


THE PRESS AND NATIONALISM IN KENYA, BRITISH EAST AFRICA

BY


LONNIE R. HUFF

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The European press [of Kenya] caters almost exclusively to European interest, but nonetheless commands a sizable African readership. . . The major European papers. . . have accepted in theory the concept of multi-racialism, a stance they feel to be liberal. . . the papers serve as agencies of alienation, reminding the educated African daily of his subordinate role and confirming in his mind the hopelessness of his political future. --James S. Coleman.¹

The whole pattern of the English-language press in Kenya. . . is dominated by the powerful East African Standard Group, which publishes daily papers in Nairobi [Kenya],. . . Dar es Salaam [Tanganyika], and Kampala [Uganda]. This organization. . . rarely 'carry a torch' on any issue, but prefer instead to model their policy on that of the London Times. --Helen Kitchen.²

In general, the European-owned press [in Kenya] was hostile to the nationalist cause, as were its readers. --Charles A.A. Hayes.³

* * * * *

When political independence came to British East Africa in the 1960's--Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in September of 1961, Uganda in October of 1962, and Zanzibar and Kenya in December of 1963--the white settler newspapers continued to dominate the press as they had in the early part of the twentieth century. As the statements above suggest, the settler press was opposed to the nationalist cause. That press became a mirror that reflected the interests of the white settlers.

The pro-settler policy of these newspapers placed the Africans at a disadvantage during their struggle for political independence. The Africans remained for sometime without a responsible press to voice their sentiments, or from which they could obtain an objective view of events. Their grievances, discontentment and dissatisfaction over their subservient status turned into nationalism. As nationalism took its course, an indigenous African press emerged slowly without the support of the influential settler newspapers.

Of the studies on nationalism in East Africa, only a few make any reference to newspapers. Little has been published about the history of the East African press or the role played by that press in the various nationalist movements. For example, a brief survey made in 1954 examined the position, political and commercial influence, of African-owned newspapers and of the press produced for Africans.⁴ It pointed to the problems facing the colonial governments in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda in developing an African journalistic profession.

In her 1966 study, The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present, Rosalynde Ainslie pointed to the complex problems raised by the dependence on foreign sources for news and program material. She showed that the press in East Africa is still linked largely to settler influence and control. She argued that this tendency is not decreasing but increasing, mainly because the governments have not intervened to reverse it.⁵ Although her study deals with the history of mass media

development in all parts of Africa, Ainslie does not focus in depth on the role of the settler press in nationalist activities.

Other studies do exist, but they were made on an individual "dependency" basis with only slight treatment given to press history.

For this study, six chapters are designed to pull together what is already known about this subject. This chapter (Chapter I) presents the background and theoretical framework, the purpose and scope, an overview of British East Africa, a discussion of research methods, sources and limitations, and definition of terms. Chapters II through V are a chronological overview of the historical and political development of the Kenya dependency. Inasmuch as the main focus is on press developments in Kenya, only an overview of the press in the other British East African areas will be presented. Chapter VI (final chapter) presents a summary of findings and conclusions.

BACKGROUND AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study stems from an observation concerning the striking policy shifts taken by the settler press after independence. The traditionally conservative and pro-settler policy of the daily press of Kenya apparently remained basically unchanged until the 1960's. Yet William A. Hachten, in writing about the press in Kenya in 1965, said: ". . . Since independence, it [the East African Standard] uncritically supports the Kenyatta government and regularly runs its

press releases."⁶

On this basis, then, several questions can be raised. Did the settler press support, oppose, or remain neutral towards the African nationalist political cause? Were the functions of the settler press significantly different in the few years just before the attainment of political independence than the earlier periods? What were the significant differences between the settler-run and the African-run press in Kenya? What generalizations, or trends from the characteristics of newspapers in Kenya can be made concerning the functions of the settler and the African press by independence?

Although scholars have recognized the importance of this subject, no examination in depth has been made of the settler press in the area as a whole. Guidelines for investigating the press in East Africa were provided by a 1967 study of the press in British West Africa. Edward L. Murphy, in his unpublished master's thesis "The Press and Nationalism in British West Africa," examined that section of the African continent for the same basic reason this study is made.⁷

In the light of the questions presented above, there are two points worth making here that arose during this study of settler newspapers and African nationalism. From the beginning, settler papers were non-participants in advancing the views of the African, particularly his political aspirations. The influential East African Standard of Kenya, for instance, was edited primarily for the white settler community.

It attracted a sizable readership, including Africans, with no competition over the greater part of its circulation area. As George H. T. Kimble stated, the settler newspapers ". . . have been spectators of political evolution rather than active participants in it."⁸

Secondly, the leading papers published in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda are settler-owned and controlled. Such newspapers include the East African Standard of Nairobi, Kenya, Tanganyika Standard of Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, and the Uganda Argus of Kampala, Uganda. All are members of the conservative Standard Group, oriented with a pro-settler policy. These papers, as Coleman noted, tend to be "mal-integrative,"⁹ thereby serving "to pluralize the communication process by quickening the urge among Africans to establish their own press."¹⁰ But in spite of the position taken by the East African Standard, that paper made policy shifts gradually throughout the colonial era. These occurred in the 1940's, 1950's and the post independent period.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The purpose of this study is to present a historical account of the press during the political development of the Kenya dependency, to identify trends in communications common to the other British East African dependencies--Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar--and to relate the questions presented earlier to nationalist political developments.

This study focuses heavily on Kenya and is concentrated primarily on the white settler press.

With Kenya as the focal point for this study, the press in the other British East African areas will be presented only in summary form. A composite list of general news newspapers compiled from this study is the only known list in existence concerning the four British East African dependencies during the colonial period.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

British East Africa consisted of four dependencies: Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1895 to 1963; Zanzibar Protectorate, 1890 to 1963; Uganda Protectorate, 1894 to 1962; and the Tanganyika trusteeship territory--formerly German East Africa, later held under mandate from the League of Nations, 1920 to 1961.

Throughout the colonial era, the white settlers established a number of traditions that still exist today. Their influence and control of the leading newspapers was a major factor in shaping the growth of the press in British East Africa. This impact was felt mostly in Kenya, and to some extent in Tanganyika. In Uganda and Zanzibar, white settlement was small with little or no effect upon these two dependencies. Because of that reason, this study is focused on the Kenya dependency.

Kenya. Kenya was the third East African territory to come under British rule in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Throughout the colonial era, Kenya became the focal point for settlement in East Africa, mainly because of the attraction of its land for farming in the White Highlands by the white settlers. Kenya's area of almost 225,000 square miles lies contiguous to Uganda on the west, Tanganyika in the south, and faces Zanzibar to the southeast. (See Figure 1). When independence came in 1963, the mid-year population was estimated at 8,847,000.¹¹ Over forty different tribes make up Kenya's heterogeneous population of which the Kikuyu, Luo, Baluhya, Kamba and Meru are the largest. Besides Africans, the population was also composed of Indians, Somalis, Arabs and white settlers. According to the 1962 census, the white settler element totaled 55,759,¹² representing most of the settlers among the four dependencies. The Indian population totaled 176,613.¹³ The latest total of settlers and Indians are, respectively, 49,000 and 183,000.¹⁴ Swahili is used widely; however, English is the official language. The literacy rate is 30-35%, in Swahili and English.¹⁵ Kenya's capital is Nairobi, and Mombasa is its chief port. The population of these two major cities in 1962 were, respectively, 266,794 and 179,600.¹⁶

The political development of Kenya as a British Protectorate ran its course over a period of 68 years. From the start, the white settlers came and alienated the most fertile agricultural land from the Kikuyu,

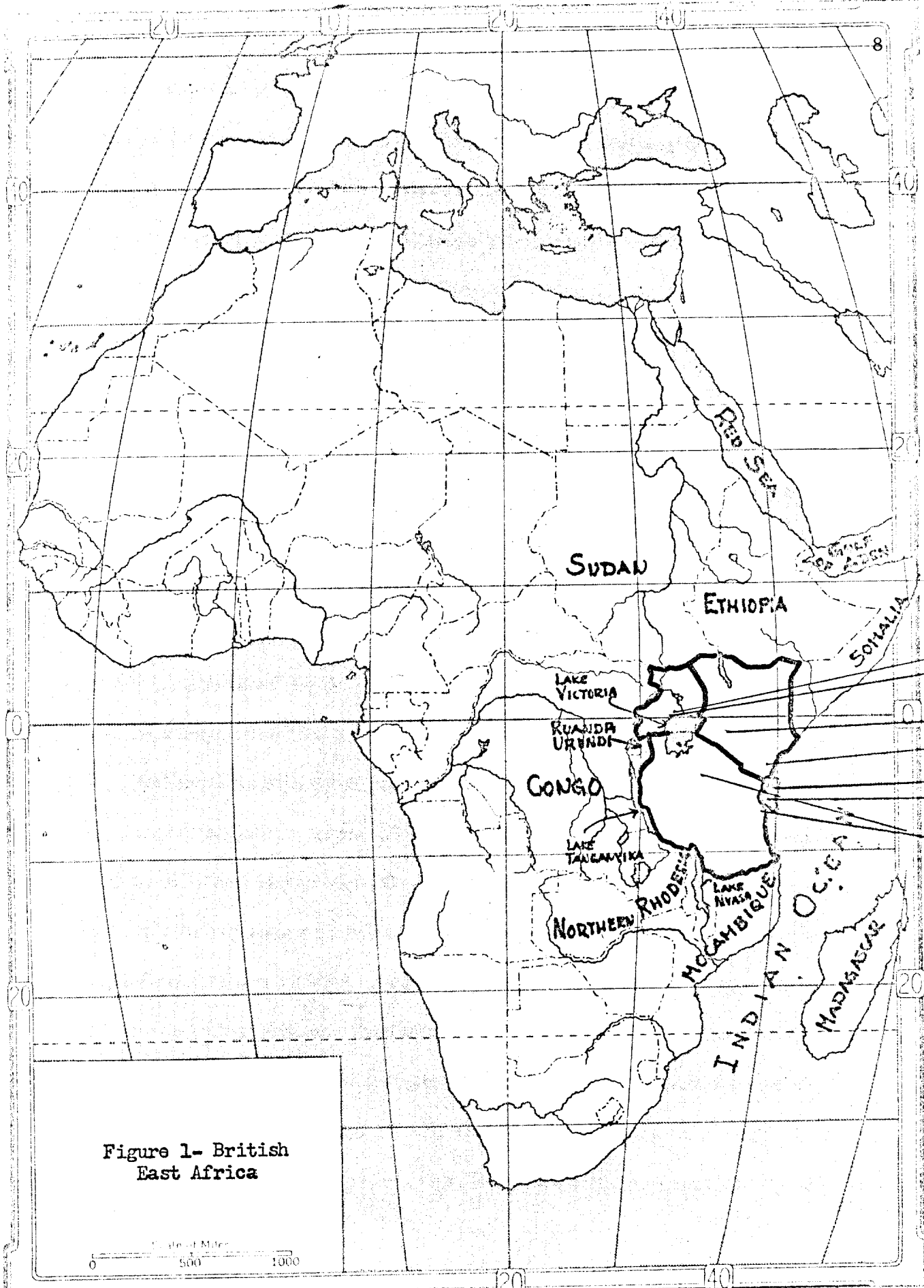


Figure 1- British East Africa

obtaining land titles from the colonial government. Kikuyu resentment was expressed through such political organizations as the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) and the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). With the latter organization is associated the name of Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta, called by some the "Father of African Nationalism," voiced the principles for which KCA stood on the land question both in Kenya and in London. Kenyatta was the first African nationalist in Kenya to press for African representation to the Legislative Council. But it was not until 1944 that Kenya had its first African join the council as a Nominated Member. The political agitation by the Kikuyu over land alienation and low wages continued for 32 years, only to culminate in the Mau Mau uprising and the declaration of a State of Emergency in 1952. The outcome of Mau Mau resulted in the trial of Kenyatta who was imprisoned as a leader of the movement.

For Africans and their political aspirations, Mau Mau proved to be the turning point that broke down a settler monopoly of governmental positions in the Legislative Council. Constitutional advancement came to Kenya in the form of the Lyttelton Constitution of 1954, the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1957, and the Lancaster House Conference of 1960. Neither the Lyttelton nor the Lennox-Boyd Constitutions proved to lessen the African demands for a majority in the council as both were opposed by the African nationalists. It was the Lancaster House Conference of 1960 that gave the Africans in Kenya a majority in the Legislative Council,

concurrently with Kenya's first general election on a common roll.

The political aspirations of Africans were finally achieved through two national parties--the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). Both were established in 1960. And both parties fought for and won Kenyatta's release, and a form of government for self-rule acceptable by both KANU and KADU. Independence came to the Kenya dependency in December of 1963.

Zanzibar. Zanzibar was the first East African territory to fall under British control, and it is by far the smallest in size. Zanzibar has an area of 1,020 square miles that consists of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba off the East African Coast in the Indian Ocean. The capital and commercial center, as well as its main political life, is Zanzibar Town. (See Figure 1.)

When political independence came in 1963, the population was estimated at 325,000.¹⁷ However, the last official census taken in 1958 gave the total population as 299,111¹⁸ (includes 279,935 Africans, Arabs, and Comorians; 18,334 Indians; 507 settlers; and 335 others). Of mixed origin, the Africans came from at least 50 mainland tribes. Swahili is the major language spoken. The literacy rate is 10-15%, mostly in Swahili, some in English, Gujerati and Arabic.¹⁹

Zanzibar is different in several respects from the other East African dependencies. One is that Zanzibar was one of the principal markets in Africa for exporting slaves. Another difference was the

fact that the white settler element was practically negligible throughout the period of colonial rule. The dominant element was Arab, and as a result the political ferment ran the course between three parties-- the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP), an Arab organization, and two principal African dominated parties, the Afro-Shirazi (ASP) and the Zanzibar Pemba People's Parties (ZPPP). Political independence came to Zanzibar two days before Kenya gained its freedom.

Uganda. The second East African territory to come under British rule was Uganda. Uganda is contiguous to both Kenya and Tanganyika, and has four territorial regions comprising a total of 93,981 square miles. (See Figure 1.) The regions include the Buganda, Northern, Eastern and the Western region. The most important region is Buganda, with the largest of the African tribes--the Baganda. Other major tribes that account for a high proportion of the African population are the Basoga, Banyoro, Batoro, Iteso, Lango and Acholi. The population in the year of independence (1962) was 7,016,000,²⁰ with Indians and Goans accounting for most of the non-Africans. White settlement was small, being less than 12,000 in 1961.²¹ Many languages are spoken in Uganda, however, the major tongues are Luganda and Swahili. The literacy level is 30%, mostly in Luganda and some in English.²² Uganda's capital is Kampala. The latest count on its urban center was estimated at 123,332.

When colonial rule was established in 1894, the British found Uganda far more advanced politically than expected. This presented a problem for the administration of Uganda's four Kingdoms. As Anthony J. Hughes, in his East Africa: The Search For Unity, wrote: "The existence of hereditary Kings and long-established tribal forms of government, together with religious rivalries, vastly complicated the struggle against British rule and made the achievement of independence a peculiar act of compromise."²³

As in the other British East African dependencies, the political development of the Uganda Protectorate progressed slowly under British rule. In the 1940's, the first nationalist movement emerged from the Kingdom of Buganda and was concerned with African hostility towards the use of land by the government. Subsequent actions turned into disturbances that were a planned rebellion against the Kabaka-- ruler of Buganda--and the Buganda government. Again, in the 1950's, a second nationalist movement took its course against the idea of unifying East Africa. The movement resulted in the deportation of the Kabaka. These actions were mainly with the Buganda, the most politically advanced tribe in Uganda. The remainder of Uganda's activities took its course with elections and eventually the gaining of independence in 1962.

Tanganyika. The last and largest East African territory to fall under British rule was Tanganyika, which has a total area of over

360,000 square miles. It adjoins to Kenya in the north, Uganda in the northwest and faces Zanzibar to the east. (See Figure 1.) Tanganyika is divided into 17 regions containing over 100 different African tribes. The largest is the Sukuma of the Bantu-speaking peoples. In the year of independence (1961), the population was 9,421,000.²⁴ Out of that figure, Arabs totaled 27,000, Indians 90,000 and settlers 22,000.²⁵ Like Kenya, Tanganyika had a high portion of white settlers whose attitude differed little from that of the Kenya settlement. The major languages spoken are Swahili, Sukuma and English. The literacy rate is 10-15%, mostly in Swahili.²⁶ Its capital and chief port is Dar es Salaam. The population of this major communication center was estimated at 150,000 in 1964.²⁷

Unlike the other dependencies, Tanganyika was subjected to rule by two European powers--Germany and Great Britain. The Germans were the first to colonize from 1885 to the end of World War I. During that era, Germany instituted a system of "direct rule" that tended to break down tribalism. As an outcome, the Maji-Maji Rebellion of the 1905-1907 period emerged to reveal African opposition towards this system of rule.

Following Germany's defeat in World War I, Britain's sphere of influence began with the establishment of the British Mandate under the League of Nations for Tanganyika in 1920. For the next four decades, the British instituted a system of "indirect rule" that

changed the pattern of administration within the dependency, ending with independence in the early 1960's.

Although Tanganyika was the first dependency to achieve independence, its development had been slow. Even the white settlers were not attracted initially to the territory because of its low state of economic development. As George Kimble wrote:

Because of long delays in resolving the question of the territory's political future. . . and because of their heterogeneous cultural backgrounds, the 'settler' groups did not start pressing so soon or so vociferously for power as their contemporaries in the other multiracial territories.²⁸

Politically, it was not until 1945 that Africans were given representation in the Legislative Council. And in 1954, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was formed. From this point on to independence, TANU dominated the political scene and encountered little difficulty from opposition parties.

RESEARCH METHOD, SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

The research method for this study is the historical approach. Press developments, reconstructed chronologically in the historical and political context of East Africa, are described in narrative form using data collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources of considerable help were the files of the East African Standard for the years, 1925 to 1927, 1954 to 1963; and the

Daily Nation, 1962 to 1963. These two newspapers represent the leading papers from Kenya's two major newspaper groups owned and controlled by the white settlers. Issues of earlier editions were not available for examination. Other valuable sources include: Annual Colonial Reports; Europa Year Book; Government Blue Books; USIA Revised Annotated Listing of African Press; and Willing's Press Guide.

Among the secondary sources listed in the bibliography, many reflect their reliance on newspapers as sources in representing the historical and political account of the four dependencies. However, only few provide extensive coverage on the press and nationalism. Those of particular assistance were: Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, Mau Mau From Within; George Bennett's Kenya, A Political History: The Colonial Period; George Bennett and Carl G. Rosberg, The Kenyatta Election: Kenya 1960-1961; William J. M. Mackenzie and Kenneth Robinson, Five Elections in Africa; and Carl G. Rosberg Jr., and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya. While these sources focus only on certain newspapers, they do provide an excellent framework for reconstructing the past of the Kenya press. Because gaps do exist in the knowledge about the press in British East Africa, other sources were used in an attempt to fill this gap. Helen Kitchen's The Press in Africa provided an account of the press as of 1956, including the orientation and influence of principal newspapers. Rosalynde Ainslie's The Press in Africa:

Communications Past and Present is another useful source.

There are two limitations to this study.

1. The principal settler newspapers were not studied for the years 1899 to 1924, and 1928 to 1953. This necessitated a reliance upon secondary sources for those periods.

2. No effort was made to sample the news content of mission newspapers, or African papers in Swahili--the lingua franca for East Africa.

DEFINITIONS

The Press. This term is used to describe the general interest newspapers of the colonial period that were intended to serve as a source of news for political, social, economic and cultural affairs, etc. Until World War II, the press could be described as small newspapers with limited circulation, inadequately staffed, and irregularly produced. After the Second World War, newspapers improved in quality and expanded in both numbers and circulation.

Mau Mau. As defined by Donald L. Barnett, Mau Mau is "A Kikuyu colloquial term meaning 'greedy eating;' popularized by the Europeans as the name of the revolutionary movement."²⁹ For this study, the latter part of the statement is used to associate the term as a nationalist movement that occurred in Kenya from about 1948 or 1949 to 1952.

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CHAPTER II

PRESS BEGINNINGS AND THE SEEDS OF NATIONALISM, 1895-1945

The press in British-ruled Kenya had its beginnings with the white settlers who came at the turn of the twentieth century and started adventures with newspapers. In fact, the press in Kenya was predominately settler-owned and controlled during the first 24 years of British rule from 1895 to 1919. In that period, over 15 newspapers appeared. Of that amount, the settlers owned at least 95% of the papers produced.

The first known independent newspaper appeared in 1899 and this was followed by others at yearly intervals. Several ceased because of stiff newspaper competition. Then came the rise of African nationalism in the period 1920-1945 that saw a continual growth in the settler press, concurrently with the emergence of several small African indigenous publications. By the end of the Second World War, there had appeared irregularly a total of more than 35 newspapers. These represented settlers, government, missionaries, Indians and Africans. But the vast majority of these newspapers continued to be settler-owned and were geared to the interests of the white settler population.

The development of the press and the emergence of nationalism in Kenya was shaped by a number of significant influences. One was

obviously the arrival of the white settlers in Kenya. With the assistance of Indian trade, the settlers laid the basic foundation for a modern economy by introducing wage labor and a monetary system.¹ But they also set the stage for nationalism by alienating the best agricultural land from the Africans. Indian immigration was another influence. The Indians were in competition with the settlers in wealth, education and political representation of the Kenya Government. Their political strivings generated animosity with the settlers who were aiming towards the establishment of a White Dominion.² A third influence was the missionary factor. Though mission newspapers were small, the missionaries intervened to bring pressure against African forced labor which the settlers had attempted to gain through the colonial government. And still another influence was British colonialism. British rule had entailed for the Africans taxation, forced labor, the problem of land alienation and lack of representation. The latter was inherent with the British system of "indirect rule" that was implemented as a means of administrative control.

This chapter will trace the development of the press in Kenya from the last decade of the nineteenth century to the end of World War II. Emphasis will be on the settler press and newspaper personalities involved during the political development of the Kenya dependency, including prominent African figures connected with the nationalist movements. The newspapers that appeared during the early beginnings

of the press had matched the needs of the settlers and government but served few Africans. African-owned newspapers were nonexistent until the twenties, owing their inception to the rise of nationalism. Africans came to start a small press as a means of voicing their discontent and grievances towards British rule. This chapter will also incorporate an overview of press characteristics in the other British East African dependencies. Although the settler element was present in Tanganyika and to some extent in Uganda, Kenya had remained as the focal point where the pressures of settlers were more pronounced.

1899-1919: THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS

The first twenty years were, indeed, relevant to the beginning of newspapers in Kenya as 15 were produced during the 1899-1919 period. With the exception of one government publication, the majority of the others were settler-owned.

The press in Kenya had its start with the opening of the Uganda railway line between Lake Victoria and Mombasa in 1902. With this line came the white settlers, Indians, trade and capital. The building of this communication link was all part of the British concept to suppress the slave trade and provide access to the headwaters on the Nile.

The British began construction of this railway in 1895, the same year Kenya was declared as the British East Africa Protectorate. They had also endeavored to bring in 35,000 Indians as laborers for the

railway construction.³ Many of the Indians later remained in Kenya as permanent settlers. Permanent settlement, however, was established earlier by a white settler named James Watt. Watt, in 1894, had set up farming near Kibwezi, Kenya's first mission station.⁴ Then in 1897, Lord Delamere, the pioneer of the white settlement, led an expedition into the Kenya Highlands from Somaliland.⁵ It was these events and the incursion of white settlers who came in the early 1900's seeking land but opposing Indian immigration that laid the foundation for Kenya's development. It was also these events that led to the early pioneering of the press.

Mombasa and Nairobi Set the Scene

The one communication center in Kenya that set the scene for the appearance of Kenya's first known newspaper was Mombasa. Mombasa, the principal port of Kenya, was also the capital of the British East Africa Protectorate.

Nairobi from the start was not an urban center. In his Kenya History In Outline, Solly Gillian described Nairobi before the coming of the white settlers as ". . . a bleak, swampy stretch of sappy landscape, devoid of human habitation of any kind, the resort of thousands of wild animals. . ." ⁶ Nairobi had relevance as it eventually became an important railway center and the capital of Kenya when the colonial government moved its headquarters there from Mombasa in 1907. It was also destined to play a significant role in African nationalism as it bordered

on the edges of the Kikuyu, Kenya's largest African tribe.

The first known newspaper to appear in Kenya was the Official Gazette. Though the year of its first appearance was unknown, it is believed to have started in 1895, the same year in which Kenya was proclaimed as the British East Africa Protectorate. It is known, however, that the paper did appear from 1899 to 1908 under the title of the Official Gazette of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorate and was published at Mombasa.⁷ One other newspaper had its beginning before the end of the nineteenth century. This was the East Africa and Uganda Mail that had its inception at Mombasa in 1899.

The Official Gazette was a fortnightly published by the Government Printing Press at Mombasa. It was printed on an old hand-press and distributed in Kenya and Uganda to 1908, selling at 3 annas a copy. The early issues of the Official Gazette performed the function of a commercial organ carrying advertisements for local stores, races and shows.

The East Africa and Uganda Mail was founded as an eight-page weekly by Olive Grey.⁸ That paper was circulated to the English reading public in Mombasa carrying local and some topical overseas news. Grey was an Australian journalist who slanted much of news at various personalities and abuses in a flowery style.⁹ Although Grey criticized other personalities, her favorite news personality was aimed at A. M. Jeevanjee, an Indian and the leading businessman in Mombasa.

Grey's continuous efforts to break the Jeevanjee monopoly of business firms led the latter to start a rival paper in the early 1900's. The East Africa and Uganda Mail ceased in 1904 after a fine was imposed for defamation.

The East African Standard Comes to Kenya

A. M. Jeevanjee, who was publicized in Grey's East Africa and Uganda Mail, entered into newspaper competition by starting the African Standard in November, 1902.¹⁰ The Standard published first as an eight-page bi-weekly and later changed to one issue per week. The paper was entitled The African Standard, Mombasa Times and Uganda Argus, and it sold at 8 annas a copy. Jeevanjee hired as his first editor W. H. Tiller, a British journalist of the Echo staff in England. The news content of the papers' early issues consisted of shipping arrivals and departures, local news of Mombasa residents and a "very attenuated Reuter services."¹¹

Jeevanjee's tenure as a newspaper proprietor was brief as he sold the African Standard to a local partnership of white settlers named C. B. Anderson and R. F. Mayer. These two journalists later renamed the paper The East African Standard. George Bennett wrote: ". . . it became the East African Standard in 1905. . . to voice later the ideas and politics of Delamore. . . who at the time held a considerable influence in its direction."¹² Anderson not only directed his paper at the political aspects of Kenya but also to the social and economic life of the settlers.

Early Settlement

The first 15 years of the twentieth century was one of early settlement characterized by a large influx of settlers who came to Kenya for fertile agricultural land. In Nairobi where the white settlers concentrated, their population grew from nearly 100 in 1903 to 3,175 within eight years.¹³ By 1914, the settler population had reached 5,438.¹⁴ Equally important in that year was the Indian population that totaled 14,131.¹⁵

The attraction of the white settlers to Kenya traces to Lord Delamere who had led an expedition into the White Highlands before the turn of the twentieth century. Seeing the agricultural potential in the land area, Lord Delamere had set out to promote white settlement into the White Highlands.

The impact of early settlement created two major problems that later stimulated the rise of African nationalism. One of the major problems was the alienation of the best agricultural land from the Africans. Less than a third of Kenya's 225,000 square miles of land is fertile enough for farming purposes. Of that amount, the White Highlands composed 12,000 square miles of the best land right in the midst of several African tribes--the Kikuyu, Kamba and Masai. And the lands of the Kikuyu were affected the most. In his Crisis in Kenya, K. Aaronovitch stated that: "The land of the Kikuyu--the most fertile, the best-watered and the nearest to the railway--was raped first. . ." ¹⁶ Most of the

Kikuyu had become squatters on their own land that was alienated by the settlers.

The second major problem from early settlement was labor. The gradual increase in the settler population had generated demands for an increase in African labor. The government responded to the request by procuring laborers for the settlers. The Official Gazette, voice of the colonial government, disseminated notices and informational instructions on the utilization and treatment of African labor. In one of its 1907 issues, the Official Gazette voiced that: "Officers of the Administration and Native Affairs will do their best to supply labourers for settlers, planters, contractors and others."¹⁷ This message was followed with guidelines on the treatment of laborers such as erecting suitable huts and keeping an adequate supply of medicines. The settlers felt these rules imposed restrictions and sought assistance elsewhere.

But native labor was not easy to obtain and as a result crop production decreased. The overall economic situation came to a point where the inflow of currency had almost stopped by 1909. The East African Standard voiced the settlers concern over the unbalanced economic situation. In an open letter to the Colonial Administrator in 1909, the East African stated: "We are in what appears to be inextricable financial morass and we look to you personally to extricate us."¹⁸

The settlers, in seeking a method for overcoming the labor problem, pressed the government to impose taxation upon the Africans. The East African Standard supported the settlers viewpoint by editorializing that:

We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native. . . it is on this that the supply of labour and the price of labour depend. To raise the rate of wages would not increase but would diminish the supply of labour. A rise in the rate of wages would enable the hut and poll tax of a family, sub-tribe or tribe to be earned by fewer external workers.¹⁹

The Indian Problem

The political struggle, following the First World War, in the Kenya dependency was focused on rivalry between the white settlers and the Indians. The Indian problem had centered on immigration and their demands for equal representation with the settlers on the Legislative Council. In addition, the Indians were also pressing the colonial government for an end to urban segregation.

The problem in Kenya dates back to the 1890's when 35,000 Indians were brought to East Africa to work on the Uganda railway line. Many of them remained as permanent settlers when the railway was completed in 1902. With them came trade and this had contributed towards some stability in the economical development of the Kenya dependency.

The role of the Indians was one of a trading middle-class society located between the indigenous African laborers and the upper class

settlers. Asians owned most of the trading establishments in Nairobi. It is recalled that A. M. Jeevanjee, an Indian, had a monopoly on the leading business firms in Mombasa at the time he established The East African Standard in 1902. He was head of a company of contractors, shipowners and general merchants. In his The Struggle For Kenya, Donovan Rawcliffe noted that the white settlers had disliked the Indians mainly because of the competition which the Indians had offered them in trading and in education.²⁰

The outward resentment by the settlers toward Indians came to the fore in the early twenties when the latter were given political representation. The situation, as described by John Hatch in his A History of Postwar Africa, was almost a violent rebellion from the white settlers.²¹

An end product of the settler-Indian rivalry, by 1923, resulted in the government making provisions for the election of five Indians to the Legislative Council. Immigration was also to be regulated to the extent that the interests of the Africans were to be regarded with the highest priority.

The Press in Kenya by 1919

The press in Kenya by the end of the year 1919 was mainly a settler press. At least 15 newspapers had appeared irregularly from 1899 to 1919. (See Table 1, The Press In Kenya By 1919.) From this table, it is noted that three dailies had appeared; however, the non-availability of source material had precluded an accurate assessment

TABLE 1

THE PRESS IN KENYA BY 1919

Name of Newspaper and Location	Year Founded	Frequency	Language	Founder (Editor/Publisher)	Remarks
Official Gazette of the East Africa Protectorate/ Kenya (Nairobi)	1899(?)	?	English	Colonial Government	Government Printing Press.
East Africa and Uganda Mail (Mombasa)	1899	Weekly	English	Olive Grey	Independent; ceased in 1904.
East African Standard (Nairobi)	1902	Weekly Daily	English English	A. M. Jeevanjee C. B. Anderson	Independent; founded under name of <u>African Standard</u> ; First editor was W. H. Tiller.
The Port Terman Times (Nyando Valley, Kenya)	1903	?	English	?	A typewritten sheet in a military center; no further record.
East Africa Quarterly	1904	Quarterly	English	?	Organ of East African Agricultural Journal; non-political.
Nairobi News (Nairobi)	1905	Weekly	English	S. E. J. Howorth	Independent, first Nairobi paper, 4-pages.
Globe Trotter	1906	Weekly	English	David G. Longworth	Published by <u>East African Standard</u> ; 12-pages; ceased in 1908.
Advertiser	1907	Weekly	English	D. S. Garvie	Ceased in 1909; bought by <u>East African Standard</u> ; first penny paper in East Africa.
Leader	1908	Weekly Daily	English English	Alexander Davis	No record on frequency until 1913; Published daily and weekly 1913 to 1920.
Samachar (News)	1909(?)	Weekly	Gujerati	?	
Pioneer	?	?	?	See Remarks	Published weekly, 1910 to 1912; no further record.
Daily Leader	?	Daily	English	See Remarks	Published by Lord Bertran Francis Guidon Cransworth; ceased prior to World War I.
Star of East Africa	?	Weekly	?	?	Appeared for one year; sold to <u>Advertiser</u> about 1907.
Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser (Eldoret)	1916	Weekly	?	?	No further record.
Times of East Africa	?	?	?	F. Watkins and N. Tarlton	A Planters & Settlers Organ.

Sources: East African Standard (Nairobi), Diamond Jubilee Supplement, November 16, 1962; Kenya Weekly News (Nairobi), July 14 and 21, 1961; Willing's Press Guide, 1906 through 1920 (London: Willing's Press Guide, James Willing, Ltd., 1907 through 1921).

to be made of the number of newspapers existing by 1919.

The settlers' East African Standard had established its roots as the dominant newspaper in Kenya, having increased its frequency to include both daily and weekly editions. This came in 1910 when that paper moved its plant facilities to Nairobi, leaving the Mombasa Times to fill the gap in Mombasa.²² Seeking to achieve a monopoly in the newspaper field, the East African Standard started the weekly Advertiser three years later.

The period 1899-1912 was characterized as one of newspaper rivalry and competition. Several papers had appeared but ceased due to a lack of financial support. The Daily Leader of Nairobi, for instance, was founded by Lord Bertran Francis Cransworth who ran his paper as a rival daily merely because of a personality clash with the East African Standard's editor Claud B. Anderson.²³ The conflict was an outgrowth of an article that appeared in the East African Standard criticizing Lord Delamere, and influential member of the Legislative Council. This action led eventually to a second article in the East African Standard, attacking Lord Cransworth for his indignation towards Claud Anderson. A libel action ensued which the former won. Lord Cransworth, in writing about this suit, cited no date, but it was believed to have occurred between 1912-1913. The content of the Daily Leader included topics of local interest. The paper soon closed because it lacked readers and had

difficulty in obtaining advertisements for financial backing. Of the East African Standard, Lord Cransworth stated: ". . . we doubtless helped it more than we hurt. Healthy competition in the newspaper business is an admirable tonic. The Standard has in fact never looked back, but steadily increased its circulation and the influence it sways . . ." ²⁴

By 1918, the East African Standard and its associate papers had also shifted from individual to corporate ownership. This shift in ownership resulted in the establishment of the East African Standard Limited with a Board of Directors of white settlers. The owner of the Standard, Claud B. Anderson, became Chairman and Managing Director of the East African Standard Limited. The reason for this action, which was to be reflected in the papers' policy, was explained by the paper in the following: "The war years of 1914-1918 halted the country's economic expansion but strengthened the determination of those who were defending their homes to build a new country of which they [the settlers] could be proud." ²⁵

Summary: The First Twenty Years

Though the British had established control in Kenya in 1895, the beginnings for the press occurred during the last 20 years of the period 1895-1919. With the exception of the government's Official Gazette, the press was mainly settler-owned and settler-influenced. The influential East African Standard had supported the settlers view

on the labor problem, one of the critical issues in the Kenya dependency that was connected with the alienation of land.

1920-1945: THE RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN KENYA

During the period 1920 to 1945, political activity in the Kenya dependency was focused for the most part on the rise of African nationalism. Although the number of newspapers increased to about 38 by the end of the Second World War, the development of the settler press was untouched by the rise of African nationalism. Significant for the Africans, however, was the birth of a small indigenous press of three newspapers.

The Rise of Kikuyu Nationalism

African nationalism had its beginning in Kenya in the early 1920's and was primarily concerned with Kikuyu grievances over being deprived of land by settlers. The land problem led into other issues where African discontent was expressed against low wages and tax increases. Another was the lack of representation by Africans in matters involving own interests.

The Kikuyu, largest of the African tribes in Kenya, lived in close proximity to Nairobi where the majority of white settlers had established farms on the most fertile land in Kenya. Before the influx of settlers in the early 1900's, the Kikuyu had vacated most of their agricultural land owing to drought and the spread of a smallpox

epidemic. They later returned to find most of their land was alienated by the settlers.

The large scale alienation of Kikuyu land had occurred due to a failure on the part of white settlers to understand the Kikuyu concept of land ownership. The right to occupy and own land by outsiders, according to Kikuyu law, cannot be taken by force.²⁶ As L. S. B. Leakey, a leading expert on Kikuyu law and custom, wrote: ". . . the Kikuyu fully believed that the spirits of the owners would make it impossible for the new occupiers [the settlers] to carry out their agricultural activities with any hope of success. . ." ²⁷ Leakey added ". . . land . . . was not and never has been held on a communal or tribal basis but . . . was owned by individuals and their families through the right of inheritance. . ." ²⁸

The most fertile agricultural land occupied by the settlers was designated as the White Highlands. The White Highlands was that part of Kenya set aside for the white settlers who were "to have a privileged position."²⁹ And this became the spark for the rise of nationalism as the White Highlands had comprised part of the lost land demanded for return by the Kikuyu.

Though the Kikuyu had become discontented over alienation of their land, there were other issues linked to their grievances, particularly the reduction in wages for African laborers and increases in poll tax that were imposed by the colonial government. These became

the political issues during the 1920-1945 period that had contributed to the rise of Kikuyu nationalism. It was also these issues that gave rise to Kikuyu political parties inasmuch as they were the most politically conscious tribe in Kenya.

The Young Kikuyu Association

The year 1920 was characterized by three relevant events. First, Kenya became a Crown Colony under the name of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate. Previously, Kenya was known as the British East Africa Protectorate that had included Kenya and a part of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions along the East African Coast. The latter was excluded when Kenya became a Crown Colony in 1920.

The second event was the dependency's low state of economy. Kenya was in an economical slump that had stemmed from the effects of the First World War.

Another event was the beginning of the first known nationalist movement called the Kikuyu Association. Little, if anything, is known about any press support given this organization as it emerged a year later under the name of the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA).

YKA was formed under the leadership of Harry Thuku who was a dominant African figure in Kikuyu nationalism during the early twenties. He had seized the opportunity to advance political activity because the Africans at the time were being affected by a cut in wages. Thuku had been a government telephone operator and had claimed to be the first

Kikuyu to read and write English.³⁰ The mechanics of press operations was not new to him, having been a compositor on the settlers' Leader. He directed the aims of his political party to the land issue as well as to problems of the unemployed and urbanized Kikuyu. Press support for the YKA came partially from the Indians' East African Chronicle.

The editor of the East African Chronicle, M. A. Desai, publicized Kikuyu demands in 1921 commenting that proper land titles should be issued to them.³¹ Much of the Kikuyu land loaned to the settlers was authorized by the colonial Government without issuing title deeds. For a short period, Desai made the services' of his paper available to Thuku in advancing the views of the Kikuyu.

But Thuku and his YKA were short-lived. In 1922, he was arrested for seditious speech-making and exiled as an " 'agitator'--too dangerous to be allowed freedom."³² His arrest was followed by several days of demonstrations in protest of the government's action. The YKA became inactive, though it reappeared under a different name in the mid-twenties.

The First Government Newspaper For Africans

The first government newspaper for Africans came in 1922. This was the Habari (News), a monthly in Swahili and English.³³ Produced under the auspices of the Native Affairs Department, Habari was started as the official educational medium for the Africans. The first editor was Col. O. F. Watkins, Acting Chief Native Commissioner.

Watkins aimed the paper at the African elite of the Colony, disseminating both local and world news. Habari continued to appear until 1926. Habari's discontinuance was based on the desirability of starting a series of local newspapers in vernacular languages. The government's action brought comments from the settlers' East African Standard, questioning the future of Habari and attacking the government for failing to improve the African newspaper. The Standard, in a lengthy editorial entitled 'Habari', stated:

. . . we can hardly believe, in fact, that the government, apart from the editor and those closely connected with 'Habari', have taken the little paper or its work and purpose sufficiently seriously. The financial provision has always been of the most meagre character; there has never been a proper staff . . . That is not the way to run a newspaper upon the success and influence of which much may depend in a country such as Kenya . . . the administration should surely take an interest in 'Habari' to the extent of improving it and extending it along the lines of some definite policy. . .³⁴

The comment by the East African Standard had served to point out three main characteristics of the press during the twenties. One was the lack of financial support for publications. A second was the need for more technically trained and qualified journalists. Small circulation was a third feature of the press, owing to the diversity of languages. There were over 40 different vernaculars spoken in Kenya, although Swahili had been recognized as the official language. Poor transportation routes between urban and rural sectors of the colony

had accounted for the difficulty in distributing newspapers.

Kikuyu Central Association

A second nationalist movement known as the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) started in 1925. KCA had formed from the inactive YKA, with aims to recover 'lost lands'³⁵ of the Kikuyu. The leadership was provided by two Kikuyus named Joseph Kanf'ethe and John Mbutia. While little is known about their earlier background, they agitated and pressed for reform through mass meetings during the next 15 years.

Besides the activities of KCA was the increase in interest given to the labor issue. In 1926, the colonial government attempted to ease the labor problem by issuing permits to certain estates for importing indentured foreign labor. The East African Standard voiced opposition to the government's decision, mainly because the policy on indentured labor was not scrutinized by the settler members of the Legislative Council. In part, the editorial stated:

. . . if we decide upon imported indentured labour does it not follow that, if the policy is a success from an economic point of view, the average settler, ignoring theories, will eventually cast off the inefficient local African for the efficient foreigner? . . . But there are larger considerations than private gains; imported labour . . . must also create a dividing line between the European and the native communities and deprive the fact of trusteeship of much of its beneficial force. . .³⁶

The East African Standard seemed more determined on the dangers of importing foreign labor into Kenya. The paper expressed the settlers' interest again in August of 1926 on the same issue, comparing the acuteness of the already existing labor problems and its impact on the settlers. A portion of the paper's comment stated:

. . . We have always believed that whether the labour shortage is of a permanent character or not--and our opinion is that it is a problem soluble by ordinary economic and human factors not peculiar to Kenya--the alienation of land should depend upon something more important than the need of the Government for additional revenue. We have urged repeatedly the establishment of a Development Board which will . . . obviate the creation of a set of circumstances which would perhaps force the Colony into all the dangers of a policy of imported labour inimical to the real interests of Kenya . . .³⁷

From these two comments, it appeared that the East African Standard had always opposed government's policy or decisions. On the contrary, the paper also supported the government at times.

As the Kenya dependency moved into the year 1927, the land problem of the Kikuyu continued. It not only brought further comments from the East African Standard but also criticisms from the British press in London. The East African Standard, on March 26, 1927, published an article entitled "The Demand For An Unofficial Majority,"³⁸ with comments from three British newspapers--The Nation and Athenaeum--The Truth and The Manchester Guardian. These newspapers had attacked the land problem by criticizing Kenya's Legislative Council demands for an elected, non-official majority of members in place of the already

existing official majority. These demands would have necessitated amending the constitution which the Truth had opposed. The Nation and the Athenaeum presented an objective view of the settlers position and offered an alternative solution for disposing of the problem. The Manchester Guardian had remained neutral. A part of these papers comments were:³⁹

The Nation and the Athenaeum: -- . . . According to one view--roughly, the settlers' view--the best hope for the native is that he should work for the white man--in short, that he would be commercialized or industrialized. According to the other view, the native should be helped to become a producer of his own land--a peasant proprietor. There should be in Kenya . . . some arrangement whereby the native lands are vested in a trust charged with . . . the education and encouragement of the Africans as growers and farmers of our raw produce.

The Truth: -- . . . The white settlers of Kenya have been subjected to a good deal of unmerited criticism, but on the other hand, having regard to the conditions of the country and the Indian, native, and labour problems that have to be faced, it would be a rash experiment to make a change which would practically give them control of the administration.

The Manchester Guardian: -- . . . The whole question . . . of the relation of the exploiter to the exploited in tropical lands is raised in principle in Kenya, and every blackman in Africa is concerned, and every white nation which is responsible for his treatment, and his happiness, and his destiny is concerned also. An attitude of aloofness, or indifference is therefore not justified.

The First African Newspaper

Meanwhile, the first African newspaper had started in 1927. Unlike the first nationalist movement, the KCA had grown to produce its own newspaper. This was the Muigwithania (The Conciliator), a monthly

Kikuyu news-sheet and the first African-owned paper to appear in Kenya.⁴⁰ It came to Nairobi in 1927. Muigwithania was founded by Jomo Kenyatta, another dominant figure in Kikuyu nationalism.

Johnstone (later Jomo) Kenyatta, as he was known in the twenties, was a native of Central Kenya, having been educated at the Church of Scotland Mission outside Nairobi. Between 1921 and 1926, he was employed by the Nairobi Municipality. Joining the YKA in 1922, Kenyatta remained with the organization until it was disbanded and re-named the KCA. While with KCA, he became General Secretary and editor of the Muigwithania. He edited the first nine issues (dates unknown) and was succeeded by Henry Mwangi Gichuiru in 1929.

The content of Muigwithania included accounts of meetings, advice, proverbs and news items. One of Kenyatta's stories advised Christian members of the KCA: ". . . to try and follow Church rules . . . since our association is not here to show people that churches are useless or divide their followers."⁴¹ In another Kenyatta story, an account was given on land productivity, urging its readers to plant African and European fruit trees and to follow the instructions of the Agricultural Department.⁴² Muigwithania ceased temporarily in 1934, but it reappeared the following year with irregularly editions until the early forties.⁴³

Kenyatta not only advanced Kikuyu grievances through his paper, but he had traveled to England in the twenties and thirties to represent

them on the land problem. A special edition of Muigwithania was circulated in 1930 to sponsor one of his London trips. While there, Kenyatta requested for the first time that Africans be appointed as members of the Legislative Council. He came eventually to remain in England until the end of the war, undertaking graduate study in anthropology at the London School of Economics.

Kikuyu Provincial Association

The third Kikuyu political organization, the Kikuyu Provincial Association (KPA), emerged in 1935 under the leadership of Harry Thuku. Up to this point in Kikuyu nationalism, political activity for the thirties was small and remained so until the beginning of World War II. Perhaps the reason was as one newspaper stated: ". . . with Kenya stumped by the depression of the '30s few were prepared to listen to the call for freedom."⁴⁴

Harry Thuku was released in 1930 from detention and allowed to return to Nairobi. Two years later, he re-entered into politics and in a contested election became president of KCA. As president until 1935, Thuku's attitude towards the government had changed. He was no longer the militant leader of the early twenties, blaming government for the discontentment of the Kikuyu. His change in attitude created intra-party friction, and this led to a split of leadership within KCA. The reason for Thuku's change, however, traces back before his release from confinement. As stated in F. D. Corfield's historical

survey of Mau Mau, Thuku had pledged ". . . to oppose Government in a constitutional manner only . . ." ⁴⁵ And in 1935, Thuku became disassociated from KCA, moving to form another party. In that year, he formed the Kikuyu Provincial Association and oriented it pro government.

The Press Before World War II

Prior to World War II, the press in Kenya had reflected a number of new developments. The East African Standard with a pro-settler outlook had become the dominant paper. George Kinnear became the new editor of the paper in 1925. ⁴⁶ Kinnear was associated with the weekly Leader, a settler newspaper that ceased publication in 1922 but was purchased by the East African Standard a year later.

A second major change by the Standard was the revival of Habari (News), a Swahili newspaper for Africans started initially by the colonial government. The Standard had begun to re-publish Habari in 1927 with English on one side of the paper and Swahili on the other. The content of Habari included such articles as the dual policy of development, scouting for Africans, school subjects and African maize production. ⁴⁷ Habari continued to appear regularly at least until the late thirties. Of that paper, the East African Standard expressed that Habari may be ". . . the means of advancing a closer understanding between by Africans and alien races, and provided it be run on catholic lines cannot be anything but a source to promote progress." ⁴⁸

The dominance by the Standard was visible in 1930 when the papers' sphere of influence expanded into British-ruled Tanganyika to start the Tanganyika Standard. The Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Donald Cameron, had invited the Directors of the East African Standard Limited to provide newspapers service in Tanganyika.⁴⁹ This was the third principal change for the Standard prior to the Second World War.

Other press developments included the birth of 11 papers between 1927 and 1937. The Indians' Kenya Daily Mail came to Mombasa in 1927. It was founded by J. D. Pandye and published weekly in English and Gujerati.⁵⁰ The weekly Democratic and the East African Annual of Nairobi were born in 1929.⁵¹ The Kenya Weekly News of Nakuru, founded by Jack Couldrey, was established in 1928 and published in English by the Nakuru Press Ltd.⁵² Appearing since the twenties and interpreted as an Indian newspaper, the East African Weekly Times of Nairobi increased its frequency to include daily and weekly editions in 1931. Previously, that paper had appeared under the name of the Times of East Africa. The Trans Nzoia Post was established as a weekly in Kitale in 1931.⁵³ The African Times and the Indian's Colonial Times made their appearances in 1933 with origins in Nairobi.⁵⁴ The latter was published as a weekly. The East Coast Guardian made its inception as a daily in Mombasa and was published in English.⁵⁵ Then, in 1936, the weekly Sunday Post was started in Nairobi.⁵⁶ The Sunday Post was founded by Jack Rathbone who had been a soldier in Tanganyika and Kenya during World War I and afterwards settled in Nanyuki. Later, he

moved to Nairobi to start the Sunday Post. Furthermore, in 1937, the Catholic Times of East Africa was established as a monthly in Mombasa.⁵⁷

All were settler-owned with the exception of the Catholic missions' paper, and three Indian papers.

Kikuyu Nationalism and the Press During World War II

During the early part of World War II, the government moved in and banned the KCA for subversive activities, including the suppression of Muigwithania. In writing about KCA, Corfield stated: ". . . it endeavored to persuade the populace that the war news disseminated by the Government was false, making every effort to induce a distrust of wireless bulletins, one of the Government's principal media for keeping the Africans abreast of world events. . ." ⁵⁸ When the government made its move against KCA, it placed in confinement most of the nationalist leaders and uncovered several publications regarded as being false and misleading. Of the KCA and its paper, L. S. B. Leakey wrote: "When at length the leaders were released, the KCA as such was still banned, as was its official organ, the first Kikuyu newspaper, Muigwithania." ⁵⁹

Near the end of the war, a new nationalist party emerged under the name of the Kenya African Study Union but its activities remained mild. It was founded in 1944 by Eliud Mathu, an educated Kikuyu who had become another prominent figure in Kenya's political history, mainly because he was the first African to join the Legislative Council as a nominated member. Having received the appointment in 1944,

Mathu had felt the need for political support and thus organized the Kenya African Study Union. That party had press support from the weekly Sauti ya Mwafrika (The African Voice).

Sauti ya Mwafrika began in 1945.⁶⁰ The paper was founded by W. W. W. Aworia and published in Swahili. John Middleton wrote of it:

There was the Kenya African Study Union, which ran its own newspaper, Sauti ya Mwafrika . . . and which aimed at a pan-tribal movement for Kenya; the Kikuyu Central Association, with Jomo Kenyatta as its representative in England; the Kikuyu Provincial Association; and three associations on the coast . . . these were well founded, financed, and administered . . . and all were connected with religious and trade union activities.⁶¹

An interesting observation at the time of Eliud Mathu's appointment was the support given him by the settlers' Kenya Weekly News. The editor of that paper, F. J. Couldrey, favored the appointment because the interests of the settlers and Africans for self-government were "absolutley interwoven."⁶² Couldrey's comment had arisen over the settlers' demand for self-government.

During the 1939-1945 period, the pressure of the war had not stopped the appearance of new papers in Kenya. Five were established; one settler-owned, two Government-owned, and two African-owned. The East African Standard started a weekly newspaper for Africans known as Baraza ("A Gathering to Hear Announcements"). Produced in Nairobi and edited by Col. O. F. Watkins, Baraza was published by the

Standard on the government's behalf.⁶³ Thus, the policy of Baraza was controlled by the Standard but the editors were appointed by the government.

The K.I.O. Fortnightly (Kenya Information Office) came to Nairobi in 1943. This government paper was a fortnightly published in English and was nonpolitical. The content of the K.I.O. Fortnightly was confined to news and reports of the colonial government, and in 1945, it published 606 government communiques.⁶⁴ Throughout the war years, the K.I.O. Fortnightly circulated free of charge to 4,000 farmers, being associated mostly with the Agricultural Production and Settlement Board.⁶⁵

One of the three African-owned papers was the Kwetu Kenya. Believed to have had its start during the war, the montly Kwetu Kenya was an 8-page publication that consisted of local news.⁶⁶ It was distributed free by the Directorate of Education and Welfare to the units of the East Africa Command in Africa and overseas.

The weekly Mumenyereri ("He Who Looks After") was launched in 1945.⁶⁷ Founded by Henry Mworio in Nairobi, that paper was the first of a number of vernaculars in Kikuyu to start when newsprint became more available. In writing about the Mumenyereri, Rosberg referred to the paper as ". . . a channel of communication and an instrument of political education."⁶⁸

Thus, the press in Kenya by the end of the war was representative of settlers, Indians, Africans, Missionaries and the colonial government.

Table 2 (Newspapers In Kenya, 1920 to 1945) shows the development of the press during the 1920-1945 period.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESS AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM, 1920-1945

The rise of African nationalism during the period 1920-1945 was concerned mainly with the Kikuyu. Though nationalism had not materialized to the point of large scale movements, the stage had been set for expanding it in the postwar period. Contributing to its rise were primarily the alienation of Kikuyu land, and the colonial Government's labor policies. In writing about the causes of widespread discontent, L. S. B. Leakey wrote that they were due to ". . . failure [by the colonial Government] to grant title deeds for land actually owned . . . the transfer of land rights among the Kikuyu themselves further increased the numbers of those without land of their own . . ." ⁶⁹ African Party Associations were formed to advance the political aspirations of the Kikuyu. While the aims of these organizations were similar, the KCA dominated the greater part of the 1920-1945 period, pressing for reform through mass meetings, petitions and representation in England.

In addition to the land issue, the problems of the white settlers were those of labor and the demand for self-government. The colonial Government had imposed restrictions on the settlers that made it difficult for them to obtain African labor. The settlers had reduced the wages for Africans and inspired taxation that contributed further to the spread of Kikuyu nationalism. The demand for self-government by some settlers,

TABLE 2
NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA, 1920 to 1945

Type of Press and Name of Newspaper	Location	Frequency	Language	Founder or First Editor	Remarks
Settler Press (Standard Papers):					
East African Standard	Nairobi	Daily/Weekly	English	C. B. Anderson	Edited by George Kinnear; started in 1902.
Baraza (A Gathering to Hear Announcements)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	Col. O. F. Watkins	Published by East African Standard Ltd.; started in 1939 on Government's behalf.
Mombasa Times	Mombasa	Daily	English	See Remarks	Published by Mombasa Times Ltd.; started in 1902.
East African Annual	Nairobi	Annual	English	See Remarks	Published by East African Standard Ltd.; started in 1929; no further record.
Leader	Nairobi	Weekly	English	Alexander Davis	Purchased by East African Standard in 1923; started in 1908, ceased in 1922.
Other Settler Newspapers:					
Wasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser	Eldoret	Weekly	Unknown	See Remarks	Started 1916, no further record.
Trans Nzoia Post	Kitale	Unknown	Unknown	See Remarks	Started 1930, no further record.
Kenya Weekly News	Nakuru	Weekly	English	Jack Coudrey	Published by Nakuru Press Ltd.; started in 1928.
East African Medical Journal	Nairobi	Weekly	Unknown	Unknown	Published weekly 1923-28, no further record.
Farmers' Journal	Nairobi	Monthly	Unknown	Unknown	Published by East African Standard Ltd.; no further record, started in 1924.
Sunday Post	Nairobi	Weekly	English	Jack Rathbone	Started in 1935; no further record.
Indian Press:					
Observer	Nairobi	Daily/Weekly	Unknown	Unknown	Published daily/weekly 1923-28; no further record.
East African Chronicle	Nairobi	Unknown	English	See Remarks	Published in English in 1920's; and edited by M. A. Desai; no further record.
Colonial Times	Nairobi	Unknown	Unknown	See Remarks	No further record.
Kenya Daily Mail	Mombasa	Daily/Weekly	English/ Gujerati	J. B. Pandye	Published weekly to 1937, daily/weekly to 1945, by Pandye Printing Works; started in 1927; no further record.
African Press:					
Mwigithania (The Conciliator)	Nairobi	Monthly	Kikuyu	Jomo Kenyatta	Started in 1927, ceased in 1934, reappeared later but banned during World War II; Organ of KCA.
Mumenyereri (He Who Looks After)	Nairobi	Weekly	Kikuyu	Henry Mworia	Started in 1945; no further record.
Sauti ya Mwafrica (The African Voice)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	W. W. W. Awori	Started in 1945; no further record.
Mission Press:					
Catholic Times of East Africa	Mombasa	Monthly	English	See Remarks	Published by Catholic Mission of Mombasa; started in 1937; no further record.
Rafi Yetu (Our Friend)	Mombasa	Monthly	Swahili	See Remarks	Published by Catholic Mission of Mombasa; started in 1925; no further record.
Government Press:					
Official Gazette of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya	Nairobi	Unknown	Unknown	Colonial Government	Published by Government Printing Press; no further record; started in 1899 (?).
Habari (News)	Nairobi	Monthly	English/ Swahili	Colonial Government	Published in English/Swahili 1931-36, edited by Col. O. F. Watkins; started in 1923.
Kvetu Kenya	Nairobi	Monthly	Unknown	See Remarks	Published by African Section, Directorate of Education & Welfare during World War II, ceased in 1945; no further record.
K. I. O. Fortnightly (Kenya Information Office)	Nairobi	Fortnightly	English	Colonial Government	Started in 1943, no further record.
Other Newspapers (Type Unknown)					
African Times	Nairobi	Unknown	Unknown	See Remarks	Started in 1933; no further record.
East African Weekly Times	Nairobi	Weekly	Unknown	See Remarks	Published weekly 1927-30, daily/weekly 1931-33; no further record.
Democratic	Nairobi	Weekly	Unknown	See Remarks	Published weekly in 1929; no further record.
East Coast Guardian	Mombasa	See Remarks	English	See Remarks	Published by Coast Guardian Ltd., as a daily in 1937; started in 1934; no further record.

Sources: George Bennett, *Kenya, A Political History: The Colonial Period* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 71; F. D. Corfield, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 195; Lord (William Malcolm) Hailey, *An African Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 1238; Helen Kitchen (Ed.), *The Press in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Ruth Sloan Associates Inc., 1956), 30; Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, *The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1966), 357; *Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World* (London: Benn Brothers Ltd., 1965), 805; *Willing's Press Guide*, 1929, 1938, 1948, 1964 (London: Willing's Press Guide, James Willing, Ltd.); "An African Press Survey: 3-East and Central Africa," *New Commonwealth* (August 19, 1954), 169-71; *East African Standard* (Nairobi), January 16, 1926 and May 24, 1946.

as Raymond Buell stated, was ". . . to settle land and labor policies without regard to the qualms of the Imperial Government."⁷⁰

Concurrently with the rise of nationalism was also a growth in the appearance of newspapers. The nationalism turmoil saw the rise of a small Indian, mission and an African press, including government produced papers for Africans.

The dominant newspaper was the settlers' East African Standard. The Standard had dealt with subjects of interest to the settler community. It was primarily the organ for local settler opinion. However, its pro-settler policy did not preclude its concern for the development of a newspaper for the urban Africans in Nairobi. The East African Standard had opposed the government's decision on the discontinuance of Habari, and accepted the task of reviving that paper in the late twenties.

Principal newspapers that had appeared regularly by 1945 were six settler-owned and two Indian-owned papers. Those sponsored for Africans totaled four; one by settlers' East African Standard; two by the colonial Government; and one by missionaries. Table 3 (The Kenya Press By 1945) shows the frequency and language of the principal newspapers in Kenya by the end of the Second World War.

The data in Table 3 reflects several characteristics of the Kenya press. One is the number of daily and weekly newspapers owned and controlled by the white settlers. Another is the dominance of the

TABLE 3

THE KENYA PRESS BY 1945

Language	<u>Settler Press</u> Daily Weekly Annual	<u>Indian Press</u> Daily Weekly	<u>Af. Press</u> Weekly	<u>Government Press</u> Weekly Monthly Fortnightly	<u>Missionary Press</u> Weekly Monthly
English	2 2 1	2	1	1 1 1	1
Swahili	1		1		1
Kikuyu			1		

Sources: George Bennett, Kenya, A Political History: The Colonial Period (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 71; F. D. Corfield, Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 195; Lord (William Malcom) Hailey, An African Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 1238; Helen Kitchen (Ed.), The Press in Africa (Washington, D.C.: Ruth Sloan Associates Inc., 1956), 30; Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1966), 357; Benn's Guide to Newspapers and Periodicals of the World (London: Benn Brothers Ltd., 1965), 805; Willing's Press Guide, 1929, 1938, 1948, 1964 (London: Willing's Press Guide, James Willing, Ltd.); "An African Press Survey: 3-East and Central Africa," New Commonwealth (August 19, 1954), 169-71; East African Standard (Nairobi), January 16, 1926 and May 24, 1946.

English language that prevailed throughout the press, with the exception of African papers. Not indicated, but a third characteristic, is that most of the publications were produced in the principal urban centers: Nairobi, Kenya's capital; Mombasa, Kenya's principal port; and the agricultural center of Nakuru.

The African press consisted of two news-sheets, and those had served as political organs for Kikuyu organizations. The first African-owned paper was the Muigwithania that started initially as an instrument of political education, but later came to be a political agitator involved in subversive activities with KCA when both were banned by government during World War II.

THE PRESS IN TANGANYIKA, UGANDA AND ZANZIBAR, 1892 TO 1945

The press in the other parts of British-ruled East Africa--Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar--did not, indeed, appear in a vacuum. The development of the press in these areas were shaped, similarly, by the same influences that formed the Kenya press. A total of 32 newspapers had appeared among these three areas by the end of the Second World War. In Tanganyika, there were ten; Uganda, ten; and Zanzibar, 12. (See Appendices A through C.)

Thus, this part of the study will only present a brief overview of the press in other parts of British East Africa to 1945.

A Look At Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar

European control over Tanganyika dates back to the Anglo-German Agreements of 1886 and 1890 when German rule was established over the territory. From then to World War I, Germany had instituted a system of "direct rule" which tended to break down tribalism. The system did not promote the growth of any indigenous administration. Rebellions occurred; the most significant was the Maji-Maji Rebellion in the 1905-1907 period.⁷¹ This had stemmed from "misdeeds and acts of oppression"⁷² on the part of German officials. Britain defeated Germany in the war, thus ending German rule in Tanganyika. And much of the territory was laid waste by both sides during the war period.

British rule over Tanganyika began with the establishment of the British Mandate in 1920. Unlike the other British East African dependencies, Tanganyika became a trusteeship territory under the League of Nations.

The period between the wars was one of adjustment since Tanganyika had changed hands from Germany to Britain. For the administration of the dependency, the British introduced a system of "indirect rule." In characterizing Tanganyika at the outbreak of World War II, Gwendolen Carter wrote:

. . . it remained the most colonial of territories. Because of the generally underdeveloped state of economy, it was also a territory in which the central colonial administration was a dominant element, making most of the important decisions . . .

It was also primarily still a rural country, with no large towns except the capital [Dar es Salaam]. . .⁷³

World War II had little effect on Tanganyika. However, the settler element was present but not as great as in Kenya. Thus, Tanganyika moved into the postwar period with little or no political unrest.

British claim over Uganda began with the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890. In that year, Frederick Lugard arrived to establish Britain's presence in the territory. But it was not until 1894 that a British protectorate was formally established, and then, only Buganda was included. The Uganda protectorate did not include all of Uganda until 1896.

As in Kenya, the British established a system of "indirect rule" in Uganda that surfaced with dissatisfaction from the Baganda--the most politically conscious Africans in the dependency. This laid the foundation for the rise of nationalism in the forties. There were disturbances and discontentment expressed by the Bataka Party, the one political organization existing at the time. The disturbances broke out as a result of Bataka hostility to the use of land by the government for undercover purposes. In other words, the Bataka saw the government's plan on land use as a plot whereby it was taken from Africans for the settlers' use. The settler element, however, was small. The Bataka Party brought pressure on the Kabaka of Buganda, ruler of the Kingdom of Buganda.

There were two features that had characterized the rise of nationalism in Uganda. First, the Bataka Party was formed primarily to protect the land rights of the Bataka. And second, the disturbances in Buganda emerged generally from African resentment towards British rule.

Britain's interest in Zanzibar began in the early 1800's when influence was exerted upon the Sultan to limit slave trade. As ruler of the principal slave market on the East African Coast, the Sultan had signed a commercial treaty with Britain that permitted the first consulate to be established on the island in 1841. But it was not until 1873 that a treaty was made between the two countries to stop export of slaves and to close all public slave market under the jurisdiction of the Sultan. Equally important to Britain was the growing interest in East Africa by other European powers. By 1890, Britain had proclaimed Zanzibar and Pemba as a British Protectorate.

The political development of Zanzibar took a slower pace than in Kenya or in the other British East African areas. The rise of nationalism, by the end of the Second World War, was almost non-existent. However, there were indications of a nationalist movement in the thirties. Ali Muhsen who ultimately became president of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party in the fifties traced the rise of nationalism to 1936. In writing about Ali Muhsen, Gwendolen Carter wrote:

He says [Ali Muhsen] that, as early as 1936, a Zanzibar nationalism began to emerge which saw itself in sharp contrast to Arab racialism and took the form of a campaign

against the Arab landed aristocracy. It took young Arabs, particularly those in the government service, who began thinking about the unity of all peoples on the island and who started some political action in 1939.⁷⁴

World War II had little effect on the Zanzibar dependency, and it subsided into the postwar era with little or no nationalist movements.

A Look At The Press

The press in Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar was still small by 1945. (See Appendices A through C.) From these appendices, there are four general characteristics that can be identified from the development of the press:

1. Small circulations existed, with all newspapers radiating from the principal communication centers of the three respective areas.
2. The only dailies were in Zanzibar and Tanganyika. The Tanganyika Standard was settler-owned and was started by the Standard Group in Nairobi.
3. The press ownership in Tanganyika was mainly government and settler-owned; Uganda, mostly mission and African-owned; and in Zanzibar, Arab and Indian-owned. There were no mission newspapers in Zanzibar.
4. A number of newspapers appeared in English in each of three areas. Swahili was represented in each area except Uganda. The

newspapers that appeared in Uganda were mostly in Luganda, the language of the most politically conscious Africans in Uganda. Newspapers published in Gujarati represented the influence of the Indian element throughout British East Africa.

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CHAPTER III

THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION AND MAU MAU EMERGENCY,
1946 TO 1952

Nationalism in Kenya during the postwar period from 1946 to 1952 gained momentum as African political activity continued to advance the spread of Kikuyu grievances. The events that helped to shape the growth of Kikuyu nationalism in the early part of the postwar period were directly connected with the activities of the Kenya African Union and the outbreak of the Mau Mau campaign in 1952. At the onset of the campaign, the British declared a State of Emergency for the Kenya dependency.

A key factor in promoting political activity in Kenya was the African press, which grew rapidly from two newspapers in 1945 to 12 in 1946. According to F. D. Corfield, the African press by 1952 had mushroomed to about 50 Kikuyu news-sheets.¹ All were considered "highly seditious"² and "bitterly radical."³ All were suppressed by the colonial government following the State of Emergency proclamation in 1952. Throughout the 1946-1952 period, the settler press continued to be the spokesman for the conservative white settler community. The East African Standard remained the dominant newspaper in Kenya.

This chapter traces the growth of Kikuyu nationalism and concurrently the development of the press from 1946 to 1952. Emphasis will be placed on political and press developments in Kenya, including key personalities involved.

The Kenya African Union

In the first six years of the postwar period, Kikuyu opposition to colonial rule took on a different "surge" by leaning more to the use of non-constitutional means for achieving their social, economic, and political aims. The final results, however, culminated with mass killings in 1952. The agitation and upheaval that did occur traces to the political aspirations of the Kenya African Union (KAU).

KAU had its beginning during the mid-forties when it appeared under the name of the Kenya African Study Union. It is even traceable to the Kikuyu Central Association. But that organization was banned in the early part of the Second World War when its name was changed to the Kenya African Study Union under government pressure, and later appeared under the title Kenya African Union in 1946.

The organization of KAU consisted not only of former leaders of the banned KCA but also of African soldiers who had been brought into closer touch with Western ways, having fought in the war and being separated from their tribal society. However, their return to Kenya added to the growth of political awareness and other political agitation that had existed in the dependency. Among the problems that prevailed, mainly social and economic, were lack of employment, overpopulation, lack of adequate housing, soil erosion, and the familiar one of land tenure. The colonial government had attempted to assist Africans returning from the war by establishing schools to train and qualify them for skilled employment. In his Kenya, A Political History, George Bennett

pointed out that job openings were limited and many Africans were reluctant about accepting unskilled employment because wages only accommodated the needs of a single person without a family.⁴

The first leader of KAU was Harry Thuku. Thuku was elected chairman, but his return to the nationalist scene was brief. Thuku's views were moderate, tended to be pro-Government, and were not always in agreement with those of other KAU leaders. Because of personality conflicts with other party leaders, he gave up his position as leader of KAU, only to be succeeded by James S. Gichuru, a new African politician on the nationalist scene.

Gichuru, like Jomo Kenyatta, was another Kikuyu educated at the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya.⁵ Part of his schooling came from Makerere College in Uganda. Gichuru was primarily a teacher. He began his political career in the mid-forties by helping to establish the basic foundation for KAU. As leader of that organization, Gichuru set out with views to campaign for land reform and to fight for an increase in African representation on the Legislative Council. Aside from these two aspects, Gichuru's views were compatible with those established for his party. The aims of KAU were embedded with a wide range of reform measures, involving more education for Africans, better social conditions, opposition to racial barriers, and in general to fight for African unity. In addition, the organization aimed to disseminate its views through the party's political news-sheet--the Sauti ya

Mwafrica (The African Voice). As George Bennett wrote, this paper ". . . pleaded the cause and case of Kenya Africans on every front, from land and wages to increased political representation, color-bar and the four freedoms popularly associated with the allied cause during the war."⁶ Gichuru remained as leader until he was succeeded by Jomo Kenyatta.

The Return of Kenyatta

Jomo Kenyatta arrived in Nairobi in 1946 after a 15-year stay in Britain and studying for a brief period in Moscow. During his absence from Kenya, Kenyatta had broadened his stature, having become affiliated with other African leaders on the continent. He was among such leaders as Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, Peter Abrahams and Burgharet DuBois who had helped to organize the Fifth Pan-African Congress in 1945. The conference in that year was held near London at Manchester. It is noted that Kenyatta's aspirations to unify the Africans of Kenya may have been taken from one of the resolutions adopted at the conference which stated ". . . We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialistic control, whether political or economic."⁷ Kenyatta's association in the conference has relevance to Kenya in that it set the stage for the start of postwar nationalism. Researchers have quoted Kenyatta as having said the conference was ". . . a landmark in the history of the African people's struggle for unity and freedom."⁸

Upon his return to Kenya, Kenyatta was offered and accepted the top leadership position in KAU. It was then, as leader of KAU, that he began to voice a national ideology for unifying the Africans of Kenya. Although KAU included membership from other tribes, it still remained essentially a one-tribal organization--Kikuyu.

From the start, Kenyatta's aspirations were focused in achieving the aims of KAU in a short period of time, particularly the increasing of African representation to the Legislative Council. At the time, African representation only included one seat that was established in 1944. When KAU took steps in 1946 to increase African membership, the East African Standard upheld the move by the Africans. The paper stated:

So far as we are aware, European opinion in the Colony is in favor of a broader basis for African membership as one important means of encouraging the growth of understanding and responsibility among the native peoples, and not least among their intelligentisa so very obviously necessary if they are to be carried along with Government and the settler community in the approach to the very difficult and important tasks which lies ahead.⁹

In this respect, the East African Standard had tended to support Kenyatta's view for increasing African representation to the council. These efforts may have been important as a second African was appointed to the legislature a year later.

Kenyatta, Koinage and the Githunguri Training College

For the direction of his political ideas through KAU, Kenyatta did most of his planning at the Githunguri Teachers Training College, an institution he took over in 1947.¹⁰ At the time, Peter Koinage was in charge of this educational facility. Koinage grew to become a prominent African figure in Kenya nationalism, having been educated in Mombasa and with further studies at Hampton Institute in the United States from 1927 to 1936. He was a Kikuyu who had founded the college there at Githunguri in 1939 to supply teachers for the independent schools that the colonial government had granted. Koinage relinquished his responsibility to Kenyatta and departed for one year of study in Britain.

Kenyatta set out to consolidate the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Schools with the African Orthodox Church and the African Independent Pentecostal Church.¹¹ The plan was to bring all of the schools under centralized political control with aims of indoctrinating the teachings of distrust in the authority of the government.¹² Rawcliffe, in his The Struggle For Kenya, cites an example of the political implications mentioned here by referring to a strike incident in the Uplands bacon factory of Kenya in 1947.¹³ The strike was directed at forcing the owner to discharge a clerk for failing to give donations to a fund sponsored by the Githunguri Teachers Training College. The account on the fund raising activities was

reported, in part, by the weekly Munenyere (He Who Look's After). The paper announced quotas raised by the various Kikuyu age groups at the college.¹⁴ The educational facility at Githunguri was an instrument used to advance the spread of Kikuyu nationalism that later was linked with the outbreak of Mau Mau in 1952.

Kenyatta and the Mau Mau

The events in Kenya between 1948 and 1952 were largely concerned with the Mau Mau and related activities of Kenyatta and his KAU. The actual beginning of Mau Mau, according to L. S. B. Leakey, started in the latter part of 1948 or early 1949.¹⁵ Mau Mau carried a connotation that was linked with oathing ceremonies administered by a secret organization. To the Kikuyu, Mau Mau was a name with no particular meaning; to the settlers, it was popularized as the name of a revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, it was openly anti-settler and anti-Christian, with the aim of forcing the white settlers out of Kenya. Donald Barnett did research on Mau Mau and concluded that:

. . . regardless of the origin. . . and despite the fact that members of the movement knew very well that Government and the European press were referring to their association when they invoked this term, it was simply never accepted by the Africans involved ~~involved~~ in the movement as being anything more than the white man's name for their association.¹⁶

Mau Mau first came to the attention of the colonial government in 1948 during their investigation into complaints made by Kikuyu squatter laborers on settler farms in the Rift Valley of Kenya. The investigation

had revealed that these squatters were attacked for refusing to join an organization known as Mau Mau.

Recruitment and administering of oaths came from what Rawcliffe describes as "the 'Forty Group' participating in the role of an extreme activist wing of KAU."¹⁷ The group was formed by a number of young militant Kikuyu. Some were former servicemen who had become organizers of small crime and violence sub-groups. Their objective was basically to bring political unrest to the colonial government in Nairobi. Nonetheless, they considered Kenyatta as their idol and referred to him as their leader. Their methods started with inducing the squatters on settlers farms to take Mau Mau oaths, expanding later to include other adult males, females, and even children. The oathing ceremonies were concerned in large measure with land as well as political objectives. For example, the vows taken by Mau Mau inductees consisted of seven parts. One part is characterized as follows:

I speak the truth and swear before Ngai (God)
and before everyone present here
And by this Batuni Oath of Muingi (the Movement)
Which is called the movement of Killing,
That if called upon to fight for our land,
To shed my blood for it,
I shall obey and never surrender. . .¹⁸

Mau Mau operated from several of Kenya's key reserve districts as well as the urban-rural sector of Nairobi. It had centralized direction with a "hierarchy of interlinked councils"¹⁹ coordinating the functions of the principal areas of operation. Even at the council level, there

were further sub-divisions and sub-sub-divisions for control purposes.

The Kikuyu were affected the most, politically, economically and socially. It is apparent that they would be, being based alongside the White Highlands and in suburban area of Nairobi. In addition, the Kikuyu were the most advanced of the African tribes, in education and political awareness. The largest number of unemployed were also Kikuyu.

Mau Mau was first linked with the banned KCA in 1948. This had occurred as George Ndegwa, a former KCA member, applied for registration of its newspaper Muigwithania (The Conciliator), signing the application as "Secretary, Kikuyu Central Association."²⁰ Ndegwa was arrested and imprisoned for one year on charges for being a member of an illegal organization. Significant, however, in his arrest was the seizure of documents revealing that 17 branch units of KCA were still operating in the early part of 1948 and that close relationships existed between it and KAU.

Kenyatta, in 1948, made several speeches, but these were not related to Mau Mau. At the annual KAU conference, he condemned Africans for many of their own troubles and challenged them to improve their own standards. On another occasion, he attacked the "African proensity for litigation over land."²¹ But he also advocated better farming practices among the Kikuyu. On each of these occasions, the East African Standard commended Kenyatta for his outspoken utterances.²²

Kenyatta continued to make other speeches as leader of Kenya African Union, but he soon realized that his aspirations to unify the Africans of Kenya was in vain. His actions were extended even to the point of denouncing Mau Mau in 1951. Kenyatta stated, as Rawcliffe wrote: ". . . we members of the Kenya African Union have no association whatever with Mau Mau. It is the duty of the Government to seek out the beast called Mau Mau. We object very strongly to any attempt to associate our Union with Mau Mau or any other bad societies."²³

Other efforts to disassociate KAU from Mau Mau had been taken earlier by Tom Mbotela--KAU's vice-president--in 1950. Mbotela informed the East African Standard that ". . . the Union has nothing to do with Mau Mau."²⁴

But Kenyatta's appeal was not enough to stop the increasing intensity of the Mau Mau movement. Mau Mau was further stimulated by outward pressures of the settlers upon the colonial government to increase its surveillance over KAU. The settlers had connected Kenya African Union with the activities of Mau Mau and criticized the government for shirking its responsibility. In the interests of the settlers, the East African Standard in a leader column had "complained of the laxity of the Government's dealings with the Mau Mau society and the reluctance of official sources to release information."²⁵

Mau Mau reached its peak in 1952. In May of that year, the movement culminated into an assassination campaign involving attacks upon

several Kikuyu for releasing information to tribal officials on Mau Mau activities. Months later attacks occurred on the farms of settlers. The campaign grew to a point in October 1952 which forced the newly arrived Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, to declare a State of Emergency in Kenya.

At the time of the proclamation of the Emergency several crucial actions were taken by the colonial government. One was the arrest and detention of Kenyatta, and of 82 others who were considered Mau Mau leaders. The ban placed on all political parties in Kenya was another action taken by the government. A third move, according to F. D. Corfield, was the suppression of 50 African news-sheets and allegedly "subversive" publications.²⁶

Operation Anvil

Following the proclamation on the Emergency, British troops were flown into Kenya and Operation Anvil was placed into effect. The London Times described Anvil as the turning point of the Mau Mau campaign.²⁷ The implementation of the operation involved the removal from Nairobi of about 28,000 Mau Mau suspects. The male population of Nairobi--Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru--had been reduced by more than half, and the introduction of a passbook system had enabled the government to check out some 21,000 remaining suspects.

The Press in Kenya By 1952

There were a number of press developments during the period 1946-1952, including not only in the quantity of newspapers appearing but

also government suppression of African news-sheets. However, the East African Standard continued to be the dominant paper. Table 4 (Number of Newspapers in Kenya, 1946-1952), shows the increase and decrease in the number of newspapers published to the year 1953.

From Table 4, it can be seen that the number of settler newspapers had remained fairly constant throughout the six-year period. Half of the African papers that appeared in 1952 were also appearing in 1953, in spite of the fact that the government had suppressed most of the African publications following the Emergency. It must be conjectured at this point that the five African papers appearing in 1953 were not involved in publishing seditious information and were indirectly under the control of the government. The government papers were all district news-sheets. This accounts for the large number recorded in Table 4.

The East African Standard Limited, incorporated in 1918, continued to function with its group of three English-language papers and one Swahili publication. That group was under the chairmanship of the East African Standard's Claud B. Anderson. The group consisted of the East African Standard of Nairobi, the Mombasa Times of Mombasa, the Uganda Argus and the Baraza. These papers were pro-settler in policy.

Seven new settler newspapers were produced during the six-year period. These were: Dalgety's Review, a monthly; East African Trade Journal, monthly; Citizen, weekly; Kitale Weekly, weekly; East African Motoring, quarterly; East African Star, weekly; and Polonia, weekly in English and Polish.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS, IN KENYA 1946-53

Type Press	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
<u>Settler Press:</u>								
No. Dailies	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
No. Weeklies	5	5	1	3	3	3	7	2
No. Monthlies	1	1	1	1	1	1		
No. Quarterlies							1	
No. Annuals								
TOTALS	(8)	(8)	(4)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(10)	(4)
<u>African Press:</u>								
No. Dailies		1						
No. Weeklies	6	4	4	5	2	2	5	4
No. Monthlies	3		1		1		4	1
No. Fortnightlies	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
TOTALS	(12)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(4)	(3)	(10)	(5)
<u>Government Press:</u>								
No. Weeklies							2	
No. Monthlies	2	4	6	7	12	11	20	
No. Fortnightlies	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	1
TOTALS	(5)	(7)	(9)	(10)	(15)	(14)	(27)	(21?)
<u>Indian Press:</u>								
No. Dailies	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
No. Weeklies	4	4	4	5	7	7	5	5
No. Monthlies					1	1		
No. Fortnightlies					2	2	1	
Unknown			1					
TOTALS	(6)	(6)	(6)	(7)	(12)	(12)	(8)	(7)
<u>Mission Press:</u>								
No. Monthlies	3	4		5	5	5	5	?
TOTALS	(3)	(4)		(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)	?

Sources: Colonial Annual Reports, Kenya, 1946 to 1953 (London: His (Her) Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947 to 1954); Willing's Press Guide, 1946 to 1953 (London: Willing's Press Guide, James Willing, Ltd.).

The one significant development for the African press was its first daily, the Radio Posta that appeared in 1947.²⁸ The paper was founded by W. W. W. Aworia. Little was known about that newspaper since its appearance in 1947. Six African papers appeared in English as well as Swahili. They were: Radio Posta, a daily (1947); The African, a weekly (1948-1949); Gikuyu, a weekly in Gikuyu and English (1946-1948); Bodeni, a monthly (1952); Habari za Dunia, a weekly (1952); and Maendeleo, a monthly (1947).

The Indian press increased in quantity, with a production of five newspapers in 1950-1951. Two dailies--the Daily Chronicle and the Colonial Times--continued publication with the former paper increasing its frequency by the addition of a weekly in 1949.

For the mission press, the number of new papers were small. They were monthlies that appeared in Swahili and English, Kikuyu and Kimeru.

The Kenya Vernacular Press Company

The Information Department was reorganized in 1952 to sponsor the founding of the Kenya Vernacular Press Company. This step was taken by the government in an effort to improve and develop a responsible press for Africans. The company consisted of three settlers, two African editors and one African printer. The government financed the operation and brought in district news-sheets edited by Africans together with advertisements. The government had aimed to provide technical assistance and finance by supervising all of the African papers

that were permitted to remain in operation following the 1952 Emergency. The first of African publications were the Ramogi, weekly in Dholu; Mulina, weekly in Luluyia; and Ngao, weekly in Swahili. Others received similar support later in the 1952-1954 period.

The interest by government in the African press traces back to 1947 when it had considered publishing papers in the various vernaculars. But the plan was opposed by the East African Standard.²⁹ The East African Standard, as it had on other occasions, was not in favor of government entering the newspaper field. As an alternative, the East African Standard had offered to publish a number of newspapers in Kikuyu, Kamba, Lulukya and Swahili. Although one news-sheet did appear in 1948, the proposal by the East African Standard did not materialize. Eventually, the government resorted to the publishing of district mimeographed sheets.

Press Censorship

When the Emergency was declared in 1952, the government initiated action against the African press by suppressing some 50 Kikuyu seditious and subversive news-sheets and publications. Until the Emergency, press censorship was somewhat rare. There had existed, however, five instances wherein editors had been fined or imprisoned for seditious publications.³⁰ They were: Henry Muoria, editor of Mumenyereri (He Who Looks After), 1947; F. M. Ruhinda, editor of Habari (News), 1947; J. C. K. Kaman and Victor Wokabi, joint editors of Hindi ya Gikuyu, 1950; Victor Wokabi,

again as editor of Muthamaki, 1951; and W. K. Kihara, editor of Muramati, 1952.

These suppressions are significant for three reasons. One, control of the press in Kenya had been governed only by a 1906 newspaper registration ordinance that required the owner to submit his name, address and average yearly circulation. This ordinance had no control over newspaper content. Two, it was not until 1950 that the ordinance was amended empowering the government to confiscate presses publishing "seditious" information. Three, there was by 1951 no legal provision for the licensing of newspapers or printing presses.³¹ Licensing came in 1952.

The vast majority of the 50 news-sheets suppressed had gone unchecked largely because the government lacked the proper informational service to perform surveillance over the papers' content. As most were printed in Kikuyu, the language presented another difficulty since few settlers understood it.

In accordance with the Corfield report of inquiry into Mau Mau disturbances, 15 of the 50 "seditious" Kikuyu news-sheets can be placed in two categories: those exerting the greatest influence on the Africans, and those giving expression to political extremism in the crucial months before the Mau Mau campaign broke out in 1952.

The papers in the first category include:³² Sauti ya Mwafrika (The African Voice), 1945, 1952; Mumenyereri (He Who Looks After), 1945, 1952; Muramati, 1950, 1952; Mwaranira or Dunia, 1946-1953;

Habari (News), 1945, 1947; Mwalimu, 1945, 1947; and Hindi ya Mwa-frika, 1948, later appearing as Hindi ya Gikuyu, and finally as Mutha-maki. The first paper in this list was the official party organ for KAU. Eight publications comprised the second category. They were without English titles, and each appeared only for one month. The orientation of these vernacular newspapers had reflected the policy of the Indian-owned Daily Chronicle with its anti-government and anti-settler view.³³ The Daily Chronicle and the Indian's Colonial Times gave assistance to the Kikuyu papers, having sponsored both Habari and Mwalimu.

Included in the Emergency Regulations of 1952 was a section dealing with press censorship. It stated:

. . . no person shall publish any report or information calculated to create alarm or despondency or which is otherwise likely to prejudice the public tranquility or resolution unless such reports or information is merely repetition of information which has already been published by or with the authority of the Governor.³⁴

This legislation was passed to control the printing and publishing of seditious material and it was intended to apply mostly to the African press. But the restrictions that were embodied therein brought comments from two of Kenya's leading newspapers--the East African Standard and the Colonial Times.

The settlers' East African Standard commented: "The preparation of this bill has been made necessary by the irresponsibility of some sections of the press . . . but punitive measures such as these licensing

proposals are not a correction, although they may prove to be deterrent."³⁵ And the Indian-owned Colonial Times wrote: "... It is clear that the new bills are intended not only to suppress the crime wave as the average law-abiding citizen understands it but also--and this seems the chief object--to control political movements."³⁶

SUMMARY OF THE PRESS AND NATIONALISM, 1946-1952

The growth of nationalism in this period was concerned for the most part with the development of the KAU and related activities of Mau Mau. KAU was formed to gain political and economic change by reform. Under the leadership of Kenyatta, KAU fought the land issue and for an increase in representation to the Legislative Council. Lacking support for fulfilling his political aspirations, Kenyatta soon realized that any effort to unify the Africans of Kenya was in vain, mainly because the bulk of Kikuyu support was attracted to the Mau Mau movement. Though the settlers associated KAU with the Mau Mau, Kenyatta had on one occasion denounced any affiliation with the movement. The nationalist activities culminated in 1952 with the onset of a killing campaign. The British declared a State of Emergency in that year.

Concurrent with growth of nationalism, however, was also the rise of a militant nationalist African press. In fact, the African press was a prime factor in promoting political activity during this period. Although few newspapers supported KAU, the majority of African papers

(roughly 50) that mushroomed during the Mau Mau were mainly mimeographed sheets in Kikuyu. They were considered "highly seditious" and "bitterly radical." All were suppressed by the colonial government following the Emergency in 1952.

KAU's main press support came from its own political organ, the weekly Sauti ya Mwafrika (The African Voice). The paper's editor, W. W. W. Aworia, occupied a unique position in Kenya's African affairs. He held the position of Assistant General Secretary of KAU in 1946. A year later, he was elected KAU's vice-president when Kenyatta was president. Aworia broke relations with KAU to be elected a member of the Legislative Council in the year of the Emergency. Assisting him was another key KAU leader and journalist Tom Mbotela. Mbotela was an assistant editor of Sauti ya Mwafrika and in the late forties became vice-president of KAU. Additional press support to Kenyatta's party came from the weekly Mumenyereri (He Who Looks After). Henry Mworira edited that paper and was KAU's Assistant General Secretary in 1946. According to Carl Rosberg, Mumenyereri was the "most influential paper" since the termination of the first African journal,³⁷ the Muigwithania (The Conciliator). The Mumenyereri served as a channel of communication and an instrument of political education.

In writing about the African press in general terms, Carl Rosberg stated that many of the African news-sheets expressed: ". . . general dissent and bitterness over the color bar . . . the insecurity and

poverty of the Kikuyu squatter in the Rift Valley, the need for greater African representation in central and local government, and the hope for tribal and national unity."³⁸

Throughout this period, the settler press maintained its pro-settler policy and continued to voice the interests of the white settlers. When the government imposed press censorship in 1952, the East African Standard loudly criticized the press regulations. The paper commented that the imposition of the press restrictions against the African vernacular press was not a means of correcting poorly produced publications.

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CHAPTER IV
CONSTITUTIONAL OPPOSITION, 1954-1959

Between 1952 and 1953, African nationalism in Kenya had temporarily subsided. The KAU remained inoperative after being banned by the colonial government in the 1952 Emergency. Its leader, Jomo Kenyatta, was convicted and imprisoned for having allegedly managed the Mau Mau movement. Inasmuch as all African political parties were banned with the Emergency, a political lull had existed in the dependency by the beginning of the year 1954.

The basic foundations for the political development of Kenya were established during the period of 1954-1959. These years are characterized as one of constitutional opposition, owing mostly to the controversy over two multi-racial plans, the Lyttelton and Lennox-Boyd Constitutions. The controversy over the constitutions was between the settlers, Indians, and Africans. Much of the resentment, however, came from the Africans who opposed both plans and demanded a majority on the Legislative Council.

The press in Kenya during this five-year period was dominated by the white settlers and to some extent by the Indians. In the interests of the settler population, the East African Standard closed the circuit by expanding its influence to include the establishment of a daily newspaper in Uganda. In Kenya, the Standard continued, as it had in the past, to be pro-settler. Although the Standard Group was well established in

Kenya, this period also saw the rise of a second newspaper group. This was the East African Newspapers (Nation Series) Limited in 1959.

This chapter will cover those press aspects that are relevant to the nationalist political cause.

A New Constitution

A different outlook for Kenya came in 1954 with the introduction of the Lyttelton Constitution. Discussions on the new proposal started in the early part of that year from visits by the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttelton. He had designed this measure as a means of reorganizing the government and the Legislative Council. Basically, his plan called for a multi-racial Council of Ministers with representation from all races. It was to include council unofficial seats for three settlers, two Indians and one African. The plan was to start as experimental until a general election could be held six months after the end of the Emergency, or on ". . . June 30, 1955, whichever is the later."¹

The Lyttelton proposal brought opposition from all sides but mostly from settlers and Africans. The reluctance by both groups to accept the plan created the beginning for a number of chain reactions although not always occurring simultaneously. These invoked criticisms on the extension of the Emergency in 1955, the government's new immigration law in 1956, and eventually the general election and another constitution in 1957.

The Africans opposed the Lyttelton plan on the basis that they wanted equal representation with the Indians. However, they accepted reluctantly the one position for the Council of Ministry. This action prompted the settlers into criticizing the Africans and Indians as participants in the government. What had occurred was an imbalance in the number of council seats on the Legislative Council among the settlers, Indians and Africans. The Lyttelton proposal was accepted by the East African Standard in its December 3, 1954 issue with comments as follows:

The multi-racial principle offers . . . the only hope and promise of a harmonious way of life for the peoples of Kenya, and the country is engaged in a great experiment which is being watched . . . by the outside world, particularly the British people. But nobody who is engaged in it . . . considers that the introduction of a multi-racial form of government means overnight the emergence of a multi-racial society, socially and politically.²

Though the East African Standard accepted the concept of the plan, it remained neutral as regards either supporting the settlers' view, or opposing the African or Indian view. The comment was aimed at all groups during the time when discussions were becoming heated in nature.

To voice the African opinion on the proposal, a new personality entered the political arena. This was a young Luo named Tom Mboya. Mboya came on the scene as a trade unionist, being general secretary of the Kenya Local Government Workers Union and the Kenya Federation

of Labour (KFL). He not only criticized the proposed constitution, but opposed the government's regulation on political associations for Africans. Mboya was against the government not allowing political societies to exist on a colony-wide basis. Mboya's position was put to a test in late December, 1955 when the colonial Government refused registration of the Kenya African National Congress.³

The registration of the Congress was planned by a African Nairobi lawyer named C. M. G. Argwings-Kodhek. Argwings-Kodhek had aimed to expand the congress among Africans throughout Kenya. And the government's position was to avoid a "risk"⁴ of dealing with a second KAU, affirming that it was not prepared to meet this reoccurrence. Later, the East African Standard expressed firmly its neutral view on African political organizations existing of a colony-wide basis.

A Look At The State of Emergency In 1955

The extension of the Emergency into 1955 was the basis of a number of problems existing between Africans, settlers, Indians and the government. The colonial authorities had imposed a number of controls on the Kikuyu in the form of curfews. The means of imposing a curfew was intended to halt reinforcements to Mau Mau terrorists.⁵

The Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, attempted to ease the racial unrest early in 1955 when he had offered surrender terms to the Mau Mau terrorists. Lives were to be spared for those who surrendered voluntarily. Under this condition, the government announced that cases would not

be prosecuted for past crimes. Leaflets were prepared and distributed in Swahili, Kikuyu and English, serving as safe conduct passes.⁶

Settlers condemned the government's action. The concern of the settlers towards the colonial government led eventually into an inquiry of the background on the Mau Mau movement. This action was prompted by the Standard. The East African Standard, as it often had attacked the government's policy, voiced the settlers' opinion by stating: "Nobody outside the Government of Kenya can remain fully satisfied with the nature of the decision . . . and the circumstances which caused the Government to be seemingly ill acquainted with the events which brought about the State of Emergency."⁷

Because of the demand by the settlers for the Mau Mau inquiry, the East African Standard in April, 1956 published a series of three articles under the title: "The Emergency Under Review."⁸ In writing the stories, George Kinnear--editor of the East African Standard--stated that the articles were placed before the settlers for further scrutiny into why the Kikuyu was slow in surrendering. It was estimated, then, that about 1,400 Kikuyu terrorists were still continuing the Mau Mau rebellion.

Indian Immigration

Still another primary reason for opposition to the new constitution was the old problem on Indian immigration. The settlers had pressed the Kenya Government for a new law to control the influx of Indians migrating into Kenya. They rejected the multi-racial approach of the

Lyttelton plan as being "deceptive" and "disastrous."⁹ The fact that the plan advocated equal representation for all races pointed out the settlers' concern to maintain their culture and traditions in the Kenya dependency. Pressing for a regulation to stop further Indian immigration was one means for the settlers to eliminate outsiders.

African opinion on the problem was divided between the African Council representative and the Kenya African National Congress. It was the opinion of the African member on the Legislative Council that it should be the British to train them in industry, commerce, agriculture, schools and hospitals.¹⁰ From the African Congress, Argwings-Kodhek had upheld the multi-racial principle but objected to outside races who interfered with African progress. The Indian-owned Daily Chronicle responded by stating that this was a "timely and strong warning to Kenya Indians."¹¹ In an article of September 25, 1956, the Daily Chronicle said:

. . . a more potent and ominous sign that we should stick to the old policies is . . . that members of his community [Africans] do not care whether or not they have the backing and advice of Indian leaders in the country. They have threatened to 'go it alone' and denounce Indians at the same time to the Europeans as being trouble-makers in Kenya . . .¹²

The Indians opposed the immigration proposal. They saw the bill as being in conflict with the Lyttelton Constitution. The controversy between the Indians and the settlers dates back to the early part of the century. It was more pronounced in 1919 during the Governorship of Sir Edward

Northey. At his first Legislative Council meeting, Northey had reminded the council that the ". . . settlers were 'the guardians of the back door' and owed it to South Africa to keep the Indians out."¹³ That concept towards the Indians had prevailed in the ensuing years.

A large proportion of the Indians in the East African dependencies came from the Bombay area and are Gujerati speaking. Many also speak English. The migration had started with the building of the Uganda railway line between 1895 and 1901 when 35,000 were brought in to work.¹⁴ From that point on, immigration increased with the result that by mid-1956 the Indian population was estimated at 175,700.¹⁵ This compared with an estimate of 52,400 settlers and about 5,815,000 Africans.¹⁶

The East African Standard remained in a shadow as it scrutinized the government's proposed immigration bill. It wrote:

The Government finds itself in the dilemma of having to protect the interests of the indigenous population, yet bring in sufficient people to develop Kenya, if the country is not to become increasingly short of manpower proportionate to its planned expansion, not only on the land, but also in engineering and commerce.¹⁷

The East African Standard, though it expressed the settlers' view, had tended to oppose the colonial government on the Indian immigration policy. But the paper recognized the value in what Indian immigrant had to offer Kenya as a whole. The Indian question also brought comments from Baraza, a Swahili newspaper controlled by the Standard. The Baraza in an editorial said:

Baraza has several times in the past pointed out that continued Indian immigration is against the interests of the present Indian population here every bit as much as it is damaging to Africans. That fact has long been self-evident, and figures quoted in the Government statement outlining the proposed new policy emphasize it. The Asian population in 1949 was about 100,000. Today it is nearly 150,000.¹⁸

The Baraza's pro-settler view was clearly visible as it continued to explain that Africans must regard that the settlers traditions have made it possible for them to enjoy the benefits of taxation paid by the non-Africans. It further commented that the economic structure producing the wealth comes from the farming community of the settlers.

African Progress: A Problem

Another major aspect of African opposition to the Lyttelton plan concerned their slow economic progress. African criticism was aimed directly at the settlers and Indians. They were against a settler occupying the ministry of Agriculture. Giving weight to this situation was a report on African progress made by a member of the British Trade Union Congress.

Trade unionist Walter Hood had noted in a visit to Nairobi that Kenya's future, economically, was in danger as Africans were denied opportunities to learn trades. On his departure, he proposed to the government of allocating 25% of all apprenticeship to Africans.¹⁹ The plan brought the East African Standard to express opposition to Hood's proposal. The East African Standard had this comment:

. . . This newspaper has pointed out time and time again that there is a great and growing danger of frustration among the urban African communities if they are induced to turn to technical education and trade school courses as the basis for their careers and are then unable to get jobs in which these skills are required and for which the competent tradesman is well paid.²⁰

The East African Standard further expressed that Indians were in a monopoly of some of the critical fields of employment. However, it was a fact that the political awakening by Africans was due in part to increased Indian immigration.

Ban on Political Organizations Lifted

The Kenya Government, in June of 1955, lifted the emergency ban on African political parties.²¹ The decision on the re-entry of Africans into politics had aroused public discussion among the settlers on the government's plan for regulating African organizations. The colonial authorities had proposed three levels--district associations, area conventions and central conventions--for the dissemination of African political views, beginning at district level and gradually permitting the others to be constituted.²²

At the district level, membership would be open to all adults living in the area. Each would have its own approved constitution, and called upon to pay entrance fees and subscriptions. The next level was a convention of district associations for designated areas, considered equal in representation to a member on the Legislative Council who represented the area. The last level was to allow on a colony-wide basis the

establishment of a central convention of district association. This measure called for the holding of meetings at agreed intervals, and appointment to it made by election from the various area conventions.

Before the plan was finally adopted, settlers had insisted that no change be made in the character of the three levels of political associations. The concern of the settlers over African political parties caused the East African Standard to support the settlers' view. The paper commented that:

. . . The object of this insistence . . . is to ensure that each local Association will be truly representative of the people of the district where it has been established, without the risks of infiltration of its ranks and among its officers of strangers from other tribes.

. . . despite the efforts and the ambitions of some of the would-be leaders of African political thought, the Colony is not ready for another country-wide organization. The Emergency is still in being and the militant wind of Mau Mau . . . is not yet eliminated.²³

Inherent within the government plan was the exclusion of the Central Province of Kenya--the tribal area of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru--from political organizations. Before the proposal was placed into a regulation, a modification was made for members of those tribes to undergo loyalty tests that would permit them to express their political views. From the very beginning, the Standard was opposed to Africans entering into politics but it commented on these tests by stating:

. . . the re-entry of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru into organized political life has come sooner than most people would desire. . . but would seem to be now unavoidable. It is, however, the duty of the Government to ensure that the loyalty tests are what they claim to be.²⁴

Kenya Newspapers, 1953-1956

Most of the newspapers in Kenya that appeared in 1953 were still appearing by the end of 1956. The principal changes in the press were mainly in the circulation of the Standard Group of newspapers, followed by the government's efforts to develop a responsible vernacular press for Africans. The method used to start the vernacular press was the forming of the Kenya Vernacular Press Company in 1952. Two years hence that company was producing 14 papers. Table 5 (The Vernacular Press By 1954) shows the extent of the African press receiving governmental financial assistance, as well as the papers that were produced independently.

The first four papers on Table 5 are Kikuyu news-sheets and were controlled directly by government to prohibit the dissemination of seditious news that had flourished during Mau Mau. The State of Emergency was still in effect by 1954. The other papers were linked to government to the extent of receiving financial aid. Their policies, including the independent newspapers, were oriented to "the development of a multi-racial society."²⁵

Under the auspices of their own printing facilities, the Information Office had published nearly 1,000 press handouts in 1953, distributing

TABLE 5

THE VERNACULAR PRESS BY 1954 IN KENYA

Name of Newspaper	Frequency	Government or Indep.	Circulation	Language
Othii na Mbere wa Andu-a-Nja	Monthly	Govt.	5,500	Kikuyu
Mugambo wa Kiambu	Fortnightly	Govt.	2,000	Kikuyu
Murang'a Ngatheti	Fortnightly	Govt.	3,000	Kikuyu
Uhoro wa Nyeri	Fortnightly	Govt.	3,000	Kikuyu
Muei wa Mukamba	Monthly	Govt. Aided	2,000	Kikamba
Mauvoo ma Kitui	Monthly	Govt. Aided	2,000	Kikamba
Ng'alek ap Kipsigis	Monthly	Govt. Aided	2,000	Kipsigis
Kalenjin	Monthly	Govt. Aided	5,000	Kinandi
Habari za Nairobi	Fortnightly	Govt. Aided	2,500	Swahili
Bondeni	Monthly	Govt. Aided	Unknown	Swahili/English
Ruromo	Monthly	Govt. Aided	5,000	Swahili
Sauti ya Bomani	Monthly	Govt. Aided	3,000	Swahili
Mwangaza wa North Nyanza	Monthly	Govt. Aided	4,000	Swahili
Sauti ya Pwani	Monthly	Govt. Aided	6,000	Swahili
Baraza	Weekly	Indep.	(Reflected with the Standard Group)	
Jicho (The Eye)	Weekly	Indep.	6,000	Swahili/English
Tarumbeta	Monthly	Indep.	Unknown	Swahili
Bahati	Daily	Indep.	Unknown	Swahili
Ngao	Weekly	Indep.	2,500	Swahili
Ndoto	Bi-Weekly	Indep.	Unknown	Swahili
Kihoto	Weekly	Indep.	1,500	Kikuyu
Tue ba Meru	Monthly	Indep.	Unknown	Kimeru
Ramogi	Weekly	Indep.	5,000	Dholu
Mulina	Weekly	Indep.	1,500	Luluyia

Sources: "An African Press Survey: 3-East and Central Africa," New Commonwealth (August 19, 1954), 170.

news of the Emergency.²⁶ It also issued a weekly cyclostyled digest of news known as Kenya Calling to keep persons overseas in touch with Kenya's affairs. That publication was discontinued in 1955 and replaced by a monthly illustrated publication and reintroduced again in 1956. Preparation was also started of a monthly Student's News-letter intended primarily for Kenyan students overseas. The first paper to be printed in Masai, the Ilomon le Maasai, appeared in 1955, attaining a monthly circulation of 400-700 by the end of that year.²⁷

Among the settler press, the Standard Group of newspapers led by the East African Standard occupied a monopoly throughout the period 1953-1956. Table 6 (The Standard Group By 1956) shows the principal papers of that group with their pro-settler policy. In 1956, the East African Standard hired Kenneth Bolton as its editor, replacing George Kinnear. Kinnear had spent almost 23 years as the paper's editor and joined the Board of Directors of the Standard Group.

As well as the Standard Group and the African Vernacular press, there were also developments among the Indian and Mission papers, including other settler newspapers outside the circle of the Standard Group. Most of the changes had occurred with gradual increases in circulation. Table 7 (Other Principal Newspapers Of Kenya By 1956) shows the characteristics of other principal papers in Kenya by 1956.

The Indian-owned Daily Chronicle and the Kenya Daily Mail were competing papers with the East African Standard. Though circulation was low, they were the only other dailies in existence. In addition, their

TABLE 6

THE STANDARD GROUP BY 1956

(Estimated Population: Africans, 5,900,000; Settlers, 46,000; Indians, 137,000)

Location and Name of Newspaper	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation 1955	Estimated Circulation 1956	Policy and Editor
<u>Nairobi, Kenya:</u>					
East African Standard	Daily Weekly	English English	21,600 35,700	21,000 --	Independent, pro-settler; George Kinnear up to '56, Kenneth Bolton, '56. Policy controlled by <u>East African Standard</u> ; designed for Africans.
Baraza	Weekly	Swahili	31,600	18,000 (Includes Uganda); 20,000 in Tanganyika	
East African Annual	Annual	English	(20,000 in 1954)	20,000	Independent, pro-settler; S. Hurst.
<u>Mombasa, Kenya:</u>					
Mombasa Times	Daily	English	--	4,000	Independent, pro-settler; M. F. Hill.

Sources: Editor & Publisher International Year Book, 1956 (New York: The Editor & Publisher Co., Inc.), 391-92; Helen Kitchen, The Press in Africa (Washington, D.C.: Ruth Sloan Associates, Inc., 1956), 29-31; "The Press of Kenya is Growing Quickly," World's Press News (October 12, 1956), 42-43.

TABLE 7

OTHER PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS OF KENYA BY 1956

(Estimated Population: Africans, 5,900,000; Settlers, 46,000; Indians, 137,000)

Location and Name of Newspaper	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation		Policy and Publisher
			1955	1956	
<u>Nairobi:</u>					
Daily Chronicle	Daily	English/Gujerati	--	2,500	Anti-Government, anti-settler, Pro-East African Indian National Congress; African and Colonial Press Agency, Ltd.
Colonial Times	Weekly	English on Sat. Gujerati on Thur.	-- --	-- --	Pro-East African Indian National Congress, Anti-Moslen; Africa and Colonial Press Agency, Ltd.
Goan Voice	Weekly	English	--	3,000	Anti-Portuguese, Organ of Goan Publishers, Ltd.
The Citizen	Weekly	English	--	5,000	Strongly opposed to color bar, moderate; Indian-owned, Patwa Publications.
East African Star	Weekly	English	--	2,000	Moselum-owned; Patwa News Agency, Ltd.
Sunday Post	Weekly	English	10,600	6,300	Independent, moderate; J. S. Rathbone, Sunday Post, Ltd.
Jicho (The Eye)	Weekly	Swahili/English	7,900	--	?
Grocer	Monthly	?	--	--	Trade newspaper
K. I. O. Fortnightly	Fortnightly	English	--	4,400	Non-political; Kenya Govt.
<u>Mombasa:</u>					
Kenya Dail Mail	Daily	English	3,000	2,000	Anti-colonial; The Pandya Printing Works, Ltd.
	Weekly	Gujerati	6,000	3,000	
Catholic Times of East Africa	Monthly	English	--	3,000	Mission-owned; His Grace Archbishop McCarthy
Rafiki Yetu (Our Friend)	Monthly	Swahili	--	6,500	Mission-owned; His Grace Archbishop McCarthy
<u>Nakuru:</u>					
Kenya Weekly News	Weekly	English	7,900	--	Independent, pro-settler; Nakuru Press, Ltd.
Bondenii	Fortnightly	English/Swahili	10,000	--	Moderate, Pro-African; African and Colonial Press Agency, Ltd.
<u>Kitale:</u>					
Trans Nzoia Post	Weekly	English	--	1,500	Non-political; primarily advertisements; Abdullah Mohammed Nzoia Press, Ltd.
<u>Eldoret:</u>					
Uasin Gishu Weekly Advertiser	Weekly	English	--	--	Non-political; largely advertisements; J. H. Etheridge & Sons, Ltd.

In addition to the leading papers listed in this table, the Kenya press includes some 11 Kikuyu-language news sheets directly produced by the government; 22 vernacular news organs which receive government technical and financial assistance (14 in Swahili, 2 in the Meru language, 3 in Kamba, 1 in Kipsigis, 1 in Kikuyu, and 1 in Kinandi); about 29 independently-owned vernacular news sheets (including 21 in Swahili, 2 in Kikuyu, 1 in the Meru language, 3 in Luo, and 2 in Kamba); a number of European-operated technical, trade, and professional journals. Besides the Catholic Times (see chart) there are three Swahili and one Kikuyu-language monthlies produced by Christian missions.

Sources: Helen Kitchen, *The Press in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Ruth Sloan Associates, Inc., 1956), 29-31; "The Press of Kenya is Growing Quickly," *World's Press News* (October 12, 1956), 42-43.

English publications were gaining a gradual increase in settler and African readership. And, too, Indian interest in the economical development of Kenya was reflected by the large number of immigrants there by mid-1955. Another aspect in the growing influence of the Indian community was the circulation in Kenya of the African Samachar, a 12-page weekly newspaper in Gujarati from Zanzibar.²⁸

Of the "other" settler newspapers, the weekly Sunday Post of Nairobi and the Kenya Weekly News of Nakuru were growing in size. Also, there was the distribution in Kenya of the Sunday News from Dar es Salaam with a circulation of 7,200.²⁹

Tom Mboya and the First African Election

Under the Lyttelton Constitution, the first election for Africans was held in early 1957. During the election, trade unionist Tom Mboya won membership to the Legislative Council in the Nairobi area.

Mboya made his appearance on the nationalist scene in 1954-1955, opposing the constitution and the government's regulations on the Emergency. He left Kenya for a brief period to study at Oxford but had returned by 1956. On his return, he resumed his position as general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL). By then, the ban on African political parties was lifted. While Mboya was with KFL, he obtained press support from its Mfanyi Kazi (I Am A Worker). The Mfanyi Kazi was a workers' paper that started in 1956 as a monthly in Swahili and English. Its content included trade union activities in East Africa

and comment on political, social and economic problems from the workers' point of view.³⁰ The Mfanyi Kazi had an initial circulation of 5,000.³¹

Before the election, Kenya had recorded a total of 126,508 Africans registered. In the Nairobi area, only the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu who had passed a loyalty test were allowed to vote. The election was divided among eight electoral areas of which Mboya had campaigned for a council seat in the Nairobi area.

Mboya's election manifesto was published by the East African Standard on its editorial page. The Indian-owned Daily Chronicle also carried portraits of other African candidates for the election. On March 15, 1957, the East African Standard ran a banner headline on the election results entitled "Six Newcomers to Kenya's African Election Members," giving coverage to all Africans elected to membership on the Council.³² Mboya was singled out as the youngest member on the new Legislative Council team. Then, in a March 27, 1957 leaders column, the East African Standard said: "The new team can be expected to give more powerful representation of the African case than has been known hitherto . . . they do not lack ability or resolve, but they do sadly lack experience of Parliamentary procedure and government administration . . ." ³³

The People's Convention Party

Following the 1957 election, Mboya moved to form the People's Convention Party (PCP) in an effort to press for a form of self-government

acceptable to Africans. Press support for the party came from the party's newspaper, the Uhuru (Freedom). Mboya described the papers' policy as "making the revolutionary spirit . . . more coherent and giving it fuller meaning in slogans."³⁴ PCP published Uhuru as a nationalist mouthpiece in what Mboya described as a small "cyclostyled paper."³⁵ The newspaper was started by Africans because the English-language papers ran by settlers were devoting small coverage to African news. The East African Standard had begun to reflect a slight change in its pro-settler policy, having devoted small coverage of the first African election. The weekly issues of the East African Standard for February through March, 1957 were devoted to African election manifestoes, African leadership and election results. Most stories appeared on the papers' editorial page, and the election results received front-page treatment.

Mboya organized his party on a district basis in keeping with the government's regulation on African associations. He opposed the Lyttelton Constitution by demanding 15 extra seats on the Legislative Council.³⁶ Only eight were in existence. Mboya, later, refused to accept his nominated office. His action led the East African Standard to comment that the 15 seats ". . . keeps open the door of negotiation. This is probably the best that can be said of it, for after that it relapses into ambiguity and vagueness. . .!"³⁷ The paper further stated that: ". . . if the African Members are concerned, in their relations with other races, only with an increase in representation . . . they cannot expect to achieve

anything but a conditional agreement with the other races."³⁸

The Lyttelton plan was eliminated eventually with settler and Indian ministers resigning membership on the council. The foundation was now laid for the Lennox-Boyd Constitution.

Another Constitution: More Opposition

The next major political development centered on another constitution. This was the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1957 which brought more opposition from Africans who now refused to accept office in the Kenya Government.

Under the plan Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd had proposed for Africans: six additional elected seats--to the then existing eight--a Council of State, and 12 Specifically Elected Members to the Legislative Council. The Council of State was an additional ministry seat with the responsibility for examining legislation considered discriminatory. The Specially Elected Members were to be equal in representation--four seats for settlers, Indians and Africans--selected as an electoral college.

Mboya led the opposition criticising the plan as an " 'old-fashioned, colonial and imperialist technique.' "³⁹ The Indian-owned Daily Chronicle voiced in an editorial that ". . . they [the Africans] have not acted hastily."⁴⁰ The paper went on to state ". . . If the present proposals are accepted by all . . . the losers will be the non-Europeans, and particularly the Africans because the selected seats will serve only to ensure European domination. . . the fact that they will be filled largely

by the European majority vote. . ."⁴¹

The rejection of the proposal by African leaders was not completely unanimous. One did eventually seek election as a special member in March of 1958. This was followed by threats of boycott from Mboya and others.

A month later, when the plan was placed into effect, the Africans had gained the same number of seats as the settlers. Before the end of the year, the African Elected Members nominated for the seats had requested an increase in council representation and called for the elimination of other aspects in the constitution. Their demands were refused. Commenting on the African's refusal, the East African Standard voiced, as it had on the 1954 plan, that ". . . once again, the way is left open for negotiation."⁴² The East African Standard went on to state: ". . . The multi-or non-racial nature of the Council of Ministers is 'a major signpost towards the future'--and that must be building a nationhood among the people of all races who live in the land."⁴³

The East African Standard had upheld the settlers' view by supporting the plan. Because Africans had expressed their non-acceptance, the paper was advocating rehearings through constitutional conferences. And the Africans did press for a constitutional conference that came in 1959. It was held in London with representation in the form of a Constituency Elected Members' Organization (CEMO).

The Nation Group Comes To Kenya

Until the last half of the fifties, the press in Kenya was still dominated by the settlers' Standard Group of newspapers. The East African Standard with a long tradition in Kenya continued to be the leading paper. The Baraza, sponsored by the East African Standard, was edited for Africans, but its policy remained allied to the East African Standard. However, its staff were entirely Africans. The fact remained that coverage of the nationalist cause by the settler press was still small.

But, in 1959, the Nation Series of the East African Newspapers Limited was founded. It was started by two settler journalists, Charles A. A. Hayes and Michael Curtis, who had received financial backing from the young Aga Khan. Hayes was owner of a Swahili weekly, the Taifa Kenya that started in 1958. Curtis came to Nairobi as a former editor of the News-Chronicle of London,⁴⁴ having been associated with the Aga Khan while at Harvard. Together, these two journalists launched the Nation Series by forming the weekly Mwafrika na Taifa and the weekly Taifa Kenya to give more news coverage of the nationalist struggle for self-government.

By 1960, the Nation Series had made three significant changes in its operations. Added were: the Daily Nation, a daily; Taifa Leo, Kenya's only Swahili daily; the weekly Sunday Nation.⁴⁵ Table 8 (Newspaper Groups In Kenya By 1960) shows a comparison in circulation between the Nation Series and the Standard Group.

TABLE 8

NEWSPAPER GROUPS IN KENYA BY 1960

Name of Newspaper Group and Name of Newspaper	Location	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation	
				1959	1960
<u>Standard Group:</u>					
East African Standard	Nairobi	Daily	English	21,000	24,300
Baraza	Nairobi	Weekly	English	--	42,600
East African Annual	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Swahili	--	48,000
Mombasa Times	Nairobi	Annual	English		
	Mombasa	Daily	English	4,000	--
<u>Nation Series:</u>					
Mwafrika na Taifa	Nairobi	Weekly	Unknown	--	--
Taifa Kenya	Nairobi	Weekly	Kiswahili	--	--
Daily Nation	Nairobi	Daily	English		15,000
Sunday Nation	Nairobi	Weekly	English		32,000
Taifa Leo (The Nation Today)	Nairobi	Daily	Kiswahili		33,000

Sources: George Bennett and Carl G. Rosbert, The Kenyatta Election: Kenya 1960-1961 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 218-19; Colonial Annual Reports, Kenya, 1960 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961), 87-88; Colonial Annual Reports, Uganda, 1959, 1960 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960, 1961), 120-25, 113-118, Editor & Publisher International Year Book, 1959 (New York: The Editor & Publisher Co., Inc.), 350, 352.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESS AND NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES,
1954-1959

Nationalist activities in the 1954-1959 period was focused primarily on African opposition to the introduction of two multi-racial constitutions. The first of these, the Lyttelton Constitution, was introduced in 1954 as an experimental plan but was equally opposed by Africans. The nationalists criticized that plan as well as the second, the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, on the basis that neither gave them a majority on the Legislative Council. In fact, African opposition brought the settlers and the Indians to criticize both plans mainly because an African majority on the council would reduce their representation for an unofficial voice in the political development of the dependency.

In connection with the implementation of these constitutional means for Kenya's development were also a number of other closely related events. One was the extension of the Emergency established in 1952 that continued throughout the period. Africans criticized the operations of the Emergency regulations implemented by government mainly because the restrictions had limited their political activity. Another was the government's new plan on immigration that brought further antagonism but primarily from settlers and the Indians. A third feature of this period was the lifting of the ban on African political parties that occurred in the mid-fifties. Though Africans were allowed to form political associations,

they were still restricted in that the organizations were only permitted on a district rather than on a colony-wide basis. A fourth characteristic was the first African election that was held in the year 1957.

In each event that had characterized this period, the settler press played a critical role in advancing the views of the white settlers. Its pro-settler policy was practically sustained throughout the entire period. It supported the multi-racial concept of the two constitutions which the Africans had opposed. It backed the settlers' view in criticizing the government's action for proposing surrender terms to Mau Mau terrorists. It was opposed to Africans receiving technical positions in trade. And it also took the position of opposing African political parties on a colony-wide basis.

In spite of these actions by the Standard, the paper reflected a notable change in its policy during the 1957 election. Though the change was small, the Standard had published election manifestoes for some of the African candidates, including several articles relating to African political speeches. This shift from its exclusive pro-settler policy was explained in the papers' Diamond Jubilee issue of November 19, 1962.

The Standard said:

The growing discontent in India with the status of a subject people began to set in motion the stirrings of new thought in Africa as well. A constant and careful appraisal of the politics of the many famous English language newspapers of India showed that these newspapers were out of sympathy with the national aspirations of the Indian people and that in consequence the nationalists had to establish their own

newspapers in the interests of their movements. When subsequently independence had been attained, these former newspapers had long ceased to exert any influence upon public affairs and a new set of newspapers has earned the respect of their people.⁴⁶

Perhaps the most significant development in the settler press during this period was the emergence of a second newspaper group. This was the East African Newspaper (Nation Series) Limited. The group was founded specifically to advance the nationalist political cause. By 1960, the Nation Series had published two dailies and three weeklies. Financial backing came from the Aga Khan and Roy Thomson.

The African newspapers that appeared were those within the Kenya Vernacular Press Company that had started in 1952. They were financed by government and were also under close surveillance by government.

The number of new newspapers were minimal. However, the increase in circulation of the established settler papers had characterized the growing influence of the settler press during the 1954-1959 period.

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CHAPTER V

THE FINAL STAGE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT, 1960-1963

The final stage for self-government in Kenya by Africans started at the turn of a new decade. The drive towards independence began in 1960 with a series of related events: talks in London for a new constitution, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the formation of national political parties, elections, the return of Kenyatta, and eventually independence in December of 1963.

In regard to these events, the press played a vital part in publicizing nationalist activities. Although the Africans had a small political press, the Nation Series became well established and identified its newspapers with the political aspirations of the Africans. The Standard Group continued to increase its circulation, with tendencies, though small, of supporting the nationalist political cause. Besides the few African newspapers that appeared for the first time, new papers established in this period were minimal.

This chapter covers the years from 1960 to independence as Kenya became the last of the British East African dependencies to gain its freedom. Following the discussion of the press and nationalism in Kenya, a brief overview will be presented on the characteristics of the press in the other British East African dependencies, covering the period 1946 to independence.

The Lancaster House Conference

The last conference that was to shape the character of pre-independent Kenya was the Lancaster House Conference of January 1960 held in London. Among the Africans attending were Tom Mboya, Dr. J. G. Kiano, Oginga Odinga and Roland G. Ngala. All were key African nationalists who had gained prominence in the fifties. Kiano, a Kikuyu, had opposed the number of African seats allocated for the Legislative Council under the Lyttelton Constitution. Odinga was a Luo who had been a former leader of KAU during Mau Mau. He had led the African delegation to London in 1957 when talks were centered on the Lennox-Boyd Constitution. Ngala made his appearance in the political arena as a council member of the Mombasa Legislative Council in 1953, and was active with Mboya in opposing the multi-racial constitutions.

The Lancaster House Conference aimed at two points: an increase in African representation in the Kenya Government; and the demand for Kenyatta's release. Colonial Secretary Ian Macleod had presented the British position stating that Africans were to receive for the first time a majority in the Legislative Council and an increase of two ministry seats. The demand for Kenyatta's release was refused. This led the Africans to boycott the conference at the very beginning. Finally, the conference ended with the Africans accepting the plan upon which they were to press further for self-government. Before the conference was over, the Emergency in Kenya had been terminated.

The State of Emergency Lifted

The State of Emergency, in effect in Kenya since the early fifties, was lifted on January 12, 1960.¹ This meant that the Kenya Government had terminated a number of controls that were exercised during the Emergency. Restrictions were lifted on confining Africans political parties to a district basis. Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes were no longer required to carry special identifications. Curfew regulations were revoked. Licensing of printing presses was also revoked. Africans responded to the lifting of the Emergency by forming a nationwide party two months later.

KANU and KADU

The first African party to form on a colony-wide basis was the Kenya African National Union (KANU). This organization was formed in March of 1960 under the leadership of James S. Gichuru, Tom Mboya and Ronald G. Ngala. The purpose in forming the party was to obtain mass support for a single political organization for all Africans but this did not materialize. Friction among African leaders led to intra-party disagreements and this led to a split in leadership, resulting in the formation of still another national party--the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). That organization was established in 1960 by Ngala.

In the formative period of KANU, African leaders had begun to press government for Kenyatta's release. It had also demanded action to hasten plans for a general election.

The Press and the 1960-1961 General Election

Under the Lancaster House Agreement, Kenya's first general election on a common roll was held in February of 1961 with KANU winning a major victory over KADU. As a result, Africans were to receive a majority of seats for the Legislative Council over the settlers and Indians, and a total of four ministry seats.

During the election, KANU campaigned for the release of Kenyatta. This was published in the settlers' weekly East African Standard. On the paper's editorial page appeared: "The 'East African Standard' invited all parties to contribute an article before the Common Roll Elections."² The paper not only published African election manifestoes but other articles for Africans on the election. The Standard viewed the KANU election platform as "a thoughtful piece of political planning," but said "its most serious defect is inconsistency."³ KANU had advocated a continuance in the high state of agricultural economy but also opposed the land tenure system. The paper saw these views as inconsistent.

After the election, as George Bennett and Carl Rosberg wrote, the Standard ". . . published daily . . . short policy statements from most of the candidates of all racial groups, together with their pictures. . ."⁴ These changes reflected to some extent the shift taken by the East African Standard to support the African political cause.

Throughout the election, the press in Kenya reflected notable changes in the policies of newspapers. The Standard Group no longer

enjoyed a near monopoly in the daily newspaper field, being in competition with the Nation Series. Table 9 (Newspaper Groups in Kenya During the 1960-1961 Election) shows the extent of circulation between these two groups of papers. The leading newspaper in the Nation Series was the Daily Nation. That paper carried more news on African politics than did the East African Standard. Of that paper, George Bennett and Carl Rosberg wrote: ". . . The Nation and its stable companions were more sympathetic to African aspirations, being particularly well informed of developments inside KANU."⁵ Another Nation paper that gained considerable influence was Taifa Leo. It was widely read and concentrated heavily on African political news.

Giving impetus to the African election was the rise of several small African vernacular newspapers. These are shown in Table 10 (Other Principal Newspapers During The 1960-1961 Election) with other newspapers during the election period. Sauti ya KANU (Voice of KANU) was widely distributed. Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya) was started by Dr. Kiano, and it circulated throughout Kikuyuland "advocating unity and the end of the divisions in Kikuyu society."⁶ Nyanza Times supported Odinga and Argwings-Kodhek in their Central Nyanza campaign.

Government newspapers as indicated in Table 10 were distributed on a regional basis. This group carried brief political speeches by the African candidates.

Missing from Table 10 are mission papers. No data was available to make an assessment for the election period.

TABLE 9
NEWSPAPER GROUPS IN KENYA DURING 1960-1961 ELECTION

Name of Newspaper Group and Name of Newspaper	Location	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation 1960	Estimated Circulation 1961
<u>Standard Group:</u>					
East African Standard	Nairobi	Daily	English	24,300	28,000
Baraza	Nairobi	Weekly	English	42,600	--
Mombasa Times	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Swahili	48,000	--
	Mombasa	Daily	English	--	--
<u>Nation Series:</u>					
Daily Nation	Nairobi	Daily	English	15,000	22,000
Sunday Nation	Nairobi	Weekly	English	32,000	27,169
Taifa Leo (The Nation Today)	Nairobi	Daily	Swahili	33,000	--
Taifa Kenya	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	55,500	65,000

Sources: George Bennett and Carl G. Rosberg, The Kenyatta Election: Kenya 1960-1961 (London: University Press, 1961), 218; and The Europa Year Book: Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia, 1961, 1962 (London: Europa Publications Ltd.), 203, 230-31.

TABLE 10

OTHER PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA DURING 1960-1961 ELECTION

Type Press and Name of Newspaper	Location	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation	
				1960	1961
<u>Settler Press (Less Std. Gp.):</u>					
Kenya Weekly News	Nakuru	Weekly	English	9,000	7,900
Sunday Post	Nairobi	Weekly	English	14,600	--
<u>Indian Press:</u>					
Kenya Daily Mail	Mombasa	Daily	English	3,000	--
	Mombasa	Weekly	Gujerati	2,000	--
Daily Chronicle	Nairobi	Daily	English/Gujerati	4,000	4,000
Colonial Times	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Gujerati	5,000	6,000
Goan Voice	Nairobi	Weekly	English		
Observer	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Udru	--	--
<u>African Press:</u>					
Jicho (The Eye)	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Swahili	20,000	--
Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya)	Nairobi	Weekly	Kikuyu	10,000	--
Ramogi	Nairobi	?	Luo	?	--
Nyanza Times	Kisumu	Monthly	Luo	?	--
Sauti ya Kanu (Voice of Kanu)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	35,000	--
Wiyathi (Freedom)	?	?	?	?	--
Nyota ya Haki (Star of Justice)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	?	--
Uhuru (Freedom)	Nairobi	Daily(?)	Swahili	--	--
<u>Government Press:</u>					
Habari		Weekly	Swahili	15,500	--
Sauti ya Pwani		Bi-Monthly	Swahili	5,500	--
Matemo		Fortnightly	Kikuyu	10,000	--
Matai		Bi-Monthly	Kamba	7,500	--
Kalenjin		Monthly	Nandi	5,000	--
Nyanza Citizen (North)		Bi-Monthly	English/Swahili	3,500	--
Nyanza Citizen (South)		Bi-Monthly	English/Swahili	3,500	--
Ilomen le Maasai		Monthly	Masai	1,500	--

Sources: George Bennett and Carl G. Rosberg, The Kenyatta Election: Kenya 1960-1961 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 218; and The Europa Year Book: Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia, 1962 (London: Europa Publications Ltd.), 203; 230-31.

The Battle For Kenyatta's Release

The rivalry among African leaders that led to the formation of the two national parties, KANU and KADU, had not precluded their launching a joint action to achieve Kenyatta's release.

Tom Mboya stimulated African opinion for Kenyatta's release with several proposals in May of 1960. One advocated that all African Elected Members of the Legislative Council and African Ministers resign in mass from the Kenya Government. Other KANU leaders supported this proposal by petitioning the government with demands that Kenyatta be released "now and without condition."⁷

Mboya's second proposal was to launch a civil disturbance campaign, and he collected more than one-million signatures on a petition.⁸ In spite of these efforts, Mboya was almost totally alone in urging his proposals.

During this activity, the government had not committed itself on the Kenyatta case. On May 10, 1960 Governor Sir Patrick Renison made it known that Kenyatta would remain in detention for reasons of being a "security disaster."⁹ Supporting the government's decision was the East African Standard that said: ". . . There is the additional fact that although ample opportunity has been afforded, Kenyatta himself has given no indication of a change of heart or of any desire to denounce the foul movement with which he has been linked."¹⁰

A month later, growing concern by Africans for Kenyatta's release had re-created the specter of Mau Mau among the settler community, particularly the laxity on the part of government for not dealing with the movement in the early phase of Mau Mau operations. To voice the settlers' concern, the East African Standard in a June 1, 1960 editorial criticized the government's action commenting:

. . . Why, then, did the official leaders conceal the situation, deteriorating so fast under the malign influence of Kenyatta, with which his Communist background and what Mr. Corfield describes as his 'hymn of hate'? Whatever the reason . . . government cannot escape responsibility for much of the laissez faire, as this story is unfolded.¹¹

The government's decision to keep Kenyatta in detention was not a closed door for the leaders of KANU and KADU who were fighting to have Kenyatta released. In November, KANU decided to institute a campaign using less restraints than before. Their ultimate aim was still to have him free by the time of the 1960-1961 general election. Dr. Kiano, who was serving as the minister for Commerce and Industry, had forecast that their leader would be released by March of 1961. To some Africans, Kenyatta was a "martyr."¹² In commenting on Kenyatta's image, the East African Standard stated: "Whether some people in Kenya . . . like the idea or not, the majority of politically conscious Africans in Kenya regard Jomo Kenyatta as their natural leader."¹³

The paper was really endeavoring to prepare the community for an ultimatum. This was to brace them for either more political unrest or be

prepared to accept Kenyatta as the eventual chief minister of Kenya. The title of chief minister had emerged because KANU was reserving the top position in its party for Kenyatta during the final drive for self-government. Much of the increasing concern over Kenyatta's release was viewed in the light of other African leaders who had been in detention and then released by government. One was Kwame Nkrumah, leader of Ghana in British West Africa. In making a comparison with Kenyatta, the East African Standard commented that:

. . . Kenyatta's record is not like that of either Dr. Nkrumah or Archbishop Makarios, who are usually quoted in this connection . . . But it must be clearly recognized . . . he [Kenyatta] was convicted for his part in the management of the Mau Mau illegal society, and not for any Mau Mau act or atrocity.¹⁴

The Standard continued to state that Kenyatta's release was the solution to end further friction between African leaders in KANU and KADU. There were several KADU leaders who had objected to KANU's plan of action to obtain Kenyatta's freedom.

Then, in May of 1961, Governor Renison announced that Kenyatta was to be removed from detention at Lodwar and placed at another location for further detention. Kenyatta was finally released from all restrictions in August, and he joined KANU a month later.

Kenyatta Joins KANU

Kenyatta was accorded a hero's welcome on his return to Nairobi in August 1961. However, it was not until October that he accepted the

position as president of KANU.

On his return, there still was intra-party friction between KANU and KADU. Kenyatta had called for "KADU-KANU unity"¹⁵ as a solution for resolving party differences before his release. His strategy was aimed at forming a one-party system which KADU had rejected.

Gichuru, president of KANU, had moved to offer the top leadership position to Kenyatta which he accepted. During Kenyatta's first public appearance as president of KANU, he referred to the past saying ". . . 'There must be no oathing at all. There is no need for it.' Secret meetings, too, must come to an end. . ." ¹⁶ On his re-entry into African politics, the East African Standard voiced that: ". . . Mr. Kenyatta has the stature required of a man who is able to provide over a conference drawn from all parties and cutting across tribal lines, because he carries the respect of politicians on all sides." ¹⁷ This illustrates the Standard's changed attitude on Kenyatta.

More Conference Talks in 1962

Following Kenyatta's return to politics, key African nationalists were attempting to erase their differences by seeking a form of government acceptable to both parties, but this resulted in another conference talk and another election.

The conference was held in London on February 14. At the conference, both party representatives agreed to the establishment of a form of government for Kenya on a regional basis. When the plan appeared in its final

form, it prescribed a parliament of two chambers--a House of Representatives and a Senate. In writing about the constitutional changes for Kenya, Bennett noted that it was ". . . the most complicated constitution ever devised for a colonial territory."¹⁸

Kenyatta's agreement to the constitution embodying regions brought inter-party friction among KANU leaders. One in particular was Paul Ngei, leader of the Kamba group in KANU. Ngei had been a former KAU leader who was sentenced to detention with Kenyatta during Mau Mau. He broke out from KANU to form his African People's Party (APP).

KANU took up the offensive in November as Kenyatta had threatened to stage a walk-out from the formed Coalition Government ". . . unless the elections were held before next year's Budget."¹⁹ The East African Standard supported Kenyatta's view by voicing that: ". . . KANU's thinking is correct. A Budget cannot be presented on the eve of a General Election, preferably, the elections must be held afterwards."²⁰

The Last Election: Apex of Kenya Nationalism

The last election under British rule came in May of 1963. This was the height of African nationalism in Kenya. The victory went to Kenyatta and his KANU party. The results were as follows:²¹

House of Representatives
(Lower House)

117 Seats

KANU	58	These figures include 18 unof- ficial seats, 10 of which went to KADU or affiliated independents
KADU	28	
APP	6	
Others	5	
Uncontested	5	

Senate
(Upper House)

41 Seats

KANU	11	These figures include 10 unop- posed seats, 5 of which went to KANU, 4 to KADU and 1 to an independent
KADU	9	
APP	0	
Others	2	
Uncontested	3	

The pre-election period had been one of party rivalry between KANU, KADU and APP. Party pledges and election manifestoes were carried in the leading papers.

Prior to the elections, the Daily Nation carried texts of political speeches and profiles of the three African parties. Several days before the election, it published an editorial entitled "KANU for Kenya."²² The papers' support of KANU brought criticisms from KADU and APP. The Daily Nation held firmly to its decision, and later published a front page article stating "We Said it . . . We Meant it . . ." ²³ Part of the article follows:

On Saturday, the Daily Nation exercised its democratic right to put a point of view. We said firmly that we believed

the Kenya African National Union was the political party with the right policy and the right men to run Kenya after the General Elections.

The decision to express this view was taken after long and careful thought and in the full knowledge that it would be unpopular with Kanu's opponents.

We said it. We meant it. And we still mean it--
'Kanu for Kenya.'²⁴

The Decision On "Uhuru" (Freedom)

After the May election, the new Kenya Government was formed in June 1963 with Kenyatta as Kenya's first Prime Minister. Independence was set for December 12. But another London conference took place in October for KANU and KADU key leaders to agree on certain changes to be made in the Kenya constitution. In the third week of the conference, Kenyatta threatened to withdraw and return to Kenya to declare independence without constitutional authorization.²⁵ But later, the Colonial Secretary reached an agreement with both delegations and promised that Kenya would receive its independence in December.

DECEMBER 12, 1963: INDEPENDENCE COMES TO KENYA

After 68 years of British rule, Kenya became an independent nation on December 12, 1963. This historic event made the former British dependency the 35th independent nation in Africa. Kenyatta and Kenya then set out to play a role in world politics, starting as a member of the United Nations.

The cabinet of the new Kenya government consisted of African representation from six of the seven territorial regions in Kenya. Several of the new ministers had been journalists or were in some way connected with the publishing of a newspaper. They were Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister, one-time editor of the monthly Muigwithania (The Conciliator); Oginga Odinga, Minister of Home Affairs, associated with the weekly Nyanza Times; Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Minister of Commerce, owner of the weekly Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya); and Achieng Oneko, Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, owner of the weekly Ramogi.

The Press In Kenya At Independence

The press in Kenya at independence was dominated for the most part by two major newspaper groups, the Standard Group and the Nation Series. Though not entirely produced in English, these newspapers radiated from the capital in Nairobi. There was one exception--the daily Mombasa Times. Table 11 (Newspaper Groups In Kenya By Independence) shows the papers of the two respective groups by independence.

The East African Standard was first in circulation. Its pro-settler policy since 1902 had undergone considerable change, having devoted some attention to African politics during 1963. On independence eve, the East African Standard referred to Kenyatta as one who ". . . has proved a respected catalyst of party and tribal factors."²⁶ The Daily Nation was a supporter of the nationalist cause from its beginning. Under the editorship of John Bierman, the Daily Nation gave both KANU

TABLE II
 NEWSPAPER GROUPS IN KENYA BY INDEPENDENCE (1963)

Name of Newspaper Group and Name of Newspaper	Location	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation 1962	Estimated Circulation 1963
<u>Standard Group:</u>					
East African Standard	Nairobi	Daily	English	28,000	28,000
Baraza	Nairobi	Weekly	English	--	42,000
Mombasa Times	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Swahili	42,800	48,244
	Mombasa	Daily	English	--	4,800
<u>Nation Series:</u>					
Daily Nation	Nairobi	Daily	English	22,000	22,000
Sunday Nation	Nairobi	Weekly	English	27,169	27,169
Taifa Kenya	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	--	30,545
Taifa Leo (The Nation Today)	Nairobi	Daily	Swahili	--	--
<u>Other Papers Published by Standard Group:</u>					
Baragumu	Nairobi	Weekly	?	--	--
<u>Other Papers Published by Nation Series:</u>					
Mwafrika na Taifa	Nairobi	Weekly	?	--	--
Taifa Empya	Nairobi	Daily	Luganda	--	--
Taifa Uganda Empya	Nairobi	Weekly	?	--	--
Mwafrika	Nairobi	Daily	?	--	--

Sources: The Europa Year Book: Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia, 1962 to 1964 (London: Europa Publications Ltd.), 230-31, 120-21, 616-617; Revised Annotated Listing of African Press, R-110-64 (Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency, August 1964), 43-45; and Willing's Press Guide, 1964 (London: Willing's Press Guide, James Willing, Ltd.), 468-69.

and KADU an equitable share in news coverage. Most of its 16-page, 5 column editions in 1963 carried political activities, including photo coverage, on the front page and in editorial columns. The fact that it was not a party newspaper is reflected in its issue of April 23, 1963.

In that issue, the Daily Nation stated:

Three years ago, Mr. Tom Mboya [of KANU] held up a copy of the Sunday Nation and said: 'Burn this newspaper.'

On Sunday April 21, 1963, Mr. Ronald Ngala [of KADU] tore up that day's issue of the Sunday Nation and said he would not read the paper again until after the election.²⁷

The identification of the Daily Nation with the political aspirations of the Kenya nationalists was vivified in its independence issue of December 12, 1963 under an editorial entitled "Today We Are Free."²⁸ The independence day edition totaled 64 pages.

The Nation Series made several changes between 1962 and the year of independence. One was its purchase of a half share in Mwafrika, a fortnightly published in Tanganyika. A second was the installation of two off-set litho units in Uganda to print 32 pages simultaneously of its paper Uganda Empya. A change in the editorship of the Nation-Taifa Group was the third major change. Boaz R. Omori, editor of Taifa Leo, had become chief editor of the group. His assistant, Jordan Amadi, became editor of Taifa Leo. These changes and the growing influence of the Nation Series in general had matched those of the Standard Group.

Table 12 (Interterritorial Circulation of Kenya Newspapers, 1963) shows a comparison of interterritorial circulation between the two newspaper groups.

The Indian press did not compare favorably with Kenya's two newspaper groups. The size of the press, however, does reflect its influence on the Indian community. This fact is reflected in Table 13 (Other Principal Newspapers In Kenya By Independence) that shows most of the other principal papers in Kenya by independence.

For the most part, the African press was still small. (See Table 13.) KANU's support for the 1963 election came from its own newspaper, the weekly Sauti ya KANU (Voice of KANU). Also linked with KANU was Odinga's weekly Nyanza Times. KADU received some of its press support from the weekly Nyota ya Haki.

Government-run papers also remained small. The two principal newspapers produced by government at independence are reflected in Table 13. The news section of the Press Office had claimed an issue in excess of 11,150 press handouts²⁹ during 1962. This was supposedly the largest in several years. In June of 1962, a news service in Swahili press handouts was started.

Very little information was available on the mission press to present an account of it by independence. It is believed to have remained small as it had over the past years. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 12

INTERTERRITORIAL CIRCULATION OF KENYA NEWSPAPERS, 1963

	<u>Tanganyika</u>		<u>Uganda</u>	
	Daily	Weekly	Daily	Weekly
English language:				
E. A. Standard	670	1,780	400	1,900
Daily Nation	1,560	5,100	330	3,700
Total		<u>8,280</u>	<u>730</u>	<u>6,700</u>
Swahili language:				
Baraza		7,220		5,100
Taifa		1,200	720	1,370
Total		<u>8,420</u>	<u>720</u>	<u>6,470</u>
Total English and Swahili	2,230	16,700	1,450	13,170

Sources: Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Pan Africanism and Easy African Integration (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 80.

TABLE 13

OTHER PRINCIPAL NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA BY INDEPENDENCE

Type Press and Name of Newspaper	Location	Frequency	Language	Estimated Circulation	
				1962	1963
<u>Settler Press (Less Std. Gp.):</u>					
Kenya Weekly News	Nakuru	Weekly	English	9,000	9,000
Sunday Post	Nairobi	Weekly	English	14,600	14,600
<u>Indian Press:</u>					
Africa Times	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Gujerati		
Kenya Daily Mail	Mombasa	Daily	English	2,500	2,500
	Mombasa	Weekly	Gujerati	3,500	3,500
Daily Chronicle	Nairobi	Daily	English/Gujerati	4,000	4,000
Colonial Times	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Gujerati	5,000	5,000
Jico (The Eye)	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Swahili	20,000	20,000
Goan Voice	Nairobi	Weekly	English		
Navyug	Nairobi	Weekly	English		
Observer	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Urdu		
National Guardian	Nairobi	Daily	English/Gujerati	3,000	3,000
Africa Samachar	Nairobi	Weekly	Gujerati	15,000	16,000
<u>American Press:</u>					
Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya)	Nairobi	Weekly	Kikuyu	10,000	10,000
Nyanza Times	Kisumu	Weekly	Lou		
Sauti ya Kanu (Voice of Kanu)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili	35,000	35,000
Nyota ya Haki (Star of Justice)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili		
Mfanyi Kazi (I Am A Worker)	Nairobi	Weekly	English/Swahili		
Sauti ya Mwafrika (The African Voice)	Nairobi	Weekly	Swahili		
<u>Government Press:</u>					
Kenya Gazette	Nairobi				
Kenya Today	Nairobi	Quarterly	English	3,000	3,000
<u>Mission Press:</u>					
Twe ba Meru	Meru	Monthly	Kimeru	10,000	10,000
Rafiki Yetu	Mombasa	Monthly	Swahili	6,000	3,000
Anglican Herald	?	?	?	?	?
<u>Others:</u>					
Sauti ya Vita	Nairobi	Monthly	English/Swahili	7,350	7,350
Kenya Farmer	Nairobi	Monthly	English	4,900	4,900
East African Trade and Industry	Nairobi	Monthly	English	2,000	2,000
East African Farmer and Planter	Nairobi	Monthly	English	3,500	
Africana	Nairobi	Monthly	?	--	11,000
Arrow	Nairobi	Monthly	English		23,500
Pan Africa	Nairobi	Fortnightly	English		

Sources: The Europa Year Book: Africa, The Americas, Asia, Australasia, 1962 to 1964 (London, Europa Publications Ltd.), 203, 230-31, 120-21, 616-617; Revised Annotated Listing of African Press, R-110-64 (Washington, D.C., United States Information Agency, August, 1964), 43-45; and Willing's Press Guide, 1964, (London: Willing's Press Guide, James Willing, Ltd.), 468-69.

SUMMARY, 1960 TO INDEPENDENCE

Nationalist activities in this period were characterized as the height of African nationalism in Kenya. Their political struggle culminated with the achievement of independence in December 1963.

This three-year period started with the Lancaster House Conference that had given the Africans a majority on the Legislative Council. This was followed by the emergence of KANU that began initially as a mass party. But a split in leadership caused by personality differences arose and this resulted in the forming of a second national party known as KADU. Both parties pressed for independence, although their principal focus at the outset was centered on fighting for Kenyatta's release. This did not materialize until after the 1960-1961 election inasmuch as the government had decided to retain Kenyatta in detention.

In the election, KANU came out with a major victory. Intra-party friction developed strongly and this led to a delay in forming a government that would be acceptable to both parties. KANU aimed for national unity while the opposition party pressed for a form of government on a local and regional basis.

Kenyatta was released after the 1961 general election, and he later accepted the top leadership position of KANU. He attempted to promote unity between the two parties, but his efforts failed, resulting in another London Conference and another election. The last election was held in

1963 which KANU won, and the new Kenya Government was formed with Kenyatta as Kenya's first Prime Minister.

The period also saw economic as well as political problems. An outflow of capital began, unemployment rose and settler farms came up for sale.

During this period, the press played a critical role in advancing the political views of the Africans. The Standard had reflected a shift in its traditionally pro-settler policy by rendering some support to the African nationalist cause. This came in 1961, and again, in the 1963 elections. The newspapers of the Nation Series identified themselves with the nationalists by advancing their political aims and aspirations through the print media. In fact, the circulation of the Nation papers gave more coverage than did the Standard Group. As the Standard had begun to give attention to African politics, it still focused heavily towards supporting the views of the white settlers.

By independence, there were at least 30 papers in Kenya. These represented all racial groups with the settler press controlling and owning most of the major publications. There were nine regularly produced dailies of which six were settler-owned and controlled. The others were Indian-owned.

The Africans developed a press of six small newspapers. These served mainly as political organs in support of African politicians who campaigned for council seats on the Legislative Council. Both KANU and KADU won support from these six papers, but KANU in particular had its

own Sauti ya KANU (Voice of KANU). Little is known about the Wiyathi (Freedom), a paper initiated by KADU.

The mission press, as it had in the past, continued to be a small press of about two monthlies that appeared regularly.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRESS IN OTHER BRITISH EAST AFRICAN AREAS

Though this study has focused on Kenya, the press there did not, indeed, exist in a vacuum. Between 1946 and independence, in the other British East African areas a total of 126 newspapers had appeared. In Tanganyika, there were 26; Uganda, 67; and Zanzibar, 33.

The Press In Tanganyika, 1946 to Independence

Unlike the other British East African dependencies, African nationalism in Tanganyika was motivated and controlled by one African leader. This was Julius Nyerere who organized the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Nyerere directed the aims of TANU towards self-government and had very little opposition from other parties. Like Kenya, the basic concern of African nationalism in Tanganyika was the Africans' objection to the use of land by the white settlers and Indians. This deep-rooted discontent emerged from taxation upon Africans that forced many of them to work on settler farms. The settler community, unlike that in Kenya, was not concentrated in one area, but was dispersed throughout the territory.

The settlers were not only involved in the political development of Tanganyika but they also dominated the newspaper field. The leading newspapers included the Daily Tanganyika Standard and the Sunday News. Both were settler-owned and controlled. These papers represented the views of local settler opinion and were opposed to the nationalist political cause. Throughout this period, the circulation of the settler press increased gradually and competed with the Sunday Nation that came in 1961.

As in Kenya, a large Indian community existed and was represented by two dailies and three weeklies. The daily issues of the Tanganyika Opinion and Tanganyika Herald were published in English and the weekly editions of these same papers in Gujarati.

Before TANU formed in 1954, most of the newspapers for Africans were controlled by government. However, many of these were district news sheets. Those that were widely distributed include: Mambo Leo (News Of To-Day), a monthly in Swahili; and Habari za Leo, a weekly in Swahili. These publications remained under government control until 1958, when they were transferred to an independent firm known as the Tanganyika National Newspapers Company.³⁰ There had been three African-owned papers by 1954, but these were produced irregularly. The only known newspaper that served as a political organ for TANU was Sauti ya TANU (Voice of TANU). That paper was founded and edited by Nyerere.³¹ From the standpoint of press freedom, there was no special

law or legal instrument restricting the freedom of the press. The publishing of false statements aimed at causing fear and alarm was, however, subject to legal control by government.

The press situation in Tanganyika at independence, September 1961, is summarized in Appendix D (Newspapers Published in Tanganyika, 1946 to 1961).

The Press In Uganda, 1946 to Independence

African nationalism in Uganda did not follow the pattern of either Kenya, or Tanganyika. Uganda's major problem, as John Hatch wrote, was ". . . to come to terms with the modernising process offered by colonial administrators."³² The one element missing in the dependency was a large settler element. But concurrent with rise and growth of nationalism was also the rise and growth of an African political press.

The press in this period came to play a vital role during the nationalist struggle for self-rule. It was represented by all racial groups, but it remained mostly African. This was illustrated by the number of newspapers that appeared in Luganda, the language of Uganda's most advanced tribe (the Buganda). Most African papers emerged as organs for political parties. The growth in the press came with the Kabaka crisis of 1953-1954 that started over the idea made by colonial rulers to unify East Africa. This had promoted the Kabaka to demand early independence for the Kingdom of Buganda. His actions eventually led to his exile. Because of this, the African press adopted an anti-government policy to

fight for the Kabaka's return. The mission press played a significant part with a number of its newspapers published in Luganda. The small settler element was represented by the weekly Uganda Herald until 1955 when the Standard Group in Nairobi started the daily Uganda Argus. Until the appearance of that paper, Uganda had no daily newspaper. There were government-published district news-sheets, but no other papers came under the control of government as was the case in Kenya.

When Uganda gained its independence in October 1962, 67 newspapers of various kinds had appeared since 1946. (See Appendix E, Newspapers Published In Uganda, 1946-1962.)

The Press In Zanzibar to Independence

The press in Zanzibar developed gradually in this period, going from six newspapers in 1946 to about 33 at independence in 1963. Unlike Kenya, the white settler element was negligible. And, too, no settler papers were produced in Zanzibar. Zanzibar's press was represented by Africans, Arabs, and Indians, appearing mainly as political organs for these three main ethnic groups. The largest number of newspapers mushroomed to about 22 in 1961, when the most outward form of African nationalism occurred in the dependency. During the June 1961 general election, there had occurred disturbances in the form of boycotts, labor disputes and squatter troubles. A Great Britain Report of Inquiry Into Zanzibar's Disturbances stated that: ". . . the tone of the Press, and political speeches, was so deplorable that the British Resident

decided it was necessary to call together the political leaders to discuss the situation. . ."³³ At the time of these disturbances, the press was also characterized by small circulation as many newspapers were circulated from person to person. In writing about the function of the press in Zanzibar, Michael F. Lofchie noted the newspapers performed a symbolic function rather than a communication function, consisting basically of a repetition of party symbols and stereotypes.³⁴

When independence came to Zanzibar in December 1963, two days before Kenya gained its freedom, there had been about 33 newspapers in existence. (See Appendix F, Newspapers Published in Zanzibar, 1946 to 1963.)

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will present the summary and conclusions of this study of the press and nationalism in Kenya as discussed in the preceding five chapters.

Chapter I: Introduction of the Press and Nationalism in Kenya

This chapter established the background and theoretical framework, purpose and scope, significance of the study, an overview of British East Africa, the research methodology, the definition of operational terms and limitations of the study. The study was developed from an observation regarding the striking policy shifts taken by the white settler press in the post-independent period. The expectation was that the traditionally conservative and pro-settler policy of the daily settler press of Kenya had remained unchanged until the 1960's.

On that basis, the study was guided by four principal questions. Did the settler press support, oppose, or remain neutral towards the African nationalist political struggle? Were the functions of the settler press significantly different in the few years just before the attainment of political independence than the earlier periods? What were the significant differences between the settler-run and African-run press in Kenya? What generalizations, or trends from the characteristics of newspapers in Kenya can be made concerning the functions of the settler and the African press by independence?

As an area for investigation of the above questions, Kenya was selected for four main reasons. One, the pressures of the white settlers during the political development of Kenya were more pronounced there than elsewhere in British East Africa. Two, the vast majority of daily newspapers were owned and controlled by the white settlers. When independence came to Kenya in 1963, six of the nine dailies were owned by the settlers. The East African Standard dominated the press in Kenya throughout the colonial era, having made its inception in 1902. That paper gave little or no support to the political aspirations of the Africans. Further, the African press had remained small during their struggle for self-government, owing mostly to a lack of financial backing and technically trained journalists.

Chapter II: Press Beginnings and the Seeds of Nationalism

The second chapter was concerned with tracing, chronologically, the press from its beginning in 1895 to 1945. Emphasis was given mainly to these aspects: British rule; separatism among the white settlers, Indians and Africans; and the rise of African nationalism in Kenya. With the latter aspect, focus was centered on personalities of prominent settler journalists, and Africans who were key nationalists, politicians, and also journalists.

The real beginnings of the press in Kenya occurred during the years 1899 to 1919, a period characterized as one of newspaper rivalry and the establishment of white settlement. A total of at least 15 newspapers

appeared with the settlers owning between 90 and 95% of them. There were no African publications in this period. Many of the settler papers were short-lived because of a lack of financial support in competing with other settler newspapers. However, the one newspaper that survived the keen competition was the East African Standard. The Standard was started in 1902 when settlement was beginning. That paper became the voice of local settler opinion in the Kenya dependency. The Standard took the position of supporting the settlers and voicing their views on labor and Indian immigration, as these were two of the main political issues in this period. The Standard supported the settlers' view on labor by pressing government to impose and increase taxation as a means of obtaining forced African labor. Backed by the Standard, opposition by the settlers towards Indian immigration came primarily from competition offered them by the Indians for political representation, trade and education.

By 1919, the Standard had become the dominant newspaper by establishing a monopoly over several other papers. The owner of the Standard established the East African Standard Limited that consisted of the daily and weekly East African Standard on Nairobi, and the daily Mombasa Times of Mombasa. It had also purchased and started the weekly Advertiser when that paper ceased in 1909.

The last half of the 1895-1945 period (1920 to 1945) was primarily concerned with the rise of Kikuyu nationalism, the largest African tribe in British-ruled Kenya. And concurrent with the rise of Kikuyu nationalism

was the appearance of a small African indigenous press of three newspapers.

The Standard maintained its pro-settler policy throughout this period. It opposed government policy on the issue of importing indentured labor as one means of solving the labor problem. The continued dominance by the Standard, as the press in Kenya, was evident in the thirties when it produced the weekly Baraza. The Baraza was designed to appeal to Africans, and its policy was controlled by the Standard, with government appointing the editors.

In support of the nationalist cause, the one settler newspaper found that gave some support to the Africans was the Kenya Weekly News of Nakuru. That paper supported the first African appointed to the Legislative Council in 1944, advocating that Africans should be appointed on the basis of all races working together. The first nationalist movement under the militant leadership of Harry Thuku was backed by the Indian-owned East African Chronicle. The paper was sympathetic to the movement and supported the Kikuyu demands to the government on the issue of African land titles. A second nationalist movement emerged in the mid-twenties under the name of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). KCA came to produce its own paper, the monthly Muigwithania (The Conciliator) that was founded and edited by Jomo Kenyatta, a key leader of KCA. That paper and the others that appeared in the forties served as political organs to advance the grievances of the Kikuyu.

By the end of the Second World War, there had appeared about 35 newspapers in Kenya. The development of these papers, however, was not commensurate with the rise of African nationalism. Most were settler publications that were involved in promoting the political aims of the settlers.

Chapter III: The Kenya African Union and Mau Mau Emergency

The third chapter traced the development of the press and concurrently the growth of Kikuyu nationalism from 1946 to the declaration of the Mau Mau Emergency in 1952. This period saw the most overt expression of nationalism in the form of Mau Mau and the "mushroom" growth of the vernacular African press.

This six-year period was focused mainly on the Kenya African Union (KCA) formed in 1946 to advance the grievances of the Kikuyu over land alienation. Kenyatta, who became the leader of KCA, dominated the nationalist scene with his aspirations to unify the Africans in Kenya and to press for an increase in representation to the Legislative Council. When the Mau Mau campaign broke out in 1952 with mass killings, the settlers had linked Kenyatta as the prime mover of Mau Mau. Though Kenyatta had on occasions denounced his affiliation with the movement, he was convicted and jailed for managing Mau Mau.

The growth of nationalism in this period was paralleled by the development of the African press. At the time of the Emergency declaration in 1952, the government stepped in and suppressed some fifty

"seditious" Kikuyu news-sheets, including the banning of KCA for subversive activities. Most of these news-sheets had appeared in 1951 and 1952 before the opening of the Mau Mau campaign. They expressed dissent against the land issue, the color-bar, and lack of African representation in government affairs. These Kikuyu papers became the prime means for the growth and expansion of African discontent and dissatisfaction against colonial rule.

Throughout this period, the Standard maintained its pro-settler policy and continued to voice the political aspirations of the settlers. A major development in the press was the launching of the Kenya Vernacular Press Company by government for Africans in 1952. The government provided financial support and technical assistance as a means of improving a non-political African press. Equally significant at the time of the Emergency was the imposition of press censorship by the government. Press regulations were passed empowering government to confiscate presses publishing seditious information. The Emergency in Kenya also meant the banning of all African political parties. This brought a halt to all political activity until the mid-fifties.

Chapter IV: Constitutional Opposition

This chapter traces the years in African nationalism from 1954 to 1959. That period is characterized as one of constitutional opposition by Africans in Kenya of two multi-racial plans--the Lyttelton Constitution and the Lennox-Boyd Constitution.

Throughout the 1954-1959 period, the settler press in Kenya increased its circulation. The East African Standard, as it had in the past, continued as the voice of local settler opinion. As an independent newspaper the Standard supported the concept of the two multi-racial plans. However, the papers' support of the constitutions did not represent the views of the settlers who had expressed their resentment towards the plans. In advancing the interests of the settlers, the Standard was opposed to Africans forming political associations on a colony-wide basis when the ban on African parties was lifted in the mid-fifties. The Standard in this period gave its partial support to Africans in the 1957 election. The paper had published election manifestoes of African candidates who campaigned for council seats on the Legislative Council. Several key African nationalists, Odinga and Dr. Kiano, who had participated in the election started their own newspapers to advance their political aspirations.

Further developments in the settler press came in 1959 when a second newspaper group was established in Kenya. This was the Nation Series of two papers. At its inception, these two newspapers were started primarily to support the nationalist cause. By the end of 1959, most of the dailies in Kenya were still controlled by the settlers.

Chapter V: The Final Stage For Self-Government

This chapter covered the events in Kenya from 1960 to the gaining of political independence in December 1963. The events in this period--

primarily the forming of national political parties, the first African general election and independence--characterized the height of African nationalism in Kenya.

The settler press in this period continued to give some support to the political aspirations of the Africans. The shift in the pro-settler policy of the East African Standard started with the 1957 election but became more pronounced during the general elections of 1960-1961 and 1963. Although that paper gave less informational coverage than did the Nation papers, it did publish African election platforms and short policy statements from some of the African nationalists after the election. When the issue on Kenyatta's release arose in this period, the Standard supported the government's action and backed the settlers' views to keep him in detention.

A small African-owned press grew concurrently with the rise of nationalism. The few African papers that appeared were mainly political organs that expressed the aims of KANU and KADU.

The vast majority of the leading dailies remained under the control of the settlers, with a few owned by Indians. Backed by foreign capital, the Nation Series came to produce two dailies in Kenya. The Nation Group that totaled two dailies and two weeklies both supported and criticized the nationalist cause.

In the context of the political development in Kenya, Chapters II through V have traced the development of the press, and concurrently the rise of African nationalism to independence. Though the focus was on Kenya, a brief overview of the press in the other British East African

dependencies was also developed.

In Tanganyika, the leading dailies were also owned by settlers, and represented the views of the sizable settler community there. As in Kenya, the settler press had opposed the nationalist political cause. Although the Standard Group established a daily in Uganda, the press there was mainly African and was controlled by the Baganda--the most politically conscious tribe. The press in Zanzibar, mainly political, represented Africans, Arabs, and Indians. The settler element there was negligible.

This study has identified a total of 274 newspapers in British East Africa during the colonial period, including many that were government district news-sheets. Of that amount, Kenya had 149; Tanganyika, 29; Uganda, 58; and Zanzibar, 38. The number of newspapers for each dependency during the period 1946 to 1963 is shown in Appendices D through G.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions are based on the information contained in the summary above and are related directly to the four questions presented in Chapter I that guided this investigation on press developments and nationalism in Kenya.

The first question stated: Did the settler press support, oppose, or remain neutral towards the African nationalist political cause?

The settler press, particularly the dominant East African Standard, long opposed the African nationalist political cause. Although the Standard tended to lean towards sympathy for African nationalism in the few years before independence, that paper had criticized more than it gave support.

Some of the principal political and economic issues which the Standard opposed were:

1. Advocated an increase in taxation for Africans as a means of promoting forced labor in 1913. The paper saw this action as the only way in which Kenya's economy could be increased for Africans. This became one of the principal grievances of the Kikuyu during the rise of nationalism in the twenties.
2. Opposed the proposal to raise the Africans' level in technical education and trade school courses in 1955, mainly because an allocation of a high percentage of all apprenticeships to Africans meant eliminating the well-paid settler tradesman.
3. Opposed Africans forming political parties on a colony-wide basis after government had lifted the ban on political activity in 1955. The insistence by the Standard against the advancement of African political aspirations was to support local settler opinion on preventing a re-occurrence of Mau Mau.
4. Opposed Jomo Kenyatta's release from detention in 1960. This action by the Standard was a means of supporting the government's decision to keep Kenyatta imprisoned, and to support the settlers' view that

Kenyatta was a security risk to Kenya's development as he had been convicted as the manager of Mau Mau in 1952.

To some extent, the Standard had supported the Africans' elections of 1957, 1961, and 1963. Though the support was confined to short policy statements and profiles of African candidates, this action paralleled the paper's gradual shift from its exclusive pro-settler policy during these years.

On the crucial issue of African representation to the Legislative Council, the settlers' Kenya Weekly News supported the first African appointed to the council in 1944. In 1946, the Standard also upheld the demand by Kenya African Union (KAU) for an increase of African membership on the council.

As the Nation Group had its inception so close to independence (1959), the Nation newspapers both supported and criticized the African political cause. However, the papers gave more support than it gave criticism. By contrast, the Nation Group was founded for the express purpose of advancing the political aspirations of the African nationalists. The Nation papers were not political party organs but an independent group of papers with a pro-African policy. However, the Daily Nation had supported Kenya African National Union (KANU) rather than Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) in 1963.

The second question stated: Were the functions of the settler press significantly different in the few years just before the attainment of political independence than the earlier periods?

The settler press, meaning the East African Standard, performed divergent roles in African nationalism that were significantly different in the few years just before independence than in the earlier periods. The Standard was known traditionally as the voice of the white settlers from its inception in 1902 to its shift in support of the African cause during the elections of 1957, 1961, and 1963. That paper from 1902 onward performed at least the following functions:

1. A vehicle for both communicating within, and advancing the political, social, and economic interests of, the white settler community. Up to the 1957 elections this function was performed exclusively in the interests of the settlers. A change in orientation of the paper was reflected between 1957 and independence when the Standard had begun to devote attention to the African political aspirations. However, the change in the paper's policy to support African elections between 1957 and 1963 was only slight.

2. A means for providing a forum in which differing opinions among the settlers could be expressed. The example that illustrated this function was the publishing of three articles in 1956 entitled "The Emergency Under Review." These articles were aimed in soliciting settlers' views on the assessment of the reasons the Kikuyu terrorists were slow in surrendering. Again, in 1960, this function was illustrated as the paper published the Corfield Report on Mau Mau Inquiry to stimulate further discussions among the settlers.

3. The means for enlarging the horizons of the settlers by bringing them into contact with the other British East African dependencies. The East African Standard Limited expanded its sphere of influence from Kenya into Tanganyika by publishing the Tanganyika Standard in 1930. And, too, the Standard Group started in Uganda the Uganda Argus in 1955. This function embodied the idea that other developments throughout British East Africa were of vital interest to all white settlers.

4. A vehicle for feedback to the colonial administration, and as a safety valve. The colonial government in Kenya and authorities in Great Britain responded to the comments and grievances publicized by the settler press. This function was well demonstrated in 1926 when the British press in London criticized the demands by the white settlers in Kenya for a complete monopoly on the Legislative Council that had related directly to the land and labor problems of the Kikuyu. The safety valve function may be viewed from the opposition taken by the Standard toward government on the following main issues: for importing indentured Indian labor into Kenya in 1926; for its press regulations passed in 1952; and for being ill-acquainted with the events leading to the occurrence of Mau Mau in 1955.

The role performed by the Nation Group was somewhat different inasmuch as that group was started four years before Kenya's independence. The functions of the Nation Group from 1959 on were:

1. Identifying itself with the aspirations of the African nationalists. This was particularly underscored on the day of independence (December 12, 1963) under its editorial entitled "Today We Are Free."

2. A means of providing a forum in which the views and opinions of African nationalists were expressed. Examples of this function are evident in this study during the election years of 1961 and 1963.

3. A vehicle for expanding the horizons of Kenya Africans by bringing them in contact with the other East African territories of Tanganyika and Uganda. The Nation Group, in 1961, started the daily Taifa Empya in Uganda. In Tanganyika, the group purchased a half share of the daily Mwafrika in 1962.

The third question stated: What were the significant differences between the settler-run and the African-run press in Kenya?

There were five marked differences between the settler and the African newspapers. These are related to major press languages, press ownership, freedom of the press, foreign enterprise and capital, and lack of qualified journalists.

Major Press Languages. The major press languages included English, Swahili, and Kikuyu. The English language played the key role in the settler press for the exchange of local settler views. Although all newspapers of the settler press were in English, they also included a small African readership among the educated elite. Only few African publications appeared in English.

For the African press, Swahili played a key role in advancing the spread of nationalism among Africans between 1954 and independence. This was due mainly to the fact that Swahili is the "lingua franca" throughout East Africa. Swahili not only became the prime medium for the exchange of nationalist ideology and in education, but it was also used as a second language by white settlers. Of the large newspaper groups, the Standard published one of its principal papers in Swahili, and the Nation had two in the same language. As Swahili was the pronounced vernacular spoken and read, Almond and Coleman noted that Swahili ". . . is the principal medium of political communication among Africans in their mass meetings, at party conferences, in political pamphlets, and in the press. . ." ¹

The widespread use of these two languages was reflected in the press between 1952 and 1963, with about 38 newspapers appearing in English and 41 in Swahili. But still a major barrier to the development of the press has been the diversity of African languages and dialects throughout British East Africa. In Kenya, there are more than 40 different vernaculars used.

A second major press language for African newspapers was Kikuyu, which promoted the growth of Kikuyu nationalism in the early postwar period. Fifty "seditious" Kikuyu news-sheets and periodicals were suppressed by government in 1952. These publications circulated among all classes of Africans with expressions of dissent towards British rule, owing mainly to the fact that few settlers or colonial officials understood the Kikuyu language.

Press Ownership. Most of the leading dailies and the principal weeklies were owned and controlled by the white settlers. The African press remained small and economically weak, consisting of only a few weeklies and monthlies. During the rise and growth of nationalism, there was at least one African paper for each major political party. This was true of the following parties: Kikuyu Central Association, 1925 to 1940; Kenya African Union, 1946 to 1952, Kenya African National Union and Kenya African Democratic Union, 1960 to 1963. Of the number of African-owned papers that were published in Kenya, all seemed to have flourished when political activity was at its apex. This was illustrated by the African press in the Mau Mau campaign of 1952 when 50 appeared, and again with three in the 1957 election, eight in the 1961 election, and four in the 1963 election. The increase in press developments during the height of nationalism compares with the findings in a 1967 West African study of the press and nationalism. Edward Murphy noted that the more fluid and unobstructed the political activity, the greater the number of newspapers.² In Ghana, for example, he found that a total of 20 dailies appeared in 1950 just before the first national election.³

The importance of African-owned newspapers as political vehicles in the early postwar period was noted by Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham who wrote, *the African press* ". . . expressed general dissent and bitterness over the color bar . . . the insecurity and poverty of Kikuyu squatters

. . . the need for greater African representation in central and local government . . . and national unity . . ." ⁴

Freedom of the Press. The British tradition on freedom of the press was not generally sustained in Kenya for the African press. This was demonstrated in 1952 when government suppressed some 50 subversive Kikuyu news-sheets, followed by the enforcement of press regulations to confiscate presses publishing "seditious" information. These regulations were aimed at the African press and remained in effect until 1960, thereby becoming a major obstacle for the growth and development of that press.

Until the Mau Mau in 1952, however, there were only occasional instances when several African papers were banned, but these were isolated cases. The Muigwithania (The Conciliator), for example, was the first African paper banned in 1940.

The restraints imposed by government on the African newspapers offered little or no hinderance to the settler press. The settler newspapers often harshly criticized the government's policies throughout the period of colonial rule. There were no known instances in Kenya where the white settler press was censored. But the imposition of press regulations over an eight-year period had imposed a double standard for the press in Kenya as they were aimed at the African vernacular newspapers.

Foreign Enterprise and Capital. Foreign enterprise and capital into Kenya enabled the more influential settler newspapers to survive. The East African Standard Limited with its group of two dailies and two weeklies were

financed by the white settlers. The papers of the Nation Series were financed by the young Aga Khan and Roy Thomson. In less than three years, each of the Nation papers had circulation comparable to that of the Standard Group. At independence, the daily East African Standard had a circulation of 28,000 as compared with a circulation of 22,000 for the Daily Nation.

Unlike the settler press, the African press with its few papers lacked the capital necessary for development. It was only the key African nationalists and politicians who possessed the financial means to sustain such publications. And, too, their papers were aimed for their political followers. Such African leaders, for example, were Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya, and Dr. J. G. Kiano.

Lack of Qualified Journalists. Another primary difference was the lack of technically qualified African journalists. This did not seem to be a barrier for the settler press which relied on ex-patriate British newsmen. The lack of trained African journalists was compatible with Kenya's underdeveloped state of education. Joseph Nye noted that the number of Africans from Kenya attending the University of East Africa in 1962 totaled 275, and the number in Universities outside of East Africa was 1,075.⁵

The last question stated: What generalizations, or trends from the characteristics of newspapers in Kenya can be made concerning the functions of the settler and the African press by independence?

The settler press has existed mainly to serve the interests of the local white settlers in Kenya. For the most part, the rise and growth of nationalism shaped the African press more than any other single influence. Characteristically, that indigenous press served mainly as a vehicle for political communication. There are, however, several generalizations that can be made which support other research on the press in a developing nation. These are:

1. Most of the influential dailies and weeklies were settler-owned and controlled.
2. There was small circulation of newspapers in the rural areas inasmuch as readers were concentrated principally in the main political center of Nairobi, Kenya's capital, and the chief port of Mombasa.
3. A much freer press existed for the settlers than for Africans.
4. Few African journalists were available in Kenya, due largely to the lack of education and local capital that made it difficult for Africans to compete with the quality of the settler press and its European journalists.

In conclusion, the press in British-ruled Kenya was predominately a white settler press that had opposed the African struggle for self-government throughout the colonial era. It was only in the last few years before Kenya achieved its independence that the dominant East African Standard began to show sympathy towards African nationalism.

On this basis, then, several speculations can be drawn from the Standard's shift in its exclusive pro-settler policy from 1957 to almost

independence. One is the obvious realization that a continuance of the Standard's policy would decrease the influence of that paper with the new African rulers of Kenya. Another speculation is that the Standard was facing increased competition from the growing Nation newspapers. A third view is the task for the Standard to survive with the African majority and at the same time maintain a high reader interest with the white settler community. Finally, there is the speculation that the Standard's circulation would continue to expand from an increase in African education and African readership.

This policy change by the Standard has enabled that newspaper to retain its long press tradition in Kenya, as both newspaper groups moved together supporting the new African government led by Prime Minister, and later President, Jomo Kenyatta.

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APPENDIX D - NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN TANGANYIKA, 1946 to 1961

Name of Newspaper	Location	Year Founded	Frequency	Language	Years of Continuous Publication													
					1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Gazette of the Tanganyika Territory	Dar es Salaam	1920	Weekly	English	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mambo Leo (News of To-Day)	Dar es Salaam	1923	Monthly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Kwetu	Dar es Salaam	1929	Daily	English	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tanganyika Standard	Dar es Salaam	1929	Weekly	English	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mwenge (?)	Perambio	1936	Weekly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Zuhra	Dar es Salaam	?	Daily/Weekly	English/Gujerati	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tanganyika Herald	Dar es Salaam	1924	Daily/Weekly	English/Gujerati	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tanganyika Opinion	Dar es Salaam	1924	Daily/Weekly	English/Gujerati	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Habarizi	Dar es Salaam	1940	Weekly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mwanaga	Dar es Salaam/Tanga/Lindi	1951	Daily	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bukya na Gendi (Dawa With Fresh News)	Bukoba	1952	Weekly	Swahili/English/Haya	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Young Africa	Dar es Salaam	1952	Weekly	Gujerati	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
The Sunday News	Dar es Salaam	1954	Weekly	English	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Baragumu	Dar es Salaam	1956	Weekly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Kilongori (Leader)	Tabora	1950	Monthly	Swahili or Vernacular	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lumali	Mwanza	?	Monthly	Swahili or Vernacular	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rumali	Bukoba	?	Fortnightly	Swahili or Vernacular	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Katoliki	Songea	?	Fortnightly	Swahili or Vernacular	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bahaya Twemanye	Bukoba	?	Monthly	English/Swahili/or a Local Vernacular	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tanganyika Mpya	Bukoba	1956	Weekly	English/Swahili/or a Local Vernacular	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mwafrika	Dar es Salaam	1957	Fortnightly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sauti ya (Voice of Tambu)	Dar es Salaam	1957(?)	Bi-Monthly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mw. Afrika	Dar es Salaam	1959	Fortnightly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sauti ya Kwele (Voice of Truth)	Dar es Salaam	1960	?	?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Taifa (Tanganyika) na Baragumu	Dar es Salaam	1960	?	?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Kusare	Moshi	1961	Weekly	Swahili	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

LEGEND:
 x Denotes newspaper published during the year and the estimated circulation is not known.
 -- Denotes newspaper did not appear during the year.
 (c) Denotes newspaper ceased publication during the year.
 (w) Denotes newspaper published as a weekly during the year.
 (I) Denotes newspaper was transferred to an independent company.
 (?) Denotes no data revealed from sources consulted, or data given is uncertain.
 ? Denotes newspaper published as a daily during the year.
 ? Denotes newspaper published as a daily during the year.
 (d) Top part of horizontal represents circulation for dailies, bottom part for weeklies.

Sources: Helen Kitcher, *The Press in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Ruth Sloan Associates, Inc., 1956), 38-39; J. P. Moffatt, *Handbook of Tanganyika* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office); MILLER'S Press Guide, 1945 to 1962. (London: Walling's Press Guide, James Walling, Ltd.).
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APPENDIX C --CONTINUED

Year	Frequency	Language	Circulation	Notes
1958	Fortnightly	Kiswahili	?	
1958	Weekly	Kiswahili	15,500	x
1958	Weekly	English	32,000	x
1960	Daily	English	15,000	x
1960	Daily	Kiswahili	33,000	x
1960	Weekly	Kiswahili	35,000	x
1960	Weekly	Swahili	10,000	
1960	?	Swahili	10,000	
1960	?	?	?	
1956	Monthly	English		
1956	Twice Weekly	Swahili		
?	Weekly	Kikuyu		
?	Monthly	Swahili		
?	Monthly	Kikuyu		
?	Daily	English/Osjerati		
?	Daily	Swahili		
1961	Daily	Swahili		
1961	Weekly	Swahili		
?	Weekly	Swahili		
?	Monthly	Kiswahili		
1963	Monthly	Kiswahili		

? No research available, and in some instances, information is in doubt.
 x Denotes newspaper published during the year and the estimated circulation is not known.
 (f) Denotes newspaper published as fortnightly during the year.
 d-w Denotes newspaper published both as a daily and weekly.
 (c) Denotes newspaper ceased publication during the year.
 ? Denotes top part of horizontal bar represents circulation for dailies, and the bottom part represents circulation for weeklies.
 ? Denotes newspaper published as a bi-monthly during the year.
 n Denotes newspaper published as a monthly during the year.

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