saying that asserts: 'Wakirimu wiritimagia na mug'i' which means, 'A foolish man's staff helps to support the clever man'.

This is because all the thanks for house-building goes not to Africans—since no one is thanked for being a drunkard, normally a source of trouble to oneself—but to the whites on the Municipal Council. They are the clever ones who think and take care of the money that Africans waste, until they can use it for doing important work such as building those houses.

It makes Africans feel better, and grateful for such houses, without the slightest idea that it was their money that helped to build them in the first place.⁶⁹

(15) *Kuhaica Ngari*

Twakinya giceceni, tugikora ati ithuothe aria twoimite Nairobi o undu umwe na Kinyatta witu na mugeni wake, tuhetwo ikumbi rimwe. Tondum anene a Railway matigana kuhingia kiriko kiao kiria matwirite rucini ruu ati nimekuonera Kinyatta na mugeni wake handu ha guikara thi. Naguo ugoro munene Kinyatta ndaigana kuigua uru o na hanini, no makiria ni gukena akenire ati nigetha tuone hindi ya guthii tugiteretaga iithuothe hamwe.

Kenyatta Among the African Drunkards

From there we went to the drinking clubs where hundreds of Africans were drinking their beer, some standing up and others sitting down. The newcomers formed a long queue leading to the bar where the beer was served.

Some of the beer-drinkers noticed Kenyatta, who strolled among them and looked on as they enjoyed their beer. They were surprised to see him there. Some of them approached Kenyatta and tried to speak to him in English, as drunkards usually do.⁷⁰ *Kenyatta neither ignored them nor showed them any anger.*

Comic Drawings on the Walls of the Beer Club

As we looked around the smoke-filled club, we saw some small cabins built along its walls where drinkers could sit peacefully, quietly drinking their beers. There were hand-drawn cartoons on the cabin walls which, we were told, had been drawn by an African of the Luo tribe. Only a good artist can draw funny characters able to cheer up beer-drinkers.

After the visit, Mr Kelly told us that that was where most of the Municipal money came from. Kenyatta asked him how many types of beer were served in the club. Mr Kelly replied that there were two kinds, one made from maize flour, and the second from the coconut trees *which grow in plenty around Mombasa Island.*

Since our time for visiting was running out, we had to go to the station to catch the train for Nairobi. So, we bade Mr Kelly goodbye and thanked him for showing us those interesting places. He took us to the station in his car.

(15) Catching the Train for Nairobi

When we got to the station, we found that all of us who had come from Nairobi to welcome him, as well as Kenyatta himself and his friend, were accommodated together. That meant that the Railway officials had not kept their promise to give Kenyatta and his friend seats in the Second Class coach, as they had led us to expect that morning.

Instead of losing his temper and protesting at the Railway officials' failure to keep their promise, Kenyatta was not bothered or worried about it. Indeed, he said he was delighted we could all travel together and so have time to talk on our way up to Nairobi.

Tugitonya twina andu aitu othe. Nao andu a Mombasa magitugira uhoru makende muno, na no kinya makoruo maiguaga [???]undu kiria kiiguagwo ni andu mendanite magitigana. ngari igigikura tukiambiriria rugendo rua mairo magana matatu na mirongo tatu tondu niguu uraihu wakuma Mombasa kinya Nairobi.

Rugendo-ini kuuma Mombasa tutigana kuona thina tondu hindi ya toro ya kinya Mwandikithia wa Mumenyereri niaririe na aruti a wira a Railway aria maratuire marutithanagia wira nao, makiheo handu hega hagikomwo ni Kinyatta na mugeni wake na Mwandikithia wa Mumenyereri.

Kahinda-ini kau niguu Kinyatta monire hindi ya gutereta na Mwandiki wa maundu maya maundu maingi, ma guku ona ma Ruruya.

Nake Mwandiki wa maundu maya uria angienda kuigwithia athoni amo ni ati Kinyatta ni mugi muno, naena matanya mega na manene makuhota gutuguna ithuothe koruo twahota kumuigua na gwika uria aritutaraga nagu. Ekuga ati we ndokite gwathana. no okite gutaarana tondu wa ugi uria wothe erutite hindi io arari Ruraya. Nierutite ugi wa urimi ena ugi wa wandiki, ena ugi wa urutani, tondu ona hindi ya mbara, arari murutani wa kuruta thigari cia Angeretha kuu Ruraya o hindi iria inyui ciana cia mumbi mukumenya ati tweragwo nia kuire na angi makoiga ati atuire kwa Njirimani macio ni maundu maria maragio ni thu cia ruriri ruitu na eririri. Uhoru munene ni ati hindi ira athungu ario matururaga ugi guku. Kinyatta niwe urarutaga athugungu ugi wa maundu kuu Ruraya. Ningi icera riake rirari ria athungu aria moikaine muno na atongoria a bururi wa Ngeretha. Na tondu ucio ni hinya muno athungu aingi aria metuaga akumu guku kuona kahinda ga kwaria na Kinyatta kuu Ruraya tondu matingietire kumukuhiriria ni gutigira anene ao. Na hihi nikio gitumi giatumaga athungu aingi moka guku mahenanie ati Kinyatta ndagacoka tondu niahenereirio ni gikeno kia Ruraya. Riu ucio wothe nitumenyete ni maheni tondu hatiri mundu wendete gikeno unghota guthoma githomo kiu Kinyatta ari nakio. Githi gutiiragwo ati mubihia igiri ndagaga imwe icura?

Mwandiki wa maundu maya ekuga atiri. Tondu wa kuigua na guthikiriria na kinyi ciugo cia Kinyatta ndahota kuga itari na nganja ati Kinyatta ahana muhonokia witu, wagutuhonokia tume thina-ini wa indo cia guku thi, o undu umwe na cia iguru iria iheanagwo tondu wogima na uhoreri ni uthungu uria utumaga mundu etigire Ngai. Kinyatta we mwene, ndariganagiruo ni Mwene-Nyaga, ithe wa maithe maitu, na hihi uguo wothe ni muonete marua-ini make maingi maria mwana-thoma. Thina uria angiona no angikoruo ithui turi Agikuyu kana turi

So we all boarded the train in the Third Class. Many Mombasa Africans had come to the station to see us off. *They waved their hands cheerfully as the train moved away, and we in turn waved back to them to say our goodbyes.* We felt rather sad at leaving our friends behind as the train gained speed and the crowd disappeared from sight.⁷¹

It turned out to be a good journey because, when the time came to sleep, the editor of *Mumenyereri* was able to speak to some of the Railway travelling staff he knew, since he used to work with them before he left the Railway in 1945 to start his newspaper. *He was a guard. (But he was studying journalism during the War years while he was working in the Railway.)* The Railway staff he spoke to were able to find sleeping berths for Kenyatta in the Second Class, as well as for his friend Brother Francis and the editor himself.

Kenyatta and the Editor get to know one another

In the new compartment the editor and Mr Kenyatta were able to talk of many things now that they had the time. It was a way to get to know each other better since they had not previously met. *The editor was still at school when Kenyatta had left fifteen years earlier.*

They talked about various matters to do with politics.⁷² The editor remembers asking Kenyatta what signs would show that Africans were about to get their Independence? And Kenyatta replying that [it would be] when whites got angry and put many people in prison. When do you think that will be, the editor asked. Kenyatta said I should not forget that the white man came to Kenya when England was under a woman, Queen Victoria. Africans will be given their Independence when a woman sits on the throne of England as Queen. Which proved to be true a few years later. He also told the editor that Africans are different from Indians; that meant the white man would not rule Africa as long as he had in India.

As they talked, Kenyatta said to the editor: 'I think you are only interested in getting a story for your newspaper. Then you will forget me as you go in search of more stories.' But the editor replied: 'It is not my habit to give up my friends or to stop helping them so easily.'

After their exchange of ideas and listening to Kenyatta's answers to his questions, the editor, who did not publish most of what they discussed on that journey, summed up his views when he wrote for his readers:

What I would like to tell readers is that Kenyatta is a wise man. He is full of good intentions which can bring much benefit to us all if we could only listen to him and agree to do what he tells us to do. He

andu airu haria twaruma hihi tutiritikira kuru mbuiya utaarani wake. Thu iitu iria nene ni ruthuro na mwiendo wa kuga turi ogi na turi atongu ningi angi ni ithayo. Tungieheria ruthuro twendane na twitikire utaarani wake, twahota gwika maundu manene magutuma tugie kiene. No twathaya na turege gwika undu ona uriku tweterere ati Kinyatta atwikire we mwene ndehota gwika undu. Ekiugo kimwe erire andu a Mombasa, nakio nikiagiriiruo ni kumenywo ni athomi a maundu maya nakio ni giki Ati gutiri mundu unghota guikara thi ere Ngai ndehere icembe, kana amwire amucimbire mugunda wake. Ngai aheaga mundu ugi na hinya, nake mundu akahuthira ugi ucio na hinya ucio akona icembe na mugunda, akagunika.

says he did not come home in order to rule others. But he has come in order to offer us his well-considered advice⁷³ because of the wisdom he has gained during those years he studied in Europe. He says he studied farming, he was a writer, and he learned how to teach because, even during the War, he was taught British troops there in England. This is contrary to what our people were told about him here. For some of the stories we were told were that he was already dead, others that he lived in Germany. All those stories were spread by enemies of the African people.⁷⁴

The most interesting thing is that over here it is the white man who teaches Africans, while in Europe Kenyatta taught whites what they did not know themselves. Kenyatta's friends⁷⁵ were well-known leaders of their people in England. This means that it is hard for local white men living in this country to approach such leaders themselves when they go to England. Neither, therefore, did local whites find time or opportunity to talk to Kenyatta.

That might be one of the reasons why, when they return to this country, they spread false stories that Kenyatta would never come back because the pleasure he enjoyed in Europe was too great to resist. We now know all those stories to have been nothing but lies.⁷⁶

We know that nobody who loves pleasure can find the time to study anything new, as Kenyatta did. We have a tribal saying that asserts: 'Muhihia igiri ndagaga imwe icura' *which means: He who cooks two pots at the same time cannot help one of them getting burned.*

The editor's conclusion is this: by listening attentively to what Kenyatta had to say to him, in answer to all the questions put to him, [the editor] can say without a shred of doubt that Kenyatta is like our saviour⁷⁷ from earthly poverty as well as [bringer of] heavenly things which are given as a result of the people's good hearts, honest intentions, and the humility that enables a person to fear God his Creator. For Kenyatta himself does not forget God, calling him 'Mwene Nyaga', the father of our fathers and their forefathers. But you have already seen that in his letters from Europe, many of which you have read in the past.

Trouble could arise only if we Kikuyu or, rather, we Africans in general wherever we may be, fail to heed his words. Our greatest enemy is hatred and pride that make some of us say that we are more clever, or rich, and we are therefore able to mind our [own] business without caring what anyone else says.⁷⁸ Or while some of us are simply [too] bone idle to pay attention to anything outside ourselves.

(16) *Gukinya Nairobi*

Mweri 26–9–46 rucini muthenya wa kana thaa ithatu niguu twakinyire Nairobi nao andu aria mari hau giceceni mokite gutunga Kinyatta maari aingi muno amu aria twari ngari tuonaga andu othe ta mekurugaruga maroretie meciria na maitho mao na kuria Kinyatta ari. Munene wa kياما gia K.C.A. muthuri ti Joseph Kangethe na muthuri ti Mbiyu wa Koinange mari o hamwe na aria mokite gutunga Kinyatta. Hindi iria andu mamuonire, makihura hi na gikeno, na thutha wa kugeithania na andu kahinda kanini, akihaica mutokaa mena Mbiyu na Kangethe o kinya gwake mucii Dagoretti.

Njamba ciothe iria cianahuranira bururi na ihoto cia mwena wa Kiambu Muranga, Nyeri na Embu ciothe ciari cai-ini ucio. Na thutha wa cai Muthuri ti Mbiyu wa Koinange akira andu othe ati niekumera kaundu ke murio nako ni ati hindi iria mari njira makiuma Nairobi makuite Kinyatta nimakorire twana tumetereire handu njira-ini natuo tukimuinira muthuo. Agigicoka akira andu ati riu athuri nimagikinyirie mugeni mucii, na ati tondu wauria anogete tondu wa ngari gutingihoteka andu othe kumugeithia hindi io ni wega and aria matoima ete mamenye ati ti kugiriririo kumwona tondu maundu nimabange na hatiri mundu utarigia na kahinda ga kwaria nake na ga kumugeithia agithaitha andu matige kurakara.

Agicoka akiuga ati hindi iria ari Ruruya nitamatindanagia na Kinyatta no hindi iria Mbiyu okaga o nake Kinyatta no endete guka. No tondu wa uria Kinyatta atari na uteithio wa kuigana akira Mbiyu oka amuroragire mucii. Na riu ihinda riri Mbiyu niacokia mucii kwi mwene guo. Agicoka akiuga ni wega andu makenere mugeni ucio wa Uganda mokite na Kinyatta akihuriruo ruhi rua gikeno.

But if we were to get rid of that hatred, take to loving each other, and then believe in his advice, we would be able to achieve great things that would bring us much-needed respect. But if we prefer to be lazy,⁷⁹ refuse to do anything in the way of self-help, and wait for Kenyatta to do everything, he will not be able to do anything for us.

He said something important to the Mombasa Africans that should be known to the readers of this text. That was, 'Nobody sits down and says to God: Bring me the hoe, or asks God to dig his garden for him. For God gives the man knowledge and strength, and in turn, man uses that skill and strength and picks up the hoe and starts to dig his garden in order to get the benefit from it *which God provides*.'⁸⁰

(16) *Arriving at Nairobi Station*

On 26-9-46, in the morning of the fourth day, at nine o'clock, we arrived at Nairobi station. Great numbers of people were on the station platform to meet Kenyatta. We saw them from the train. They seemed to be jumping up and down as they tried to catch a glimpse of Jomo Kenyatta before the train came to a halt. *Strangely enough, nobody made any noise whatsoever. The silence at the station was deeply disturbing if not surprising, with no apparent reason.*

On the platform waiting to welcome Kenyatta were well-known persons, namely the President of the KCA Mr Joseph Kang'ethe, and Mbiyu Koinange⁸¹ beside him, and others who had come to meet Kenyatta and joined the silent crowd.

When the crowd saw Kenyatta emerge from the train they applauded cheerfully. After the usual hand-shaking with the group of leading people, Kenyatta was led from the station to the car waiting outside. He got into it with Mr Joseph Kang'ethe, Mr Mbiyu Koinange, and one or two others, to be driven to his home at Dagoretti.⁸²

The Tea Party at Kenyatta's Home

A tea party has been prepared at Kenyatta's home to welcome him back. All the virile heroes of the KCA and doughty men from all corners of the Kikuyu country were present. This meant they had come from Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri, and Embu.

Muthuri uria ungi wacokire kwaria ni Joseph Kangethe President wa K.C.A. akiuga ati ni igongona ria kuinukia mugeni maari nario na ati thutha andu nimariona Kahinda ga kwaria na Kinyatta, na aria mangienda mahota kumwita kwao, tondu ucio ni wega andu meharirie no mbere ni wega arekwo ahuruke.

Thutha ucio Kinyatta akirugama akiuga ati ndangihota kwaria uhoro muingi, no mbere niekumenyithia andu ati niakenete muno tondu wa kuonana nao na makiria tondu wa kuona tiri (Andu makihura ruhi) akiuga ati hindi iria nginyire guku ninjikirie thimbu ino yakwa tiri-ini uria Mwene Nyaga aheire ithe witu Gikuyu. Kugwatanio gwitu ti undu wa kiama no ni undu wa ciiga kugwatanio ni tiri tondu tiri-ini nikuo kuumaga irio iria turiaga cia gutuikaria muoyo. Tiri niguo tukinyaga na ningi twakua tucokaga tiri-ini tukaunorio, agicoka akiuga ati nimukiui kuuma hindi iria mwandumire Ruraya ni nduire njaraga cararuku, tondu ndituire kwa mundu. Na kiria kinduirie Ruraya 'Ni kuria kiria gikaguma andu airu'. Akiuga uguo niguo atuire aragia kiria gikamaguna, agicoka akiuga ciugo cia bata muno itonekaga hari andu aria angi nacio cionanagia ati uugi wa mundu na ucamba wake niuthiite na mbere matina maingi nacio cingo icio ni ici:

'Mutumia wakwa na twana twakwa ni akwa ota uria andu aria angi othe airu mari akwa'. Agicoka akiuga ati ciiko iria Ciothe njega ekite ciitagwo njega na riitwa ria Gikuyu. Akiuga ati nioi ni kuri na andu mokite tondu wa thuti ya kumwona na maitho mone nguo iria ehumbite na makoria kiria okite nakio akiuga andu acio nimatige meciria ta macio. Na ati meciria maria andu othe magiriiruo ni kugia namo nimakuria uria tungika tuthiruo ni mathina mothe. Akiuga ati andu aingi hihi nimoi uhoro wa mbombomu iria njeru ironiruo matuku makuhi igwituo 'Atomic Bomb' akiuga we tiyo okite nayo ona ndokite na mbia cia kuhe andu, akiuga ati he kindu kingi kinene gukira mbombomu iyo nakio kindu kiu ni Uiguano, tuiguane ithui othe. Ningi agicoka akiuga ati we ndokite gwatha andu amerage ikai u na u, no arehetwo ni undu umwe wa andu mende gutungatura bururi na ruriri mena ngoro njega, akiuga okoruo andu nimekwenda amatungatire mamwire na akoruo matikwenda moige Hau naho oigire ciugo cia tha muno ota iria oigiire Mombasa ciakuga ati Muoyo uria riu utigarie thiini wake o ihinda riria moko make megukoruo magitamburuka ona maguru make megukoruo makihota guthii nieheanite gutungatira rururi na bururi. No angikoruo andu matikwenda amatungatire nieguthii agikare thi erimire ota arume aria angi. Akiuga ati tungiruta wira na kiyo na wendo thutha wa miaka minyinyi no bururi ugaruruke oiga ciugo cio agikara thi.

*Mbiyu's Strange Speech of Welcome*⁸³

After the Tea Party, the first man to speak was Mbiyu Koinange (*who held no known political position except that he was the Principal of Kenya Teachers College*). He told the assembled guests that he was going to tell them a sweet story. This was that, on their way from Nairobi, they found some schoolchildren by the wayside waiting to see Kenyatta. When the car stopped, the children sang and danced the tribal dance known as 'Muthuo'. He went on to tell the crowd that, now that the elders had brought their guest home, tired out by his train journey, it was impossible for the people to greet him just now. But those who had not been invited should know that they would not be prevented from seeing him. Arrangements would be made to ensure that no one would be deprived of a chance to speak to him and greet him. He begged them not to be angry with what he had said.

Kenyatta has no Money to buy his Return Ticket

Mr Mbiyu went on to tell the people that he had spent most of his time with Kenyatta when in Europe himself. When the time came for him to come home [in 1938], Kenyatta had wanted to come too. As he had no money for a ticket, he told Mbiyu to 'take care of my home for me' on his return.

'But today I am giving his home back to him.' He also begged the people to show their appreciation for the friend who had brought him back from Europe and whose home was in Uganda. The people clapped to show their appreciation of the man from Uganda, Kenyatta's friend, *whose name as we said earlier was Brother Francis Semakula*.

People are at liberty to Invite Kenyatta wherever they want

The next speaker was Joseph Kang'ethe, President of the KCA. He said that what they had now was a religious sacrifice to welcome our great guest home. People would have time to talk with Kenyatta later. All those who wished to do so were free to invite him, wherever they lived. People should therefore prepare for such future occasions, but for the moment it would be better to let him have a rest.

The Value and the Importance of our Soil

After that Kenyatta got up and said he could not make a long speech. But he would like everyone to know he was very happy to see them all

Muthuri uria moimite nake Ruraya muganda niwe wacokire kurugama. Muganda ucio arathiite guthomera uhoro wa Nga i Ruraya ni wa ndini ya Gatoreki nake ena ndaraca ya undini egwitwo Brother Francis ni muugi o kuigana nani oi Kibaranja. Nake ni mundu wendete Kinyatta muno gukur na kuhona. Akirugama agikira ciugo cia muthamaki witu hinya akiuga ati ni wega andu mende wira wa moko mao tondu kuruta wira na moko niguo ugi uria wi bata. Akiuga andu aria ogi ni aria marumagira mitugo yao tondu niguo ugima wao.

and, further, to see our own soil. (The people clapped their hands.) He said that when he arrived that morning, the first thing he did was to press and pierce with his walking stick the soil which Almighty God⁸⁴ gave to our ancestor Gikuyu. For our unifying factor is not the [Kikuyu Central] Association but our limbs, which depend on that soil. For it is from the soil that we grow the food we eat to keep ourselves alive. It is on the soil that we tread and to which we return when we die, to make it more fertile.

Then he said: ‘Since you sent me to Europe, I have spoken openly and frankly, since I don’t depend upon anyone for food. What sustained me in Europe was to ask myself what would ever bring great benefit to our African people? That was the sort of thing I was saying in Europe—asking what would benefit black people everywhere.’

Then he said something important, something not many people say, which helps to show that the speaker’s knowledge, understanding, and courage, have developed to a higher plane [than] in the normal course of events:

‘My wife and my children are mine just as other African people are mine. All the good work I did was associated with the name of the Kikuyu people. I know that some came here because they are very keen to see me with their own eyes, asking themselves what clothes I would be wearing and what I had brought back with me. They should stop asking such questions because the questions that should be in their minds are about how can we eliminate poverty, what can we do about it?’

He said that many people probably knew about the recent Bomb⁸⁵ which had been discovered, called the Atomic Bomb. He had not brought it with him, nor had he brought a lot of money to distribute to people. But he knew something more important than those Atomic Bombs. That was the Unity we ought to have, all of us. He again told the people that he had not come to rule over them [by] telling them do this and do that. He had come to tell them to love serving their country and people, with good hearts.

He then said that if the people wanted him to serve them, they should say so. If they did not want him to do so, they should tell him that, too. Then he ended his fourth speech since he arrived in the country by repeating what he had told his African audience at Mombasa.

‘The life that is still left in me, as long as my arms are capable of being stretched and my feet are able to move about, is committed to serving the nation and the country. But if people do not want me to serve them in that way, I will go home and sit down and begin to farm

like other people. If we are prepared to work hard, with enough love, our country could within a few years change greatly to our benefit.' So saying, he sat down.

The last speaker was Brother Francis of Uganda, who had been in England to study Catholic theology and who loved Kenyatta very much. He said, 'It is good for people to love manual work because working with our hands is the most important part of wisdom. Wise people stand by their customs, because in these lies their maturity.'

The End

By this time, the editor was beginning to feel the strain after reporting what had been happening since they left Nairobi four days previously.

Endnotes

1. The word Muoria translates as 'hero' is *njamba*, a 'redoubtable warrior, man of prowess, fierce character'; also an uncastrated bull or he-goat (Benson, 331).

2. It is hard to know how to translate *muthamaki*, the title here given to Kenyatta. By the mid-twentieth century it meant not only an 'authoritative elder' or spokesman (customarily permitted to 'rule' in no household but his own) but also a 'king'—a very different role, unknown to Gikuyu history. Bible translators had earlier used *muthamaki* for 'king' when translating the Old Testament. King David was *muthamaki* and the two books of *Kings* were *Athamaki*. Whether Muoria meant 'king' or 'spokesman' here is not clear, and the ambiguity may have been useful. See, further, Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), 325; Benson, 489–90; P. N. Wacheg, *Jesus Christ our Muthamaki (Ideal Elder)* (Nairobi: Phoenix, 1992); John Karanja, *Founding an African Faith: Kikuyu Anglican Christianity 1900–1945*. (Nairobi: Uzima, 1999), 152.

3. Kenyatta dictated this introduction to Muoria as he walked round the property of chief Koinange (soon to become one of his fathers-in-law) at Kiambaa, in the southernmost Kikuyu district of Kiambu which borders the city of Nairobi. But Kenyatta insisted that his own home address be given as his byeline.

4. Mumbi (now Muumbi) was the mythical mother of the Kikuyu people. Kenyatta is aware that they now live in a wide diaspora outside their originally-settled territory, as workers on white settler-owned farms, or in Nairobi and Mombasa.

5. Kenyatta uses the title *Mwene-Nyaga* to refer to 'God'. *Mwene-Nyaga* was the 'owner of brightness', one of several names by which Kikuyu referred to the awesome and unseen. Missionaries had used the word *Ngai* to name the Christian 'God'; in his *Facing Mount Kenya* Kenyatta had used both *Mwene-Nyaga* and *Ngai* (or *Mogai*) to refer to divinity.

6. That God had given them their fruitful country seems to have become the dominant Kikuyu origin myth only in the 1920s, after appearing as the opening phrase in the Presbyterian missionary Marion Stevenson's Gikuyu reading primer *Karirikania*, for which see Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2004), 97. For the other origin myths that had flourished earlier see, John Lonsdale, 'Contests of Time: Kikuyu Historiography Old and New', in Axel Harneit-Sievers (ed.), *A Place in the World: New Local Historiographies from Africa and South-Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 201–54, especially 218–21.

7. In his own pamphlet 'What Should we Do' (above), Muoria had used the term *ũũgĩ* to contrast the wisdom of elders from the intelligence of education, *githomo*. It is not known if Kenyatta intended the same distinction here.

8. Kenyatta uses the word *ng'undũ*. *Ng'undũ* was not undifferentiated 'land', but the separate 'family or clan estates' that Kikuyu cultivated, dividing their plots with stones (*igaya ng'undũ*, 'dividers of the estate'). For which, see Arthur Barlow, 'Kikuyu Land Tenure and Inheritance' *Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society* 45–46 (1934), 56–66. For an earlier reference to land as mother see, Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 21.

9. 'Full trust in one another' is *kwiwokana*, to 'hope together in ourselves'. Kenyatta had met such pan-Africanists as George Padmore and C. L. R. James in London in the 1930s, he had met the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie when the latter was driven into exile by the Italian invasion of 1935, and had represented East Africa at the 1945 Pan-African conference in Manchester, England. He also knew the distinguished African-Americans Paul Robeson and Ralph Bunche, of whom the latter was in 1946 in the American State Department. Bunche was soon to join the United Nations and in 1948 negotiated the Arab-Israeli peace agreement, a diplomatic feat for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

10. Kenyatta has chosen to highlight Githunguri not only because of its importance as a Kikuyu project of self-development but doubtless also as a courtesy to his host at Kiambaa, chief Koinange. Chief Koinange wa Mbiyu had founded Githunguri school in 1938, to act as a teacher-training college for the Kikuyu independent schools— independent of missionary control but Christian in culture and in general following a government-approved curriculum. Kenyatta was soon to take over the headship of Githunguri from his brother-in-law Peter Mbiyu Koinange. The British, later believing the school to be the ideological seedbed of the Mau Mau revolt, turned the buildings into a court and erected a gallows in the school's grounds for the execution of Mau Mau convicts, for which see David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), 155, 174, 349–50. For the very different significance of Githunguri for the Kikuyu project of self-generated enlightenment, see especially, Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), 193–5, 217–19, 227–9, 251–3; James A. Wilson, 'The Untold Story: Kikuyu Christians, Memories, and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement in Kenya, 1922–1962', (Princeton University PhD., 2002).

11. In the Gikuyu Kenyatta opens the school to *ciana cia mihiriga yothe*, 'children of all *mihiriga*'. According to the Beechers' 1938 dictionary, a *muhiriga* was not a 'tribe' but a 'clan', a 'division of a tribe or race' (Beechers, 125; the root of *mūhīrīga* was said to be *hira*, to 'partition off' or 'divide up' the inside of a house). By 1964, Benson was more specific: a *mūhīrīga* was a 'clan'; one of the ten clans named after the daughters of Gikuyu and Muumbi' (Benson, 158). Writing in 1946, however, Muoria and Kenyatta seem to have embraced a broader meaning of *mūhīrīga*. They defined it not as a Kikuyu 'clan', which could be internally divisive, but as a 'tribe', then the largest imaginable moral community, for which Kenyatta urged mutual cultural and political respect.

12. *Mumenyereri* is derived from the verb *-menya*, to 'know' or 'understand'. A *mumenyereri* is one who 'takes care' or 'knows well' (Benson, 257–8).

13. An astute alignment between patriotism and profit. For 'tribe' Muoria uses the Swahili *kabira*, not the Gikuyu term *būrūrī*, nor yet Kenyatta's *mihiriga*, employed above.

14. *Tūika Muthwairi*, 'to become Swahili' meant, in effect, to become 'detrribalised', someone presumed to have no moral compass. For earlier Kikuyu concern lest urban living would detribalise them, see Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 122, 132–3, 135, 233, 251, 317; John Lonsdale "'Listen while I read": Patriotic Christianity among the Young Gikuyu', in Toyin Falola (ed.) *Christianity and Social Change in Africa: Essays in Honor of J. D. Y. Peel* (Durham NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 572–4; Peterson, *Creative Writing*, 147–8.

15. It is not clear if Muoria writes figuratively of people 'getting on their horse' (that is, in an English turn of phrase, riding their favourite prejudice) or literally. What follows is wholly speculative but it is just possible that he had Louis Leakey in mind. Born in 1903 at the Kabete Anglican mission, son of Muoria's schoolteacher Harry Leakey and brother to Gladys Beecher, Louis was by the 1940s white Kenya's leading intellectual—while often critical of official policies that supported white settlement. In the 1940s Leakey had riding stables, principally for his children, at his home in the Langata suburb of Nairobi. He and his wife Mary helped to found the Langata Pony Club, which engaged in weekend riding safaris (L. S. B. Leakey, *By the Evidence: Memoirs 1932–1951* [New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1974], 158; Virginia Morell, *Ancestral Passions: The Leakey Family and the Quest for Humankind's Beginnings* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995], 252–3). Muoria came to believe that an envious desire to discredit Kenyatta motivated Leakey to fan the flames of Mau Mau—all because Kenyatta published *Facing Mount Kenya* before Leakey brought out his own Kikuyu ethnography (not in fact published until after his death). Muoria learned of this literary rivalry from George Ndegwa, acting general secretary of the KCA, with whom he travelled to Mombasa. Leakey had certainly maintained a Kikuyu spy network throughout the Second World War, reporting to the Kenya Police Special

Branch. See, Henry Muoria, *I, The Gikuyu and the White Fury* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1994), 60–68, where Leakey is ‘the ambitious white man’; also Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, ‘Louis Leakey’s Mau Mau’: a study in the politics of knowledge’, *History and Anthropology* 5 (1991): 143–204. Information about Ndegwa’s part in informing Muoria’s own theory of Mau Mau’s causation comes from many conversations between Muoria and Lonsdale.

16. The verb here is *thithimūka*, to ‘shudder; have a creepy feeling in the spine’ (Benson, 518). Muoria does not specify who the ‘enemies’ were but presumably had in mind—besides Louis Leakey—the colonial government and white settlers, possibly also missionaries.

17. Muoria must have in mind what he later called ‘the brain battle’, for which his pamphlet *What Should We Do* was the opening shot. See Bodil Folke Frederiksen, ‘“The Present Battle is the Brain Battle”: Writing and Publishing a Kikuyu Newspaper in the Pre-Mau Mau Period in Kenya’, in Karin Barber (ed.), *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and the Making of Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 278–313.

18. When revising and translating this text in London for a hoped-for English audience Muoria made clear that he meant the independent schools which had broken from missionary control.

19. While Kenyatta, when in London, had given evidence to the British government’s Kenya Land Commission in June 1932—for which see, *Kenya Land Commission Evidence* vol. I (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1933), 422–34—it cannot be said that he influenced the Commission’s recommendations, which ‘gave back’ very little Kikuyu land but compensated Kikuyu with land elsewhere, available for settlement mainly because both Africans and white settlers had thought it unsuitable. But see Kenyatta’s representations to the Church of Scotland in the pamphlet below, ‘Kenyatta is our Reconciler’, section headed ‘What Kenyatta told Kikuyu members of the Catholic religion’. The British would also deny that Kenyatta had influenced the promotion of African representatives on to official committees and in Legislative Council: for which see George Bennett, ‘Imperial paternalism: the representation of African interests in the Kenya Legislative Council’, in Frederick Madden and Kenneth Robinson (eds.), *Essays in Imperial Government Presented to Margery Perham* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 141–69; for Muoria’s membership of the Advisory Committee on African Publicity and Information see, Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War and Welfare in Kenya 1925–52* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), 257.

20. For Judith Nyamurwa see above, Bodil Folke Frederiksen, ‘The Muorias in Kenya’.

21. George Kirongothi Ndegwa had in 1924 been the sole founder member of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) to come from Kiambu district; the others were from Fort Hall, now Murang’a, the ‘central’ Kikuyu district of the three (the northernmost being Nyeri). After factional disputes had disabled the KCA in the mid-1930s, he revived the KCA in 1938 as its general secretary, only to be detained with its other officials when in 1940 the KCA was banned for allegedly consorting with the Italian enemy in Ethiopia. Released after the war, he was imprisoned for a year in 1948 for signing himself as secretary of the still-banned KCA, after an affray in which some Kikuyu farm squatters in the ‘white highlands’ refused to take a KCA oath of solidarity. Ndegwa was detained in 1952 at the start of the Mau Mau Emergency but later became, in eloquent English, an oral source for Carl G. Rosberg and John Nottingham’s *The Myth of ‘Mau Mau’: Nationalism in Kenya* (New York: Praeger, 1966). Ndegwa was Muoria’s chief source for the pamphlet on Kikuyu political history *Ngoro ya Ugikuyu ni ya Gutoria (The Gikuyu Spirit of Patriotism is for Victory)* of 1947. Sources: Marshall S. Clough, *Fighting Two Sides: Kenyan Chiefs and Politicians, 1918–1940* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990); John Spencer, *KAU: The Kenya African Union* (London: KPI, 1985), 87–9, 93–7; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 43.

22. Joseph Kang'ethe, schooled by Anglican missionaries, had been a sergeant in the Machine-gun Carriers in the First World War and then first President of the KCA in 1924. Presented to the Prince of Wales who visited Kenya in 1928, in 1929 Kang'ethe led the KCA's opposition to the attempted ban on female circumcision among Kikuyu Protestant Christians. Detained for supposed subversion in the Second World War and the Mau Mau Emergency, although no radical, he survived into the 1970s to act as an informant for Spencer's *KAU*.

23. While nothing is now known about Wachira, Karumbi had in the early 1940s been one of three vice-presidents of the Kikuyu Provincial Association, under its president Harry Thuku. The KPA's members were largely landholders. Kariuki, on the other hand, had assumed the presidency of a factionalised KCA in the 1930s, was a very active politician from Fort Hall/Murang'a and a great organiser. After release from wartime detention he became known as 'the eyes of the Kenya African Union' because he knew so much about its many local branches. Detained in the Emergency, he showed little interest in national politics thereafter. That both the conservative KPA and the more radical KCA were keen to welcome Kenyatta illustrates his appeal as a potential 'reconciler' of Kikuyu political faction.

24. The Gikuyu text gives Beuttah the title *muthuri mugathe*, 'benevolent elder'. Orphaned (like Kenyatta) in the great hunger that closed the nineteenth century in central Kenya, young Beuttah took domestic jobs with whites before enrolling at the Anglican High School in Mombasa. Trained as a telegraphist and employed by the Post Office for two decades, he became a founder member of the KCA in 1924 and resigned his job in 1932 to become a full-time politician. While a local government councillor during the 1939–45 war, he became increasingly impatient with constitutional politics thereafter and was jailed and detained for ten years from 1950, to emerge shortly before independence as another forgotten man. See, John Spencer, *James Beuttah, Freedom Fighter* (Nairobi: Stellascope, 1983). This was the second time Beuttah had welcomed Kenyatta in Mombasa, the first occasion being in 1930 after the latter's first, brief, visit to London.

25. Archbishop Alexander, a black South African, had in 1927 been consecrated Archbishop of the African Orthodox Church, offspring of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. Although they had broken from white missionary control the Kikuyu independent schools' leaders wished to have their own churches, staffed by an ordained ministry validated by apostolic succession—something that Alexander supplied when he visited Kenya, at Kikuyu expense, in 1935. See, F. B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1961), 79–81, 147–53.

26. It is possible that Lilian Njeri was the 'Njeri' who as a leader of the Muumbi Central Association (founded in the 1930s to promote women from cooking for the KCA's men to talking politics themselves) organised the funding of a 60-bed, stone-built, female dormitory at Githunguri school. She was to be detained, with thousands of other women, during the Emergency. See, Mbiyu Koinange, *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves* (Detroit: Kenya Publication Fund, 1955), 49–53; Cora Ann Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya* (Boulder: Westview, 1992), 118. Regrettably, nothing further seems to be known about the other two women.

27. Grace Wahu was educated at Kabete, the Anglican mission to which Muoria later went. Marrying Kenyatta after the Great War, she gave birth to Peter Muigai in 1920 and in 1928 to Margaret Rose Wambui. The latter's baptismal names were adopted from the future Queen Elizabeth's younger sister. The princesses' parents, then Duke and Duchess of York, had visited East Africa in 1924–5 and their uncle, the Prince of Wales, made a great impression on Kikuyu when visiting in 1928. See John Lonsdale, 'Ornamental Constitutionalism in Africa: Kenyatta and the Two Queens', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34 (2006), 87–103. Grace had not seen Kenyatta

since 1931 and did not live with him after his return. She died in 2007, at over 100 years of age.

28. Kilindini is the proper name for the Mombasa docks.

29. The Sagana is one of the many rapid rivers of Kikuyuland, rising on Mount Kenya to flow through Nyeri district before joining the River Tana.

30. *Kiama gia kunyamara* is 'the committee of destitution' or 'committee of poverty'. *Ūnyamari* is habituated poverty, not simply a financial shortfall (Benson, 340–41). Beuttah had helped to found the Kiama in 1929 as an undercover branch of the KCA (Spencer, *James Beuttah*, 17).

31. For *amaramaru*, as 'naughty, wicked people', see Benson, 253. (Mau Mau fighters were later known by many as *imaramari* or hooligans). For the informal role of the Kikuyu General Union and other ethnic welfare associations in repatriating prostitutes and runaway wives see, Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 190–94.

32. Muoria recollected this remark when in exile. The Aga Khan's Ismaili Shi'a Muslim sect had many South Asian followers in Kenya. He was one of the few non-whites made welcome in white-settler society, especially among race-goers.

33. For 'hotel' Muoria uses an English loan-word, *hutiri*.

34. Muoria was unwise thus to show that a still-banned organisation was politically active, as he later realised: see below, 'Kenyatta is our Reconciler', section headed 'Jomo with the Elders who Sent Him to England', in which 'KCA' becomes 'The Three Letters'.

35. Kenyatta was around 50 years old in 1946. For uncertainty about his date of birth see, Jeremy Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972), 323–25. The *Kihiumwiri* age-group was circumcised in 1913—Kenyatta himself under clinical conditions at a Church of Scotland Mission—at an approximate average age of 17.

36. The word *horeri* is derived from the verb *-hora*, the 'dying down' of a fire; the imagery here is of a benevolent elder.

37. Muoria appears to be referring to Nana Sir Ofori Atta (1881–1943), Omanhene of the state of Akyem Abuakwa in the Gold Coast Protectorate from 1912, whom Kenyatta may well have met in London. The proverb, sometimes given as 'The elephant is not defeated by its tusks', signifies a readiness to carry responsibility.

38. 'Witchdoctor' here is *mundu mugo*, a 'wise man'. Kenyatta stressed apprenticeship to his *mundu mugo* grandfather as a qualification for writing about his people: *Facing Mount Kenya*, xx.

39. There were then 20 Kenyan shillings to the £sterling. In sterling Kenyatta's stake was a 'half-crown' or one-eighth of £1. Each prize of 100 shillings was £5, or nearly £150 in to-day's (2007) money. Kenyatta made to-day's equivalent of nearly £300 on the voyage.

40. In addition to *Facing Mount Kenya* and articles for the British press (including the Communist *Daily Worker*—from which the British wrongly deduced that he was a Communist), Kenyatta published two pamphlet histories while in England, *My People of Kikuyu and the Life of Chief Wang'ombe* for the United Society for Christian Literature in 1942, and *Kenya: the Land of Conflict*, for the Pan-African publisher Panaf Service in 1945. Muoria later published the latter, in Gikuyu translation. See, Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, 'The Labors of *Muigwithania*: Jomo Kenyatta as Author, 1928–45', *Research in African Literatures* 29 (1998), 16–42; idem, 'Custom, Modernity, and the Search for Kihooto: Kenyatta, Malinowski, and the Making of Facing Mount Kenya', in Helen Tilley, with Robert J. Gordon (eds.), *Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European Imperialism, and the Politics of Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 173–98.

41. The word Kenyatta uses is *umihiriga*. By the 1960s a *múhiriga* was once again a 'clan', one of the 'nine full' clans of the Gikuyu people (see note 11 above). But Kenyatta here was plainly warning against 'tribalism', not competition between Gikuyu clans.

42. The Gikuyu original gives this section the title ‘The great meeting at the *thingira* (young men’s house) of the railway’.

43. In the Gikuyu text this phrase is not capitalized.

44. As Kikuyu politics grew more radical in later years, so tie-wearers, presumed to be allied with the whites, became ridiculed as *tai-tai*.

45. *Uiguano*, ‘cooperation’ or ‘unity’, comes from the verb *-iguana*, to ‘listen together’.

46. For his more forceful denunciation of informers six years later, at KAU’s mass meeting near Nyeri on 26th July 1952 see Colonial Office, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, Cmnd. 1030, 1960) [The *Corfield Report*], 302–03.

47. Muoria had not needed to translate this Swahili proverb for his Kikuyu readers but clearly felt he had to do so for his proposed British readership.

48. Kenyatta protested against the ‘Kakamega gold rush’ in Western Kenya in the mid-1930s, became honorary secretary of the International Friends of Abyssinia when the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935, and opposed the compulsory culling of Kamba cattle in 1938.

49. In London Muoria added that with empty pockets Kenyatta could not help anyone.

50. *Atomiki Bomu* is a good example of a modern Gikuyu loan-word. The Americans had conducted an atom bomb test in the Pacific only two months earlier. The white-owned Swahili-language paper *Baraza* reported Kenyatta differently here, as saying ‘I have no sword but if you give me one I shall fight for my people’ (quoted in Spencer, KAU, 164). But one must ask what sort of sword, a figurative sword of unity or a literal sword of steel?

51. ‘Brother Francis’, Semakula Mulumba, was a Catholic lay teacher from Buganda, returning from London’s School of Oriental and African Studies (where Kenyatta had been a language assistant in the 1930s). He shared a cabin with Kenyatta on the *Alcantara*. Mulumba became a leader of the populist Bataka movement in Buganda, which rioted in 1949 against south Asian cotton dealers and African officials of the Kabaka’s government. He had a choice turn of phrase, calling Uganda’s governor ‘a wild dog longing for black blood’ and, in contrast to Kenyatta, thought whites deserved ‘jail shooting the atomic bomb the gallows the guillotine because of your humbug and lies’—all this in a telegram from the safety of north London, where for a time he shared a house with Mbiyu Koinange. See, D. A. Low (ed.), *The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom* (London: Heinemann, 1971), 141–2. Such incendiary telegrams were often read out at Bataka party meetings in Uganda’s capital Kampala—for which see, Carol Summers, ‘Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s’, *Journal of Social History* 39 (2006), 741–70. See further, David Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), chapter 12. The police reported that Mulumba asked Muoria in 1948 to inform the KCA of his activities, and rumour made Mulumba the first non-Kikuyu member of Mau Mau: for which see *Corfield Report*, 79, 309.

52. A rickshaw is a two-wheeled, hooded carriage, generally pulled by men—a vehicle originating in Japan and widely adopted in southern Asia, introduced to Kenya by British rule. Today the motorised three-wheeler ‘tuk tuk’ has replaced it in Kenya—as in south Asia.

53. *Bejuti* is clearly a Swahili corruption of an Indian insult, either *Bheju Nuthee*, to mean ‘Brainless!’ or *Bhenchodya*, even more offensively implying an incestuous degree of carnal knowledge. (Information from Warris Vianni, lately of Mombasa).

54. The verb here is *itigira*, ‘be afraid’, from the root *-tiga*, to ‘leave’. Kenyatta was correct: see, Kathryn Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992), chapter 5.

55. ‘Kavirondo’ was by now a distinctly rude term with which to refer to the Luyia peoples of western Kenya—and perhaps the Luo too, although by the late 1940s the

group term 'Luo' was widely used. 'Kavironondo' was used by Swahili long-distance traders to refer to western Kenya (Nyanza) and both its Luo and Luyia peoples from the mid-nineteenth century and was then adopted by the British. Of unknown etymology, it has been speculated that it originated from traders shouting *kafiri ondoka!* (infidels, go away!) to unwelcome crowds of onlookers. The Luyia did not become widely known as such until the 1950s.

56. Again, Kenyatta was right. The forecast that Kikuyu and others would have been crushed between Masai and Somali but for the arrival of the British is first found in J. W. Gregory, *The Great Rift Valley: Being the Narrative of a Journey to Mount Kenya and Lake Baringo* (London: John Murray, 1896), 369. It is noteworthy that while Sir Charles Eliot, Kenya's second governor (in fact second Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate) and the man most responsible for the policy of white settlement, had read Gregory, he seems deliberately to have ignored the latter's forecast (see Eliot's *The East Africa Protectorate* (London: Arnold, 1905). Ethnographically the most observant of early officials, C. W. Hobley, was likewise sceptical, arguing instead that pax Britannica assisted Somali penetration southwards (see his *Kenya from Chartered Company to Crown Colony* (London: Witherby, 1929), 177–8. Gregory's analysis was taken up again by Father C. Cagnolo, in his *The Akikuyu* (Turin: Istituto Missioni Consolata, 1933), 17—and it may be that it was this account that Kenyatta had in mind. This white view of their own redemptive local history was revived in the early 1950s, lending strength to the European belief that the Kikuyu Mau Mau rising was an act of base ingratitude. See, C. T. Stoneham, *Mau Mau* (London: Museum Press, 1953), 26, for reference to Cagnolo, and Christopher Wilson, *Before the Dawn in Kenya* (Nairobi: The English Press, 1952), 123, which went back to the original, J. W. Gregory.

57. For the battle of Githunguri via Gichamu, in a Maasai raid on southern Kikuyu in 1892, see Godfrey Muriuki, *A History of the Kikuyu 1500–1900* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), 19–20. The fullest accounts of Kikuyu military defence and offence, which argue that Kikuyu were a match both for their Masai neighbours and for early Europeans, are in L. S. B. Leakey, *The Southern Kikuyu before 1903* (London: Academic Press, 1977), Vol. I, 34–39, 53–86; Vol. II, 707–37; Vol. III, 1035–73. In 1955 Dedan Githugi, a leading member of the group of British and Kikuyu liberals who aimed to 'rehabilitate' men detained on suspicion of Mau Mau membership, reported that young men in Kiambu were singing a song that went *Ingitwika munene ndanenehia ngari wa Gichamu. Tondu niarerire wa Gichamu. Ngeca utiri Mau Mau*. This meant 'Should I become a big man I can promote Ngari wa Gichamu because he raised up Gichamu. In Ngeca (a village near Limuru) there are no Mau Mau followers'. It is possible that 'Ngari wa Gichamu' is an eponym, and that the singers were reminding themselves of their ancestors' valour in fighting the Masai. For contemporary Ngeca see, Carolyn Pope Edwards and Beatrice Blyth Whiting (eds.), *Ngecha: A Kenyan Village in a Time of Rapid Social Change* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

58. Beattah had spent many of his years in the Post Office stationed in Mombasa, finally leaving in 1932.

59. As for other public facilities (except lavatories) there was no open racial segregation on the East African Railways. There was however much covert segregation—which could be got round with social bravado and inside knowledge, as Muoria shows later in this account. The sole legal segregation was in land ownership, for two decades from 1939 to 1959. But many administrative procedures and social sanctions were segregatory in effect.

60. Paul Kelly, an Oxford graduate then in his thirties, had joined the Kenyan administration in 1936. Driven from his post in northern Kenya by the Italians in 1940, he was a notably liberal officer, active in agrarian reform in the 1950s, who ended his career as a provincial commissioner. He regularly revisited Kenya in retirement. See, Charles Chenevix Trench, *Men who Ruled Kenya: The Kenya Administration 1892–1963* (London: Radcliffe, 1993), 153–5, 160–3, 263; Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War*

and *Welfare in Kenya 1925–52* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), 157–61; and Lonsdale's private correspondence with Kelly.

61. Muoria implies that such courtesy was not normally to be expected from British officials.

62. The doors to the town houses of East Africa's Islamic port cities indicated the status of the family within. See, J. de V. Allen, 'The Swahili House: Cultural and Ritual Concepts Underlying its Plan and Structure', *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 11 (1979), 1–32; Linda Donley, 'House Power: Swahili Space and Symbolic Markers', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 63–73.

63. Fort Jesus had been a Portuguese fort, built in the late sixteenth century with a labour force recruited in Goa, the Portuguese base on the far side of the Indian Ocean. In 1698 Omani Arabs captured it after a three-year siege. Mombasa's strategic importance as a naval base was rediscovered in the Second World War and continues to this day, with facilities enjoyed by American and other navies deployed in the Gulf area and the Indian Ocean.

64. Both Muoria and the white swimmers were very up-to-date, since 'Bikini' had become the popular name for two-piece swimsuits only two months earlier, after the American atom-bomb test on Bikini Atoll in the Pacific Ocean.

65. Much cultural disapproval lies behind this question. Beauttah asks if the bathers are without *thoni*, 'shyness, shame; respectful, courtesy, decorum and reserve' (Benson, 524).

66. *Ruhonge* is, literally, the branch of a tree.

67. Jiggers are sandfleas, apparently introduced to East Africa in the 1890s, that lay their eggs under toe-nails, causing potentially serious damage unless dug out with a pin. Loan-financed housing schemes for African urban workers with families were a new priority for the Kenya government after the Second World War, due to a growing desire to 'stabilise' urban labour rather than, as before the war, relying on migratory labour by single men. Mombasa presented particular planning difficulties because of long-established African private housing interests: Richard Stren, *Housing the Urban Poor in Africa: Policy, Politics, and Bureaucracy in Mombasa* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1978).

68. The financing of African housing and other urban facilities through a municipal monopoly on maize-beer brewing, to be drunk in a municipal beerhall, had spread throughout British-ruled eastern Africa in the 1920s, based on practice pioneered in Durban. Nairobi's beerhall dated from 1922, Mombasa's from 1934: Justin Willis, *Potent Brews: A Social History of Alcohol in East Africa 1850–1999* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), 114–17.

69. Other Kenyans had different objections: that municipal monopoly hindered African private enterprise in the supply of alcohol: Willis, *Potent Brews*, 150–56

70. An interesting comment on the cross-racial fantasies of African workers when drunk.

71. The type in the Gikuyu text is broken here. But it does not describe the parting in such detail, mentioning only its sadness and that the train must cover 330 miles from Mombasa to Nairobi.

72. Muoria added all the next three paragraphs in his English text. The Gikuyu text follows thereafter and recounts neither Kenyatta's prophecy, nor the exchange about Muoria's self-interested journalism. Why Muoria omitted these details from his Gikuyu text is not clear but there is no reason to doubt their veracity. Kenyatta's belief in the political utility of white settler repression of African protest reflected his trust in his Labour Party friends, some of them now in government. His precedent for British intervention to relieve colonial crisis was the causal sequence, often mentioned in his writings, between the killing of unarmed African protesters in Nairobi in 1922, and the Colonial Office's 1923 'Devonshire Declaration' that African interests were

'paramount' in Kenya, over those of European and Indian interests. For his interest in the British monarchy see, Lonsdale, 'Ornamental Constitutionalism'. African troops who had served in India during the recent Second World War noted that most Indians appeared to be poorer than they themselves (information from the late Professor Fergus Wilson, intelligence officer in a Tanganyika battalion of the King's African Rifles, citing soldiers' opinions in their letters back home which it was his duty to censor), while Eliud Mathu, a nominated member for African interests, reflected in Legislative Council in 1950 that Indians were just as much 'a conglomeration of races' as Kenya and had yet won national independence (cited in Jack R. Roelker, *Mathu of Kenya: A Political Study* (Stanford CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1976), 76. Kenyatta's cynicism over an editor's motives may have been learned from his experience with the British press in his London years.

73. The Gikuyu verb is *gutaarana*, to 'advise, instruct, admonish each other' (Benson, 423). To speak in such a manner was the privilege of a learned elder.

74. Kenyatta had indeed studied farming when in Europe; he had shown interest in co-operative farming in Denmark ('What Should we Do?' endnote 55, page above), and had worked on the land in Sussex during the war, while living with his English wife Edna. He also lectured to British troops on courses organised by the Workers Educational Association: Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta*, chapter 18. That Kenya had lived in Germany and had learned the art of political organisation from Hitler was a widely-believed myth at the time of his arrest, allegedly for 'managing' Mau Mau, in October 1952: John Lonsdale, 'Kenyatta's Trials: Breaking and Making an African Nationalist', in Peter Coss (ed.), *The Moral World of the Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 196–239, p. 214.

75. Muoria's Gikuyu carries more weight than 'friends'. Kenyatta's *icera riake* are his 'group, gang, clique', or 'those with whom he keeps company' (Beechers, 57). His most valuable friends were in the now-ruling Labour Party, including Arthur Creech Jones, who became Secretary of State for the Colonies one month after Kenyatta's return to Kenya.

76. It is certainly true that missionaries and others with Kenyan experience disapproved of Kenyatta's alleged fondness for good living and white women when he was in London, and tried fruitlessly to get him to return to Kenya: Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta*, chapters 10, 12, 14, 15.

77. *Kinyatta ahana muhonokia witu*, 'or Kenyatta is like our saviour' is a rhetorical riposte to the East African Revival, whose converts in the 1940s declaimed: *Jesu ni muhonokia wakwa*, 'Jesus is my saviour'. Muoria had earlier inveighed against the Revival in his pamphlet 'What Should We Do, Own People', section 6, 'The Reason of Prayers and Belief', above.

78. Kenyatta himself voiced the same frustrated opinion a few weeks later: see below, 'Kenyatta is our Reconciler', section headed 'How the Gikuyu could be respected.'

79. The Gikuyu here is very strong, since *twathaya*, to be lazy, is also to be 'bound up' (Benson, 498).

80. Muoria reports Kenyatta's theology as being much like his own, for which, again, see 'What Should We Do?' above, section headed 'The Reason of Prayers and Belief'.

81. (Peter) Mbiyu Koinange, son of chief Koinange (and soon to be Kenyatta's brother-in-law), now 40 years old, had also received some of his schooling at the Anglican school at Kabete, close to his father's property. One of the first Kenyans to go to America for further education, he was briefly at St John's College Cambridge, thanks to his father's ties with the Leakey family, and met Kenyatta in London in 1938, before returning to be the first headmaster of Githunguri school. Conveniently absent from Kenya's years of turmoil, 1950 to 1962, he was minister of state in the President's office until Kenyatta's death in 1978.

82. Dagoretti, west of Nairobi, was one of the nearest Kikuyu villages to the city, where Kenyatta had lived after the First World War and where Grace Wahu still lived. Kenyatta would soon seek a base deeper into the Kiambu countryside.

83. Muoria inserted this section heading when in his London exile, where his relations with Koinange had become strained.

84. Kenyatta calls God by the name *Mwene-Nyaga*, the 'owner of brightness', not by the singular name *Ngai* of Protestant missionary texts.

85. *Mbombomu*: another expressive new loan-word.

KENYATTA NI MUIGWITHANIA WITU

(1) *Kenyatta Ekwira Agikuyu Othe Marugure Miario ino Ituike Ciiko*

Kari kirindi gia Gikuyu na Mumbi giothe hau kiaruma, ngumurirania ati maithe maitu ma tene nimatutigiire igai ria kuga ati ‘Kamugambo gatoraga’. Tondu ucio nikio miario ino yandikitwo haha nigetha andu aria matari na ihinda ria gukoruo ho mamithomere, na matuike ota mari micemano-ini io, nao aria mathikiriirie maririkanio ciugo iria mangikoruo mariganiiruo. Tondu ucio ningwihoka ati andu othe nimeguthoma miario ino mena tibiri ota uria yaririo ina tibiri. Ona ningi ati niwega miario ino irauguruo ituike ciiko. Tondu ingiaga kurigicirio ni ciiko ndingituika ya kiguni muno. Ni tondu mbeu ingibuthira irima yage gukunuka igie na maciaro no ituike ati ndiri na kiguni. Nayo miario ingiaga kurumiriruo na gutungatiruo ni ciiko no ituike mihumu ya tuhu kana mihumu itari kiguni Ingienda muno kamurirania kiugo kiugaga ‘Ngai ateithagia aria megwiteithia’ na nikio nduriri iria ithiite na mbere irumagirira kiugo kiu, nikumenya ati, ‘Mwana wi kiyu ndagaga muthambia’.

Ithui na ithui nitwirikanie ati Mwene-Nyaga niatuhete iheyo njega na ina riri, agatuhe maitho makuona, ag tuhe matu makuigua, agatuhe moko ma kuruta wira ohamwe na ciiga iria ingi cia gututeithia maundu-ini macio. No makiria Mwene-Nyaga agatugaira igai rimwe inene muno nario niguo tombo wa gwiciria. Na kwondu ucio nitwagiriiruo ni kuhuthira tombo ucio na muthemba uria wagiriire, naguo ni wa

CHAPTER SIX

KENYATTA IS OUR RECONCILER

The above is the title I gave my pamphlet containing the speeches Kenyatta delivered to Kenya's Africans after his return.

I produced it in early 1947, in late February. Kenyatta had by then moved to Githunguri, to be Principal of the Kenya Teachers College.

Since I needed his introduction to the new pamphlet, I had to go to Githunguri. He cheerfully agreed to give me one. He then dictated to me what he wanted to say and which I published on the first page, under the following bold heading:

(1) Kenyatta Tells All Kikuyu To Translate¹ These Speeches Into Action

To all the community of Gikuyu and Mumbi wherever they may be: I want to remind you that our forefathers left us an inheritance,² namely, the saying: 'The small voice does not perish'. That is why these speeches have been written down, so that those who weren't there when they were spoken can read them and feel as if they too had been present. And those who were there, listening, may be reminded of words they had forgotten. So I hope people will read these speeches with care, since they were spoken with great care in the first place. It would be [even] better if they were translated into action, for if they are not surrounded³ by action they won't be of much importance. If a seed rots in the ground and does not sprout, it will not produce fruit and so be of no use to anyone.⁴ Similarly, if speeches are not followed up and translated into action, they become nothing but empty, worthless, breaths of air.

I'd like to remind you of another saying, that 'God⁵ helps those who help themselves'. That's why all advanced nations follow that advice, since they are aware that our own proverb asserts: 'A diligent child will always find an adopter'.⁶

For our part, we should remember that Almighty God⁷ has bestowed on us good gifts that are also very beautiful. He gave us eyes to see. He gave us ears to hear. He gave us hands with which to work, and other limbs too, all of which are intended to help us work.

kurutira bururi witu wira twina kiyo na uhoreri na tutari na witii kana wicukumithania tukimenyaga ati ciiko ciitu ciothe iria tungikoruo tugiika ciagiriiruo ni gukoruo i cia gutiithia na gukumia aciari aitu, na nio Gikuyu na Mumbi Nitwagiriiruo nikwanirira na mugambo munene tukiugaga atiriri: Mundu uria ukamenithia kana anyarithie Gikuyu kana Mumbi, ucio agiriiruo ni gukua ainii ta ruhuhu.

Nituhoei na hinya ati Thaaai wa Mwene-Nyaga utuiyurie wendo na kiyo tuhote kuruta mawira maitu mothe tutari na meririria mangi tiga o meririria ma gutwara bururi witu na mbere wina ugariru.

Jomo Kenyatta
Githunguri 26-2-47

(2) *Kenyatta ni Muigwithania Witu: Kiugo Kia Uiguano*

Kuuma Muthuri Mugathe muno tii Kinyatta oka, niitiiruo cai kundu kuingi ni Ciama cia Nduriri o undu umwe na Ciama cia Agikuyu, na thutha wa cia ucio niakoragwo akiaria miario iria yandikitwo kabuku-ini gaka.

No riri maundu maria mandikitwo haha ti kuga ati nimo miario iria yothe Kinyatta aritie kuma oka. No ino ni iria Mwandiki wa maundu maya akoragwo e ho.

Above all, God has shared with us another very important inheritance. That is the Brain, which enables us to think.

We ought therefore to make good use of that brain power. That means serving our country with energy and an honest heart, without either pride or seeking to curry favour, recognizing that everything we do is intended to enhance and bring respect to our parents, Gikuyu and Mumbi. We ought to shout loudly as we make known to all that any man who brings disrespect to our ancestors Gikuyu and Mumbi should die a cowardly death *with his face downward* like a bat. Let us all pray hard that the Peace of Almighty God may fill our hearts with love and energy, so that we may do all our tasks without any thought other than our desire to uplift our country, to go forward peacefully.

Yours, Jomo Kenyatta. Githunguri 26-2-47

(2) *Kenyatta is our reconciler That Word Unity*

In my own introduction, I had this to say:

Since Kenyatta returned he has been invited to many Tea Parties,⁸ by unions of other tribes as well as those belonging to the Kikuyu tribe. After those Tea parties, he made speeches which are now reproduced in this little pamphlet.

But the speeches published here do not represent all he has said since his return. For he has been invited by different groups in other parts of the country where the editor could not attend, and could not therefore write down the speeches for publication.

Those published here, other than the one from Nyeri, are what the editor reported because he was present at the meeting where [Kenyatta] spoke and was therefore able to note them down as he spoke the words published in this pamphlet.

It is interesting that our highly respected speaker appears to possess a valuable gift, not given to many by Almighty God, in the shape of the kind of knowledge that God also gave Saint Paul, the writer of many Epistles in the Holy Bible, who could say that: 'Wherever he went, he was able to associate himself with the local people, so that they started to think of him as one of them'.⁹

Likewise, if the reader of these narratives takes the trouble to ponder what Kenyatta says in his speeches, he will find that what the editor says is true. For when Kenyatta talks to the Kikuyu people, his message relates to their affairs. When talking to Indians or Somalis, his

Uhoru ungi wa bata na wakugegania wa Muthuri uyu Mugoce, ni ati ena kiheo kinene kia Mwene-Nyaga kiria ahetwo ugi-ini ota kiria kiahetwo Muthuri uria wa tene wetagwo Mutheru Paulo. Nakio kiheo kiu nikio giatumaga Muthuri ucio wa tene oige ati o kundu kuria guothe athiaga niahotaga kwigarura akahanana na andu akuo. Kiheo to kiu gitiheagwo andu aingi guku thi. Nake muthomi o wothe wa mohoro maya, athoma agiciragia niekuona ati uhoro ucio ni wa ma. Tondy akoruo Kinyatta ekwariiria Agikuyu uhoro wake ugukoruo ukonii Agikuyu. Ningi aakoruo ni Uhindi kana Cumari uhoro wake ugakoruo ukonii o uhindi ucio ona kana Cumari ucio. Naguo uhoro ucio ugukoruo ukonii kuguna and aria mekwaririo, akoruo mahatitie muhari wao makeruo. Na akoruo mekite wega makagathiririo.

Thutha ucio magacoka makaheo kiugo oro kimwe gia kumanyitithania othe na nikio giki: UGUANO. Makeruo ati twaiguana twarie twi mutwe umwe kana na mugambo umwe, hatiri undu ona umwe tukwenda gwika tutekuhingia. Kiugo kiu kia uiguano nikio kiumanite na riiwa ria Kabuku gaka ria kuga ati Kinyatta ni Muigwithania witu.

Mwandiki ndangiriganiruo ni gucokeria Mwene-Nyaga ngatho, tondu wagutuma ahote kwandika maundu maya.

Ciama-ini icio Kinyatta aaragia nigukoraguo andu aingi, na hatiri wao ugiragio kwandika maundu macio. Nikio egugicunga Mwene-Nyaga muhera tondu wa kumuhe riciria ria kumenya ati maundu maya nimagiriiruo ni kumenyereruo ni getha makinyire andu aria me muoyo riu ona aria mariciaruo. Tondy ino ni mbeu irahandwo, na hindi iria irimera Agikuyu nimarigia na Ugu-ano munene na hatiri mundu wa thi ukahota gucoka kumamurania ringi.

Ni wega uthome ugicuranageria wone ati Kinyatta ndokite kunina ngoro ya Ugikuyu, no makiria ni kumiriukia.

Hari undu ungi muthomi agiriiruo ni kumenya ati muthenya na mweri uria uhoro uyu mwandike haha waririo ti mwandike na gitumi ni tondu andu aingi mangithoma uhoro wandikitwo hindi iria waririo monaga ta ari wa tene. No kuringana na miario ya Kinyatta ndiri hindi igakura na tondu ucio hatiri bata kwandikwo muthenya uria aririe. Uhoro uria wina bata ni ati niaririe, nacio ndeto ciake ni cia gutura ihinda-ini riothe. Na hindi iria uguthoma menya ati niwe arariria o ihinda-ini oro riu, thaa oro io na handu hau uri umuthi.

Rekei tutie riiwa ria Gikuyu Ithe witu na Mumbi Nyina witu.

Henry Muoria
Kirangari

speeches deal with matters in which Indians or Somalis are involved. If they are engaged in doing something good or worthwhile, he gives them encouragement, to boost their morale. If they are not on the right lines, he tells them where they have gone wrong.

That Word Unity

Yet on many occasions, he speaks words that are intended to bring them together. That word is UNITY.¹⁰ He tells everyone that if we are united, so that we can speak with one voice, nothing we want to do cannot be done. The editor has used that word Unity to give this pamphlet its title: KENYATTA IS OUR RECONCILER.¹¹

The editor does not forget to thank Almighty God for enabling him to write these things down. For there were always many [other] people listening at those meetings where Kenyatta spoke. No one prevented them from writing down what he was saying and sending it off to be published.

The Editor's Gratitude to God

This makes the editor feel [even] more grateful to God for making him realize the value [of Kenyatta's words] and that they should be taken care of, so as to preserve them and allow them to reach many people living today as well as those yet to be born. For what is said today is like planting a seed, and when that seed sprouts and grows to maturity, our people will achieve UNITY, and no human being will ever be able to create disunity among them again.

If you think carefully as you read this pamphlet, you'll see that Kenyatta has come not to kill the heart of the Kikuyu, but instead to raise it to life.¹²

Another thing the editor wants to tell his readers is that he has deliberately omitted the days and dates on which Kenyatta spoke. This is because the editor finds that if anyone looks at a speech and [sees] the date on which it was spoken, he will think it to be old news, relevant [only] to that past date. But Kenyatta's speeches do not grow old. More important [than their date] is the fact that he spoke them. And the words he uttered are meant to last a long time. So, as you read them, remember that he is speaking to you personally at the time and place you read him today.

(3) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Agikuyu a Ndini ya Mubea*

Kinyatta oima Ruraya atananina matuku maingi; ni etiruo ni Agikuyu a Ndini ya Mubea makithingura cukuru ya guthomeruo ni ciana ciao meyakiniire o ene na haria mbere ya Thogoto hetagwo Gicuhiro. Mutongoria wa Agikuyu acio akiheana uhoro, akiuga ati tene maraturaga Muthangari na hindi iria kwaheanagwo ithaka nimatiniirio gicunji kiao hau.

Na tondu woria riu mekuraya na Muthangari kwa Mubea ni monete ati ni wega meyakire Cukuru ta Agikuyu a ndini iria ingi.

Hindi iria njamba iitu ti Kinyatta arugamire kugeithania na andu akiuga ati ena gikeno tondu wa kuonana na andu, na makiria tondu wa gukinya handu hau; tondu hindi iria erigite ho ni ta miaka mirongo iiri na itano mihituku. Agicoka akimera ati uhoro munene wa githaka kiu akiuga atiri:

Hindi iria ndaciragira uhoro wa Ithaka Ruraya, nindathire kuonana na Mutongoria wa ndini uria munene witagwo Archbishop of Canterbury, ngimuonia ati o nao Athungu a miceni nimatunyanire ithaka na ngiaria uhoro wa githaka giki turungii uumuthi ngionia mutongoria ucio uhoro wakio mebuini ya ithaka. Nake Mutongoria ucio ti Archbishop of Canterbury akinjira ati uhoro wa githaka giki ti uhoro wake; no niwa Munene wa ndini ya Athungu a Thigoci uria witagwo Moderator of the Church of Scotland. Riu hindi iria nderiruo uguo, ngihaica ngari ya mwaki ngithii o kinya bururi wa Athungu acio a Scotland. Ndakinya kuo ngionana na Munene wa ndini io, na thutha wa kwaria gwitua nake; niguo gwatuikire ati githaka kiu nigigucokerio Agikuyu. Agicoka akimera ati kuma tene Agikuyu moigaga ati gutiri Muthungu na Mubea. Ni wega tuiguane tukimenyaga ati ithuothe turi Ciana cia Mumbi na Gikuyu’.

Agikinyia miario yake hau.

Let us start to respect the names of our father Gikuyu and our mother Mumbi.

Henry Muoria
Kirangari. 1947.

(3) *What Kenyatta Told Kikuyu Members of the Catholic Religion
His First Speech Among the Kikuyu*

It was only a few days after Kenyatta arrived in Kenya from Europe that he was invited by some Kikuyu members of the Catholic Religion. It was on the occasion of their opening a new school they had built for themselves at Gichuhiro, not far from Thogoto.¹³

The leader of the group stood up and said that in the past, they had lived at a place called Muthangari (where there was a big Catholic Mission Station).

But when they moved, to come to the place where land had been given to the members of the Kikuyu tribe, they felt they had to build a new school for their children. This was because Muthangari was too far away and they had to build a school, as members of other religious denominations had done.

When our Hero Jomo Kenyatta stood up to speak, he greeted the gathering warmly, saying he was glad to return to that area on this occasion. The last time he was there had been about twenty-five years ago.

He then told them something important which many of them had not known before. 'When I was engaged in the argument about our land issues in Europe, I went to see the religious leader known as the Archbishop of Canterbury. I told him that even missionaries had joined in taking away our tribal lands. I spoke to him about this land in particular where we are standing today. I showed him the Map of this area.

'When the Archbishop of Canterbury looked at the Map, he told me this land was not under his responsibility, but that the leader of the Church of Scotland was responsible for it. When I was told this, and that the relevant religious leader was the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, I went to Scotland by train. When I got there I went to see the Moderator. After our discussion, he assured me that this land was going to be returned to the Kikuyu people.'¹⁴

(4) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Agikuyu Othe gwa Koinange*

Thutha ucio niguu kwagiire cai munene mucii gwa Koinange, na niguu Kinyatta aririe na Agikuyu othe. Uhoro ucio niwandikitwo magathiti-ini mothe; no tondu Kabuku gaka gakonii miario yake kuuma oka kundu kuria Mwandiki akoragwo ho, nikio miario io yandikwo ringi ona yandikitwo Mumenyereri-ini.

Ningi ringi ngathiti itituraga ta mabuku na nikio uhoro uyu wandikwo ibuku-ini ni getha ndukanariganire. Thutha wa gutabariruo maundu, kahinda ga kwaria ga Kinyatta gagikinya; akira Agikuyu othe.

Miario iria nduire njaragia, ni miario ya Kigeni no umuthi-ri ni nguga ati ndingiaria na ruthiomi rungi tiga o ruria ndaciariruo naruo. Ningi ni ngatho nene muno hari aciari aitu ta Koinange tondu koruo athuri ta Koinange matiri ho Athuri othe matingigia kiene. Nii ndina gikeno kinene tondu wa inyui kwenda tugeithanie. Gikeno kiu kianyu nikio gituirie ruendwo ruria runene rua tiri uria twagaiiruo ni ithe witu Gikuyu naNyina witu Mumbi. Agicoka akiuga ati undu uria munene muno ni githomo na uugi, tondu kwiraguo uugi ni hinya naguo uugi ucio uri hinyari ni muthemba uriku? Andu aria mekwaragia na hau kabere gakwa-ri mekwaragia makoiga tukwenda ugi niguu tuthii na mbere. No riri nii kuu guothe Ruraya gutiri bururi ona umwe wa Athungu itakinyite na hindi iria ngoragwo ngithii mabururi maciori ndithiaga ngithomaga mabuku, no thiaga ndina maundu matatu, wa mbere ngathii ndutite maitho makwa mbico, na matu makwa ngaruta magokoni, namo meciria makwa magaikara mahoreire. Uugi ucio tukuuga ni hari muingi utangithomwo mabuku-ini. Nii mwene nguuga ati uugi wa kiambiriria ni umwe naguo mbere ni Muthuri gutungatira kana gutia tiri wake na bururi uria aciariiruo.

Uugi utari na gitio kia bururi na tiri niwa tuhu, nguo nguuga ukuruhanitie na uugi wa ma na niguu gutia bururi na andu anyu na kuiguana ni getha tuhotage kwaria twi mutwe umwe. Athuri a tene moigire Kamuingi koyaga ndiri, uugi ni kwenda kieya na kurora

Then Kenyatta reminded them that, from the very beginning, the Kikuyu had a saying that asserts: 'Gutiri muthungu na Mubea' which means 'There is no difference between a white man and a white priest'.¹⁵ It would be better if we were united and worked together, knowing that we are all children of Gikuyu and Mumbi'.

After those words he sat down, bringing his short speech to an end.

(4) *Kenyatta's Main Speech to the Kikuyu Tribe at the home of Koinange*

A few weeks after his return, a big Tea Party was prepared rather belatedly at Koinange's home at Kiambaa, to welcome him home. *It was the day when [Kenyatta] spoke to his fellow tribespeople from all corners of the country, including some important and influential Chiefs, and religious leaders of many denominations.*

Although the speech was first published in *Mumenyereri*, it is reproduced here since this pamphlet is concerned with the speeches Kenyatta delivered immediately after his return. Moreover, newspapers do not last as long as books. One reason for publishing this speech here is to make sure it will never be forgotten.

After making arrangements, the time arrived for Kenyatta's speech. *A large crowd had assembled at Koinange's home and over its boundary, as far as the eye could see. It was a sunny afternoon and Kenyatta himself was in cheerful voice, wearing a black cloak over his suit which he said was given him by the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, when he met him in Europe many years earlier during the Italian Abyssinian War of 1935.*¹⁶

Kenyatta began his speech by telling the big crowd:

'The speeches I've been making had to be made in foreign languages.¹⁷ But today, I'll speak in the very tongue I began to speak after I was born.

'I offer my great thanks to elders like Koinange who are our parents, for if elders like Koinange did not exist, no elder would have been worth anything (*but it is important that such elders do exist and they are of great value to us*). I am really very happy that all of you here want to greet each other today. What has sustained my great passion for our soil, passed down to us by our father Gikuyu and mother Mumbi, is the thought of your own happiness.

maundu maria tutangihota kurutiruo ni Ahindi kana Athungu. Thu iitu iria nene no ithui ene, ti ria ingi tugwiciria, na ni ithui twirigagiriria maundu tondu wa kwaga uiguano na kwaga kugia mutwe umwe. Ucio ni uhoro muuru. Twaga kiugo kimwe gia ciugo icio cieri, nitwahuthia kiu kingi. Twaiguana na twagia mutwe umwe, o kiria giothe tugwitia ni tukuheo. Na angikoruo uguo niguu wega, rekei tukiiguane. Undu uria ungi nyonete hindi iria ndiracerangire, ndiragerire Nairobi na haria twitaga Makirandi nindironire twana twa Uhindi na ndirona nyumba iria tuthomagira. Ningi ndiragera haria njira ya Kabete ndirona mutongoro wa Ciana cia Athungu, na ndirona Nyumba iria ithomagira. Ndiracoka ndiroima hau ndakinya ona haria Waithaka njira ya guthii Ndaguriti; ndiracemania na twana twa Mumbi na ndirona kuria tuthomagira. Hindi iria ndiracokire kuringania mbica icio ithatu, ndiroiga kai ithui Nyumba ya Mumbi twanagumiruo! Nyumba icio i na utiganu munene na ni uira wa kuonania ati twi thutha. No mwahota kunjira atiri, i nawe Kinyatta kai utakiui turi athini. No riri; Ahindi na Athungu matiukaga na mbia mahingiire mathanduku, no matongeire bururi uyu witu. Twagia na Uiguano hatiri kigiria gikugiria twake Macukuru ota macio. Ningi atiri, ndinona kaana ka Muhindi kana ka Muthungu kena Nduu kuguru. Ndirakiuria atiri kai ari o ithui Ngai oigire turiagwo ni Nduu?

Kiugo giakwa ni giki ona kana iria thomete cia ageni, ngiringanagia na cia Agikuyu; ati ndionete ugo wa Ageni ukirite ugo wa Ugikuyu. No riri ihitia riria rina andu aingi ni kwaga kuririkana uria Agikuyu moigire ati 'Mugathiwa kuona uteaga wa Mwene', ni wega tuikare tukiririkanaga Mugathi ucio twatigiiruo ni Mumbi na niguu ciugo na thimo icio cia Ugikuyu cia utaraani muingi.

No uria tumwana twikaga ni ati twathii haha Mombasa twanina mieri itatu, gagicoka Gikuyu gekuuga gatingimenya Gikuyu tiga o Githweri. No riri; uugi uria nii ndarutiruo ni Koinange twi thingira na ngirutwo ni Kinyanjui na Wambugu uugi ucio niguu wandethirie muno ndathii Ruraya. Koruo ndiari na uugi ucio ndingiahotire gwika undu ona umwe Ruraya. No hindi iria ndakoriruo ndina uugi ucio ngithii ngiongerera wa Ageni ngiringanagia na witu Gikuyu. Tondu ucio ni wega tugie na Uiguano na gitiano ona gwitiganira ithui ene tondu kiria gitumaga twitwo acenji ni riri; hindi iria weruo ringa uyu, wirutanagiria ukaringa Muru wa Nyukwa ruhi, nake Muthungu ona uguo akera uria ungi atiri, ndukuona uria acenji aya makigite, ucio ti undu wa gutuma twitigiiruo.

‘Those who spoke before me stressed the importance of education and knowledge. But what type of education? What sort of knowledge?’

‘I agree that education and knowledge are very important for it is said, “Wisdom is strength”.¹⁸ But what sort of knowledge is said to have such power? Those who spoke before me said that we want knowledge so that we can go forward. But I myself, wherever I went in those European countries—for there’s no country in Europe I didn’t visit¹⁹—I can tell you that whenever I went to visit them, I did not go to read books. I went with three things [in mind]. The first thing I did was to clear my eyes, to see properly. Secondly, I cleared my ears of all the wax. The third thing was to keep my mind calm *and open as well as alert*.²⁰

‘This means that most of the kind of knowledge that’s said to be the source of power can’t be learned from books. To my mind, the first knowledge is this: That a man should be prepared to serve or respect his own soil and the country in which he was born. Knowledge that doesn’t respect one’s country and soil is useless. I say that true knowledge enables one to respect and love one’s country, to love your own people and be united, so that we can speak with one mind.’²¹

‘Our old elders used to say: ‘Kamuingi koyaga ndiri’ *which means: ‘A group of people are able to uplift a heavy object’*.²²

‘Moreover, knowledge is to love your cleared building-site²³ and to see and do things which can’t be done for us by Indians or Europeans.

‘Our greatest enemy is within ourselves. It isn’t the ones we keep thinking of.²⁴ It’s we ourselves who stand in the way and prevent us getting things because we lack Unity, and fail to be of one mind. That’s very bad on our part. For if we fail to take heed of one of these two things, we make the other one²⁵ useless. If we are United and speak with one voice and one mind, everything we demand will be given us.

‘Then if that’s the right thing to do, let’s be United. Another thing I noticed when being taken round Nairobi is that as we drove through Parklands²⁶ I saw many Indian children and the big building where they were at school. Then I was taken down the Kabete road, where I saw a long line formed by European children and the big building in which they were being educated. Then I left that place and soon got to Waithaka on the way to Dagoretti.²⁷ There, I met the children of the house of Mumbi and saw their school.

‘When I compared those three buildings, I said to myself, what a pity that we, the House of Mumbi, should have been forced into such a precarious position! For those three buildings are very different indeed and show good evidence of our backwardness. But some of you will say

Ni wega tugie na witii, no ti witii wa kurumana, ni witii wauria muiritu kana o mwanake etiaga ati niarua akona ati riu ni mugina.

Tondu maithe maitu nimatunoraga wega tondu riri hindi iria andu matumaga magacoka magathii kuuna mugumo ni maikagia ndorothi makamiagararia Mugumo, nakio gitumi kiria giatumaga meke uguo ni kuuga ati maundu mothe ma wana nimaikio na maagarario muti ucio. Ona ningi kiu nokio gitumi giatumaga andu methambe ruciini tene matanarua. Moigaga ati wana wothe niwathererio niruui maarikia gwithamba mwiri wothe. Kwoguo mwanake arua akamenya ni mwanake, na muiritu arua akamenya ni muiritu. Naho hau niho hacokaga hakoima athuri na Atumia mena ugima wothe, na uthingu uria utumaga mundu atuika mundu.

to me: “What’s wrong with you Mr Kenyatta? Don’t you know that we Africans are poor?” But I would reply:

‘Indians and Europeans don’t come to this country with a lot of money locked in boxes. They have all become rich here. If we achieve Unity there would be nothing to stop us from building good big schools similar to those of the Indians and Europeans.’²⁸

‘At the same time, I didn’t see any Indian or European child with their feet eaten up by jiggers. Then I asked myself, are we the only people whom God ordained to be eaten up by jiggers?’²⁹

‘I’ll tell you what I’ve learned by comparing Kikuyu knowledge with that of other nations:

‘I have not found any saying from other nations that is superior to that of the Kikuyu people. But a mistake many people make is to forget what Kikuyu have said about [cultural envy], namely: ‘Mugathi wa kuona uteaga wa mwene’ *which means: ‘A new-found necklace makes its finder lose his original necklace, left us by Mumbi, which might have been better or more valuable than the new-found necklace.’*³⁰

‘So it’s better to remember our necklace, left to us by Mumbi—which is the wealth of Kikuyu proverbs or wise sayings, all full of good advice.

‘But what happens is that when young people leave the country [of Kikuyu] for Mombasa, they stay say about three months and when they return home, they say they’ve forgotten how to speak Kikuyu and can only speak Swahili.

‘But elders like Koinange, when at this Thingira, (*man’s hut*), and Kinyanjui and Wambugu,³¹ taught me knowledge that helped me greatly when I went to Europe. If I hadn’t had that sort of knowledge I wouldn’t have been able to do anything at all in Europe. But armed with that kind of knowledge, I added to it that of other nations, while also comparing theirs with that of the Kikuyu people. That being so, it is better for us to become more United. Start respecting each other, because what makes other races call us barbarians is this: When you are ordered to strike this man, you take heed and obey the order as you slap your brother with your hand. When a white man sees that, he says to the friend beside him: “Don’t you see how stupid these savages are?” That’s no way to earn the respect of others.

‘It would be better if we acquired self-respect—not the pride that makes one abuse others but the honour that a girl or young man used to feel by knowing they were circumcised and that from that stage she or he was mature and seen to be adult.

(5) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Uhindi na Andu airu aria Moi Githungu
Nairobi Cai-ini uria Etiiruo ni Anake a Uhindi*

Thutha wa matuku manyinyi niguu Kinyatta acokire agitiruo cai ni Anake a Uhindi; na thiini wacai-ini ucio, ni kwari andu airu aria moi Githungu gikundi kinene a Nduriri ciothe njiru ona Athuri a Uhindi na anake ao mari kuo, mwakiri na mandagitari aria ogi na mirimu na ndawa. Naguo cai ucio warugithitio thiini wa Hutiri iria iriagwo ni Uhindi na Athungu igwitwo 'Paradise'.

Andu marikia kunyua cai, mwene Giti wa Kiama kia Anake a Uhindi agiukira, akira andu othe ati mena mugeni uikaine muno na muugi muno uikarite Ruraya miaka ikumi na Itano, na mugeni ucio niwe Jomo Kinyatta.

Hindi iria Kinyatta arugamire akiuga ena gikeno kinene tondu wa kuona ahindi aingi uguo na andu airu me hamwe tondu uhoro ucio wa andu airu na Uhindi guikarania hamwe koruo ni tene ndungioneka. Tondu mutugo wa guku Kenya ti mweka, amu Athungu meceragia ati nio me mbere ya andu aria angi nao Ahindi mageciria ati nio megatagati-ini nao andu airu magatuika ati nio me thutha wa Nduriri icio ingi. Akimera ati uhoro ucio ti wa ma ona hanini, tondu

‘For our fathers used to teach us many good, useful, lessons. After young people had danced the ritual dance before being circumcised, they had to run to the Mugumo [fig]tree that young men then climbed, to break off its [top] branches. Before that, as they approached the tree, they had to throw their dancing sticks over it. That was a symbolic way of saying they had thrown away all childish things, over the top of the tree.’³²

‘The same idea was behind the custom of having a bath in the early hours of the morning before the young people climbed up from the river to be circumcised on the ridge. It was a way of saying that all childish things had been washed down the river as they began their new life as adults.

‘It was a feeling of pride for a young man to know that he was now a fully circumcised man. And for a girl to know she was a fully adult woman. That is how male elders and women came to possess all their maturity, and the purity (or honour) which causes somebody to become a person.’ *He sat down as the crowd clapped hands wildly.*

(5) *The Words of Kenyatta to the Indians and English
Speaking Africans*

A few days later, Kenyatta was invited to a Tea Party arranged in Nairobi at an Indian Hotel by the Indian Young People.³³ There were also many English-speaking Africans whom the Indian Young People had invited along, from different tribes of Kenya.

But among the Indian community old men and women also attended the Tea Party, not only the Young People, as their name suggested. There were well-known lawyers and doctors who know how to treat all sorts of diseases. The Tea Party was held in a hotel used mainly by Indians and Europeans, known as ‘Paradise’.

After Tea, the chairman of the Young Indians got on his feet and said to the assembled guests, ‘Ladies and Gentlemen, we have with us today a well-known and famous person who has been living in England for fifteen years. And the name of our honoured guest is Jomo Kenyatta. I will ask him to speak to you now’.

When Kenyatta stood up, he said *in English*:

‘I’m very happy to see so many Indians and Africans sit down together. For in the olden days, for Indian and Africans to sit down together would have been impossible. This was because the custom followed in Kenya was not good.’³⁴ For Europeans are used to thinking

matuku nimahitukire hindi iria andu eru meciragia ati mundu muiru ona unгимugutha na nyondo mutwe, ndungihota kuhonderia mutwe ucio tondu woria omite na ati gatombo ka mundu muiru ni kanyinyi muno, uguo tima ona hanini.

Agicoka akimera ati we niakoretwo akirora matombo ma nduriri ciothe cia thi, Ahindi, Andu Airu, Achina, Eskimos o undu umwe na Athungu, na ati Kinyatta nieyoneire we mwene ati matombo ma andu acio othe nimahanaine na no mahote kuruta wira oro undu umwe, no kiria andu airu magaga ni munyaka wa kurekeruo mawira manene ni getha mahote kuhuthira matombo macio mao ta nduriri ria ingi. Akiuga angikoruo ni hari na mundu ugukararia uhoro ucio, Kinyata e tayari gucindana na ndagitari uria muugi muno na uhoro ucio wa miiri ya andu, Kinyatta amurehere Thakame ya andu i thiini watucuba tutatu kamwe gekiruo thakame ya Muhindi karia kangi ya mundu muiru na karia kangi ya Muthungu. Riu mundagitari ucio mugu athure thakame icio oige ya mundu muiru ni ino kana ya Muthungu ona kana ya Muhindi. Kinyatta agicoka akiuga ati nioi nama ati hatiri mundagitari unghota guthurania thakame icio, no uria angigua no kuuga angiuga ati thakame icio nicia andu; no ndangihota kuuga ino ni ya Muhiriga muna.

Akiuga ati ena kiugo kimwe ekwira andu airu aria mari hau; nakio ni kia ati andu airu marute wira na kio na mena uiguano na maririkane ati ihinda niriahitukire riria maremagwo ni gwika undu makoiga ati ucio ni uhoro wa Ngai, ningi ni wega matige gwitia makamena aciari ao makimetaga acenii. Akiuga ati ucio ti mutugo mweka ona hanini, tondu uria kwagiriire ni andu gutia aciari ao.

Agicoka akiuga koruo ni Ruraya araria gikundi kiu kia andu acio othe angigugita kia andu airu, no riu uguo tiguu tondu ona thiini wa Nyumba ino ni hari na Ahindi aingi mewgiciria ati o me bata gukira andu airu. na makoiga ati o ti andu airu. Agikimera ati angikoruo Ahindi nimekwenda urata na andu airu, ni wega mambiririe gwika ciiko ci kuonania ati nimekwenda urata biu, tondu ciiko i bata gukira kuuga na kanua.

Agicoka akimaririkania ati tene Ahindi maari urata na andu airu hindi iria Ahindi matetikiritio kugia na aaririria ao Kiama-ini kia Baruthi. Uguo ni kuuga ta mwaka-ini wa 1923.

No hindi iria ahindi metikiririo kugia na aaririria ao Kiama-ini kiu, makinina urata ucio, makirika gwita andu airu acenji.

Muthuri Mugathe ti Kinyatta agikimera ati we ndekwenda Urata wa kanua ati matungana na Muhindi njira-ini akamurutira ngobia

that they're ahead of everyone else. And Indians are used to thinking they're ahead of Africans, or that they occupy the middle stage—while Africans are seen as below all the other races.' Then Kenyatta said 'There is no truth whatsoever in that arrangement and its entire conception. Gone are the days when white people thought that even if you hit a black man on his head with a hammer, you could not dent it because his head was so thick and hard, since his brain was so small. There is no truth whatsoever in such a belief.'³⁵ Then he went on to say: 'I myself have investigated the brains of all humans living on Earth, Indians, Africans, Chinese, Eskimos,³⁶ as well as Europeans. And I've discovered that all those brains are the same and work in the same way. But in the African case, what's been lacking is a legal opportunity to do large and important works, to use their brainpower like the members of other races.'

He then said that if anyone was prepared to deny that fact, he was ready to challenge him even if he were a doctor trained [to know] about human bodies. Kenyatta would bring him human blood, placed in three small bottles. One would contain Indian blood, the second that of a black man, while the third would contain the blood of the white man or European.

Then the clever doctor would be required to sort out those bloods and pick which belonged to each of the three different races by pointing out that this blood belongs to an Indian, that to a black man, and this to a European.

Kenyatta said he already knew that no doctor could do any such thing. All he would be able to say was that all those blood [samples] belonged to human beings. But he would be unable to point out exactly which blood belonged to which race.³⁷

He then said he had something to tell the Africans there—that they should be prepared to work hard, with Unity, and remember that the time was past when, if they were unable to do something, they could make the excuse: 'Shauri ya Mungu', which is to say: 'That's God's Affair, meaning that it was God who prevented them from knowing how to do it.'³⁸

It was also good to cease being so proud that they hated their parents, even calling them savages. That was a bad thing to do. It was proper for people to respect their parents.

Then he said that, were he addressing such a gathering in Europe, he would have called them all black people. But here it was not so, since even in this room some Indians thought they were more important than Africans and did not consider themselves black. He went on to say:

akamwita murata makwa Kinyatta; akiuga ciiko nicio ciakira maundu macio mothe.

Ucio niguo uhoro uria Kinyatta erire Kiama kiu kia aanake a Uhindi na andu aria othe maari ho.

(6) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Andu na Ciana Cia Cukuru Mathako-ini
Macukuru ya Karing'a Rironi*

Thutha ucio niguo Muthuri Mugathe ti Kinyatta athire mathako-ini maria athondekithiirio ma mbere ni Cukuru ya Agikuyu Karing'a Rironi. Na thutha wamathako, munene wa Mathukuru ma Karing'a Muthuri Mugathe ti Johana Karanja akira andu na Ciana cia Cukuru atiri: Muthuri uria tutuire tumuheaga uhoro wake riu e haha hamwe na ithui, na riu kiiyukiei mundu wanyu nitwamuriha thiri wanyu tondu wa kumugira kuria araturaga.

Hindi iria Kinyatta arugamire, andu makimukenera ota mutugo, nake akimera atiri Ni uhoro munene uria muri naguo muthenya uyu naguo undu ucio munene ni gikeno kia mathako. Hihi ni kuri na andu meciragia ati macukuru matithiaga na mbere; no kungikoruo ni kuri andu moigaga uguo uhoro wao ti wa ma, tondu riri, hindi iria ndokite itanacoka Ruraya hindi ya keru macukuru maitu mothe mari mathi-

‘If Indians want to make friends with Africans, they should begin showing by action that they really intend to make friends. For deeds are more important than mere words.’ He then reminded them that in the olden days, Indians used to be the friends of Africans—but that was before they were allowed their own representatives in Legislative Council.

‘That is to say about 1923. But when Indians were allowed to have their representatives, they ended that friendship and began calling Africans savages.’³⁹ He told them he did not want the empty friendship of mere words, such as when he met an Indian in the street and the latter lifted his hat and called him my friend Kenyatta. Actions were far better. This is what Kenyatta told the committee of Indian youths and all the other people there. *He then sat down amid the clapping of hands.*

How Some Kikuyus were Beaten on their heads with batons

*During the Emergency, whose main purpose for the Colonial regime was to counter and refute Kenyatta’s influence, some Kikuyu tribesmen were killed at Hola by being beaten with big batons like cricket bats. The aim was to prove that many white men still believed that Africans had thick heads with few brains in them, so confirming that what Kenyatta said, in English, at that meeting was not true.*⁴⁰

(6) *Kenyatta at Rironi, The Kikuyu Independent School*

Rironi Karing’a School was the first independent school to invite Kenyatta. *It belonged to a faction that had adopted a Kikuyu name in its school title, being called: ‘The Karing’a or Kikuyu Karing’a Schools, which is to say Independent schools.*⁴¹

After the Sports, the school Chairman Mr Johana Karanja stood up and told the assembled Parents and their children who had been taking part in the day’s Sports meeting:

‘The elder we told you about is with us here today. Now welcome your man. We have repaid our debt to you by bringing him back from where he was staying’.

When Kenyatta stood up to speak, people clapped as was the custom. He said:

‘You are celebrating a big occasion today, the school Sports and the happiness it brings to you all. Some people may think schools aren’t

too ma kuiguo mbembe na andu aria macemanagia kuo ni kunyitwo manyitagwo magathii gucirithio. No uumuthi-ri twina rutha gucemania tutari mundu tukuho ya rutha, ningi cukuru cia Agikuyu ina ciana nyingi irathomera kuo gukira ciana iria i macukuru ma miceni mothe. No gikeno kiu muri nakio uumuthi, gikinyitio hau ni undu wa ukiririria na kiyo gia Tuthuri turia tutindaga twihumbite tubuti.

Agicoka akiira ciana ati ni wega ithome muno, tondu ina munyaka munene; tondu ati ta hindi iria Kinyatta we mwene athomaga ni kwi-hitha ehithire agithii githomo, ningi ona hindi iria athiaga Ruraya ndoi githungu kiingi ta kiria oi riu. Agikiuga atiri, matuku maya ciana irathomithio ni maithe mao ikarihiruo githomo, ningi igakiruo macukuru ni maithe mao; tondu ucio ni wega ciana igithome na kiyo kiingi ithii na mbere ni getha hindi iria magatuika andu agima nao makoigaga ati hindi iria mari ciana macukuru mao mahanaga una. Agikiuga ati Agikuyu moigire gutirika ni gute na makiuga ati hatiri haraya he njahi hure, tutiri turaigania macukuru ni hindi turambiriria. Kwoguo ni wega tumenye ati wira urutagwo mwiruti. Akirikia kwaria agiikara thi.

(7) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Atongoria a Kiama gia Kenya African Union, Nairobi*

Thutha wa matuku manyinyi niguo ningi Muthuri mwende muno ti Kinyatta etiiruo cai ni Atongiria a Kiama gia Kenya African Union. Naguo cai ucio warugithitio Hutiri-ini igwitwo Ritz Hotel, Nairobi. Atongoria a Kiama kiu a miena yothe nimetituo ona atongoria a Ciama cia Uhindi no metitwo na nimakinyite o wega. No andu mataigana gukinya ni Muthungu ona umwe.

going forward as they should, but if they do think that, or keep saying so, what they say is not true because, when I came back from Europe [in 1930] before going again for my second visit, our schools and buildings were being used as maize stores. And the people who tried to meet there were getting arrested and taken to court.

‘But today we can meet without asking anyone’s permission. Moreover, the Kikuyu schools,⁴² owned by the Kikuyu people, contain more children than those to be found in all the white-owned Missionary schools put together.⁴³ But the happiness you celebrate today you owe to the sacrifices made by minor elders who [now] spend their time wearing old overcoats’.⁴⁴ Then he turned his attention to the children and told them they must be ready to study hard because they now had a great opportunity to do so. When he himself had wanted to go to school, he had had to hide [his intention]. Even when he was being sent to Europe, his English was very poor compared to what he knew today. He said that, today, [by contrast] fathers were paying for their children to be educated and their fathers [even] built them their schools.⁴⁵

So it was imperative that children should study hard and make headway, so that when they grew up they too could tell their children what school used to be like in their day. He then reminded the people of the tribal saying that asserts: ‘Gutirika ni gute’ which means: ‘To give up in impatience is to throw away’⁴⁶ and that: ‘Hatiri haraya he njahi hure’ meaning: ‘There are no ready-prepared beans in far-off places.’⁴⁷

‘We have not yet got all the schools we need, we are still building new ones. We should remember what the tribe says: “Wira urutagwo mwirutu” which means: “Only a worker can do the work” [or: work needs someone to do it].

With those words ringing in the people’s ears, he brought his speech to an end and sat down. *The crowd clapped their hands warmly.*

(7) *Kenyatta Speaks to the Kenya African Union*

In those busy days after his return to Kenya, Kenyatta was invited by the first recognized political body, namely, The Kenya African Union, Nairobi Branch.⁴⁸

The Tea Party was held in the Ritz Hotel, Nairobi. All KAU branch leaders were invited. Indians were invited too and had accepted, coming to the Tea Party as expected. But, although invited by the organisers, not one European had accepted the invitation.

Ningi uhoro ungi wagiriiruo ni kumenywo ni athomi a Kabukugaka ni ati ngathiti ya Athungu ndiri yandikwo ati Kinyatta e guku. Ona andu aingi aria me mawira-ini ma Thirikari kana Cukuru cia Thirikari nimakoraguo makienda gwita Kinyatta akamahe uhoro, no hindi iria mahoya rutha kwi Mutongoria wao Muthungu makaregeruo. Tondtu ta arutwo a Alliance High School, Kikuyu, nimendete muno kuonana na Kinyatta, makigirio, ningi andu aria mareruta wira wa guteithagia ma D.C. kuria Jeanes School, Kabete, no mendete kuonana na Kinyatta, Athungu makimagiria. Ningi Agikuyu a mwena wa Murang'a kuria andu aingi muno ihinda-ini riri makuite ngoro ya kwenda bururi na ruriri tondtu wa kwaga andu a kumahunjiria ni kuigwituo ati nimer-itwo ni Mbari ya Nyakeru ati hindi iria Kinyatta agakinya bururi ucio wao matikanathii kuigua uhoro wake tondtu ati ti mwege. Na uira wa uhoro ucio niwonekire hindi iria Kiama kia Aciari gietiire Kinyatta cai kuu Murang'a tondtu hatiari munene ona umwe wakinyire cai-ini ucio. Maundu tamacio ni uira mwege wakuonia andu aria meciragia ati Muhonokia witu ithui ciana cia Mumbi tiwe Muhonokia wa mbari ya Nyakeru.

Uhoro uria tukwaragia ni wauria Kinyatta. erire atongoria a Kiama gia K.A.U. Hindi iria andu maarikirie kunyua cai Mutongoria wa Kiama gia kau Muthuri mukumie muno ti Gicuru akiaria uhoro wa kuonania uria andu airu turathii na mbere na uria Athungu marageria kuuga ati tutiri akinyu twi ciana ona akihutia uhoro wa Mwanake witu Njamba ti Gathigira, akiuga ndanyitiiruo gutoroka na makiria anyitiiruo Uteti. Ningi agicoka akiuga ati Kiama gia K.A.U. ki hamwe na Muthuri ti Kinyatta uteti-ini wake wothe.

Thutha wa miario ya Gicuru, niguo Njamba iitu nene ti Kinyatta arugamire akiuga ndekwaria maundu maingi, no niekugeria kuhutia uhoro wa andu airu aria matuikite ati nio moi guthoma muno matuku maya.

Akiuga ni wega andu kwirora kana gwituiria o ene tondtu andu mangiaga kwirora matingithii na mbere wega ona ningi matingihota gutwika andu a ma.

Agikiuga tungituiria uhoro wa andu acio ogi na githomo wega no tuone ati nio ngombo iria nene. Tondtu riri andu acio kiria mendete muno ni gwitongia o ene. Akiuga tareke tutuirie uhoro wao wega. Tuge mundu oimagakwao mucii agathome cukuru nigetha amenye guthoma akaheo mucara munene gukira andu airu aria angi matooi guthoma, uguo ni kuuga ageciria ati ni njira ya kuuma ukomboini aracaria. No

Another thing readers of this pamphlet should know is that white-owned newspapers have deliberately avoided reporting Jomo Kenyatta's return to the country. Even many Africans working for Government, or in schools owned by whites, and who would have very much liked to see Kenyatta and to ask him to come and talk to them as he has done in other places, have been refused permission by the white officials in charge of them.

For instance, the students at Alliance High School, Kikuyu, would have liked to meet Kenyatta. But they were refused permission. Moreover, the Africans being trained at Jeanes School to help the District Commissioners wanted to meet Kenyatta, but were refused permission to do so by their white officials.⁴⁹

Also, very many Kikuyu from Murang'a these days have lost the spirit of loving the country and people because of lacking people to preach to them.⁵⁰ It is said that the whites who live there have been telling them that, when Kenyatta comes to their District to visit them, they should boycott his meeting because he is not a good man. The evidence for this was clearly seen when a Parents Association invited Kenyatta to their Tea Party at Murang'a. While Kenyatta went, no tribal chief came. Children of Mumbi, all this seems to indicate that our *African Saviour is not for the white people in Kenya*.⁵¹

But here our main concern is to report what Kenyatta said to the leaders of the Kenya African Union. After the Tea Party, the Union's chairman stood up to introduce Kenyatta and to say few words himself. He was Mr James Gichuru⁵² who told the assembled audience that Africans were making progress in various aspects of their lives. But the white people still say that we are not yet adult, that we're like children. He mentioned the arrest of Mr Henry Gathigira⁵³ and said he was not arrested for deserting from the Army but because he was connected with politics. He then said the Kenya African Union was in full agreement with Jomo Kenyatta and supported him in his political activities. He then introduced Kenyatta to the assembled gathering.

After that, Mr Kenyatta stood up to speak:

'I'm not going to say much, but will touch on the so-called educated Africans of today.' People should examine themselves, for if they failed to do so, they would make no progress whatsoever. Nor would they become truthful and trustworthy individuals.

'For if we look very closely at so-called educated Africans, we find they're the worst type of slave⁵⁴ living today. This is because what they

hindiiria athoma amenya githomo wega; andu aria mekumugura atwike ngombo magakoruo methagathagite atanoima cukuru. Akirikia githomo giake cukuru thogora wake niuuio.

Agakiuima akaguruo akaingira wira-ini, uguo ni kuuga agatwika ngombo nene gukira uria egwiciria we mwene.

Andu a muthemba ucio nio kaingi moigaga matikwenda kuingira maundu-ni magutetera bururi naruriri. No riri ona mageria kweherera maundu macio ma uteti, gutiri hindi makahota, tondu uteti niurima rumagirira o kuria guothe marikoraguo mari. Ningi undu ungi ucoketic andu acio magwituo athomu muno nathutha ni uhoro wa kwenda utongoria. Gicuru akenda agie na Kiama giake atuike mwenegiti wakio, Muoria akenda agie na Kiama giake atuike Mwene-Giti wakio, Khamisi akenda agie kياما giake atuike mwenegiti wakio. Riu hindi iria andu acio macemania; o mundu agakiganaga akera uria ungi ati niwe Mutongoria wa Kiama kiria kina. Riu haria mukihitiirie ni kuriganiruo ati hindi-iria mureka uguo; ni hindi mwi mutego-ini wa thu cianyu. Tondututiri na Uiguano nakwiraguo 'Amukania andu ni getha uhote gwathana'. Riu uria tukiagiriiruo ni tugie na uiguano ni getha tuhote gutwara bururi witu na mbere. Ningi hindi iria andu airu acio athomi moima cukuru, meciragia o riciria oro rimwe, ria gwitongia o ene na makambiriria gwita aciari ao na andu aria angi maciaraniiruo nao airitu na anake acenji. Uguo ni kuuga makagia na meciria makunderu, nao moigaga ati mena meciria magima. Ucio tiguu mutugo wa gutwara bururi na mbere. Ni wega kugarura mutugo ucio mwende aciari anyu na andu aria angi muciaraniiruo nao ningi muiguane inyui ene, niguo bururi uthii na mbere.

want more than anything is to get rich. Let's look at it a little more closely. Let's say that a man leaves home to go to school, so that when he is educated his rate of pay will be higher than that of others who aren't educated or who don't know how to read or write. That is to say, he thinks he's looking for a way out of slavery. But while he's getting educated and gets better at it, those who are going to buy his services and make him their slave are already getting ready for him. By the time he finishes his education, his price is already fixed and known.

'He leaves school; he is bought as he enters into service. That is to say, he becomes a big slave, more than he realises. These kinds of people often say they don't want to get into politics, which is concerned with protesting about the country and our people's affairs. But no matter how much they try to avoid politics, they can never do so, for politics will keep on following them wherever they go.

'Another thing that holds educated people back is their desire to be leaders. Say Gichuru wants to have his own group so that he'll be its chairman. Khamisi⁵⁵ wants to have his own association so that he can be its chairman. Muoria wants to have his own Union so that he may be its chairman. Now, when they all meet, each one takes to praising himself as he boasts he is the chairman of such and such a Union. Their great mistake is to forget that, while thus engaged, they're entering their enemies' snare. For they have no Unity and the saying "Divide the people so you can rule them with ease" comes to apply to them.

'So, the best thing for us to do is to achieve Unity so that we can advance our country. Moreover, when these educated Africans leave school, they have only one idea, which is to enrich themselves. And they begin calling their parents savages, as well as those with whom they were born, men and women. In fact, they acquire very narrow minds while thinking they have sound minds. That's no way to lift up our country.

'You should change that attitude and take to loving your parents and the other people with whom you were born. And to be United yourselves in order to advance our country.'

He sat down, and the audience clapped at the end of his speech to the KAU, Nairobi branch.

(8) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Kiama gia Cumari*

Ningi thutha ucio niguu Njamba iitu iretiiruo cai ni Kiama gia Cumari, aria meitaga Cumari wa Angeretha. Naguo cai ucio niwetiiruo andu aingi aria moikaine ta Muthuri Mugathe muno ti Hon. E. W. Mathu, na Harry Thuku na andu angi aingi mari ho. Thutha wa cai, mutongoria wa Kiama kiu ugwitwo Hassan akirugama akira andu othe ati Kiama kiu kiao kina gikeno tondu wa gukoruo hamwe na Muthuri mumenyeku muno ti Kinyatta. Agicoka akiuga ati nimarikitie na kumenye maundu maingi ma uria Kinyatta arateithagia andu airu othe e Ruraya akiuga ati nikio Kiama kiu gia Cumari kina ngatho muno. Agicoka akiuga ati riu Cumari wi hamwe na andu airu maunduini mothe, tondu ati maithe mao mari na ihitia hindi iria moigire ati o ti andu airu ni andu a Asia ta Uhindi. Agicoka akiuga ati hihi Kiama gia K.A.U. ni wega, kibaciriruo wega ni getha kihote gutuika kia andu airu othe a Africa ino ya mwena uyu wa Irathiro, nigetha Cumari moneruo kamweke ga gutuika a ngwataniro imwe na andu airu. Thutha wa Muthuri ucio mwene giti ti Hassan niguu njamba iitu arugamire. Akiuga atiri hindi iria arari Ruraya andu airu aria a mwena uyu maronanaga kaingi ni Cumari tondu ona ni kuri itura rimwe ritagwo Cardiff ria andu airu atheri ri kuu Ruraya, kwa Angeretha na andu acio aingi ao ni Cumari na wira uria marutaga ni wa guthii iria-ini na macua ciao na ati aingi ao mena mikawa yao marugaga kuo.

Agicoka akiuga ati cumari aria mokire guku tene, nimahitithirio, makiuga ati o ti andu airu ni andu eru ta Ahindi. No tungicoka kurora thiini wa mebu ya Africa tukuona ati bururi wa Cumari wi hakuni na guku Kenya ningi Cumari ti eru ni andu airu ota ithui.

Kinyatta agikimera ati ni gikeno kinene angikoruo Cumari nimehariirie kugia ngawataniro na andu airu aria angi matuike kindu kimwena magie na uiguano: Agicoka akiuga ati o nake niegwiciria ni wega Kiama gia K.A.U. kugarurano ni getha Cumari moneruo ithenya ria gutwika a Ngwataniro io.

Aaarikia kwaria ciugo icio agiikara thi Muthuri umwe Mucumari akirugama agicokia ngatho muno hari miario ya Kinyatta, akiuga niarikitie guthoma miario miingi ya wira wa Kinyatta hindi iria arari Ruraya, na maundu macio nimatumite amenye ati Kinyatta ni muteithia wa andu othe athi no ti andu airu oiki no makiria ni mhiriga ya andu a thi yothe handu yaruma, airu na eru Agikiuga ati riu megwiciria ati

(8) *Kenyatta speaks to the Somali Group*

Following the custom established since his return, the next group to invite Kenyatta to a Tea Party was a group of the Somali tribe which proudly called itself 'British Somalis' to distinguish itself from those from 'Italian Somaliland'.

The Tea Party was held at Hassan's shop between Nairobi and Thika.⁵⁶ They had also invited other well known Kikuyu such as the Hon. E. W. Mathu, Mr Harry Thuku, and others.⁵⁷ After Tea, their leader Mr Hassan got to his feet and told the invited guests:

That he and his Union were happy for being with a well-known and highly respected man like Jomo Kenyatta. He said they had known of the many things Kenyatta had done to help many black people when in Europe. That was why his Union was grateful to Kenyatta. He went on to say that, these days, the Somali are together with other Africans in all things. Their fathers had made a great mistake when they declared themselves not to be Africans but Asians like the Indians. He then said KAU ought to be reorganized so as to represent all black people in East Africa. Somalis could then be shown how to unite with other black people.⁵⁸ He then introduced Kenyatta as the next speaker.

It was Kenyatta's turn to stand up and to tell those present:

'When I was in England, the black people of East Africa whom I used to see very often were Somalis, because in the city of Cardiff one finds the only area in Europe or Britain that actually belongs to black people. Many of them are Somalis. They earn their living by fishing at Sea in sailing boats, and many own cafes where they sell food they have cooked themselves.'⁵⁹

Then he said: 'the Somalis who came to Kenya long ago were misled when they declared themselves not to be Africans but white-skinned Asians. If we look at a map of Africa, we can see that the Somali Country is close to Kenya, and that Somalis are not white but black people like ourselves.'

He went on to say that 'it is a great joy to hear that Somalis are now prepared to join other black Africans in order to form a new Union with them, and to become one people.'

He too believed KAU should be re-organized so that Somalis could be given room to join it and belong to it. *So saying, he sat down as the audience clapped their hands.*

tondu niokite guku niekugeria kumateithia ota uguo aramateithagia hindi io arari Ruraya; ona ati Kinyatta niekugeria kwira andu airu a guku maiguane na Cumari na metikire kurutithania wira wa wonjoria me hamwe.

(9) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Kiama Kia Mathako Kia Agikuyu Kia-ri
Nairobi Pumwani Memorial Hall*

Thutha ucio nikwagiire na cai munene wathondeketwo ni Kiama kia Mathako kia Agikuyu gi gwitwo na Githungu The Agikuyu Sports Club. Muthuri ti Kinyatta akinyire caiini ucio handu ha thaa ikumi. Na aarikia gutonya nyumba io, arume makihuria hi ni gikeno na Atumia magiciririkia ngemi thano. Na kuringana na mutugo uria wikuo matuku maya, Mwene-Giti wa Kiama kiu niaririe, ona mutumia umwe ugwituo Nyambura niaririe akira andu uria magiriiruo ni kugia na ciiko ithenya ria kwenda kuona maundu na maitho matheri. Na thutha wa Mutumia ucio Mwandiki wa Kiama Muthuri umwe uui kuhura inanda cia gicomba muno ugwitwo Githinji akirugama akionania gitumi gia Kiama kiu kiao kia Mathako. Akiuga gicaragia uiguano wa Ciana cia Mumbi kuma Meru nginya Ngong tondu ati ciana cia Mumbi niciagire mathako mao ma gitene ni wega magie na Ngwataniro ya mathako na kuhura mubira na maundu mangi. Akiuga ati Muthuri ti Mbiyu wa Koinange ni umwe watarire Kiama kiu na gukionereria njira. Agicoka akiuga ati Kiama kiu kiambiriirie mweri-ini wa kwenda mwaka wa 1945 na riu nigikinyitie andu 90. Iruta ni Sh. 1/- o mweri, mwaka ni Shs. 12/-. Na ati andu a Kiama kiu nimateithagia andu akio mangiruaru, ningi mbeba cigaguo Bengi ni andu atatu atongoria na Athuri a Kiama ni getha itikae kuhitana. Agikiuga ati gitiri kiraigania andu na ni wira wa Agikuyu gutonya Kiama-ini kiu. Agicoka akira Anake aria mahuraga mubira a Kiama kiu rnathii makageithanie na Kinyatta na guoko. Na thutha wa ngeithi icio niguo Kinyatta aririe akiuga atiri:

Kenyatta as a Helper of all Mankind

Another Somali elder thanked Kenyatta for his words. He told the audience that he had in the past read many other speeches by Kenyatta when he was in Europe. From his reading of these he knew that Kenyatta was a helper to all mankind, not only to black people, but also to all races wherever they are, black or white.⁶⁰ Now that Kenyatta had come to East Africa he would go on trying to help us all, just as he had in Europe. He hoped Kenyatta would tell other black people to respect Somalis and agree to co-operate with them in trade.⁶¹

(9) Kenyatta's words to the Kikuyu Sports Club

A tribal Sports club was the next organisation to invite Kenyatta to speak at their Tea Party in Nairobi's Pumwani Memorial Hall. *It turned out to be a happy occasion since it was concerned with Sports, not politics.* Kenyatta arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon.⁶²

When he entered the building, the menfolk clapped their hands as a mark of respect. The women shrieked their traditional welcome, the 'Ngemi', which had to be repeated five times according to custom, *as a mark of their deep respect, just as had been done from time immemorial when a baby boy was born into the tribe.*

Following the trend set since his arrival, the organisation's Chairman spoke briefly himself, to introduce other speakers. Then a lady speaker gave a short speech, saying that people should show by action that they mean business, instead of wanting to be onlookers.

Then it was the turn of the organisation's Secretary, a musician called Githinji, to tell the audience: 'The purpose of their organisation was to seek unity among the Mumbi children from Meru to Ngong, because they were deprived of their games of long ago.'⁶³ *As a result, they lacked facilities for Sports.*

They thought that playing such modern Sports as football and many others would help to put things right. Mr Mbiyu Koinange was among those who gave them good advice at the start and had shown them how to organise. They had started in September 1945. The [monthly] membership fee was only one shilling per person, which meant 12/- per year. So far they had 90 members. He also said members are supposed to help one another if they get sick. [Their] funds were kept in the

Athuri na Atumia, ndina gikeno tondu wa kurugama haha tugeithanie na inyui. Tondu ndiri na kahinda ga kugeithania na mundu o mundu na guoko, no undu nikweriruo ngeithi cia kanua i hana o ngeithi cia guoko, ningi riu niturionanaga na inyui kaingi. Ningi ndina gikeno niundu woria andu ingi mena gutiana kunene, tondu gutiana kuu nikiu kiambiriria kiega gia gukuria bururi witu.

Tondu nikweriruo ati rurira rutithambagio ruui.

Undu ungi ingienda mumenye ni atiriri, undu uria munene wa kurehe meciiria magima na maundu mangi maingi mega no umwe, naguo undu ucio uri o thiini wanyu. Naguo undu ucio-ri niguo ugu: NI UIGUANO. Tuiguanire kiugo kimwe, nikiu giki, andu aria me nyumba ino othe ni ciana cia Gikuyu na Mumbi, na hatiri mundu ungitiguo na hau akane oige ati uguo tiguu.

Twaiga mwihoko witu hari nyina witu Mumbi nitukuhotana. Nii nindikitie na guthii mabururi me comba maingi, na hatiri undu itoi wao o na andu airu aingi nindikitie na kumenya uhoro wao, na maundu mao maingi.

(10) *Uhoro Wa Ruthanju Ruria Ruake*

Kinyatta agicoka akiuga atiri:

Ta ruthanju ruru mukuona ndi naruo ruthondekeiruo West Africa, ngireheruo ni munene wakuo, tondu wa gitio na tondu woria onire kio giakwa utetiini kuu Ruraya ngiteta iteguthutukania andu. Thiini wa micemano-ria ndiragiaga nayo kuu Ruraya ya andu airu, ni andu a nduriri tutangihota kuigwithania mwariric ungi tiga o Githungu. No he kindu kimwe kiratugwithanagia, na nikiu uiru wa gikonde kia mwiri witu, twarorana tukoiga twi kindu kimwe.

bank under the care of three office-bearers so everything should go smoothly. They did not yet have enough members and it was the duty of all Kikuyu to join the Sports club. Then he told the young football-team members to go and shake hands with Mr Jomo Kenyatta. After these preliminaries, he introduced Kenyatta to the assembled gathering, to whom Kenyatta said:

‘Ladies and Gentlemen, I’m very happy to stand here today to greet you all. But because I have no chance of greeting everybody by hand, it is said that greetings by word of mouth are as good as shaking hands.

‘Moreover, now that I’m here in the country, we’ll be able to see each other more often. Furthermore, I’m glad because many more people respect each other than before. Such respect is a good beginning which will make our country grow up. For the old saying asserts: “Rurira rutithambagio ruui” which means “Deep-seated family relations do not get washed down the river”.⁶⁴

‘Something else I’d like you to know is that the single most important element to create sound minds and other valuable qualities is the UNITY within your hearts. To be united in one word is a good thing, for all the people in this house are children of Gikuyu and Mumbi. Nobody is prepared to deny that and say it isn’t true. If we put our trust in our mother Mumbi, we’re bound to win.

‘I myself have visited many countries of Europe, and there’s nothing done there that I don’t know about. I also know a lot of other black people living elsewhere in Africa as well as their affairs.’

(10) *How I got my Walking Stick*

Then Kenyatta told his audience of fellow tribespeople, ‘For instance, this walking stick of mine was made in West Africa. It was given me by a West African Chief for he respected my work. He saw how hard I worked in making political representations for the good of all black people living in Europe, *without discriminating where those black people came from in the first place.*

‘In the many meetings at which I spoke I talked to people with whom we had no means of communication other than English. But something made us feel united and that was our black skin, which made us think of each other as brothers.

Mungirora ruthanju ruru, no muone ati ruthondeketwo ta mutwe wa njogu haha ngwatiroini, nayo thimo iria iho niyakunjira toria Agikuyu moigaga ati Njogu ndiremagwo ni miguongo yayo.

(11) *Uhoru wa Nguo iria Ehumbite kwa Koinange*

Agicoka akiuga ati andu aria maari gwa Koinange nimanyonire ndihumbite nguo njiru ya githii, nakio githii kiu-ri, ndanengeriruo na mutugo wa ruthanju ruru. Tonduriri, ni Abyssinia na Italiani, na nii hindi io ndari Ruraya, nindathondekire kiama gia kuhunjia mathina ma Abyssinia kuri athungu a mithemba yothe. Ona nitwari na karatathi gaitu. Ningi nindathiaga kuonana na thungu a mhiriga yothe o undu wa kuhunjia mathina ma Abyssinia. Hindi iria Muthamaki wa Abyssinia okire Ruraya andu airu othe aria maari kuo magithura thii ngamuthaganie giceceni. Nake muthamaki ucio wa Abyssinia ugwituo Haile Sellasie niwe waheire githii kiu kana hau niho githii kiu kioimire, akinjira atiti, ndukanakiye kuriaganiruo niithuui, onaithui tutikariganiruo ni ninyui.

Kinyatta agicoka akira andu atiri inyui nimukiui ati bururi wa Abyssinia wi hakuhi tonduruhakanite na Kenya. Na hindi iria ithui tuona kirima kiu gia Kirinyaga tuugaga ni giitu, ona Abyssinia hindi iria mona kirima kiu me mwena uria wa Meru moigaga ati ni kiao.

(12) *Uria Ithui Agikuyu Tungitigiruo*

Riu twenda twitigiruo twitagu Ndinguri, cia Gikuyu na Mumbi ithenya ria gwitagu Tumugikuyu, hatiri undu ungi tungiika tiga o kindu kiu kinyinyi tungigia nakio, nakio kindu kiu ni UIGUANO. He kaundu kamwe gathukagia Agikuyu, nako kaundu kau ni gakuuga ndi muruu.

Ugakiuga nawe wi muruu-ri, kana wi muugi na wi gitonga-ri, wahota kuigua uhoru wa mundu uria ungi atia? Tugakiriganiruo ati athuri acio a tene nimarogorire uhoru ucio wa kurua, makiuga ati kurua gutikagia njuguma. Uguo ni kuuga tutingihota gutuika atongoria ithuothe, niwega andu aria me gikuyuini na aria me gicombaini magerie gutuika kindu kimwe.

‘If you look at this walking stick, you’ll see its handle is carved like an elephant’s head. The proverb embodied in it is like our Kikuyu saying: “Njogu ndiremagwo ni muiguongo yayo” which means: “The elephant does not fail to carry its own tusks, in spite of their weight”.’⁶⁵

(11) *The Black Cloak he wore at the Big Meeting at Koinange’s Home*

Then Kenyatta continued: ‘People who were at the big meeting held at Koinange’s home saw me wearing a black leather cloak. This was also given me, just like my walking stick. For during the Abyssinian and Italian War of 1935, when I was still in England, I formed a committee whose aim was to go round and speak to all sorts of white people about the Abyssinian trouble. We had our own newspaper. I used to go round speaking about the Abyssinian troubles to whites of all clans. When the Emperor of Abyssinia came to England, the other black people chose me to go to the station and meet him on their behalf. It was the Emperor of Abyssinia, Haile Selassie, who gave me this leather cloak. He told me I should never forget them and that they will never forget us.’⁶⁶ Then he told the crowd: ‘Of course most people know that the Abyssinian people’s country is near ours and its borders are not far from Mount Kenya.

‘When we look at Mount Kenya we say it’s our mountain. When the Abyssinians look at it from beyond Meru, they too call it their own mountain.’

(12) *How the Kikuyu could be Respected*

‘Now then, if we want other people to respect us and to call us strong people⁶⁷ of Gikuyu and Mumbi, rather than the diminutive little Kikuyu, there’s nothing more important for us than to acquire something valuable in our hearts, and that is UNITY. For there’s something else that helps to spoil the Kikuyu tribe’s affairs, and that comes from saying: “I’m circumcised.” To say that is to maintain that, since I’m circumcised, clever, and rich, how can I be expected to listen to what anyone else says? We tend to forget that our forefathers solved that problem of [everyone proudly] maintaining they were circumcised when they declared that: “*Being circumcised does not of itself throw a knobkerry*”, or in Kikuyu: ‘Kurua gutikagia njuguma’. That is to say, we can’t all be leaders. Those who live in the place of the Kikuyu as well as those who live in the place of foreigners⁶⁸ should learn to act as one.’

(13) *Uhoru wa Wonjoria*

Muthuri muugi muno na mwende muno ti Kinyatta agicoka akira andu atiri:

Ningi o kiria githukitie Agikuyu no kiugo oro kiu gia kuuga nii ndi muruu. Mundu eka kaundu gake aria angi othe makomokera ho makienda matuike atongoria. Kuma ndoka, nithiite Ndunyu nyingi ngona matuka maingi mega makitwo na ngona indo iria imatuka-ini macio ndacoka gwiciria ngona ati indo iria ciothe i matuka-ini macio ciahota kuiganira nduka igiri. Uhoru uria nyonete ni ati andu acio mangikoro mari mirongo ina o mundu ekuoya Baithikiri yake akoiga athii kugura indo nduka-ini kwa Muhindi. Riu mundu ucio agathii kwenjwo ni Muhindi nake uria ungi ageka oro uguo nake agathii kwenjwo ni Muhindi na njira yake mwanya. Riu uria andu acio mangika ni getha matige kuhenio muno ni muturanire mbecha ta kuuga o mundu akaruta Shs. 200/- mugurage indo ciothe hamwe mugacoka kugayana wega. No aakoro mundu ari ona tubeca twake tunini ni mukuniwo ni kuhenio ni Uhindi ririkanai ati kamuingi koyaga ndiri.

Nindironire hindi ingi na guku Nyeri ati kamuingi koyaga Ndiri na gitumi turathire na mutokaa kurakoro kwi ndoro muno, mutokaa uraremwo ni guthii. Hindi iria andu maraigwire twina hau maroka maroya mutokaa ucio uratwaruo kuraya muno. Hena maundu matatu magukuria Ruriri, wa mbere ni Uiguano wa keru ni Githomo, na wa gatatu ni kurima na kumenyerera migunda iria twinayo. Macio nimo maundu matatu. No riri, he kiugo kimwe ingienda kuhutia, nakio ni giki, ati ni hari andu aingi aria mokite maigue kana ninjaragia Gikuyu, na angi magoka kuona kana nderu ciakwa ikinyite githuri, kana mone matonyo maria ndihumbite. No riri andu aria meguka maigue ciugo igiri, acio nio marahanda mbeu njega. Ririkanai uria athomi moigaga, twina matu na tutiguaga, twina maitho na tutionaga. Tungirora no tuone atitwina utonga muingi muno bururi-ini uyu witu. Na niguu utongetie ageni, tungimenya uguo twahota kuruta mawira maitu tutekumenithia Ithe witu Gikuyu na Nyina witu Mumbi.

Riu Ciana cia Mumbi irogia na uhoti. Ningi ciana cia Mumbi irothathara tukirie kuoya bururi witu twina kio. Arikia kwaria ciugo icio agiikara thi andu makihura ruhi makenete.

(13) *How to Conduct our Trade*

Mr Kenyatta *who was in a jolly mood* went on to tell his audience:

“The Kikuyu attitude that spoils their relations with each other is that of still saying: “I’m circumcised”. This is because when one of them does something the others follow suit, all wanting to become leaders. Since my return, I’ve visited many tribal markets where I’ve seen many good shops being built of stone, and have seen the goods stored and sold in them.

“When I think about it I find that all the goods kept in those shops could easily have been kept in two shops only. For what I’ve learned is that if there are forty shopkeepers in a market, each picks up his bicycle and says he’s off to buy his goods from the Indian shopkeepers.

‘A man goes to an Indian where he gets shaven alone (*cheated*). Another man does the same and gets shaven in his own way by the Indians. What those people ought to do, to stop being cheated, is to subscribe money and put it together, say each shopkeeper paying down about 200/- shillings.

“They would then go and buy all their goods together, and divide them up when they get them back to their market. If everyone continues to take his little money to the Indians, he will soon be out of business after being cheated dry by the Indian shopkeepers.⁶⁹

The people ought to remember *the tribal saying*: ‘Kamuingi koyaga Ndiri’, *which means*: ‘A group of people is capable of lifting a heavy object’.⁷⁰

How my car got stuck in the mud

Then Kenyatta continued: ‘When I was in Nyeri District the other day, I was reminded of the importance of that saying, that a group of people can lift a heavy object. For the heavy rain there had turned the roads into muddy puddles. My car soon got stuck in the mud so that it couldn’t move. But when the people living nearby heard that my car was stuck, they came along in large numbers, lifted my car, and carried it out of the muddy section where it had been stuck.’⁷¹

To advance means doing three things

“There are three things we ought to do in order to advance our country and nation. The first is UNITY. The second is Education. The third is to farm well and take care of the land we have already got. Those are the three things which are most important to us all.

(14) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Agikuyu Mathakoini ma Cukuru ya Karing'a Waithaka*

Matuku manyinyi mathira ni kwagiire na mathako Cukuru-ini ya Karing'a Waithaka na thutha wa Mathako ene mucii na atongoria aguo ni maririe makiuga uria makenete tondu wa gukoruo me hamwe na Njamba nene ti Kinyatta. Ningi magicoka makionia Aciari na kirindi ati mena thina wa mwako, ona ningi magicokeria andu aria maakinyite ngatho. Na thutha wa miario yao niguu merire Kinyatta agethanie na andu. Nake hindi iria arugamire akiuga atiri: Uria nguuga ni atiriri, ndina gikeno kinene ni undu wa kuonana na inyui, tondu andu aria maciaritwo ndi kuraya ni aingi muno. Ningi ngumwira ati ni kuri na Athuri monete thina munene na tondu wa thina ucio monire, niko twina gikeno giki uumuthi. Tondu hindi ya tene tutingiahotire guce- mania ta haha tutahoete rutha. No riu nitucemanitie, na ningi Athuri acio nimamuhotithitie guthoma githomo kiria mukwenda. Riu kimenyei ati wira ucio wa gutwara githomo na mbere wi ciande-ini cianyu na mwarikia kunyita wira ucio mukimenerere mutikae guthukia wira ucio. Menyai nitubataire ni githomo na macukuru mega na tuiguanite na twina kiyo twahota gwaka miako miega. Agicoka akimera o kiugo kiria oigire Mombasa akinya atiri.

‘But there is something else I’d like to touch on, which is that many people have come to hear if I speak in Gikuyu, while others have come to see if my beard is long enough to reach my chest, or to see what I’m wearing. But those who have come to hear one or two words are those who are planting good seeds. You should bear in mind what the readers say: “That you have ears but do not hear, that you have eyes but do not see”.⁷²

‘If we look very closely, we’d find that we have great riches in our country. It is this wealth which the foreigners have used in order to enrich themselves.⁷³ If we could understand that, we would work hard without bringing shame to our Ancestors Gikuyu and Mumbi. I wish all children of Mumbi to gain power, that all children of Mumbi should continue to increase, so that we can lift up our country energetically’.⁷⁴

After uttering those words, he sat down amidst wild applause.

(14) *Kenyatta’s Words at Waithaka School*
‘We are not poor people’

Not long afterwards, a Sports Day was held at Waithaka Independent school where Kenyatta was asked to speak after watching the Sports. After they ended, the school’s leaders spoke first and told the crowd how happy they were to be there with our great hero Jomo Kenyatta. They also stressed to the parents as well as other spectators that they needed financial support to build new school facilities. After that they introduced Kenyatta to the crowd and invited him to speak. When Kenyatta got up, he said:

‘What I want to say to you is that I’m very happy to see you all here. For many people who are here today were born while I was away. I also want to tell you that many elders suffered a lot in the past. And it is because of their sufferings that we are all able to enjoy this Sports meeting today.⁷⁵

‘For in the past, we would not have been able to meet without permission. But today we are meeting to enjoy our sports. Those elders made it possible for you to get the education you want. It is therefore important for you to realize that the work of improving education rests [now] on your shoulders. And when you undertake that responsibility, take care not to spoil it.

Kigiria kiria kigiragia twike maundu manene ni hindi iria mundu oiga atiri, kai nii ndikiri muthungu kana kai nii ndikiri Muhindi, riu ni ihoya ria kuhoya Ngai ria kuga ati ithui tutingihota (kuruta wira mweka tondu tutiri eru ta Athungu na Uhindi). Riu ni wega tukuranie kiugo kiu na gia kuuga ndahota na ni tukuhota. Ningi ninjiguite andu aingi makiuga ati turi athini, na riu nario ni ihoya na moiga uguo mugukiria guthina. Ugai ati muri atongu, tondu ona mabururi maria thiite ninyonete andu athinu kuri inyui. Tondu iri, ithuothe aria twihaha-ri ni hari mundu utekuga ati ndainuka mucii? Andu othe magicokia aca. Agicoka akimoria atiri, Ningi ni hari mundu utari kagunda gake? Andu makiuga aca. Agikimera atiri, andu acio a mabururi macio matingihota kuga ndathii gwakwa, kana moige ndathii kagunda gakwa.

Ningi ni mukuona macukuru makitwo na mahiga, hihi mahiga macio-ri mokite na ndege? Githi maticuhagio ni Athuri o aya me haha? Githi ningi mahiga macio matiri o githaka-ini giki twinakio. Inuothe mungiroka ruciu, muge Muthuri ihiga rimwe, mwanake ihiga rimwe, mutumia ihiga rimwe na muiritu ihiga rimwe-ri githi nyumba to murikie? Kiu nikio kiyo. Ithui tutiri athini ona hanini ona ningi tutiri undu tutangihota gwika tondu maundu macio ni ithui twikaga. No indi tukamenyera gwika maundu macio na undu wa gwathwo.

No tungiambiriria kwirutira mawira macio ithui ene no tugie na micii miega, na macukuru mega na nguo njega. Tondu ucio ni wega tweherie uguta na tutige gutembana. Arikio kwaria ciugo icio agiikara thi. Muthuri Mugathe ti Arthur Gatungu akiaria akigathiriria miario ya Kinyatta ya kuuga andu maiguane tuhote gwika maundu manene.

‘You should all remember that we need education, we need more school buildings—so that if we are United and prepared to work hard, we’ll be able to build good and better school buildings.’ Then he repeated what he had said at Mombasa:

‘The obstacle that prevents us doing something important is our habit of asking: “Am I supposed to be a white man? Or am I an Indian, to be expected to do such and such things?” When anyone talks like that, he is really praying to God. What he means is that, as Africans, we can’t do anything good because we’re not white people or Indians who are capable of doing such things. We had better change such words and say “we can do it, or I can do it, as well as any white man or Indian.”

‘I’ve also heard many people say “We are poor”. That again is a Prayer to God. And to keep on saying that means you’ll go on getting poorer. For you ought to be saying that you are getting rich. This is because even in some [European] countries I visited, I found some people poorer than you.

‘This is because I can put this question to all who are here today, “Is there anyone among you who does not say I will be going home?”’ The crowd answered ‘No’ with one voice. Then he asked them again: ‘Is there anyone among you who has no garden of his own to cultivate?’ The crowd answered again, ‘No’.

Then he told them, ‘The poor people I told you about in those other countries can’t say: ‘I’m going home, or that they own a piece of land they can call their own gardens’.⁷⁶

You have the power to build good school buildings

‘You can also see many stone-built schools. Are those stones brought by planes? Aren’t those stones chiselled by the elders who are with us today? Aren’t all those stones to be found in the lands we own?

‘If all of you were to decide that tomorrow, every elder will bring one stone, each young man would bring a stone, each woman a stone, and every girl a stone, would not all those stones be enough to build a school?⁷⁷

‘That requires will-power. We are not poor people at all. And there is nothing we cannot do ourselves because we are people who have done these things already. But we are used to doing them [for others?] because of being ruled.

(15) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Kiama kia Aciari Nairobi Pumwani Memorial Hall*

Kiama gia Aciari nigikoretwo gigituga Kinyatta muno, amu nikimwiti-ire cai keri, cai umwe warugiiruo mwena wa Muranga kundu kuria guiwitwo Muthithi, na uria ungi thiini wa Nairobi Pumwani Memorial Hall. Mwandiki wa maundu maya ndaigana gukoruo ho cai-ini ucio wa mbere na nikipio miario iria yaririo kuo ni Kinyatta ndiigana kuona Mwandiki.

Cai ucio wa Nairobi warugithitio ni andu a mwena wa Muranga na Nyeri na Embu meturanire hamwe. Nake Kinyatta akinyire kuu ta thaa ikumi na agikora andu mamwetereire o wega. Na hindi iria atonyire nyimba iyo arume makihura ruhi nao atumia ma kiuga ngemi. Nakio kiu nikipio gitio kinene amu tutigwiciria kana he mundu ungi uria woigiruo ngemi athite handu tiga o hindi ya ruimbo ngemi ciugagwo. Thutha wagutugwo, Muthuri mugathe muno ti Joseph Kangethe akirugama akiuga ati riu andu nimekuheo uhoro ukonii githomo ni mundu uria ui uhoro ucio wega. Agicoka akiuga ati Kiama kiu matanya makio ni githomo na agicokeria miceni ngatho tondu woria mathomithirie andu, no ni moigire ati kwi hindi ikinyaga uhoro ukarema. Muthuri ti Kangethe agikiuga atiti riu ndikiui kana hindi iyo niyo ino. No riri, uria kwagiriire ni tumenyeati tukwenda githomo kiria kina.

Thutha ucio niguo Kinyatta arugamire andu makihura ruhi makenete. Nake akimera atiri: Riu-ri uria nii nguuga no ati munjohere ni undu wa kwaga gukinya tene. Keri ndina gikeno kinene. Nakio gikeno kiu kiiyurite ngoro yakwa hihi ni gia kii? Gikeno kiu ti gia kunyua cai tondu gutiri mucii utari cai. No gikeno kiu ni gia kumenya ati tugomanite haha ni undu wa undu uria muna, na twike undu uria muna. Riu koruo mwanjitikiria no njuge Gikuyu kirothathara tondu koruo ti

‘But if we were to begin doing such things for ourselves, we would have good and beautiful homes, have better, beautiful, schools, have good clothes. In such circumstances let us get rid of laziness and stop expressing contempt for each other.’

After saying this, Kenyatta sat down. The people clapped their hands warmly. The last speaker was Rev. Arthur Gatung’u,⁷⁸ who supported Kenyatta’s argument and praised him for wise words which had so greatly encouraged the people.

(15) *Kenyatta’s words to the Parents Association at Nairobi*

The Parents Association had invited Kenyatta to a Tea Party more than once. Their second invitation was for a Tea Party to be held at Nairobi’s Pumwani [Memorial] Hall. One Tea Party had been held in Murang’a [District] at a place called Muthithi. But the editor did not attend this, so no words that Kenyatta spoke then have appeared anywhere. But he was there to note what Kenyatta said at the second Tea Party, held in Nairobi Memorial Hall.

The organizers of the Tea Party were from Murang’a, Nyeri, and Embu; they had joined together as one body when they again invited Kenyatta.

Kenyatta arrived late, about four o’clock in the afternoon, but found the people still waiting for him in cheerful mood. When he entered the Hall, the men showed that by clapping while women shrieked their traditional tribal ‘Ngemi’, repeating it five times. That was their way to show Kenyatta respect, for ‘Ngemis’ are not shrieked to anyone other than tribal dancers (*or warriors returning home after victory in a tribal war in the olden days*).⁷⁹

After being welcomed, Mr Joseph Kang’ethe⁸⁰ chairman of the Parents Association stood and told the assembled audience that they were going to be told about the value of education by someone who knew more about it than anyone else. Their association aimed to advance education and to thank the white missionaries, for it was they who taught the people how to read and write from the beginning. But they [had] also said there would come a time when matters became unmanageable.⁸¹ He did not know whether or not that time had come but he did know that what we need most is more and higher education.

It was then time for Kenyatta to speak. The audience applauded again as he stood up to say these words:

githatharu tutingiri haha uumuthi. Twagiriiruo ni kugia na andu aingi ogi a gukaguna ruriri.

Riu ningi ni wega hutie uhoro wa githomo. Kiama giki nigia kunora ciana ciitu na mundu akinora ruhiu niagiriiruo ni kumenya kana niga ithinja kana ni ka irima kana nika njora. Naguo uguo noguo githomo gitarii, uhoro wa mbere ni tumenye wega umaga na mucii. Githomo gitangiambiriria kuuma mucii kana kirira gitangiambiria kuuma mucii kiu ti githomo, andu aingi marikia guthii Cukuru macokaga gwita aria angi akigu. No ngumwira na ma thiini wa nyumba ino ona kana bururi-ini witu wothe, ni kuri na andu aingi muno mena uugi na matiui marua. Kirira kana githomo ni kumenya mutugo mwega, na ningi kirira ni kuruta magongona. Hindi iria uguthii kuhand-a irio ciaku niwambaga guikara thi ugathura iria njega ingimera na iria njuru itangimera na ungiaga guthura uthii ukahande irio icio njuru ciitagwo mbooyo marima macio ukuhanda matingimera kindu. Githomo ni guthura maundu tukamenya mutugo uria mwega tukauikaria, mutugo uria muuru tukaunina ni getha maundu maitu maria mega matuike nimo gitina kana muthingi namo maya mangi ma ageni tuigirire iguru. No riri tungikoruo tukuoya maundu ma ageni tutekumenya wega na uuru wamo no tukinyiriruo ni thimo iria ya Agikuyu yugaga ati 'Mugathi wa kuona uteaga wa mwene'. Uria ngumwira nota uria ndiramwirire hwai tondu mundu angiaga kwaria ma uhoro wi mwega kana wi muuru mundu ucio ti mundu.

Riu undu uria muru twikaga ni andu aria mathoma mahanaga o njagatha ya mburi, tondu wa kwaga guthura maundu maria mega. Ngumwira ati tondu riu nitwithagathagite twake micii ya githomo rekei tugiake na turirikane andu aria angi me Gikuyu-ini. Ni kuri na andu aingi moigaga ati o ti acenji ni angwana, nao ni kwihenia mehenagia. Na mumenye niguo-ri angwana marutaga igoti ota a gukawe na undu uria wikagwo andu airu othe noguo angwana mekagwo. Ningi andu aing imahana gathuku karia gatari meciria mako, koigaga o uria kaigua mundu oiga gategwiciria. Rekei twike maundu mothe tumenyereire, tukiuga undu tugakoruo twiciritie mbere. Undu uria muene ni uiguano uyu wa Kiama gia Aciari, no riri kwaira ti gwika. Rekei tuhane ta nyamindigi. Agicoka akiuria andu atiri, mukwenda tutwike ta nyamindigi kana ta kimbu. Andu amwe makiuga ta nyamindigi na aria angi makiugata kimbu. Nao andu magitheka nake agicoka akimera atiri, Rekei ndimuhe uhoro wa Nyamindigi na Kimbu na ni getha mucoke mukumenye kiria mukenda gutwika.

‘Now then, I’d like to apologise for being late. Secondly, I must tell you that I’m very happy indeed. If you don’t mind my asking you, what is it that makes my heart feel full of happiness? It’s not from drinking tea, since every home has tea. It’s because I know we’re meeting here for a particular reason, and to do certain things. If you’ll allow me, I would say that the Kikuyu have prospered and increased. If they had not, we would not be here today.

‘We ought to have many educated people who will benefit our nation. But I ought now to reflect on education. This association is concerned to sharpen our children (*Ugi in Kikuyu means knowledge but in English it means sharpness*).⁸² And when a man sharpens his knife, he should know if it’s for slaughter, or for cultivating his garden, or a sword to be sheathed. For education is [many-sided] like that. The first thing to know is that goodness⁸³ begins at home. If education does not start at home, or if secret knowledge (*good advice*)⁸⁴ is not given from home in the first place, that will result in bad education.

‘We know that some people, when they leave home and go to school, soon change and start calling others savages and foolish. But I’d like to tell you the truth which is this: In this Hall, and indeed in the country as a whole, there are very clever people who don’t know how to read or write. Good advice or good education⁸⁵ is to know good manners. And good advice is to know how to offer oneself for sacrifice, for the good of the country and others.⁸⁶

‘For when you go out to sow your seeds, you first sit down and select the good seeds which will sprout, and you put aside the bad ones that won’t sprout. For if you don’t select and sort your seeds, and take to sowing them unsorted, the holes in the ground where you sow them will remain empty because the bad seeds won’t sprout.⁸⁷

‘[Good] education enables one to sort out the good from the bad in life. We pick up good habits and develop them while eliminating bad ones, to ensure that good habits are the basis⁸⁸ of our behaviour, while keeping foreign habits at bay. If we pick up foreign things and put them at the top without knowing if they are good or bad for us, we would be putting ourselves in the position of which the tribal proverb warns: ‘Mugathi wa kuona uteage wa mwene’ *which means: ‘A newly found necklace makes its finder lose his original one’*.⁸⁹

‘I’m repeating what I told you the other day—that if a man doesn’t truthfully distinguish good from bad, he is not a person. Now then, unfortunately, what usually happens is that when people get educated they are simply like the flaps of skin that dangle from a goat’s neck. Their failure to sort good [from bad] makes them confused.⁹⁰

Hindi iria Mwene-Nyaga athondekire Bururi uyu niatumire Kimbu gikahe andu uhoro na Nyamindigi ituike maira, ciakinya Kimbu giki-ambiria kuuga atiri ‘Twiriruo atiri, twiriruo atiri’ o kinya nyamindigi iking’urika ikiuga watinda haha ukiuga twiriruo atiri, kai tuteriruo tuuge andu makuage magithiaga na miri ya mikongoe.

Nacio cieritwo undu uria uriugwo mbere ndugacoka kugaruruka, no uria cieritwo ni ati andu makuag emakiriukaga, na tondu wa kimbu gutindirira uhoro oro umwe gigikarario ni nyamindigi. Magondereri maakorire ruui rukuiyura.

Tugomanite haha twi Kiama gia Aciari. Ni wega tutigagitinde tukiuga twi Kiama kia Aciari gutari kaundu tukuhingia. Gutiri undu uri hinya, na kirimu na mugi gutiri utoi gugituka. Mawira mothe marutagwo mwirutu.

Mbundi twi namo, mahiga twinamo, niki twagite? Ni wega tugie na kio na twarie na mugambo umwe na tutiane na maundu mothe nitukuhota. Tukiririkanaga ati to Agikuyu oiki na to Ukabi wiki na to Ikamba kana andu a Mombasa oiki, tumenye ati mundu muiru wothe ni muiru na ni muru wa maitu na mwari wa maitu. Ni wega tutikae guturiria meciria maitu hau.

‘What I say to you is this: now that we’re prepared to build many schools, let’s build them while remembering the others who live Kikuyu country. Many people say they are no longer savages because they have become civilised.⁹¹ But that’s a delusion. Both civilised and savage pay the same taxes, as their grandfathers did. All Africans are subjected to exactly the same treatment, whether civilised or not.

‘Moreover, many people behave like parrots,⁹² without a mind of their own. Without thinking, a parrot says what it hears someone else say. Let us do everything with great care. When we say something, let’s think about it first.⁹³

‘The most important thing is this: Unity within the Parents Association. But speaking is not doing. Let’s behave like that bird called *Nyamindigi*.⁹⁴ Then he asked the people: ‘Do you want us to behave like *Nyamindigi*? Or like the slow, crawling, chameleon *Kembu*?’ In reply, some said they wanted us to behave like the bird, *Nyamindigi*, while others said they wanted us to be like *Kembu*. The confusion made the audience burst out laughing.

The Legend of the Bird Nyamindigi and Kembu the Hesitant Chameleon

Then Kenyatta said ‘Let me tell you the legend of the bird *Nyamindigi* and the slow hesitating chameleon *Kembu*, so that you can tell me which you want us to take as our model.

‘The legend says that when Almighty God created this Earth, He sent *Kembu* with instructions to forewarn human beings about their future, together with the bird *Nyamindigi* as witness to this very important message. *For they were told that whatever was first said to human beings would for ever remain, never to be changed.*

‘When the two of them got to where the human beings lived, *Kembu* began to tell the people his good news but kept repeating himself: “We were told, we were told,” without ever completing a sentence. His stammering made *Nyamindigi* so angry that the bird shouted the opposite of what *Kembu* was going to say: “Why do you keep repeating, We were told, we were told instead of saying that, We were told that people would die and be swallowed by the roots of the Mukongoe tree?”⁹⁵

‘In their original instructions they were told to advise human beings that, while they would die, they would also come back to life again. But because *Kembu*’s hesitations⁹⁶ prevented him from telling them first, what *Nyamindigi* told the people became the truth which cannot be changed.’

(16) *Miario ya Kinyata hari Ikamba Mucii Wa Machakos*

Kiama kia Atwarithia a Mitokaa kia Agikuyu na Aikamba gigwituo ‘Thika Native Motor Drivers’ Association nigiekire undu munene naguo undu ucio niwagwita Muthuri Mugathe ti Kinyatta akonane na Ikamba itura ria Machakos. Muthenya wa kwambiriria mwaka wa 1947. Kiama kiu nigithondekete cai kuu Machakos ati ni getha makoruo me hamwe na Kinyatta na ati mahingure wabici yao kuo. Uhoru niwarikitie na kuhunjio muno kuu Ikamba-ini ati Kinyatta niagoka muthenya ucio, na tondu ucio kwari andu aingi muno mokite kumuona. Aakinya oro uguo niatwariruo mucii wa mundu umwe ugwituo Philip Kioko wakite nyumba njega muno ya matumbari, na nikuo maririire irio cia muthenya. Anene a Ikamba aria mari ho ni Chief Karoboto na Chief Jonathan Kala na Chief James Mwanthi, uria urari Ruraya kahinda kahituku. Na hindi io aari Ruraya nimonanire na Kinyatta, kwoguo aari na gikeno kinene tondu wa kuona Kinyatta thiini wa bururi wao o hindi iria amutigire kuraya muno. Thutha wa irio niguo gwaikurukiruo gugithio

Believing that we are capable of doing anything

Before ending his speech Kenyatta told the audience:

‘No wonder we’re told, in another saying, that: “Magondereri makorire Rui rukuiyura” which means: “The procrastinators found that the rivers had overflowed their banks.” We are meeting here today as the Parents Association. Is it good to spend our time repeating, “We are the Parents Association” without ever achieving anything worthwhile? Nothing is too hard for us. And, as the saying asserts, neither the fool nor the clever man fail to recognise when it’s getting dark. Work gets done when the man who is supposed to do it gets down to it himself, as another saying goes.

‘We have builders and masons, also the stone. What’s missing? All we need is to be ready to work hard. To be United in a manner that allows us to talk with one voice. If we respect one another, we will succeed in our tasks. We should remember that our fight is not for the Kikuyu people alone, nor for the Masai alone, nor the Akamba people alone, nor yet for the people of Mombasa alone. We should appreciate that we’re all black people, that everyone is our brother and sister of one mother. We ought not to shut our eyes and restrict ourselves to one place.’

(16) What Kenyatta said to the Akamba Tribe at Machakos

In those early days after Kenyatta’s return to Kenya, an organisation known as the Thika Native Motor Drivers Association, with both Kikuyu and Kamba members, had prepared a big Tea Party at Machakos Town on the first day of January, 1947. It had invited Kenyatta to be with them, to meet the Akamba tribespeople as well as to open a new office for their association.

It seems that the news that Kenyatta was coming to Machakos Town that day had spread wide among the Akamba tribespeople. For many people turned up: *old men, women and children as well as the youth.*

When Kenyatta arrived he was taken to Philip Kioko’s home, a nice modern house with red brick walls. It was there that we took our midday lunch.

The Akamba tribal chiefs who turned up that day were Chief Karoboto, Chief Jonathan Kala, as well as Chief James Mwanthi who had recently been to London, meeting Kenyatta while he was there. So he was very happy to see Kenyatta coming to his own country—a man he had last seen thousands of miles away.⁹⁷

itura-ini ria Machakos, tugikora andu aingi muno hakuhi ngiri inya (4,000) nao othe makihatikana muno makienda mone Kinyatta. Andu magitonya nyumba iria yarugiiruo cai, ukinyuo na gikeno na thutha wa cai niguo kwoimiruo gugithio handu haria hairigitwo ha kiungano. Nao andu aria maari ho ni aingi muno. Agikuyu na Ikamba twana na atumia na arume. Andu marikia guikara thi, mutongoria wa Kiama kia Atwarithia a mitokaa ugwituo Douglas Mbugwa akiheana gitumi gia cai ucio ati mbere ni andu monane na muthuri ucio mugeni ti Kinyatta. Keri nimahingure Wabici yao itura riu ria Machakos. Agicoka akiaria uhoro muingi ukonii mathina maria monagwo ni atwarithia a mitokaa a hamwe na matanimboi ona ati micara yao ni minyinyi, no akiuga ati riu tondu mena Kiama gitikiritio ni Thirikari nimegukihoya kirira kuri andu aria ogi tondu atwarithia aingi ti ogi na u'marua.

Chief James Mwanthi akirugama agicokeria andu othe ngatho tondu wa kugomana na kiuga ni wega andu menyihanirie. Thutha ucio niguo Kinyatta arugamire akiuga atiri, Ndahota kumwariria na miaririe itatu, githungu, kana githwirii kana Gikuyu. Ona ningi no hote kwaria Giikamba, no hihi ingiaria giikamba mutingiigua uhoro niundu wa gutheka. Ni wega njarie na Gikuyu na aria matekuigua makiruguragiruo. Agicoka akiuga atiri: Nii ndina gikeno niundu wa Kiama kiu kimwitite kia Mandereba ma mitokaa. No riri, mwahota kuria atiri, nake Kinyattari, atwarithagia mutokaa uriku? Nii ndi ndereba na ndio tanimboi, nangu mutokaa wak'ari, ni bururi, tondu bururi niuri matereba maguo na matanimboi maguo. Uhoro munene ni gutwara kindu gitathiaga na nikio thi. Ta rekei ndimuheange uhoro ngihutangagia utwari wa bururi ndimwire atiri, Aikamba ni aingi muno aria matari manyona, no nii-ri ngoro-ini yakwa-ri, Aikamba na micii yao na ng'ombe ciao na nyeki iria mariithagia ni ndimoi makiria ya ura manjui nii. Na tondu ringi njaragia cararuku, ta mwaka-ini wa 1938 ni mukuririkana uhoro wa ng'ombe cianyu uria ciatunyanagwo. Ng'ombe icio-ri, ciari ciakwa? No ngumwira nama ati handu ha mieri inana ndaturaga wira wa gutetera ng'ombe icio. Riu ngiri na gikeno kinene ni undu wakuonana na inyui ndikimwire ati mutokaa ucio witu wa thi nduri gituri andu aria tuutwaraga tuthiururukaga thi yothe. Undu ungi nguuga ni ati gutiri Muikamba na Mugikuyu acio eri ni ciana cia nyina umwe, tondu ucio twagiriiruo ni kutwara mutokaa witu twi hamwe. Kiugo giakwa gia keru ni giki. Ati twicirie uria andu aitu mekiraga mathaga, njuuge atiriri, ruriri ruitu rwa andu airu mwanake niethondekaga muiritu agethondeka, niguo mathakare. Uguo methondekaga niguo naithui twagiriiruo ni gwith-

After lunch we decided to go downhill to the valley in which Machakos Town sits. There we found a lot of people—over four thousand—who were pressing each other eagerly, everybody trying to get a glimpse of Jomo Kenyatta. Then we entered the big tent where the Tea Party was prepared. After Tea, the invited guests left the tent to go to a fenced enclosure prepared for the meeting itself. There we found many tribespeople, sitting and waiting for the speakers. Once the newcomers were told to sit down like the others, the association's chairman, Mr Douglas Mbugua, told the crowd the reasons for the Tea Party. The first was to give people a chance to meet Jomo Kenyatta after his recent return from Europe.

The second reason was to give them an occasion to open their organisation's new office in Machakos Town. He then spoke of the sort of trouble which the Motor Drivers and their assistants suffered such as poor pay. But he went on to say that, now that Government had permitted them to form their own organisation, they stood a better chance of asking for advice from clever people since Motor Drivers were not well versed in education and so on.⁹⁸

The second speaker was Chief James Mwanthi who thanked the people for coming there in such numbers. He stressed the importance of respecting one another. After him, it was Jomo Kenyatta's turn to speak. He rose from his feet and said to the waiting crowd:

'I can speak to you in three languages, English, Swahili or Gikuyu. I could speak in Kikamba too but if I did, you would not be able to hear me for laughter. It would be better for me to talk to you in Gikuyu, and those of you who can't understand Gikuyu can have it interpreted.' He went on to say:

'I'm happy and grateful to the Motor Drivers Association for inviting me here today. But you are entitled to ask "What sort of motor car does Kenyatta himself drive?" My answer to that would be that I'm a driver as well as his assistant,⁹⁹ but the motor car I drive is the country. Because even a country has its drivers and their assistants. But it's very difficult to drive something like a country, since it does not move. Let me say what I was going to say by drawing comparisons with driving a motor car.

'What I'm going to say is that there are many Kamba people who have never seen me before. But on my part, and from my heart, [I can say that] I know a lot about the Akamba people, their homes, their cattle, and the grass where they graze these cattle, I know them more than they know me. And because I'm sometimes inclined to be outspoken,

ondeka, twitiganire na tutiane na twarie na kiugo kimwe. Nduriri ici ciothe ngeni mukuona guku, kiria gitumite magie na hinya ti micinga, no ni uiguano na ona ithui tungiaria na mugambo o umwe gutiri na undu tutangihota gwika. No riri hindi iria twagetha irio ciitu, tuika-gia makumbi, na thiini wa makumbi macio, irio niicokaga igathukio ni mbuca. Onaguo Bururi uri na mbuca nyingi tondu riu ndiraaria haha uumuthi nihari na andu aingi ngoro ciao iratumatuma makiuria Kinyatta arinina kwaria-ri? Niguo ndengere na ihenya ngonanie uhoro uria Kenyatta oiga. No riri, nii ngumwira nama ati ona korwo Athungu marugamite hau ndingirega kuuga uria ngwenda, tondu ndiri na uhoro wa kuhitha, Mundu uria wihithaga ni Murogi na ni muici. No twaga maundu macio moru ma gucukana bururi wiitu niuguthii na mbere, tugie na maundu mega, tuthere miiri, na tugie na nguo theru na tugie na micii mitheru na tugie na utonga muingi.

(17) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Agikuyu na Kiama gia Kanju ya Nyeri
o Undu Umwe na Athungu aria mari ho*

Kuringana na maundu maria monanitio thiini wa ibuku riri, hatiri handu hoigite ati Kinyatta ni mari macemania na Athungu thiini wa mucemania umwe. No munyaka ucio wa Athungu gukoruo ho Kinyatta akiaria niwonekire mwena ucio wa Nyeri.

I'd like to remind you that, in 1938, your cattle were being taken away from you.¹⁰⁰ Were those cattle mine? No, but I can tell you that the truth is that, for about eight months, I was engaged in protesting about those cattle of yours. With that example in mind I'm glad to tell you today that the motor-cars of our concerns may be driven anywhere in the country, and those of us who drive them may have to go anywhere in the world.

'Another thing I'd like to say is that there is no Mukamba or Mukikuyu, they are both brothers. That being so, we ought to drive that car together. And another thing: Let's consider how Africans used to decorate themselves with ornaments. A young man used to put on his ornaments and the girl used to do the same, so that they looked beautiful. The way they used to make themselves beautiful is how we should make ourselves beautiful: by respecting one another, and speaking with one voice.

'All those foreign nations you see in our country—what makes them strong is not their guns but their Unity. And if we are united [enough] to be able to speak with one voice, there's nothing we could not do or achieve. But when we harvest our grain, we put it into our food stores, and in those stores, our grain gets eaten up or spoiled by weevils. The country, too, contains many weevils.¹⁰¹ This is because, even as I speak, many people are anxiously asking themselves when is Kenyatta going to finish—so that they can run as fast as possible to tell *the Africans' enemies* what he has been saying.

'But what I can tell you is this: In fact, even if the white people were standing here today, they would not stop me from telling you what I want. This is because I have nothing to hide. The man who hides what he does is an evil witchdoctor (Murogi) and a thief. But if we could stop the bad habit of misreporting one another¹⁰² our country would make great advances. We would acquire better things, clean homes and bodies, smart clothes, and more wealth.'

With those words, he ended his speech amid wild applause.

(17) *Kenyatta's Speech to the Nyeri District Council with some Europeans present at the Meeting*

In none of Kenyatta's speeches published in this pamphlet so far, has there been an occasion in which he was reported to have spoken at a meeting at which the Europeans of Kenya were present. The white people's opportunity came at Nyeri, when the Nyeri District Council

Hari mundu uria uthomete uria Kinyatta erire Ikamba itura-ini -ria Machakos nikuririkana ciugo ciake hindi iria erire eririri na akunya-niri atiri: Ni hari na andu aingi ngoro ciao iratumatuma ikiuria riria Kinyatta aririkia kwaria nigetha ndware uhoro ucio wake kuri mbari ya Nyakeru. Agikimera ati we ndari na uhoro ekuhitha ni amu ona Mbari ya Nyakeru mangiri ho, no oige o uguo ekuuga, tondu we ekwaria ma, na mundu uria uhithaga uhoro ni muici na ni murogi, na Kinyatta ti murogi na ti muici tondu ucio ndari na uhoro ekuhitha.

Uira wa ciugo icio niwonekire hindi io aragia kuu Nyeri. Tondu hindi iria akinyire niakorire etereiruo o wega, na kuringana na uhoro uria wandikitwo ni Muthuri mugathe ti Gacuru Ngorano thiini wa Mumenyereri ya mweri 15th January, 1947. Niatuonetie ati ndeto cia Kenyatta niciagegirie andu aingi aria maari ho, tondu woria ciari cia ucamba. Tondu andu maarikia gukira aamerire atiri: Ruraya ni njui guothe no ti bururi wa Angeretha wiki njui, no ni Europe yothe. Na thiini wa mabururi macio ndi arata aingi no tutigite urata nao tondu wa kumahenia no tugite urata nao tondu wa kwaria ma. Ndingimuhe uhoro wothe wa Ruraya amu mwarara na muroke mutinde. Akiuga ati andu aingi meciragia ati njukite na mbomu o ndona muthungu ngamuikiria. Aca, uguo tiguu, kiria nii njukite nakio ni kihoto na nikio njaragia, na tondu nii njaragia cararuku-ri ni amu ndituire kwa mundu-ri na ni getha mumenye nii njaragia kihoto-ri, ingiuga comba uyu wi haha niwatutunyire Githaka ndahenania? Andu othe makiuga aca. Ningi igiuga nituimitwo micara miega ndahenania? Andu othe makiuga aca. Ingiuga nituimitwo githomo ndahenania? Andu othe makiuga aca.

Agikiuga ati nii ndiri mundu thuire muiru, mweru kana mutune. No riri, mundu thuire no mundu uria uregaga kihoto. Comba uugaga ati 'Ma ii ruo' na ma io ii ruo niyo njaragia. Ithuothe turi ciana cia Mwene-Nyaga, ingiita thakame na mucomba aite ndungimenya ya Kinyatta na ya Mucomba.

Undu uria ingimagathira muno ni ati kwao nimaiguaine ota uria kwiragwo gutiri Muthungu na Mubea. Ni wega na ithui Ciana cia Mumbi tuiguane ithuothe.

Aarikia kwaria ndeto icio agicoka akira Ciana cia Mumbi ati monene handu mari oiki. Na hindi iria andu meyamurire magithii handu hangi akimatara na ciugo ici, akimera atiri:

'Judasi uria wa tene ndari oima thi uria wendirie Jesu. Akiuria andu atiri, amwendirie mbia kana ciringi? Andu makiuga ni ciringi. Nake

invited Kenyatta to come and address them. *At the same time, the Council invited some local Europeans who agreed to come to hear Jomo Kenyatta themselves.*

Anyone who has read the previous section on what he told the Akamba people at Machakos will remember the words he directed at the *tribal informers*¹⁰³ when he said that, even if the Europeans were standing there beside him at that meeting they would not prevent him from saying what he wanted since, as he always spoke the truth, he had nothing to hide. The only people who were secretive were evil witchdoctors and thieves. But since he was not one of them, he himself had nothing to hide.

The truth of that statement became clear when he spoke at this Nyeri meeting. When he arrived, he found the people waiting for him were in good heart and in cheerful mood. According to the report which Mr Gachuru Ngorano sent to *Mumenyereri*, published in the issue of 15th January 1947, Kenyatta amazed many of those at the meeting because his words were brave in every respect. For when the crowd became silent, Kenyatta said:

‘In Europe, I know many countries, not only Britain. I know about all Europe, where I have a lot of friends. They did not become my friends because I told them lies, but because they knew I always spoke the truth.

‘I can’t tell you all about Europe, for otherwise you would have to spend all night here, and tomorrow. Many people think that I’ve brought with me some kind of bomb, which I’d throw at any European I meet. No, that’s not so. What I have brought with me is an unanswerable argument,¹⁰⁴ and that is the truth I always speak. And because I speak straightforwardly and outspokenly—since I am no man’s dependant nor live in another’s home¹⁰⁵—I’d like you to know the sort of truth I speak by asking you these questions:

‘If I were to say that the white people who are sitting around us here took away our tribal lands, would I be speaking the truth or telling lies?’ The crowd answered with one voice that he would be telling the truth.

‘If I were to say that we don’t get decent pay, would I be telling lies?’ The crowd answered, ‘No’.

‘If I were to say that we don’t get good education, would I be telling lies?’ The crowd again answered again, ‘No’.

Then Kenyatta said to the crowd: ‘I hate no one, black, white, or red. The only person I hate is one who refuses to listen to the word of truth.

agikimera ati Judasi endirie Jesu ciringi mirongo itatu na ari o haha uumuthi’.

‘Ibuku riria muthomaga riugaga “Tia thoguo na nyukwa.” Tiai Gikuyu na Mumbi nyina witu. Mundu uria umenete aciari ake niagiriiruo ni gukua, niguo ibuku riu muthomaga riugaga. Mundu o wothe Mugikuyu agiriiruo ni gutia Ngai na tiri uyu witu’.

‘Ithui turi itonga amu mundu o wothe gutiri utanginjira athii mucii. Menyai gukoiga ingi ati muri athini Ngai ndakae kuigua ihoya riu’.

Kai mutathomaga wega ibuku riri amu riugaga Eri kana Atatu makaagomana hamwe mahoe o kiria makahoya ni makaheo. Akoruo uguo niguo-ri tecirie-i Gikuyu giothe kingiati ndini nyingi ni Thuthi iria ithecaga irio ciathii ikumbi. Ithui turi irio, ndini ni Thuthi. Andu angi mathoma na mamenya Githungu ona kinyinyi metaga aciari ao acenji. Uguo ni kuhitia watho wa Ngai. Twagiriiruo tuoye maundu maitu maria mega na maria moru tutige. Tunguiguana ithuothe, thutha wa miaka ikumi gutiri undu tutangikoruo tuhitukitie wa kuguna Ruriri rwitu.

Agikinyia ndeto ciake hau. Tecirie wone kana Kinyatta ti Muigwithania witu?

White people say: “The truth hurts” and the truth that hurts is the sort I usually speak. We are all children of Almighty God.¹⁰⁶ If I were to shed my blood, and the white man his, you could not tell which was Kenyatta’s and which was the white man’s.

‘What I’d like to praise the white man for is that, at home, they are very United—as we say: there is no [difference between a] White man and a White Priest. It would be better if we the children of Mumbi, all of us, were to be United.’

How the Old Judas still lives

After saying this, Kenyatta told the children of Mumbi that he’d like to talk to them alone. When the [whites] separated themselves and went some distance away, he offered them this advice:

‘The old Judas¹⁰⁷ has not left the Earth, and you know it was he who sold Jesus. Then he asked the people: Did he sell Jesus in Shillings or in some other money?’

The people answered that he sold Jesus in Shillings. [Kenyatta] agreed that Judas sold Jesus in Shillings—thirty shillings. ‘And he was here today. The book [Bible] you read tells you to honour your parents, father and mother. You should therefore honour Gikuyu and Mumbi who are your parents. The man who hates his own parents ought to die, and that is what that book says. Every member of the Kikuyu tribe ought to respect and honour God, and the soil he gave us as ours.

‘We are all rich, because each one of you can tell me he’s going [to his] home. Never again say that you are poor or God may not hear your prayer. Don’t you read this book with understanding? For it tells us: “When two or three persons meet together and pray for whatever they want, it will be given to them.”¹⁰⁸ If that’s true, just imagine all the Gikuyu praying together for what they want. But many religious denominations are like weevils that destroy our grain when put into our stores. We are the grain, the religious denominations are the weevils.¹⁰⁹ For when some people get educated and learn how to speak a bit of English, they call their parents savages or pagans. That is to fail to obey God’s law. We ought to pick up our good habits, and to get rid of bad habits. If we were United, after ten years we would have achieved many things of great benefit to our people.’ That was the end of his speech. Just think and you would wonder, is Kenyatta not our own Unifier?

(18) *Uria Kinyatta Erire Kirindi Mathako-ini ma Ndemwa Ithatu Kiharo-ini gia Cukuru ya Mukui*

Ni kwari na mathako ma Kiama kia Ndemwa ithatu kiharo-ini kia Mukui. Nake Muthuri Mugathe ti Kinyatta ari ho. Hindi iria mathako mathirire, Muthuri Mukumie ti Dedan Mugo wa Kimani akira kirindi ati Muthuri Mugathe muno ti George K. Ndegwa niekuigwithia andu gitumi kia Mathako macio.

George K. Ndegwa arugama akira andu gitumi kia Mathako macio ati ni magukenanira na Muthuri ucio uraturaga Ruraya handu ha miaka 15. Akiigwithia andu ati Kinyatta ndathiite Ruraya tondu wa kwiririra no makiria athiite gutetera mahataro ma ciana cia Gikuyu na Mumbi. Agicoka agicokeria andu aria othe makinyite ngatho. Ningi akira andu ati maririkane ati kamuingi koyaga ndiri, ona ningi maririkane ciugo iria ciainiruo ati 'Ndingitunvwo mwana ni hiti ng'eni' 'ona akimenyithia andu gitumi kia Ndemwa ithatu.

Thutha ucio niguo Njamba ya Ruriri rwitu ti Kinyatta arugamire akiuga atiri.

Uria ngwenda kuga ni ati ndina gikeno tondu wa kuheo kahinda gaka tondu hari ihinda ringi rihitukite nindetereiruo guku, no ndigana kuona kahinda ga gukinya tondu woria mawira manyingihiire. Gikeno giakwa-ri, ni andu aria mamenyagira magathiti-ini manyone na maitho, ona angi ninjuui mokite mone kana nderu cia Kinyatta ciakinya mukonyo. Ni wega andu acio makihunie maitho mao. No hari muthemba wa andu aria mekwenda kuigua tuundu tunini o hamwe na aria maciaritwo kuuma ndathii ndenda kumamenyithia uhoro munyinyi.

Hihi andu riria mekuigua ati Kinyatta aikarite Ruraya miaka 15, angi makoiga atiri, tondu Kinyatta ari kiguta gia kurima-ri nikio athire kuu Ruraya. Ningi andu aingi aria matari aciare-ri, nimoragia hihi Kinyatta athiite gwika atia? No riri, ndenda kwira andu acio atiri, riria ndathire Ruraya ni ndaheiruo maundu maigana una, wa mbere ngatetere ng'undu iria mwaheiruo ni Gikuyu na Mumbi. Keri ni githomo na gatatu ni kwiyaririria Kiama-ini kia Baruthi kana ni Atumia aya mukuona makiina ndumo haha nimarutaga igoti, o hindi iria atumia a nduriri iria ingi matarutaga.

Riu hari uhoro wa githomo, nguuga uria twenda ni tugie na githomo giitu ithui-ene, no hindi iria twatetaga tukiuga tuheo githomo giitu tweraguo ati tutiri na ugi. Tukeruo tuthii kwi muthungu. Ta mwaka-ini wa 1929 ni kwagiire na kihingicano cukuru ciitu ikigirio. Arutani macemania Cukuru-ini makanyitwo, na ciana ikaingatwo macukuruini

(18) *Jomo with the Elders who sent him to England at Mukui School's Sports Day*¹¹⁰

Although the writer did not know it, the last report he wrote in that second pamphlet was on the Mukui School's Sports Day meeting. Perhaps it occurred to the writer that, by then, Kenyatta had managed to express [all] the important ideas he had had in mind on returning from England less than a year before.

As Kenyatta confided to the writer privately, while he was still in England he had approached the authorities to ask for permission to return home, and for them to let him speak to his people for six months, and after that, if they wanted, they could kill him so as to remove him from the scene. But his request was refused, so he had to stay in England.¹¹¹

But to revert to that particular meeting which was sponsored by what, to avoid trouble, I called The Three Letters movement, which everyone understood to be the KCA, but which remained banned, making it illegal for me to give its proper name in my newspaper.

After the Sports it was time for speeches. The first speaker was Mr Dedan Mugo, who introduced Mr George K Ndegwa, (*who had been acting as General Secretary of the KCA while Kenyatta was away*).¹¹² Mugo told the crowd that George was going to explain the reasons and the significance for holding that Sports meeting at Mukui, which was an Independent School.

When Mr George K Ndegwa stood up, he told the crowd that the purpose of the sports meeting was to enable us to enjoy together meeting our honoured guest, who had been living in Europe these last fifteen years. He told the people that Kenyatta had not gone to Europe for his own reasons, but because he was sent there to protest, and to demand that the needs of the Children of Gikuyu and Mumbi be met. He then thanked all those who had managed to come to the Sports meeting. He reminded them of the saying: "A group of people are capable of lifting a heavy object"¹¹³ and of the words in a song which ran "I shall never be made to part with my child by a foreign hyena" (*or in Kikuyu*) "Ndingitunyuo mwana ni hiti nge'eni". After he had explained the meaning behind the three letters, he introduced Kenyatta to the anxious crowd.

When Kenyatta stood up to speak, he told the crowd that:

I'm very happy to be given this opportunity today. For I was expected on an earlier occasion but could not make it because of the pressure of work. I'm happy that people keep on saying in the newspapers that

macio, ona mwana wakwa nii mwene niaikarire miaka itatu ateguthoma. No riri, gikeno niati uumuthi ciana nyingi iguthomera cukuru icio twagiragio, Mwene Nyaga acokerio ngatho, ciana iria irathomera macukuru ma Agikuyu kiumbe ihinda-ini riri ni ciana ngiri mirongo itatu na inya (34,000), nakio kiu ti kindu kinyinyi.

Naguo uhoro wa igoti ria atumia umuthi hatiri wendagia mboco ciake ati niguo arihe igoti. Riu ningi kiamaini kia Baruthi twina kamwanya. Riu ni wira wanyu guthii na mbere. Ndingihota kumuhe uhoro wothe niamu ndamuraria haha, kwina andu aingi metereire makienda kuigua uria mbataire. No riri, nithiite mabururi mothe ma Comba, na ninyonete ati ruriri rugunagwo ni kindu kimwe, maiguane na matiane. Nii ndiri mundu ngerumira akoruo ni Agikuyu, Aikamba ona kana Ukabi, no gwi gacunji kamwe thuire, nako gacunji kau nika andu aria maaragia maheni, makongerera uhoro uria utari waho. Wira wakwa ni kwaria ma ona akorwo ma io ina ruo No rin tondu inyui hihi nimwarutiruo ni Baru mukiruo ati maheni ma kwihonokia ti moru hihi nikio andu aingi mekuhenania. No icio ticio ndeto ciakwa tondu hindi iria ndiratuire Ruraya itekunyitwo mbaru ni mundu ungi nindaragia ma na ndiri hindi ngatiga kwaria ma. Uhoro uria uthukitie Agikuyu ni ndigithukano amwe makoiga ati ithui twi Karinga aria angi makoiga twi Independent aria angi twi C.S.M. na angi twi Salvation Army (Jeshi la Wokofu) no hindi iria watunga mundu ungimuuria wi wa ruriri ruriku oigaga ndi Mugikuyu.

Niwega tumenye ati twaciiruo ni Gikuyu na nyina witu ni Mumbi, Tungirumia ndeto icio no tuthii na mbere. Niwega twimenyere tutikae kuhana ta Ahindi tondu kuria kwao Ahindi amwe moigaga ithui two Hindu (Baniani) na aria angi makoiga atini Ithiramu. Ucio wothe ni ukigu.

Uhoro wakwa wa kunina-ri no mumenye ti kumuhunjiria ndiramuhunjiria, Athomi marutagwo ati Tia Thoguo na Nyukwa, Riu Ithe witu nuu githi ti Gikuyu na Mutumia wake Mumbi? Mundu ona muthuri wa Gikuyu, muhe gitiiio tondu niwe Gikuyu, ningi wona mutumia wa Gikuyu muhe gitiiio tondu niwe Mumbi. Ningi uhoro wa munene twamunenehia niwega tumuhe gitio o tiga eniniire gitio giake we mwene, undu uria uthukitie Agikuyu muno ni murimu wa ihaki, twathura mundu athii kanjuini agatuika wa kuhakwo. Mwonana wamwira agakurorere uhoro uria muna, agagucokeria guoko na thutha ugambe ciri, na tondu nyamu ici itikiaragia andu magakiria kwaga kihoto. Tondu ukuhakwo ndungicoka kumenya haria kihoto kiri. Twaga guciira na

they'd like to see me with their own eyes. Even now, I know many people are here to see if Kenyatta's beards are long enough to reach his navel. It's good for them to satisfy their eyes. But there are others who came because they'd like to hear something, as well as those who were born since I went away. *I would like to tell them a few things about the past.*

'Those who hear that Kenyatta has lived in Europe for fifteen years may wonder why. Some may say that Kenyatta was a lazy man who didn't like farming, so that's why he went to Europe. And some who were not then born may ask: "What did Kenyatta want to do [?for himself] over there?" But I'd like to tell them that when I went to Europe, I was given a number of definite tasks. The first was to protest about our tribal lands which were handed down to us by our Ancestors Gikuyu and Mumbi.

'The second was to demand better education for our children.

'The third was to be allowed to represent ourselves in Legislative Council.

'The fourth was that our women folk, whom you see here dancing their tribal dances and who had to pay tax, should not have to do so when the women of other races didn't have to pay tax at all.¹¹⁴

'Now then, as to education, we wanted to have an education for ourselves.¹¹⁵ For when we were asking to be given our own education, we were told we had no knowledge, so that we must go to the white man's schools. In 1929, there was a conflict and our schools were forbidden. When the teachers met at school, they were arrested and children were expelled from school. Even my own child stayed away from school for three years.¹¹⁶

'But today we are happy because many children are getting educated in those schools which they had been forbidden to attend. May the Almighty God be praised because the number of children being educated in the Kikuyu-owned Independent schools is 34,000—but that is only a small number.

'So far as the women's tax is concerned, today, none of them has to sell beans in order to pay her taxes.¹¹⁷

'Even in Legislative Council, we have a small opening.¹¹⁸ It is now up to you to go forward. I cannot tell you everything, otherwise you would be up all night listening to me. Many people are waiting to hear what are my needs.

kihoto ona ithui tutingihota kuhotana niwega gucira na kihoto na kwaria ma. Tungirumirira mutugo ucio wa kuiguana na gutiana no tuhote gwaka Githunguri. Tonduriri ciothe cia Kenya ikuo no ti Karinga oiki.

Uhoru wakwa wa kunina ni kiugo kiu giakuga Tia Thoguo na Nyukwa ndimwire ati nigicokete gikaroguo gikeruo ati mundu arega gutia ithe na nyina mucara wake ni gikuu. Riu nihari na kamurimu kangi keho nako nika mundu agicaria haria arinyuagira gacai, aigua ta ndeto ici ndaria agathii kwiongerera ciake cia maheni nigetha aheo mucara no otaguo kwiritwo ati mundu arega gutia ithe na nyina gukua niakue notaguo onake mundu uria ugatuika mwendia wa Gikuyu na Mumbi nake gukua niakue.

Ariki kwaria ndeto icio agiikara thi miario iyo ya Mukui aririe arikitie kunina mieri ina kuuma oima Ruraya.

Iyo niyo miario ya Kinyatta nake Mwandiki egucokeria Ngai ngatho tondu wa kumuhe hinya wa kuandika.

Riu utheri nimukinyu na mundu angienda kuhinga maitho atige kuona utheri one nduma ti ihitia ria utheri.

THAAI

‘I’ve visited all the countries of Europe and I’ve found that a nation is respected for one thing only. That is for being United in mutual respect.

‘I don’t wish to abuse anyone, whether a Kikuyu, a Mukamba or a Masai. But one small group I really hate—those who tell lies. They add things that were not there. My duty is to speak the truth, even when it hurts. But it is perhaps because most of you were taught by Mr Barlow, who is reputed to have said that little lies to save oneself are not bad,¹¹⁹ that many people are prepared to tell lies as their main reason and occupation.

‘But that is not my line, because when I was in Europe, without anyone to give me any support, I used to speak the truth, and I will never give up and nothing will make me stop speaking the truth. What spoils our people, the Kikuyu, is the division to be found among them. For some say they’re True Kikuyu (Karing’*a*), others that they’re ‘Independent’, while others say they are CSM. And others say they are Salvation Army.¹²⁰ But when you meet someone and ask him what tribe are you, he will say he’s a Kikuyu.

‘It is better to know that we were born of Gikuyu and Mumbi, our father and mother. If we hold that belief we would go forward. We should take care not to become like Indians in India. For some of them say they’re Hindus while others say they’re Muslims.¹²¹ All that is foolishness. My concluding words are that you should understand that it is not I who am preaching to you. For Christians are taught: “Honour your Father and Mother”.¹²² Who are our father and mother other than Gikuyu and his wife Mumbi?

‘When you see a Kikuyu elder, respect him as Gikuyu. When you see a Kikuyu woman, respect her as Mumbi.’

Chiefs and the Disease of Corruption

‘Now about chiefs: if we promote him,¹²³ we should give him our respect unless he shows by his actions that he does not deserve such respect. For something really bad that spoils a lot of Kikuyu people is the disease of bribes.¹²⁴ For when we choose a man to go to the District Council, he becomes a lover of bribes.

‘When you meet him and ask him to make enquiries into certain matters for you, he puts his hand backward for you to give him some money. And because money does not speak, people continue to be corrupt, incapable of looking for justice. For being corrupt makes you

unable to discern the truth of anything. If we fail to see the truth when we conduct [court] cases, nobody will ever trust us.

‘It is better to look for the truth in every case we conduct, as well as speak the truth. If we follow that habit, and are United and respect one another, we will be able to build the big building at Githunguri.¹²⁵ *Because all the Kenya tribes are there and not the Kikuyu only.*¹²⁶ My concluding words are: Honour your father and mother, and I would tell you that a curse can be added to that saying, for it is said: “Should a man fail to honour his father and mother, his wages is death.”

‘Now then, there is another little disease which is again connected with someone wanting to know where he can get his tea.¹²⁷ When he hears words such as I have been speaking, he goes and adds some of his own invention so that he can be paid his money. But as it is said that those who fail to respect their parents should die, so the man who tells lies in order to get money should suffer the same fate. For he is a traitor to Gikuyu and Mumbi.’ After so saying, Kenyatta sat down amidst wild applause and the clapping of hands. Those then were the speeches that Kenyatta made to Africans on his return.

A Letter from Unusual Quarters

At the end of Kenyatta’s speech, I added my own conclusion, written at that time: ‘The writer thanks Almighty God for enabling him and giving him the strength to write down those words. Now the light is shining, and should a man decide to close his eyes in order not to see it, preferring to be in darkness, it would not be the fault of the light.’

Peace

Since Kenyatta's arrival from England, he had only been invited to the schools run by members of the Kikuyu tribe themselves, known as Independent schools—because they owed their existence to the work and help of the KCA from the very beginning.

But he was invited once by Students and Teachers at Kabete, still a white-owned missionary school.¹²⁸ They wrote their feelings on a sheet of paper which their prefect read out to Kenyatta:

'We Kabete school students and Teachers are very happy at being together with you, "Mwendwo ni iri na iriri",¹²⁹ Mr Jomo Kenyatta. This is because many of us have only heard your stories [from others].

'Our happiness and gratitude to you the Hero of our Nation is enormous. We cannot even talk or sing all that our hearts feel—perhaps we can try to sing a little bit. We would be very happy if we had something important to give to you that would match your service to our country and your bravery and sacrifice for our people. But we know that no gift could be found that was appropriate for a leader like you.

'The gratitude we owe you cannot be paid, except that the fame of your service will live for ever and ever.

'That being so, we would like to give you a small token to remind you that we are with you and that we are united with all those who love, and are delighted by, the service you have rendered our country. Our present is only a small staff bearing an ivory ornament. It is to remind you that "The Elephant never tires of carrying its tusks".'¹³⁰

Head Prefect Kabete Primary School

Peter Githua Magu

Another strange thing to be observed on this occasion is that Kenyatta was not asked to make a speech himself. He must have been pleased to hear how his services to the people and country were appreciated even by such young people as the students still studying at a white-owned school.

Translated from Gikuyu to English by the writer himself:

Henry Muoria

28th August 1985

London

Endnotes

1. The verb here is *rugūra*, the ‘interpretation’ or ‘explanation’ given for a riddle (Benson, 408).
2. The word here is *igai*, ‘share’, from the verb *gaya*, to ‘divide’.
3. The verb here is *rigicīria*, to ‘encircle’ or ‘surround with’, from the verb *rigica*, ‘entangle’, ‘confuse’, or ‘obstruct’ (Benson, 383).
4. Kenyatta may here be rephrasing *I Corinthians* 15: 36 [‘Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die’] to critical effect. He developed the metaphor further in the speeches that follow. It made a great impression on educated Kikuyu: see the preface to James Ngugi [wa Thiong’o], *A Grain of Wheat* (London: Heinemann, 1967).
5. In quoting this English proverb Kenyatta uses the word *Ngai* for God.
6. An expression of a core value in a society where, historically, children were often at risk of being orphaned, like Kenyatta himself.
7. Kenyatta’s word here is *Mwene Nyaga*, not *Ngai*.
8. Tea parties became the mark of young, Christian, sociability in the 1920s, to supplant the beer parties that had formerly been confined to male elders. By the early 1950s ‘tea party’ had acquired a new meaning, as a ceremony of initiation into Mau Mau. See, John Lonsdale, “‘Listen while I read’: Patriotic Christianity among the Young Gikuyu”, in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Christianity and Social Change in Africa* (Durham NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 563–93; Bodil Folke Frederiksen “‘The Present Battle is the Brain Battle’: Writing and Publishing a Kikuyu Newspaper in the Pre-Mau Mau Period in Kenya”, in Karin Barber (ed.), *Africa’s Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 302–10 for translation of *Mumenyereri*, 20 September 1952.
9. Muoria here summarises *I Corinthians* 9: 20–22.
10. The Gikuyu *uiguano* (derived from the verb *igua*, ‘to hear, heed, listen, obey’) is ‘mutual understanding, agreement; harmony, unity, amity’ (Benson, 183).
11. Muoria’s unpublished English text has ‘UNIFIER’ here. The Gikuyu term *muiguithania* means ‘one who causes people to hear, understand; one who makes mutual understanding, concord, harmony; reconciler, unifier’ (Benson, 183). To us, ‘reconciler’ conveys the idea of a persuasive speaker creating agreement while ‘unifier’ suggests a more forceful leader.
12. Muoria apparently thought that many of his readers feared that in England Kenyatta had succumbed to the self-doubt that Kenyatta went on to condemn in educated Africans who no longer respected their parents’ traditions. See below, ‘Kenyatta Speaks to the Kenya African Union’.
13. Gichuhiro is in southern Kiambu district, not far from Nairobi. Thogoto, thought to be a Gikuyu corruption of ‘Scots’, is the Church of Scotland mission station where Kenyatta was educated and baptised. For Catholic mission work and church history in Kikuyuland see Lawrence M. Njoroge, *A Century of Catholic Endeavour: Holy Ghost and Consolata Missions in Kenya* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1999); and for Kikuyu Catholic thought, Edmondo Cavicchi, *Problems of Change in Kikuyu Tribal Society* (Bologna: EMI, 1977).
14. For the Church of Scotland’s wish to return much of its mission land to its former Kikuyu owners as early as 1926, long before Kenyatta’s visit, see Njoroge, *A Century of Catholic Endeavour*, 136–54. For the earlier missionary acquisition of African land, see, M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), chapter 16. For the politics of the Scottish mission’s land and its return to particular clans: John Lonsdale, ‘The Prayers of Waiyaki: Political Uses of the Kikuyu Past’, in David M. Anderson and Douglas H. Johnson (eds.), *Revealing Prophets: Prophecy in Eastern African History* (London: James Currey, 1995), 247–8, 257–61.

15. 'The very beginning' here means the outset of British rule. *Mubea*, or priest, is a Gikuyu corruption of 'mon pere', for French Catholic fathers of the Holy Ghost Fathers or Spiritans were among the earliest missionaries in central Kenya. While the axiom is generally taken to mean that missionaries were as bad as settlers in taking African land, Kenyatta also has in mind their divisive effect on African loyalties, a theme he elaborated later: see below, 'How the Old Judas still Lives' and 'Jomo with the Elders who Sent Him to England'.

16. For Kenyatta's service to the Ethiopian cause see, Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta*, 196–98.

17. This appears to be a reference to the Swahili Kenyatta had used in Mombasa.

18. In London, for an English audience, Muoria glossed this saying as 'Knowledge is Power'.

19. Kenyatta exaggerated, but only a little. Besides the United Kingdom he visited Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, and Switzerland.

20. The Gikuyu text says Kenyatta's thoughts were *mahoreire*, 'cool' or 'mature', like a fire that has died down. But in London Muoria evidently felt that an English audience, without such understanding, would expect rather more of Kenyatta's state of mind.

21. The word here, *mūtwe*, is 'intellect' or 'intelligence'.

22. The 'heavy object' referred to is *ndīri*, a wooden mortar used for pounding grain. An *ndīri* was a long log in which several holes had been cut, so that women could work together (Benson, 295–96). The phrase was evidently popularized as part of the *mugoiyo* dance, performed normally by old people (Barlow, file Gen. 1785/6: 'Mugoiyo Dance, Kiambu', 1905). Kenyatta possibly came upon the proverb in reading G. Barra, *1,000 Kikuyu Proverbs* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1994 [1939]), number 235.

23. The word here is *kieya*, from the verb *-ea*, to 'clean up' or 'scrape up rubbish, litter or a mess' (Beechers, 19). A *kieya* was a space cut clear of grass, shrubs, and other rubbish on which a home could be built.

24. Presumably the British rulers and settlers, and Indian traders.

25. By which Kenyatta means 'knowledge'.

26. In colonial times a predominantly Indian residential area of Nairobi.

27. Muoria spells Dagoretti phonetically in the Gikuyu text: *Ndaguriti*.

28. Other Kikuyu at the time, including Gakaara wa Wanjau (see Lonsdale's chapter, above, section headed 'Public moralist') would have blamed African poverty on the economic discrimination and labour exploitation that had helped to make Indians and Europeans wealthy—although until the 1940s many settlers lost rather than made money. Kenyatta later revised his views on this issue: see below, 'To Advance Means Doing Three Things'.

29. Jiggers were sand-fleas, apparently unknown in Kenya before colonial rule, which laid eggs inside people's toes, creating great damage unless quickly extracted. Stone houses with wooden floors were more easily swept clean of jiggers than mud huts with earthen floors—something Muoria doubtless had in mind when concluding his first pamphlet, above.

30. See Barra, *1,000 Kikuyu Proverbs*, number 433.

31. Kenyatta here pays tribute to two senior colonial chiefs, whom more radical politicians might have considered to be 'collaborators'.

32. Kenyatta spoke as elder and anthropologist. For a fuller account see, Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*, 140–41. For his later doubts about the political value of circumcision see below, 'How the Kikuyu Could Be Respected' and 'How to Conduct our Trade'.

33. The only 'Young' Indian association at this time appears to have been the Young Sikh Society, determined to combat the intra-Asian communalism that was spurred on by the approach of independence and partition in the sub-continent itself. For Asian and African political contacts in post-war Kenya see: Dana April Seidenberg, *Uhuru*

and the Kenya Indians: *The Role of a Minority Community in Kenya Politics* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1983), chapter 4; Robert G. Gregory, *Quest for Equality: Asian Politics in East Africa 1900–1967* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1993), 72–80.

34. It is difficult to be precise about the ‘custom’, as Kenyatta called it, of racial segregation in Kenya, since explicit segregation was illegal, except in relation to farmland, after 1939. There were many ways round that, however: restricted covenants on the transfer of property; censorship of films; inability of banks to lend to Africans without documentary title to land as collateral; informal but effective white community sanctions against mixing. For film, see Bodil Folke Frederiksen, ‘Making Popular Culture from Above: Leisure in Nairobi 1940–1960’ (Roskilde University: Institute of Development Studies, unpublished, 1998), 19.

35. Kenyatta was perhaps optimistic in saying that no Europeans still held such beliefs—as Muoria went on to reflect in London. See below for his comment on Hola detention camp.

36. Now known as Inuit.

37. The word Kenyatta uses here for ‘race’ is *muhiriga*, which in 1938 meant a ‘division of a tribe or race’ (Beechers, 125). The word here is plainly meant to mean ‘race’.

38. In his English text Muoria quotes the careless as saying *Shauri ya Mungu* in Swahili since an English audience might have been expected to know that expression. In the Gikuyu text the phrase is given in Gikuyu, as *ni uhoro wa Ngai*, ‘it is God’s business’.

39. For similar sentiments expressed in his interview with the Indian-owned *Colonial Times* in October 1946 see, Seidenberg, *Uhuru and the Kenya Indians*, 81. Kenyatta’s view of Kenya’s political history was broadly correct, if harsh. Indian politicians and lawyers had made common cause with Africans against white settler supremacy in the early 1920s, and continued to do so thereafter, if to a lesser extent, although the Kikuyu Central Association continued to benefit from Indian advice until it was banned in 1940.

40. This idiosyncratic interpretation of British counter-insurgency against Mau Mau is not without some truth, since many whites did indeed blame the insurgency on Kenyatta’s malign influence over the suggestible Kikuyu, for which see John Lonsdale, ‘Mau Maus of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Re-making Kenya’, *Journal of African History* 31 (1990), 393–421. Eleven Mau Mau detainees were beaten to death at Hola detention camp in March 1959, not to test the thickness of their skulls but to force them to labour on an irrigation scheme. The government pathologist testified the cause of death to be either acute pulmonary oedema (9 cases) or haemorrhage (2), attributable to violence against their bodies. Two had also suffered fractures to their jaw or skull, and six others had minor head injuries: Colonial Office, *Record of Proceedings and Evidence in the Inquiry into the deaths of eleven Mau Mau detainees at Hola Camp in Kenya* (London: HMSO, Cmnd.795, 1959), 8–26. Hola was a disaster for Britain, helping to signal ‘the moral end of the British empire in Africa’. For its effects on British policy see, Robert Shepherd, *Iain Macleod, a biography* (London: Pimlico, 1994), 155–61; and (for the quote), Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation 1918–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 263.

41. Kikuyu independent schools and churches (independent of white missionaries) took their origin from private reading of the Gikuyu Gospels in the 1920s. They expanded in response to the ‘female circumcision crisis’ of 1929–30, for which see Lonsdale’s chapter, footnote 57 above. They split into two streams, the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and African Independent Pentecostal Church on one hand, and the Kikuyu Karing’a (‘pure Kikuyu’) Educational Association and African Orthodox Church on the other, the latter being the more radical politically. Both wings were banned during the Mau Mau emergency. See, F. B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels* (London: SCM Press, 1961); John Anderson, *The Struggle for the School: The interac-*

tion of Missionary, Colonial Government and Nationalist enterprise in the development of formal education in Kenya (London: Longman, 1970), chapter 8; Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2004), chapters 6 to 8; James A. Wilson, 'The Untold Story: Kikuyu Christians, Memories, and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement 1922–1962' (Princeton University PhD, 2002).

42. In London Muoria added the clarification that these were the independent schools.

43. This is a doubtful claim. Moreover, Kikuyu autobiographies often refer to students moving from missionary to independent schools and vice versa. For Kenyatta's more modest claim see below, 'Jomo with the Elders who Sent Him to Europe'.

44. *Tuthuri*, minor elders, could not afford to become full elders; *tubuti* (Swahili, *kabuti*) were often ex-army greatcoats.

45. In Kenyatta's youth parents were far from convinced that schooling was good for children.

46. The proverb is in Barra, *1,000 Kikuyu Proverbs*, number 137.

47. *Njahi*, nutritious beans, were especially fed to pregnant women.

48. While the KAU was the first officially sanctioned Kenyan African political organisation after the Second World War, several ethnically-based political associations, among them the Kikuyu Central Association, had been officially recognised between the wars (and some, including the KCA, banned as a wartime measure in 1940).

49. While no newspaper reported Kenyatta as fully as Muoria's *Mumenyereri*, white-owned newspapers, especially the Swahili-language *Baraza*, did not ignore him. The Alliance High School (founded by the inter-denominational 'alliance' of Protestant missionary societies) was the premier African school in Kenya, by the late 1940s being of full secondary (or 'high') school status. Kenyatta's half-brother James Muigai was the first boy to register at the school's opening in 1926. Kenyatta also sent his nineteen-year old daughter, Margaret Rose Wambui, to AHS, in 1947—before there was an Alliance Girls' School. See, Jeremy Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972), 110–11; Margaret Kenyatta, interview with John Lonsdale at Electoral Commission of Kenya, 5 July 2001. The Jeanes School, modelled on a community-schooling programme for African Americans in the southern United States, had opened in 1925, with Carnegie Foundation aid, to train African schoolteachers in the skills of rural development. In the 1940s the army took over the school for teacher-training and the Kenya government then used it to train junior African officials. For the school's early history see, Kenneth J. King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race, Philanthropy, and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 150–76; for its later years, Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War and Welfare in Kenya 1925–52* (Oxford: James Currey, 1952), 227–32, 330–32.

50. In London, Muoria made it clear that he referred to the lack of political activity in Murang'a (Fort Hall)—in contrast to the 1920s, when Murang'a had given birth to the KCA.

51. The Gikuyu text refers to the *Muhonokia witu ithui ciana cia Mumbi*, 'our saviour, we children of Mumbi'.

52. The KAU had been founded, with wary British approval, in October 1944, as a constituency association for the sole, nominated, African member of Legislative Council, Eliud Mathu. Its first president was the veteran Kikuyu politician, Harry Thuku, soon to be succeeded by the younger, more energetic, James Gichuru, educated at the same Scottish mission school as Kenyatta, for five years a teacher at the Alliance High School, then head of a Scottish mission school and secretary to the Kenya African Teachers Union. Handing over the presidency of KAU to Kenyatta in 1947, he played a similar role in the early 1960s, being the first president of the Kenya African Union before Kenyatta was released from detention in 1961, and was Kenyatta's first minister for finance at independence in 1963. For KAU's origins see, John Spencer, *KAU: The Kenya African Union* (London: KPI, 1985), chapter 4.

53. Gathigira probably came from the northern district of Nyeri where his is a common name.

54. The Gikuyu text calls them *ngombo iria nene*. Ngombo were 'slaves' or 'people in a servile condition', lacking volition and agency.

55. Francis Khamisi, then in his mid-30s, a Catholic from the Coast, was general secretary of the KAU but for most of his working life was a journalist, and for a time municipal councillor in Nairobi and then Mombasa.

56. Thika, about 20 miles north-east of Nairobi, became a manufacturing centre, processing settler-grown fruit and vegetables. The Nairobi-Thika road, skirting the southern edge of the Kikuyu 'reserve' was then, as now, one of the busiest and most dangerous roads in Kenya.

57. Eliud Mathu, born in 1910, witchdoctor's son, Alliance High School and Oxford graduate, was nominated as the first African member of Legislative Council in October 1944. After an uncomfortable period as 'man in the middle' during the Mau Mau Emergency, he became President Kenyatta's private secretary at independence. See, Jack R. Roelker, *Mathu of Kenya: A Political Study* (Stanford CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1976). Harry Thuku, Kenyatta's contemporary, had learned his politics when working for a settler newspaper and then the Treasury, before leading African protests, as a pioneer nationalist, in 1921. By now he was more conservative and became a leading 'loyalist' during the Emergency. See, Harry Thuku, with Kenneth King, *An Autobiography* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970).

58. When revising his text in London Muoria left out Hassan's admission that Somalis had to be shown how to be African. So-called 'alien Somalis'—not from northern Kenya but from British or Italian Somaliland—who came to Kenya mainly for the livestock trade, had earlier claimed to be 'Asians', not 'natives', and thus not subject to hut or poll tax. Somali soldiers also avoided flogging, deemed to be an intolerable insult to Muslims. For British views see Charles Chenevix Trench, *Men who Ruled Kenya: The Kenya Administration 1892–1963* (London: Radcliffe, 1993), chapters 4, 11–12, 15. For army discipline, Timothy H. Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King's African Rifles, 1902–1964* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 1999), 188–9.

59. What John Hatch, formerly the British Labour Party's adviser on African affairs, most remembered about his dealings with Kenyatta before 1946 was Kenyatta's advice to some Somali merchant seamen that the remedy for their troubles lay in their own hands. In conversation with John Lonsdale at Cambridge, 1980.

60. The Gikuyu text, *mihiriga ya andu*, means 'clans of people' but, plainly, here means 'race'.

61. The main occupation of Nairobi's Somalis would have been the livestock trade.

62. Pumwani Memorial Hall was built in 1923 (as memorial to the great sacrifices of the 1914–1918 Carrier Corps), in the new municipally-controlled 'Native Location' that was intended to replace the informal 'native villages' by which Nairobi was surrounded: Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), chapters 3 and 6. Frederiksen, 'Making Popular Culture', 5.

63. 'From Meru to Ngong' was a contentious way to describe the territorial extent of Kikuyuland. It was to claim the Embu and Meru peoples as 'Kikuyu'. While the British entertained an almost equal suspicion of the so-called 'K.E.M. tribes' during the Mau Mau Emergency, Embu and Meru leaders have frequently, then and now, resisted any such inclusion into 'Greater Kikuyuland'. In 1952 some European commentators blamed Mau Mau on youthful boredom, thanks to missionary disapproval of 'tribal dances'.

64. The 'family' referred to here is *rūrīra*, an 'umbilical cord', or the button on the bottom of a gourd, or the 'relationship' binding blood kin (Benson, 400). The proverb is in Barra, *1,000 Kikuyu Proverbs*, number 814.

65. The proverb is in Barra, *1,000 Kikuyu Proverbs*, number 747.

66. Such neighbourly sentiment was perhaps reinforced by the fact that Kenyan and other battalions of the King's African Rifles had helped the British to expel the Italians from Ethiopia and restore Haile Selassie to his throne in 1941. Gakaara wa Wanjau had served in this campaign.

67. *Nding'uri* here is a 'big, sturdy lad left over and not circumcised with the rest of his age-group', or 'one with outstandingly great reputation or strength...above his age group of class' (Benson, 293).

68. Kenyatta distinguishes—as Kikuyu had done at least since the 1920s—*gikuyuini*, rural Kikuyuland, from *gicombaini*, the 'place of the foreigners' or the 'place of the heedless', in other words, Nairobi. Contrast his views on circumcision in this and the next section with his earlier thoughts, above, in 'Kenyatta's Main Speech'.

69. Colonial Kenya had a long history of anti-Indian sentiment expressed by both white settlers and Africans. As small traders, informal bankers, skilled artisans, clerks, lawyers, station-masters—all the middle rungs of society—they were all too easily seen as a threat both to European supremacy and to African mobility when they might, more objectively, be seen as the essential lubricant of economic growth. See, Robert G. Gregory, *India and East Africa: A History of Race Relations within the British Empire 1890–1939* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951); idem, *South Asians in East Africa: An Economic and Social History 1890–1980* (Boulder: Westview, 1993); Agehananda Bharati, *The Asians in East Africa: Jayhind and Uhuru* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1972).

70. For an explication of the proverb, see footnote 22 above.

71. Kenyatta's chauffeur-driven car was a second-hand 1930s Hudson Terraplane.

72. *Athomi*, 'readers', can generally be taken to mean 'Christians'. Kenyatta is here echoing the Gospel parable of the sower. See *St Mark* 4: 3–20.

73. Kenyatta has apparently thought again about the connections he had earlier not drawn between African poverty and white and Asian wealth. See above, 'Kenyatta's Main Speech'.

74. The Gikuyu text chimes with the proverb 'a group of people are capable of lifting up a heavy object', quoted above. What Kenyatta here meant by 'power' is crucial for one's understanding of his politics. If he meant the moral power of unity and will, then one may conclude that his political views were socially conservative. If he meant political power, then he was, at this moment, as politically radical as Gakaara wa Wanjau (for whom see above, Lonsdale's chapter, section headed 'Public moralist'). Here we face the key enigma of Kenyatta's political thought—for which see John Lonsdale, 'Jomo Kenyatta, God, and Modernity', in Han-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt (eds.), *African Modernities* (Portsmouth NH, Heinemanns, 2002), 31–66.

75. This was his second reminder of how much was owed to (KCA) elders. See above, 'Kenyatta at Rironi'.

76. Kenyatta seems to think there were then no landless Kikuyu—unlike the working classes of Europe. In this he was wrong. Most scholars attribute Mau Mau's militancy to landlessness, or land poverty, among a large minority of Kikuyu. But Kenyatta acted on his belief that property was necessary to mature self-realisation and the social construction of civic virtue, to the extent of disapproving of workers' strike action in Kenya. See, especially, David W. Throup, *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau 1945–53* (London: James Currey, 1987); Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 238, 354. Mau Mau's self-appellation of *ithaka na wiathi*, 'landed property and self-mastery' suggests both a political philosophy shared with Kenyatta—that land conferred the right to political responsibility—and that Mau Mau's members did not enjoy that entitlement.

77. Kenyatta practised what he preached. See the photograph of him, with many others (and his Hudson Terraplane car), quarrying stone for Githunguri school, in Anthony Howarth, *Kenyatta: A Photographic Biography* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), 72–3.

78. Arthur Gatung'u (wa Gathuma) was in the 1930s one of the earliest ordained priests of the African Orthodox Church and after the Second World War became prominent in the Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association. Educated at the Scottish mission and Alliance High School, he was in large part responsible for the schism between Karing'a and the Independent Schools Association. Kikuyu opinion was divided on whether, in the 1950s, he supported Mau Mau or opposed it as a committed Christian. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, 149–53.

79. Compare Muoria's earlier gloss on 'Ngemi' above, 'Kenyatta's Words to the Kikuyu Sports Club'.

80. For Kang'ethe see above, endnote 22 in 'The Homecoming of our Hero'.

81. While the Gikuyu text is not entirely clear, Muoria seems to report Kang'ethe as saying that missionaries foresaw a future when education would outrun missionary control—thus perhaps suggesting that the independent schools had missionary blessing.

82. Kenyatta says the association aims to *kunora ciana*, to 'sharpen children' like a knife. For *ūgī* as 'sharpness', see Peterson, *Creative Writing*, 81.

83. In London, for his English audience, Muoria rendered 'goodness' as 'charity'.

84. The Gikuyu *kīrīra* or 'secret knowledge' was what elders passed on to youths at their initiation. In London, Muoria clearly felt the term was open to misunderstanding—and elders would certainly have seen their 'secret knowledge' as 'good advice'.

85. The Gikuyu text here is *kīrīra kana githomo*, 'oral knowledge or written knowledge'.

86. The Gikuyu phrase is *kīrīra ni kūruta magongona*, the 'knowledge of making sacrifices'. *Magongona* were the rituals that elders practiced when propitiating angry ancestors.

87. Kenyatta is developing his 'seed' metaphor (see above, his Introduction to this pamphlet) and will go on to develop it further, below. Here he also modifies the parable of the sower (*St Mark* 4: 3–20) by focusing on the quality of the seed rather than on the nature of the ground in which it is sown.

88. The word here is *gītina*, the 'base' or 'foundation', like the main stem of a plant, or the foot of a tree (Benson, 449).

89. For Kenyatta's earlier use of the proverb see above, 'Kenyatta's Main Speech'. His thoughts here echo the last two defiant pages of his *Facing Mount Kenya*.

90. Kenyatta is perhaps recollecting here the criticism he had made of the confusions created by missionary education in *Facing Mount Kenya*, 120, 124–5, 250–51, 269–73, 316.

91. The word here is *angwana*, a Swahili term connoting the sophisticated gentility of upper-class, urban, Muslims, living behind the doors that Muoria had so admired when being shown round Mombasa by Paul Kelly. See above, 'Home Coming', section 'Seeing Wonderful Old Doors'.

92. The word here is *gathuku*, 'parrot', from the Swahili *kasuku*. President Daniel arap Moi, Kenya's second president and Kenyatta's successor, was later to be notorious for advising Kenya's politicians to echo his words like parrots rather than espouse different policies of their own. For such teaching see Daniel T. arap Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism: Nyayo Philosophy and Principles* (London: Macmillan, 1986).

93. Kenyatta here seems to share Muoria's belief that one should think before speaking. See above, 'What Should we Do?', footnote 28.

94. *Nyamīndigi* is a red-breasted thrush, a clear whistler, frequently mentioned in folk-tales. It is also a nickname given to a garrulous person (Benson, 341).

95. The *mukongoe* was a mythical tree whose roots were said to go down to the unknown. To be swallowed by the roots of the *mukongoe* was to disappear completely. In another version of this folk-tale God changed his mind after sending the chameleon to mankind with the promise of eternal life, and sent the bird to forecast death. See, Leonard J. Beecher, 'The Stories of the Kikuyu', *Africa* 11 (1938), 80–87. The question

whether or not Kenyatta had cursed Mau Mau 'down to the roots of the *mukongoe* tree' on 24th August 1952 at a public meeting at Kiambu's *kirigiti* (cricket) ground played a prominent part in his trial in 1952–53. While the judge thought it was coded advice that Mau Mau should 'go underground', there seems no reason to doubt that Kenyatta did indeed curse the movement. See, John Lonsdale, 'Kenyatta's Trials: Breaking and Making an African Nationalist', in Peter Coss (ed.), *The Moral World of the Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 230–31.

96. The Gikuyu here is *gutindirira*, to 'take long over'.

97. Philip Kioko was treasurer of the Akamba Traders Association and was later appointed an official chief; Chief Karaboto (Kalavoto to the Kamba) was one of the most senior chiefs of the area; Chief Jonathan Kala of Kangundo was another senior man, with a Zulu wife; he may have started his official career as a police interpreter, then became an administrative clerk, then chief in 1936. He used the loyal military service of the Kamba in both World Wars to exert pressure on the British. Chief James Mwanthi of Kalama location, back from Britain's victory celebrations in London, also exploited the Kamba military reputation to good political effect, especially in securing educational funding from government. Information kindly given by Myles G. Osborne; see also his 'Changing Kamba, Making Kenya, c. 1880–1964' (Harvard University PhD., 2008).

98. The word rendered as education here is *u'marua*, an invented word meaning 'the state of letters'. *Marua* are paper correspondence.

99. The word here is *tanimboi*, a Gikuyu-ized rendition of the English 'turn boy'.

100. Kenyatta here refers to the Kamba 'destocking crisis' of 1938 when the British, partly as an environmental protection measure, partly to increase the turnover of a canning factory installed to export white-settlers' beef products, tried forcibly to cull 'surplus' Kamba cattle at a knock-down price. Kamba protests were relayed to Kenyatta in London. The British soon relented, mainly because the Kamba were seen as good soldiers, not to be provoked with a new world-war looming: See, Robert L. Tignor, *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu, and Maasai from 1900 to 1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapters 14 and 15; Osborne, 'Changing Kamba, Making Kenya.'

101. For Kenyatta's development of this analogy, and discussion, see below.

102. *Gucukana* is to 'despoil each other'. The British knew Kenyatta could be misreported by those with 'some axe to grind' but rarely gave him the benefit of that doubt: See Colonial Office, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau* (London: HMSO, Cmnd 1030, 1960), 52. Cited as *Corfield Report* hereafter, after its author, Frank Corfield, a retired colonial official.

103. The Gikuyu text refers to the 'tribal informers' as 'some people whose hearts were pounding, asking when Kenyatta would finish so that they can take that news of his to the clan of the whites'.

104. *Kihoto* also came to mean 'justice'.

105. To be a dependent client would make one defer to one's patron's wishes; and the most common reason for a man to live at another man's home would be that one was too poor to marry his daughter other than by performing domestic service. Such a man was known as *mwendia ruhiu*, 'a seller of the knife'. Kenyatta may be reassuring his audience that he is not subservient to his father-in-law Koinange.

106. Kenyatta uses *Mwene-Nyaga* here for 'Almighty God'.

107. One cannot know if Kenyatta remembered, if indeed he knew, that 'Judas' had first entered the Kikuyu political vocabulary in 1921–22, when it was an accusation levied against chiefs (including Koinange and Muhoho, both to become Kenyatta's fathers-in-law). See John Lonsdale, 'Moral Economy of Mau Mau' in Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London: James Currey, 1992), 370.

108. Kenyatta is quoting the Prayer of St. Chrisostom, from the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer*, and itself derived from a promise reported of Jesus Christ in *St Matthew* 18: 19–20.

109. Whites got to know of this argument and completely misinterpreted it as an attack on Christianity, when Kenyatta's chief concern was that religious division and competition was an obstacle to Kikuyu unity. The Kikuyu independent schools and churches, which Kenyatta supported, never repudiated Christianity. See, *Corfield Report*, 80.

110. The Gikuyu text titles this section 'What Kenyatta told the crowd at the sports meeting of the three-letters at Mukui school's football pitch'.

111. We have been unable to find evidence to corroborate this strange statement. It is possible that Muoria, adding this reflection in the 1980s, was thinking as much of his own inability to return to Kenya in the 1960s as of Kenyatta's predicament in the 1940s. For what Kenyatta said to others about his contacts with the British government before his return see Spencer, KAU, 163, 191–2. Also, *Corfield Report*, 50.

112. Dedan Mugo Kimani, who became president of all *Mariika* or age-groups in 1947, the chief fund-raisers for Githunguri school, was convicted of administering an illegal oath, on evidence apparently brought by outraged elders. Carl G. Rosberg and John Nottingham, *The Myth of 'Mau Mau': Nationalism in Kenya* (Stanford CA: Hoover Institution, 1966), 332; Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), 210, 233, 243. For George Ndegwa see the previous pamphlet, 'Home Coming', endnote 21.

113. This proverb is cited twice above, and explicated in footnote 22 of this pamphlet.

114. For accounts of Kenyatta in London see, Rosberg and Nottingham, *Myth*, 102–04, 138–41; Murray-Brown, *Kenyatta*, chapters 10–18. It is not clear what Kenyatta meant when referring to women's tax obligations since the Hut Tax, often seen as a tax on wives, had not been withdrawn, although it became easier for widows to claim exemption. Harry Thuku had been nicknamed 'the chief of the women' in the 1920s for denouncing forced woman and child labour on white coffee estates, and claimed that even Kenyatta had so named him: Thuku, with King, *Autobiography*, 47; echoed in Cora Ann Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya* (Boulder CO: Westview, 1992), 125.

115. When rewriting in London, in 1985, Muoria revised this sentence to make it clear that Kenyatta had Kikuyu independent schools in mind.

116. The 1929 'conflict' was the so-called 'female circumcision crisis'. For which see the summary in Lonsdale's chapter above, section on 'The making of a self-taught man'.

117. Kenyatta did not know what he was talking about; in the late 1930s (and doubtless since) Kikuyu women were choosing their bean varieties with an eye to their market profitability, as a means to pay taxes. See Claire Robertson, *Trouble Showed the Way: Women, Men, and Trade in the Nairobi Area 1880–1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 51–2, 77–8, for tax and beans. It is however the case that, as producer prices rose during the war, the flat-rate hut tax would have been a decreasing burden for rural Kikuyu households with enough land for market production.

118. *Kamwanya* is a 'small opening', as in a break in a hedge. Kenyatta is referring to the nomination of Eliud Mathu in 1944 as the first African member of Legislative Council, to join the Revd. Leonard Beecher as the second representative of African interests.

119. The meaning of this reference is not transparent. The Gikuyu text says that Barlow (a Scots missionary and Gikuyu linguist) is 'reported to have said that the *maheni ma kwihonokia ti moru*', that the 'lies of saving yourself are not bad'. *Uhonokio*, 'salvation', was the name Kikuyu gave to the East African Revival, a Christian conversion movement that began in Rwanda in the late 1930s and spread to Kikuyuland by

the mid-1940s. Its converts, many of them women, made a practice of testifying, in public, about their most private sins. Their talk infuriated Kikuyu elders, who regarded revivalists as scurrilous gossip-mongers. Kenyatta's phrase may therefore interpreted as a jibe against lying revivalists, who slandered other people for their own gain. See also above, 'What Should we Do?' section headed 'The reason of prayers and belief'.

120. Kenyatta here lists some of the different organizations running churches and schools in 1940s Gikuyuland. See the previous section, and footnote 109, above for Kenyatta's earlier criticism of denominational division and the reaction among whites.

121. Kenyatta uses the word *Ithiramu* here, a Gikuyu-ized version of the Swahili word *Islam*.

122. Kenyatta here quotes the 5th of the 'Ten Commandments'. See *Exodus* 20: 12.

123. 'If we promote him' is an interesting phrase to apply to officially appointed chiefs who were formally state servants rather than popular representatives. But the legitimacy of chiefs depended on a complicated calculus of popular support, British backing, and factional intrigue. See, Throup, *Economic & Social Origins of Mau Mau*, 144–51.

124. *Ihaki* were the fees paid by young men to their elders upon their initiation, or the fee paid by litigants in court cases.

125. While Kenyatta placed great emphasis on the need to enlarge and improve the facilities at Githunguri and invited the assistance of a white woman teacher (information from June Knowles, February 2008) his reputation suffered, whether from his alleged embezzlement of the construction fund—probably of more concern to the British than to Kikuyu—or from the fact that donations to build his power, seen as legitimate by Kikuyu, did not enable him to achieve any desired reform, especially the alleviation of landlessness. For these differing views see, *Corfield Report*, 91, 183–9; Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below*, 218–19, 242–3.

126. In Gikuyu Kenyatta assures his listeners that the Karing'a, 'true Gikuyu', are not the only ones at Githunguri school.

127. *Chai*, 'tea' or *kitu kidogo*, 'something small', remain colloquial Kenyan terms for a bribe.

128. Kabete, the senior Anglican mission station in Kikuyuland, had been founded and expanded with the sponsorship of the Mugane Njonjo and Koinange families, both of which furnished senior colonial chiefs and post-colonial cabinet ministers. It was the mission where both Grace Wahu, Kenyatta's first wife, and Henry Muoria had been educated. While this letter was not published in Muoria's original Gikuyu-text pamphlet, we think it probable that it appeared in *Mumenyereri*—a supposition that cannot now be substantiated, since very few copies survive and not everything that appeared in the paper was translated for the information of the British (to be preserved in the Kenya National Archives).

129. A benevolent ancestor, beloved by his descendants for bequeathing land and livestock, the substance of life, to his or her descendants. We should note that this very high praise came from a senior mission school rather than from an independent school.

130. Or, 'leaders do not shirk responsibility'.

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