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B. The Church of Scotland Mission, the Africa Inland Mission and the Gospel Missionary Society have been accused of causing the critical situation which has been outlined above. The Church of Scotland Mission, in particular, has been singled out for special criticism. The European leaders of these Missions, and in particular, the leader of the Church of Scotland Mission, are said to have launched an attack on native customs in September, 1929, by the sudden introduction of legislation prohibiting "female circumcision" within their Churches. This alleged sudden attack is said to have been the root of the crisis.

We are of opinion that the preceding chapters will show that the crisis arose, not from a sudden attack on "female circumcision" by the European leaders of certain African Churches, but from an attack on these Churches by a politically-minded body of younger Kikuyu.

We recognise, however, that this popular view regarding the cause of the crisis gains support from statements made in certain public documents, notably, the (Kenya) Native Affairs Department and Education Department Reports for 1929, and the book "Africa View" by Julian Huxley. In view of this, we feel that the preceding chapters require supplementing by a further statement, in order to explain the discrepancy between the account contained in this Memorandum and that given or suggested in these above-named documents. In this section, therefore, we endeavour to show wherein these are in error.

1. Report of the Native Affairs Department 1929, Chap. 2 Par. 4.
2. In the month of September the feelings of the native people, and of the Kikuyu tribe in particular, were aroused to a considerable pitch of excitement and resentment, by the action of a prominent missionary, who suddenly launched an attack against the native custom of clitoridectomy, colloquially termed female circumcision. Further reference to

the "prominent missionary" referred to, did not ⁽¹⁾ "launch a sudden attack against the native custom of clitoridectomy" at this time or any other time. Any action which he took in this connection was necessitated by circumstances, and was at no time "sudden". In the detailed report of the situation which appears in the Section of Chapter 2 headed, "Kikuyu Province" and which is reproduced below, his alleged attack as having taken the form of "suddenly requiring all his church elders, on pain of expulsion, to sign a paper renouncing female circumcision". This was not the case. It is true that at the station of the Kikuyu Mission, all the church elders were asked by the African Kirk Session to reaffirm verbally their loyalty to the church law regarding "female circumcision", to which they themselves in 1928 had agreed. This, however, took place in the middle of October, and was not the cause, but a result of the crisis, which had become acute by the end of September, as is shown in the quotation which follows.

Report of the Native Affairs Department, Chap. 2, Par. 36.
36. At the end of September, the comparative calm was broken by a storm of political agitation resulting from the question of female circumcision. Until the end of the year this controversy created a considerable stir and upheaval in the Kiambu district, and in parts of Fort-Hall, and to a minor extent in the Embu district. The trouble arose as a result of the action taken by the leaders of the Church of Scotland, Mission, Kikuyu, in connection with the rite of clitoridectomy, which is an immemorial custom among the Kikuyu tribe. Government had from time to time made suggestions in Keraga and through the medium of the Local Native Councils with a view to modifying the practice of female circumcision. With the exception of the Nyeri Council, which refused to discuss so intimate a subject, all the Local Native Councils had passed resolutions restricting the operation to the simple removal of the clitoris. It appears, however, that little or nothing was done to enforce the restriction so that it remained practically a

(1) The operation referred in this statement is not "clitoridectomy", but a severe mutilation as defined on page 1.

(2) See page 65, also Section V.

dead letter. (1)

In April, 1929, the first prosecution (2) took place under the resolution, and two women were fined Shs.30/- each (Kiambu Criminal Case No.1/29) for performing the major operation. Nobody was pleased. It was at once apparent that the Native Council had not the people behind them when they passed the resolution and there was much indignation on the one side at the conviction, and on the other at the lightness of the sentence.

The Principal of the Church of Scotland Mission Kikuyu, suddenly took the course of requiring all his church elders, on pain of expulsion, to sign a paper renouncing female circumcision. The Africa Inland and Gospel Missions followed his lead. It immediately became apparent that these bodies had underestimated the hold which this ancient custom had upon the people, even on those who are professed Christians. Nine tenths of the congregations deserted the Churches.

About the 12th November, the Church of Scotland Mission followed up its original action by dismissing all outschool teachers who would not sign the paper. By this action it lost four fifths of its school children.

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- (1) When a deputation of missionaries from the Kenya Missionary Council met H.E. Sir Edward Grigg, the Chief Native Commissioner, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, in February 1930 to discuss the "circumcision issue", the Officers of Government expressed surprise when informed by the deputation that the Local Native Councils' Resolution had not been enforced, and was, in fact, "a dead letter". This, we submit, indicates the past attitude of the Department of Native Affairs to the question of "female circumcision". It is implied in this Report that Government had reasons for believing that an attempt to enforce the Resolution would endanger the peace of the community. This, however, surely gains no support from the above evidence of the fact that Government believed it was being done.
- (2) Although the case referred to in the latter part of this quotation was the first conviction in Kiambu district, we are informed that others had previously taken place in another part of Kikuyu Province, namely, Embu district, where the District Officer had attempted to enforce the resolution. It appears that in this attempt, he has met with a considerable measure of success. (See Section III.) We consider, therefore, since one Officer in an outlying District of Kikuyu Province has been successful in enforcing the Resolution, that we may legitimately ask why it had not been done in the more advanced districts where backing from Africans had been available.

The position in the Africa Inland and Gospel Missions was even worse and by the end of the year there were signs of a movement towards separation both in Churches and in schools.

We must point out that the statements contained in the latter three paragraphs are incorrect. In the first place, as has already been stated on page 68, the Church elders were not suddenly required to sign a paper renouncing the practice of "female circumcision". Again, the Africa Inland and Gospel Missions did not "follow his (Dr. Arthur's) lead", but took independent action. (See Section V.). "Nine tenths of the congregations" did not "desert the Churches". It is true that, in the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu, and the Africa Inland Mission at Kijabe, nine-tenths of the number on the Communion roll were suspended from Communion, but the congregations of these Churches were not affected in a similar degree. Furthermore, in the Gospel Mission, the largest number suspended from Communion during this whole period amounted to but one-fifth of the total membership. At Kambui, the main station of this Mission, the Church was totally unaffected.

Regarding the statement as to the dismissal of teachers, when the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu declared its position early in October, twelve teachers who did not wish to sign left of their own accord, while others signed. The remainder were given to the beginning of November to consider the matter. By that time, it had become obvious that, owing to the misrepresentations which had been made, there was a fear of signing any paper. The remaining teachers, therefore, were simply asked if they had taken or were willing to take the vow against "female circumcision" required by the African Church. As they readily assented, they were retained in service. This is all that has been required of any teacher since that time. Again, at no time, did the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, lose four-fifths of its school children. It lost,

in the first instance, fifty-three per cent of the children on its school roll, but within three months this loss had decreased to forty per cent (See Section VI.)

The last paragraph of this quotation is, we presume, intended to mean that the Africa Inland and Gospel Missions lost more than four-fifths of their school children. This is not the case. Accurate figures are not available in the case of the Africa Inland Mission, but we are informed that the loss never exceeded fifty per cent. In the Gospel Mission it was twenty-five per cent.

In view of the fact that yearly returns are made to the Education Department, and that accurate information could have been supplied at any time by the Missions concerned, we are at a loss to understand why these damaging misstatements have been made. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that, in view of its inaccuracy and personal references, this Report is not an impartial statement such as is expected from the responsible Head of one of the main Departments of Government.

2. Report of the Education Department 1929, page 29, par.4.

In October the Church of Scotland Mission took the decision that they would not allow teachers to continue in their employ unless they made a declaration to the effect that they had given up the practice of female circumcision and that they were not members of the Kikuyu Central Association without the concurrence of the Missions. The result of this decision was that a number of schools were left without teachers and these schools were closed. Some of the natives concerned came to the Education Dept. and urged that Government schools should be opened in place of Mission Schools.

We must point out that the "decision" referred to above did not apply to the "Church of Scotland Mission" as a whole, but only to the Kikuyu and Chogoria stations, where it was necessitated by circumstances. At the Tumutumu station, with its widespread system of schools, no action was necessary and none was taken. Furthermore, while it is true that at Kikuyu

station certain outschools were temporarily boycotted, it is not correct to state that "a number of schools were left without teachers and these schools were closed". At least two teachers were in residence at each ^{out-}school, and no outschool was closed in the first instance. Later, certain schools were closed owing to the boycott: this was done after consultation with the Administration.

Report of the Education Department 1929, Page 30, par. 1A & B.

It is satisfactory to record that there does now appear to be a slight improvement of the situation. The children are now slowly coming back to school and the controversy appears to be dying down slowly as far as the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu is concerned. The position in regard to the Africa Inland Mission is still uncertain.

The result as far as the Church of Scotland Mission is concerned appears to be that the Mission has vindicated its right to control the political and spiritual beliefs of those whom it employed in its schools even though Government pays a part of their salaries. It is open to question whether this is a matter for congratulation for those who have associated themselves in the past with a claim to freedom of opinion in politics and some measure of individual liberty in spiritual matters.

This expression of opinion seems gratuitous in the Report of a Government Department, and we regard it as a serious misrepresentation of the attitude of the Mission. The demand for the acceptance of certain "spiritual beliefs" by its teachers is surely within the right of any religious organisation. The "right to control" political beliefs or opinions has at no time been claimed by the Mission. As already made plain in this Memorandum, the Mission was forced to demand that its teachers and other paid agents should dissociate themselves from the Kikuyu Central Association for the time being, not from a desire to control their political views, but because the Church, it was believed, was being attacked at the instigation of this political association. The action taken was a measure of defence against

an attempt to force the Church, for political reasons, to abandon a principle taught and maintained for many years on spiritual grounds.

C. "AFRICA VIEW" by Julian Huxley.

In "Africa View" by Julian Huxley, the statements relating to the so-called "circumcision issue" are contained in Chapter XX, entitled, the "Ease of Being Misunderstood". Mr. Huxley cites the crisis of 1929 as a concrete example of "the difficulties and dangers inherent in trying to bridge in one span the gap between two disparate ways of living". He states that for the facts of this example he has been permitted by Dr. E. S. B. Leakey to draw on the manuscript of a forthcoming article in "Africa" regarding the "trouble over female initiation rites". At the time of writing, however, this article has not yet appeared in "Africa".

This whole chapter of Mr. Huxley's book is characterized by a looseness of statement which is particularly regrettable in a book which will be regarded by many as scientifically accurate. Detailed discussion is impossible within the scope of this document, and accordingly, we deal only with such inaccuracies as are relevant to the "circumcision issue".

On page 193, he refers to "the trouble over female initiation rites which had been brewing for some time among the Mikuyu, and in the last few months has burst into storm". From this statement the following footnote is taken,

"In the few months between the writing and the publication of these lines, the trouble appears to have died down, I gather, owing to a change of attitude on the part of the missionaries concerned."

This statement is untrue. We would point out that there has been no change of attitude on the part of the missionaries concerned, as may be seen from a study of Section V. of this Memorandum.

Again on page 194, the following statements are made:-

"Initiation involves several things. It involves a lengthy but sporadic course of education in regard to natural phenomena; a course of 'sex-instruction' which in some respects might be copied with advantage by our own educational authorities; the inculcation of various social and individual virtues, including respect for tribal elders, tribal custom and authority. And it also involves a physical operation which is the outward and visible sign of the passage from one stage of life to the next, and the endurance of which with fortitude is a fitting symbol of leaving childishness behind."

Such statements as the above could only be based upon complete ignorance of the facts.

We are of opinion that Mr. Huxley would find it difficult to substantiate these statements by specific details of this "lengthy but sporadic course of education in regard to natural phenomena", or the "course of 'sex-instruction' which he urges in some respects might be copied with advantage by educational authorities" in England.

While it is true that among certain tribes in Africa and elsewhere, "circumcision schools" exist in connection with initiation wherein definite instruction on sexual and social matters is given, we have no knowledge of the existence of such an institution among the Kikuyu.

It is possible, however, that by "lengthy but sporadic course of education in regard to natural phenomena" Mr. Huxley refers to those teachings which, among the Kikuyu, as among all other peoples, are imparted in the ordinary course of home life. There is no evidence to show that there is any connection between these incidental teachings and ceremonial initiation.

It is further possible that by "course of 'sex-instruction'" he refers to the actual circumcision ceremonies. It is true that the circumcision ceremonies from their nature, undoubtedly emphasise sexual life, but no person conversant with the facts

would assert that 'instruction in sex' along the lines of the Kikuyu circumcision ceremonies could be pursued with benefit to the participators. The evidence, both from actual observation, and from an examination of the psycho-pathological factors involved, is all to the contrary.

On page 195, the following statement occurs:-

"(Missionaries of the Church of Scotland) were insisting that all the native schoolmasters in the schools of the Mission should sign a document pledging themselves to work against female circumcision. The result was a dearth of communicants, and, a good deal more serious, the closure of the bulk of the outschools in the big area served by this mission".

This statement is also untrue. The missionaries concerned were not insisting that their native schoolmasters should sign a document pledging themselves to work against female circumcision nor were any of the outschools of the Church of Scotland Mission closed in the first instance. (See page 72). Further, the "big area" referred to is only that of the Mission in the Kiambu district, and represents not more than one fourth of the total area served by this Mission in the Kikuyu country.

Once more, we have to regret that Mr. Huxley did not avail himself of the opportunities presented by his visit to this country of ascertaining the true facts of the case.

APPENDIX 1.

A Brief Statement in non-technical language regarding the Medical aspects of Female & Male Circumcision and Clitoridectomy.

1. FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.

This operation comprises cutting away the inner and outer soft parts lying round the birth canal. In its severest form, the cutting extends in front up on to the pubis and into the birth canal itself. The result is the replacement of much of the normal elastic tissues of these parts, and by an unyielding ring of hard fibrous tissue.

These parts are highly sensitive and the cutting causes great agony. The following results of this operation have been seen by one or other of the undersigned during medical practice in the Kikuyu Province.

Of lesser evils, infection of the bladder with danger of spread up to the kidney. Sterility owing to impossibility of sexual intercourse. Plastic operations have been frequently performed by us for this condition.

The most serious results, however, occur during child-birth. It should be remembered that at the birth of the child's head extreme stretching takes place, especially if there is some abnormality in the delivery. The hard fibrous ring resulting from circumcision hinders this stretching so that (1) the delay, especially in first births, leads in some cases to the death of the child. (2) Such delay where skilled help is not sought, is treated in certain districts by incisions by the women attending. These are sometimes made so that the bowel passage is cut into and the patient cannot retain her motions. In all cases the wounds become septic and increase the danger to infection inside which may be fatal or lead to prolonged suffering and sterility. We have treated many first births where owing to female circumcision the child could not have been born without either tearing or incisions.

Another evil result of the frequent delay at the outlet as described is that in certain districts, at the least suggestion of delay the old women make deep and often unnecessary incisions.

2. MALE & FEMALE CIRCUMCISION compared from a Medical point of view.

Male circumcision has certain definite advantages which justify it:-

- (1) Cleanliness is promoted, and in many cases where the opening in the foreskin is small, there is definite need for the operation to prevent infection and irritation.
- (2) Infection with Venereal disease is less likely.
- (3) Self-abuse is less common amongst circumcised boys as the parts are less sensitive.

App.1.

No corresponding advantages can be argued in favour of female circumcision.

We consider, however that the effect of male circumcision at puberty is bad psychologically and for this reason we prefer that, if circumcision is to be performed at all, it be done in infancy.

(See also Dr.Jago K.M.J.for reference on this point).

CLITORIDECTOMY

This operation consists in the removal of a small extremely sensitive organ lying between the soft parts in front of the birth canal and in close apposition to the opening of the urinary canal. The objections to its removal medically are:-

- (1) Difficulty of limitation of the operation to the clitoris. Owing to proximity to the urinary canal only a medical man operating under the best conditions of light and posture could avoid injury to this canal.
- (2) Danger of Sepsis, including lock-jaw.
- (3) Great pain involved in cutting away so sensitive an organ.
- (4) Bad psychological effect on girls of drawing attention to sexual organs at this particular time of life.
- (5) Although this organ is not, as is erroneously supposed the main seat of sexual gratification, it certainly contributes to this, which makes its unnecessary excision all the more indefensible.

(Signed) John W.Arthur, M.D.
 " A.Clive Irvine, M.D.
 " W.M.Brown, M.B.Ch.B.
 " Elwood L.Davis, M.D.

APPENDIX 2.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS ON FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.

- 1. (Page 10). Kikuyu Staff Minutes January 16th 1915.

Circumcision: It was recommended (subject to the approval of Staff at Kenya) that, in future, circumcision, both at Kikuyu and at Kenya, be performed at the Mission Hospital only and not by the village circumciser.

The question of the circumcision of girls was left to be decided on the return of Dr. Arthur.

In the case of the impending circumcision of three boys and a girl at Tumutum, it was agreed that the above rule (if confirmed) be suspended, if found advisable. The Staff at Tumutum are to have the option of applying it or not according to the circumstance in this instance. If the rule be suspended, however, it is to be under the understanding that this is the last time circumcision by the village circumciser is to be countenanced.

- 2. (Page 10). Kikuyu Staff Minutes September 15th 1915.

Circumcision of Girls. Consideration of this matter was deferred, the Native Christians to be consulted meanwhile.

- 3. (Page 11). Kikuyu Staff Minutes July 31st 1916.

Circumcision of Girls: After a discussion upon the principles involved in this question, it was decided that the matter be remitted to the next meeting of the Joint Staffs of Kikuyu and Kenya, the feeling of the Native Church to be obtained meanwhile, as suggested at the Joint Staff meeting of 18th Sept., 1915.

- 4. (Page 15). Minutes of the meeting of Representatives of the various Societies working in Southern Kikuyaland, at Kikuyu, July 25 & 26th July, 1916.

The following are extracts from the Minutes:-
 Secretary, Rev. W. E. Knapp (C.M.S.), Chairman, Rev. Dr. Arthur (C.S.M.), Rev. Mr. M. Kendrick (A.I.M.), Mr. B. H. Hasler (A.I.M.), & Mr. A. R. Barlow (C.S.M.), (Secretary). Rev. Canon Leakey (C.M.S.), was unavoidably prevented at the last moment from being present. Native delegates attended from C.M.S. (Kabete), A.I.M. (Kijabe & Matara), C.M.S. (Kambui), and the C.S.M. (Kikuyu & Kisumu).

Circumcision of Girls. The natives were asked their opinion as to whether the same had now arrived when the circumcision of girls should be abolished among Native Christians. No definite decision has come to. Two opinions however were expressed, - that an uncircumcised woman could not bear children, and (2) that, if the custom were to be forbidden in the Native Church, no great difficulty would probably be encountered, except from the girls themselves on account of the force of native custom.

- 5. (Page 15). Resolutions passed by the general body of Missionaries and others assembled in conference at Kikuyu 22nd to 26th July 1916.

Women Work, Par. 16. That the Representative Council be asked to consider that the allied Societies should unite in absolutely forbidding the circumcision of girls in their Missions, and that Government should be approached to legislate for its abolition among the heathen.

- 6. (Page 16.) Minutes of the R.Council 31st August & 2nd Sept. 1922.
Circumcision of Females. The following resolution was unanimously passed, that, having heard that the question of the circumcision of girls had been reopened, the R.C. reaffirmed its strong opposition to this brutal and needless custom, and called upon all missionaries to use their influence to get it abolished. They instructed the Secretary to send a copy of this resolution to representatives of the non-allying Societies associated with the Alliance.

- 7. (Page 16.) Minutes of the Representative Council 6/7th March, 1923.
Girls Circumcision. The R.C. decided to appoint a small committee to go into this matter and invite the non-allied missions to co-operate and that this committee report to the R.C. after drawing up a plan of action; the R.C. appointed the following: Dr. Jones, Chairman, Dr. Blakeslee, and Canon Deakey with power to co-opt members of other Societies.
 The R.C. requested that in consultation with Dr. Jones, Dr. Philp write a booklet on this subject with the object of assisting societies in the matter of educating their people on this subject, and that it should be published in Kikuyu; also that he write an article for "Habari".

- 8. (Page 16.) Minutes of the Kenya Missionary Council, 15th-21st February, 1927.
Pamphlet on Female Circumcision. It was decided that this should be printed, preferably by the Africa Inland Mission, Kisumu, for distribution throughout the Kikuyu Reserve, the various Missions concerned to be asked to state how many copies they can dispose of, when an estimate of the cost has been obtained.

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APPENDIX III.

THE KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

1. Two political associations came into being in 1921. One of these the Kikuyu Association of Kiambu District, had Government Headmen as Office bearers, and was sponsored by certain leading missionaries. It was officially recognised by Government (1) during that year. The other, the East Africa Association, composed of younger Kikuyu with a sprinkling of other tribes, was formed in Nairobi during the early part of the year (2). Both Associations, in view of their common grievances, were at first not indisposed to ally their forces. So much so that, when the Kikuyu Association presented their grievances to Government in a Memorandum at Dagoretti on 24th May 1921, Harry Thuku, the Kikuyu President of the East Africa Association, acted as one of the secretaries of the meeting. A mass meeting of the East Africa Association followed on July 10th. in Nairobi under the chairmanship of Harry Thuku, and there a series of resolutions were passed, including a vote of confidence in the Indian community, and incorporating the statements of the Kikuyu Association at the Dagoretti meeting. These resolutions were forwarded to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 13th July 1921 (3). This action was however construed as high-handed by the Kikuyu Association at a meeting at Thika of Kikuyu Paramount Chiefs and members of the Kikuyu Association. They rejected the claim of the East Africa Association to be "representative of the whole Kikuyu tribe" and repudiated the vote of confidence in the Indians. They dissociated themselves from the East Africa Association, and appointed their own secretary (4).

2. From this time forward the two associations have been opposed to each other (-). The Kikuyu Association had its following in the older men of the tribe, in the Kiambu area. The fact that its office bearers were for the most part Government Headmen, proved a stumbling block in the way of its popularity: it was suspected of being under Government influence. It was further handicapped by working through constitutional channels, which in view of the prevailing excitement, could not adequately meet the situation. The East Africa Association was under no such restrictions. It recruited its following from the young men of the tribe, from those districts wherein the political grievances had been most aggravated, namely, the Kiambu-Chania and Fort-Hall areas. They organised mass meetings for the propagation of their views, and Harry Thuku their Secretary addressed meetings of natives throughout the country, making known the political reforms which his Association was

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- (1) A meeting held at Dagoretti, June 14th 1921.
(2) "East African Standard" 25/5/21. It is a significant fact that the birth place of this Association was Nairobi, and not the Native Reserve.
(3) Compare "East African Standard" 21/7/21.
(4) Harry Thuku published a letter in the "Leader" saying that he had the unhesitating support of this meeting. The newly appointed official Secretary, however, Chief Philip Karanja repudiated the statement in a subsequent issue of the "Leader" 6/8/21.
(5) Compare Native Affairs Department Report 1928, Sect. 2, par. 3.

aiming at, and emphasising the need of unity in the tribe, if the reforms were to be achieved. His arrest, the Nairobi riot, and the almost coincident introduction of the reforms agitated for marked the birth of the Kikuyu Central Association.

3. To understand the nature of the Kikuyu Central Association at the present day, the circumstances of its inception must always be borne in mind. At that time the Kikuyu had undoubted grievances (1) Harry Thuku, with his proud title to "Kingship" (2) set the Kikuyu country on fire with his speeches for reform. He was deported, but the reforms for which he had pressed were forthcoming. To the young Kikuyu he was the person who had brought them about (3).

During his leadership of the political movement, he established a marked ascendancy over the minds of his fellow Africans, and particularly of the young men of the tribe (4) who, it must be remembered, lived in a day in which tribal authority was weakening (5) These young men, inspired by the success which in their eyes had attended Harry Thuku's efforts, took up the cudgels for complete independence.

4. The Kikuyu Central Association was at first confined to Central Kikuyu, and for that reason was not looked upon too favourably by the northern and southern areas (6). The Post-Thuku movement proper however was wider in scope. "Rika" (Circumcision age) groups appeared, with constitutions which reflected the conditions then prevailing in the tribe. They were not amenable to tribal authority, or indeed to any outside authority (7) and, by their agitation added in no small measure to the fears of the older people with regard to their land.

(1) a. Insecurity of Land Tenure.

b. Forced labour of Women and Girls on European Farms.

c. Increased taxation.

Other pleas were put forward.

- (2) The "Gathirimu" Harry Thuku's "Muhiriga" (Clan) are a large and influential family in North Central Kiambu. They hold that they were the original settlers (i.e. were the original occupiers of the country) in that area, and sold land to further incomers. The claim of the "Gathirimu" clan to be of the "Royal blood" was first heard during this period 1920-1921.
- (3) Cf. the song sung by the young women in the Kikuyu Reserve towards the end of 1922, and the beginning of 1925. A translation of certain of the words is as follows, "May Philipo (Josia Koinange, Kinyanjui), (each in turn), be for ever astounded. It was they who had the Chief of the young women (Harry Thuku) taken away. Because of (i.e. because he helped) the young women who stayed in the coffee." The reference is to the forced labour of women and girls on the coffee estates.
- (4) Cf. the song quoted above. Harry Thuku as the chief of the young women. Also the East African Standard of 2nd April, 1928; evidence of the Court Interpreter in the Joseph Kangethe case; "The speeches were not good; they were talking about Harry Thuku". This is 1930. Compare also the native paper "Mwigithania" Dec. 1928, also May & June 1929 articles in "memory" of Harry Thuku.
- (5) Cf. Governor's speech at Kiambu "East African Standard",

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APPENDIX IV.

KIKUYU FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.

THE OPINIONS OF KIAMBU KIKUYU NATIVES ON FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.

12th September 1929.

i. We have had word recently of a Mission girl who was forced to be circumcised and whose case was dealt with by the courts, and that at the end, it was said that there is no ordinance under which the courts can actually bring penalty upon the operator in a female circumcision case except a fine under a Local Native Council Resolution.

The girl was a member of Kambui Mission, but the failure to award punishment of the operator is noticed here as a danger which will shortly come into every Mission, therefore we propose to request that the Government may supply to us an ordinance that will fully protect Christian girls against female circumcision.

ii. It has also been read from the Public Newspapers on the question of female circumcision written by the Kikuyu Central Association who clearly profess to be against this Church Law which is said to have been made by Missionaries as leaders of confusion and whose idea was to make known the fact that it is only the Europeans who have made that law and not the Kikuyu themselves.

As a result we find it our duty to take up our stand on the matter and show that it is not the European that made the law against circumcision of women but we Kikuyu ourselves.

iii. We are Kikuyu people born under the customs arranged by our forefathers to rule the generations after them; we have been obeying those customs in the past of our life, but when the Gospel enlightened our hearts we became bound to avoid the bad customs that are counted as sins by the Biblical teachings. Our great desire being to be under the Biblical control, we started to reject what the Bible rejects and to accept what it recommends for adoption.

The Gospel as its work is begun to form a new nation from that of old Kikuyu and it drove away the following customs for the start:-

- i. Departed Spirits' Worship.
- ii. Sacrifices to Departed Spirits.
- iii. Tribal markings or piercing of body (like ears).
- iv. Polygamy.
- v. Witch doctors and their business.
- vi. Charms.
- vii. Leaving dead body in the open air.
- viii. Tribal dances that lead both men and women to be under the power of lewdness.
- ix. Circumcision of Female.

APPENDIX IV.

GIKUYU FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.

THE OPINIONS OF KIAMBU KIKUYU NATIVES ON FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.

12th September, 1951.

i. We have had word recently of a Mission girl who was forced to be circumcised and whose case was dealt with by the courts, and that at the end, it was said that there is no ordinance under which the courts can actually bring penalty upon the operator in a female circumcision case except a fine under a Local Native Council Resolution.

The girl was a member of Kambui Mission, but the failure to award punishment of the operator is noted here as a danger which will shortly come into every Mission, therefore we propose to request that the Government may supply to us an ordinance that will fully protect Christian girls against female circumcision.

ii. It has also been read from the Public Newspapers on the question of female circumcision written by the Kikuyu Central Association who clearly profess to be against this Church Law which is said to have been made by Missionaries as leaders of occasion and whose idea was to make known the fact that it is only the Europeans who have made that law and not the Kikuyu themselves.

As a result we find it our duty to take up our stand on the matter and show that it is not the European that made the law against circumcision of women but we Kikuyu ourselves.

iii. We are Kikuyu people born under the customs arranged by our forefathers to rule the generations after them; we have been obeying those customs in the past of our life, but when the Gospel enlightened our hearts we became bound to avoid the bad customs that are counted as sins by the Biblical teachings. Our great desire being to be under the Biblical control, we started to reject what the Bible rejects and to accept what it recommends for acceptance.

The Gospel as its work is begun to take a nation from that of old Kikuyu and it drove away the following customs for the start:-

1. Departed Spirits' Worship.
- ii. Sacrifices to Departed Spirits.
- iii. Tribal markings or piercing of body (like ears).
- iv. Polygamy.
- v. Witch doctors and their business.
- vi. Charms.
- vii. Leaving dead body in the open air.
- viii. Tribal dances that lead both man and woman to be under the power of lewdness.
- ix. Circumcision of Female.

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- viii. Tribal dances that lead both men and women to be under the power of lewdness.
- ix. Circumcision of Female.

APP. IV.

(a) The circumcision of man and woman has been obeyed now for many years amongst our tribe members, Circumcision is counted as an ordinance to rule both man and woman of Kikuyu blood, but as we said at the beginning of this letter, that we reject what Bible rejects, we are bound to have Female Circumcision withdrawn amongst us, because where God gave a Commandment of Circumcision, He only authorised "Male Circumcision" and no women were allowed to be Circumcised, therefore we rejected what our heathen fathers ordered to be continually done by the generations after them. We are at the beginning of a great building up of new customs and the forming of Christianity, the same as those who before us made ordinances for the generations after them.

BIBLE AND CIRCUMCISION.

(b) Many circumcised women suffer great pain and many die as they are unable to deliver their children, whilst those who are uncircumcised have less difficulty. We find it a good thing to leave our daughters whole without having their limbs given to worms before their death. Our tribe used to leave the neglected limbs to the use of the hawks of the air and to the worms of the ground, but we desire our daughters to remain with all their created limbs, because according to the Biblical laws of circumcision no woman's limb was allowed to feel the passing of circumcision. The Circumcision was authorised to pass upon man's body only.

CIRCUMCISION OF FEMALES AT BIRTH.

(c) We have proved what the Medical Doctors tell us, because our uncircumcised daughters who married have delivered their children without difficulties, and on the other hand the natives who work in the hospitals are eye witnesses, who see women coming to hospitals both uncircumcised and circumcised and how the latter suffer greater pain than the former.

APPROVAL OF MEDICAL SCIENCE.

(d) It is not easy to find out whether or not a circumcised girl is defiled. The Doctor can tell at once when an uncircumcised girl is forced to sin or when she is undefiled. We find it good for us to know when our daughters are defiled that we may put such a matter under the consideration of the courts.

CASE OF FORCED SINNING OF GIRLS.

- iv. We have explained (1) How the Bible teaches about Circumcision.
- (2) How Medical Doctors find difficulty to help circumcised women when they deliver their children.
- (3) How it is difficulty to tell when our daughters are defiled by force etc.

We through these three reasons most humbly and respectfully beg the Government to supply us with an ordinance that can support the uncircumcision of females, that when a girl is circumcised unwillingly and without the authority of her parents, both father and mother, punishment may be awarded to the operator and others of the Circumcision.

APPENDIX LV

No.2.

Progressive Kikuyu Party and Kiambu Circumcision Case.

11/9/29.

To the Editor "E.A.Standard".

Sir,

We of the Progressive Kikuyu Party have seen in the "East African Standard" how Dr Arthur has spoken and how the Kikuyu Central Association have answered him on the question of the Circumcision case of a Kikuyu girl, which was published in the "Standard" on 31st July, 1929.

We do not speak of the evils of girls' circumcision because if we tried to explain those evils we would agree entirely with Dr Arthur's letter. We who have left those old barbarous customs, think that it will not destroy our Nation to leave this custom of female circumcision, and, if possible, we ask the Government that this custom, which kills the first children of Kikuyu girls and the Kikuyu Nation, be ended altogether as the English Government in India ended the custom of burning widows with their husbands' bodies.

Along with that custom there are many other customs, which many black people in Kenya Colony have ended themselves, although long ago they thought them important, such as to belittle women and make them do heavy work like animals; piercing ears; pulling gut and filing the teeth, strangling twins if they are first born and exposing infants with the dead bodies of their mothers. All these things have been ended by the light of Christianity and Civilisation which has been brought to Africa by the peace of the British rule. Because of it we are surrounded by civilisation coming from Europe, America and Asia, and other parts of the world. When we consider our old barbarous customs and how other nations have advanced and we have been left behind, we see that the beginning of civilisation is in the honouring of women, because the strength and power of a people come from its women. The Nations which belittle women, we know that they do not go forward but go back, and we know that the British Government makes women equal to men, and does not belittle women like the African Nation.

We of the Progressive Kikuyu Party see that the women of African nations are not respected and their voice is not listened to. On this matter of female circumcision, a girl, whether she wishes or not, is circumcised by force, without mercy; for, when she is operated on should she wish to run away and save herself, strong women seize her until she is circumcised. So we of the Kikuyu Progressive Kikuyu Party hate all customs which bind the Kikuyu and prevent them knowing the true religion, and going forward in civilisation and becoming a strong people, able to receive their inheritance of mind and body. We want them to be whole in

body, able to speak the truth, and give evidence in their shauris, so that the Government can trust us as being a full grown Nation with clean customs.

So we of the Progressive Kikuyu Party entirely reject the reply of the Kikuyu Central Association which praises female circumcision and forbids the Government to examine it. We want all people to know that that custom, if it remains, increases death and pain. It shows that men who cause their women to be circumcised have no mercy on them. And among all the Councils which are formed to watch over the affairs of the Country like githaka rights etc. - this matter of female circumcision should be first because the strength of the Nation is its women.

We know that those who have not yet left the barbarous customs will not be pleased with this letter, but all people who have abandoned barbarism, black and white and brown, will be pleased. We ask them to help us to have mercy on the black women of this land of Kenya, until black women are respected and honoured and made equal to men, so that our Country may become strong, and go forward much more than is desired by the Kikuyu Central Association in their reply to Dr. Arthur regarding Female circumcision.

Yours etc.

ARTHUR M. TUTU,
President.
Progressive Kikuyu Party.
MESHUK MUURAGE WA KAMWARO,
Secretary.

Karatina,
Sept. 7, 1929

APPENDIX IV.

No. 11

Kisumu,
Kiambu,
17th December, 1930.

To the Editor H.A. Standard,
Nairobi,
Kenya.

Sir,

We beg you to put these few lines in your issues that give interesting news of Kenya.

We are to give an account of an European whose time is long in this country, namely, Dr. Arthur. He arrived in Kenya 25th December, 1906, and was since then a Medical doctor for the Hospital at the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu where he gave great help to those who were delivering children. There are many people here who call "Rigitari" which is interpretation means a "Doctor". They are so called because it is him who performed the necessary duty on their births. The other work he was doing, is of operating all kinds of diseases, and in the Great War 1914-1918 all people were called by the Government to go and serve His Majesty's the King in the War.

All the people that were in all the various Mission Stations then were collected to go forth to carry soldiers' food, equipment, etc. etc. who were fighting in the War, that very time Dr. Arthur gave himself to tend all that people whose number was above 2000 and became the supervisor and cared for all the particulars they needed from Government, and was also their Medical Officer in that time of War in their journeys, as one can realise that in such long journeys many diseases could not leave them whole alway. He abode with them in that time of War till 'twas over.

In 1923 he was chosen by the Government to sail to the United Kingdom with the late H.E. the Governor, Sir Robert Corydon as a delegate on behalf of the country people to see the Hon'ble rulers in the United Kingdom.

Furthermore, Dr. Arthur is the Principal of their Mission, the Church of Scotland Mission Kikuyu. These people who possess little education learnt at his Mission School, Canon Leakey and at other Missions that are at Kikuyu.

Our hearts are now broken when we see and hear such people abusing their great friend Dr. Arthur. This, however, is like a son who abuses his father and mother, and the alike son's fault brings curse upon him.

All their stories that they tell people are lies, for instance, they tell that all Missions have prohibited the Circumcision of Females, altogether. That is pure lies, because in a "Baraza" held at Nyeri and another at Kiambu they were informed by the Senior Commissioner that the Government have not prohibited the circumcision of girls, if one likes to circumcise his daughter, or if he fails to do so, it is no matter, it depends to what one desires to do with his own family. After this was told them by the ruler of the Kikuyu Province, who is 1/c of all Kikuyu affairs towards the Government help, they went here and there telling that the Government and the Missionaries have prohibited the Female Circumcision. Isn't that great lies? They lay a contribution of Shs. 5. on the head of every man, and Shs. 2. on woman's and girl's heads cheating them that they will make better all country affairs. This is the same thing with what they cheated the people who were in the Settler's farms, who gave their money to them that they may speak for them and make them escape the "LIFE SERVICE AGREEMENT". Through these things many people labelled and removed to left their masters. Except that Government sent three Chiefs to go up and encourage the people to remain there still, there would be no one left at this moment in the Settler's farms. Moreover, except the Officer that is 1/c Nakuru Districts was a strong Officer who cared for both sides these people should have lost all their properties on that way. Many of these people who are cheating other Kikuyus are those who once were Mission followers, and who for their will doings were expelled from the Mission, and they are they who wander here and there in the country and do not like work, they stir up the people to cause them to disobey the orders of their chiefs and of the Government. They talk lies to the people in saying that they will make things better and the fools give them their money, to them who never gave Receipts to those who contribute the money. Isn't that extortion? We beg that the Government may look at this matter of these people, who cheat the rest and collect money without the authority given by the Government or by the Local Native Council. These people are like if they were having a harvest of shillings, like people have harvests of maize, their harvest of shillings being from the other people.

They disallow God's ministers to work amongst them.
They disallow School Teachers to do their work at their places.

This means that they fight against God's Church and against the public. To-day, many customs are dying slowly, as slowly the people are getting experiences. The Government made all people free to let every one do what he likes.

Dr. Arthur is a great teacher and a teacher then has right to tell people all things that when one is growing up may know what he or she will be. When he or she is old then can speak about the Female Circumcision.

We write these things to those who have mercy that they may realize how this matter is a burden to those who do not wish to be circumcised.

Koinange wa Mbu.
Joma Njonjo.
Wardhiu.
Philip Karanja.

Senior Chief.
Headman.
Do.
Do.

These stanzas are typical of the rumours which were current in Kikuyuland at this time, to the effect that large sums were being given as bribes to the Missions and some of the Chiefs, to effect the downfall of Johnstone Kenyatta, as was also done, it was alleged in the case of Harry Thuku.

- 4. "When Johnstone shall return
With the King of the Kikuyu,
Philip and Koinange
Will don woman's robes"

Philip and Koinange are Chiefs in the Kiambu districts, and office bearers of the Kikuyu Association of Kiambu. During the whole time of the disturbance, they were prominent in their loyalty to both Government and Missions, and were accordingly subjected to strong abuse by the disaffected party. The reference is that, when Johnstone Kenyatta and Harry Thuku returned in power, they, Philip and Koinange, would be humiliated.

- 5. "I live by my prayers;
-----and-----
Live by lies".

A prominent missionary of the Church of Scotland and another of the Church Missionary Society are referred to. In stanzas of this type, the terms used are abusive, and in most cases, obscene.

- 6. "The D.C. -----
Is bribed with unchristianised girls,
So that the land may go."

The reference in this case, is to an administrative officer of Government. The allegation is that the Missions were in league with the European settlers for the wholesale perloining of Kikuyu land, and bribed the Administration to act in their support.

- 7. "It (the "Mithirigi" dance) has intoxicated us,
We spend the night in the bush
And go home in the morning".

This stanza is indicative of the orgiastic nature of the "Mithirigi" dance-song.

APPENDIX VI.

LETTER TO THE ELDERS OF C.M.S.PASTORATE COMMITTEES.

My dear Friends,

I have recently conversed with all the Clergy who work amongst you, and they have all agreed that I should write you a letter with regard to the circumcision of girls which is causing great trouble in the Christian Church at the present time.

Everyone of you is well aware that there is not a single one among the leaders of our Church whether he is an African or a European who desires to destroy any one of your old customs except such as do not agree with the teaching of Jesus Christ. But this custom which is causing us trouble at the present time is one which not only does harm to the body, preventing it from being strong, but further it does not in the least agree with the teaching of purity and holiness which Our Lord Jesus Christ taught.

I know it is a difficult matter to set aside a custom which has existed for a long while, more particularly when this custom is intimately connected with the people's lives; but ever since our Lord Jesus Christ gave His Life for us men and our salvation He has called upon those who follow Him to eschew such things as He himself does not wish to be done, in order that they may enter into the full joy of His Service.

I now see that it is incumbent upon me to remind all those who assist in ruling the Church that one cannot truly serve Christ if we desire to follow a custom which is not in agreement with what He would have done. Perhaps some have forgotten what it behoves them to do because they are Christians, and so I must show what the will of the Church is, and state that henceforth those who have children, both fathers and mothers, if they consent to their girls being circumcised, deliberately expose themselves to being disciplined by the Church.

In order, however that the matter of disciplining may not be done with respect to persons, and especially that it should be done with equity, we desire that each case be carefully considered by the Pastorate Committees, so that they may find how far the people are to blame, and it is for this purpose that I ask you to assist me.

It is quite certain that this circumcision of girls is not in agreement with the commands of Christ. It is equally certain that those who persist with this thing, knowing full well what they do, must be brought under discipline. Every case should, however, be carefully gone into so that just what has been done may be well known, and that it may be settled as to what the discipline should be.

May God so help us, that we may be able to help every man the other, so that there will be nothing of refusing to obey and follow Jesus Christ may be entirely banished from the Church.

Your Friend and Bishop.

H.M.

Jan. 1st, 1930.

From the Bishop of Mombasa to all the Clergy and Members of
Pastorate Committees in the Diocese.

Nairobi,
October, 12th, 1931.

My dear Brethern,

It is my duty to write to you about the problem of Female Circumcision which is so sorely troubling many African Congregations, both in our own Church and in others, especially among the Kikuyu people.

This ancient custom is so closely bound up with Social laws that govern family relationships, that it is no easy matter for African Christians to bring it to an end. Its root idea is clearly that of initiating young girls into womanhood, but, as generally practised to-day, the custom is not only really harmful to the body, but also closely associated with many evils that do greivous harm to the soul, and therefore cannot possibly be agreed to in its present form by any loyal follower of Jesus Christ.

Surely one of the important duties facing those who are responsible for building up the African Church, especially those who are Africans themselves, is that of working out some form of initiation that will not only be purged of all that is harmful to body and soul, but will definitely help young people to be truer and more efficient servants of Christ and therefore better fitted to lead their own people forward in the way of progress. Such initiation would include the preparation of our young men and women for the privileges and responsibilities of Christian parenthood, and for a higher standard of home life, in which children may grow up strong and healthy in body, and be taught to love and serve ~~the~~ Lord Jesus Christ and to be a strength and power to their own community. Let us all think and pray and work to this end.

But in the meanwhile what should we as loyal servants of Jesus Christ, try to do in regard to this problem.

I was very thankful to learn from the African leaders of our Church in the Kikuyu country, who met in conference at Kahuhia last August, that all were agreed that the ultimate aim and object of the Christian Community is the complete abolition of the existing custom. I was also glad to learn from the leaders who came from certain districts that they believed the time had already come to insist on this total abolition, and that they wished to take this stand. This is the position of several leaders in other churches and missions who are fighting the same battle for the honour of their Lord.

On the other hand leaders from other districts in our mission area believed that the ultimate aim and object of us all could better be brought about by less drastic methods for the present. Those who take the stronger line of action may be sure of the whole-hearted sympathy and encouragement of the others though the latter, at present are unable to take the same stand for themselves.

But it is of the utmost importance to decide how far we can all act together now in this great matter. These members of the conference at Kahulia who were unable to pledge themselves to such strong action as their brethren, nevertheless assured us that they would do all in their power to discourage the custom, and in particular that they would wholeheartedly co-operate with their brethren in enforcing the following three regulations throughout the pastorates.

(1) All heathen practices connected with the custom must be entirely abandoned by Christians.

(2) Anything of a public nature must be strictly prohibited.

(3) Any operation causing physical injury to the individual must be condemned.

I therefore state that the rule of this Diocese henceforward will be, that any member of our Church who performs or permits any of these forbidden practices must be brought under the discipline of the Church, and I confidently appeal to all pastorates committee members to assist the Pastors in investigating and reporting on any cases that occur in their pastorates of offenses against this rule.

But though we may be thankful for the measure of unanimity that exists among us, we must not rest satisfied until we are able to accomplish the aim of us all. Let us not forget to pray earnestly that the day may soon come when all Christians will move forward together on the path of purity and progress, and we may be sure that when that takes place others who do not call themselves Christians will be glad to travel with them. For remember, our Master and only Saviour gave His life for us that we might be His, and by serving Him faithfully help our brethren around us. If and by serving Him faithfully we are true to Him many more will be led to love and serve Him too and so we shall become the means of great blessing to our people and our land in accordance with His great purposes of love.

May His blessing and power be with you all,

Your sincere Friend and Bishop.

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Supplementary letter from the Bishop of Mombasa to the Clergy and members of those Pastorates who are prepared at once to take the stand and condemn the custom of Female Circumcision entirely.

Nairobi.
October, 12th, 1931.

My dear Brethern,

You have read I hope my letter to the Clergy and pastorates of the Diocese, and you will I know loyally carry out the regulations contained therein, for you yourselves are anxious to go further. I thank God for your resolve to strive for the complete abolition of this custom in your midst.

In view of what I have written to the Diocese at large I cannot sanction the excommunication of persons who obey the regulations in that letter but as we want to assist you as far as possible, I will add a few words for your special guidance and encouragement.

(1) Where a pastorate committee definitely decides, as I understand you have done, to condemn the custom of Female Circumcision entirely, I consider it is quite right that no one should be eligible to be a member of that Committee who is not ready loyally to abide by that decision.

(2) Also in such cases if a clergyman decides to exercise his discretion and refuse to baptise the infant children of parents who will not abide by the decision of the pastorate, he will have his Bishop's support.

May God indeed bless you in your struggle and enable you to act with such love and wisdom that you will be able to win over many more to stand by your side in the fight for purity and holiness in the name of God.

Your sincere friend and Bishop.

Appendix VII.

Nov. 9th 1929

Kenya Hansard

Kenya Legislative Council

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR.

His Excellency: I wish to inform Council that the Rev. Dr. Arthur, O.B.E., has tendered his resignation as Nominated Member of Executive Council representing Native Interests. I make that announcement here because it is desirable to clear and at once in an authoritative manner, the very considerable misunderstanding which has arisen in the Kikuyu Reserve regarding the responsible attitude of Government to Missions on the question of female circumcision.

Dr. Arthur is the head of the Church of Scotland Mission which has its headquarters at Kikuyu. The rules of that Church contain an absolute prohibition of the practice of female circumcision by its members, and disobedience of the rule entails suspension from church membership. This goes much further than the accepted policy of Government, in that connexion which was enunciated by the Conference of East African Governors in 1926 in the following terms:-

The Conference considered that--

"The practise of female circumcision, which was of very ancient origin, should not be interfered with, but that the respective Governments concerned should endeavour to persuade such tribes as practised the more brutal forms of it to return to the more ancient and less brutal form."

In the circumstances, Dr. Arthur feels that his position as a member of Executive Council is embarrassing both to himself and to Government : to himself in that he feels bound to maintain an attitude which is at variance with the considered policy of Government : to Government in that an impression appears to have been created among natives that in advocating the total abolition of this native custom he is acting as the emissary of Government, which of course is not the case. He has therefore considered it best to resign.

I should like to express, in accepting his resignation, my great appreciation of the services which he has rendered to the Colony as a member of Executive Council.

App. VII. 2

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION
Kenya Colony

KIKUYU,
9th November, 1929.

His Excellency
Sir Edward M. Grigg K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., M.C.
Nairobi.

Dear Sir Edward,

In view of the advice that you have received that in my present action with regard to the question of

App. Vll.2. continued

female circumcision I am being looked upon by a large number of the Kikuyu in this area as an emissary of Government, and, therefore, that I am implicating Government in a position which they themselves do not hold, I am in agreement with you that it would be better to place my resignation as a member of Your Excellency's Council in your hands, and hereby do so.

Thanking you for the courtesy and consideration which Your Excellency at all times extended to me during the period in which I have had the honour to represent unofficially Native Interests on the Executive Council,

I remain, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

Sgd. John W. Arthur.

App. Vll.3.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
KENYA
EAST AFRICA.

16th November 1929.

Dear Dr. Arthur

Since receiving your letter of the 9th I have made a statement in the Legislature regarding your resignation from the Executive Council; and I wish to reaffirm to you personally the sincere appreciation of your past services which I then expressed and the great regret which the necessity for your resignation has inspired in me. I was very glad to find in the conversation which preceded your resignation that you were in full agreement with me as to the course of action befitting your position and that of Government

I should like to add that I regard the circumstances which have brought about your resignation as altogether exceptional. I could not shut my eyes to the fact, impressed upon me by the Provincial Commissioner, that you were generally regarded as an emissary of the Government in pursuing the vigorous action against the practice of female circumcision which you found necessary on behalf of the Church of Scotland, and that this was causing a dangerous misunderstanding in the minds of the established

App. VII 3. continued.

leaders of the Kikuyu people. In these circumstances a clear differentiation between the policy of the Government and the action of your Church was imperative. But that does not mean that in ordinary circumstances membership of Executive Council by a Missionary is incompatible with the enjoyment of complete freedom of conscience and action by that Missionary in the field of his missionary labours.

I thank you very sincerely for your prompt and clear recognition of the difficult position in which Government stood and for the industry, good judgment and public spirit which you have put at the service of Government as an Executive Councillor.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) EDWARD GRIGG.

Dr. J.W. Arthur, O.B.E.
The Manse,
KIKUYU.

App. VII.4.

Church of Scotland Mission.
Kikuyu.
25th November 1929.

Dear Sir Edward,

I have to thank you for your letter of 16th November and for the reference which you made in the Legislative Council both as to the reasons of my resignation and of your appreciation of my services. As you are aware I at once fell in with your suggestion to resign, when you made the facts clear to me. Although the resignation has probably created in the minds of some of the Kikuyu a certain amount of misunderstanding, which the political body concerned are trying to make capital of, I am convinced in my own mind that the resignation has on the one hand relieved Government to take what action it has thought fit and on the other hand me to tackle a situation amongst my own people, which requires all my time and thought.

I would like to say that I have heard of what the Senior Commissioner said to the United Councils meeting at Nyeri and the explanation which he gave to the leaders thereof to Government's attitude to the circumcision question both as it relates to Government and to the Missions. It seems to me that he put the explanation to them in such a way as to enable them to understand the position, and I believe that it has made the position perfectly clear. There can be now no possible misunderstanding of the position, although it is obvious that the political Association are endeavouring to exploit the situation as far as they can possibly do so. I thank you for the explanation given in your paragraph two, and I agree that the circumstances are entirely exceptional

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App. VII.4 continued.

in this case. You say "that in ordinary circumstances membership of Executive Council by a Missionary" is compatible "with the enjoyment of complete freedom of conscience and action by that Missionary in the field of his missionary labours". That is in my opinion well defined, and some clarity of thought is required to show what has really happened.

I trust that, though having ceased to be a member of Government, I may be able to continue to assist Government and Your Excellency by seeking to help our people to understand the often to them conflicting forces that make bid for their allegiance and loyalty.

Believe me, Sir,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) John W. Arthur.

His Excellency
Sir Edward Grigg K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.
Nairobi.

1. For Kenya — 179. G/ — 17/10/51

At the request of the Rev. D. Mathew,
forwards memorandum explaining the
views of the Kikuyu Mission Council of
the Church of Scotland on the subject
of Racial Discrimination.

I attach a memorandum, which
I fear is unduly lengthy.

The Mission Council of the
Church of Scotland
Mission body - & has no
Kisumu represents only their views
& not those of missionaries in
Kenya generally.

Eastward
78.132.0

Substantive to see

done

- ✓ (One memo. shd be noted in the Card Index.)
- ✓ A reference shd also be made under the
category of Report - Kikuyu Province of Kikuyu
- ✓ Central Assoc. on (17/10/51)

The letter of 11/10/51 is a formal memorial
to the S.F.S. para 6, at any rate, calls for
a reply. The Governor should therefore have
accompanied it with a report, and it is a
little surprising that he contented himself with
describing it as an interesting memorandum.

The Governor was taken mildly to task on a

CR:05

17399/51

Similar omission in the case of the Dueson Mission's petition. The practice should not be allowed to grow.

2. Ask, and say that it will facilitate S.P.'s control of the reply to be returned by S.P. in the ^{letter from the Mission} memorandum of Gov. and furnish his comments, particularly in regard to para. 6.

Fraser 18

It is a curious despatch I took as if the Gov. did not consider any reply necessary!

? as proposed

J.H. Allen

30/1/32

Jr. Stratton

I think you showed all this before it goes further. Had you any comments, please?

W.C.A.

11.2.32

Mr. C. B. Battersby

From the medical point of view I do not find anything new in the memorandum.

It has been published - see p. 56 of Colonial No. 65.

p. 20 of Col. no. 65

As is usual in the statements of the missions' point of view, the medical consequences of the rite tend to be exaggerated.

A balanced discussion of the question from the side of the administration is to be found in the attached print (from a T.T. paper) which I brought to the notice of the C. & A. Com.

H. Stanton

22.32

As the operation has its most acute form among the Kikuyu group so far as Kenya is concerned, it may well be a more serious matter in that group than in Tanganyika. But I think that the contrast between the activity of the Scottish Mission and the preference, not only of the Govt. but of other Missions, for more gradual progress is due to the success of the former in convincing its native adherents that the practice is ^{un-Christian} ~~un-Christian~~ and, having suffered for their belief by extraneous factors for their

non-Christian religions, are
not content to have it alone.

The most important point
is that a paragraph of the
opening letter as to unstate-
ments in Govt reports.

I don't understand what the Mission
means by that their removal
has been received. say that the
Govt will not class deal with
it generally in the despatch on
the whole subject which had
been filed under for in para: 5 of
memo in file N. 17075/31, but

~~that~~
that the S of S. will be glad if
he will deal specifically with
the complaint of misrepresentation
of the Mission in official
documents. C.O.B. 32.32.

Dr R Hamilton

Agree with procedure

proposed

P.H.B.

5.7.32.

agree
W.H.B.
17.2.32
at once

208
2 To Govt Conf. (1 Annual) 1932
22 FEB 1932

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

3 Gov. Kenya — 58 Conf — 16/4/32
Deals specifically with the Kikuyu
Mission Council's Complaint of
Misrepresentation in Official Documents,
appearing in the memo accp. No 1.

This despatch deals with -

(a) A complaint by the Church of Scotland Mission on
pages 66-73 of the memorandum enclosed with (1),
that they were misrepresented in the Annual Reports
for 1929 of the Native Affairs Department and the
Education Department, and

(b) Furnishes the general report on the subject
asked for in paragraph 5 of (4) in 17075/31 Kenya,
and also the statistics for which the Duchess of
Atholl asked on behalf of the ^{C.I.P. for the Protection of Women} ~~American Women's Aid~~
Commission (para. 10 of (1) in 17075/31).

As regards (a), the offending extracts
from the reports are quoted on pages 66-72 of the
Mission's memorandum. The despatch on (3) replies
to the objections seriatim.

It appears from paragraph 6 that the
statement in the Native Affairs Department Report
that the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, had
lost four-fifths of its school-children was incorrect.

The Director of Education's remarks
regarding the Mission's desire to control the
political and spiritual beliefs of its teachers
appear to be supported by the letter from Dr. Arthur
of the 5th November, 1929, now enclosed, which states

that

that all agents were required to agree not to become members of the Kikuyu Central Association unless the Mission allowed them to do so.

In general, it seems to be the case that while the statements in the reports are loosely worded, and might, with advantage, have been modified, the position is adequately summed up by the Governor who states that he cannot discover that there are any material grounds for this protest.

The necessity for the very careful editing of reports to which the general public have access is apparent when the phraseology of the statements to which the Mission object is examined. See also the statement quoted on page 68 of the memorandum that the restrictions supported by Government had been allowed to become practically a dead letter.

The reply to the memorial to the Secretary of State enclosed with (1) should be that he is glad to have on record the history of the subject set forth in the memorandum: that having carefully considered the statements in the two reports to which objection is taken by the Mission Council, he is ^{reluctant to believe} [of opinion] that such inaccuracies as occur ^{such as} are [not of an] nature to cause ^{lasting} embarrassment to the Mission, and that having regard to the circumstances of the case, and to the information contained in Dr. Arthur's letter of the 11th November 1929, he considers that the Council's objections relate rather to matters of phraseology than to questions of substantial misrepresentation of the aims of the Mission, and that

that in the circumstances he considers that no useful purpose would now be served by pursuing further the question of the statements in the reports.

As regards the statement in the memorial that the action of the Government has given the unfortunate impression that the Government are not in favour of mitigating the evils of this practice, it might be stated that the Secretary of State sees no ground for this statement in view of the fact that Government propaganda has been directed towards encouraging and fostering that body of opinion which is opposed to the performance of the rite in any circumstances.

30 17075/31 Kmp As regards (b), the Duchess of Atholl ^{been} was informed that the Governor had requested to furnish in about a year's time the statistics desired by her Committee, but stress was laid on the fact that the efforts of the Government and the progress made could not be fairly judged by such statistics.

The statistics show that there have been since the year 1926 the following prosecutions:-

South Nyeri	2
Kyambu	1
Embu	18
Bitui	3

a total of 24, in which 71 persons were prosecuted, and 68 convicted.

The great majority of these cases naturally arose in the Embu District which formulated the standard resolution shown in the report.

This resolution has been adopted by 8 Native Councils and 2 Councils in addition have entirely prohibited the rite.

It

It is now for consideration what should be communicated to the Duchess of Atholl for the information of her Committee in addition to the statistics shown in the schedules to (3).

Much of the report invites criticism and it therefore seems sufficient to send a copy of the general remarks on pages 1 and 2 of the appendix to (3), together with a copy of the schedules, omitting from the letter the nil returns.

In the first instance however it would be desirable to ascertain if the Committee has been constituted, in view of the letter of 26/1/1907/31.

H. P. Morrison
19/5/32

is not reply to is clearly necessary, and the formula suggested by the Secretaries seem to meet the case.

As regards the Duchess of Atholl, Dr. Drummond Shiel (3 in 1907) made no promise to communicate the statistics to her Committee, and I should be reluctant to send them unless they are specifically asked for.

H. P. Morrison
30/1/32
see the Appendix - 3

H. P. Morrison
19/5

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

The impression I have formed rightly or wrongly, is that the Russian made a well intentioned mistake due to overestimating their influence with the natives to the extent to which Unshonovskii had proceeded. This mistake may have arisen from the fact that it is a little hard to make a charge of misrepresentation on the fact. The Russian seems to have ^{been} ~~been~~ but the Russian has directly addressed the fact of all and essentially. The Russian seems to think the fact she take some action but I think much the best course is to let the matter drop & perhaps if Sir K. Hamilton sees or Arthur he might be persuaded to his opinion.

The report forwarded on page 13 of the doc was asked for with a view to publication, I decide. The statistics were intended for the Finance & I do not see why the report should not

to communicate also later ^{but}

use his reference to an individual
"a wife of their business" or
page 4 also to delete

Colt

J.M. Allen

7/7/32

1. As to the C.S.M. complaint, it is
clear that the published reports contained
false and unbalanced statements (and
I do not see how "teachers & other
agents" could possibly have been taken to
include Elders), but there is nothing
effective that can be done now, and
I think that Dr. Arthur will view it,
as will Miss Thompson, Sir R.
Hamilton discusses the matter with
him

2. we asked for the report in a form
suitable for publication, and agree that
the (we can hear) we must assume
that there is nothing in it which will
give rise to further trouble.

W.P.S. 27/7/32

Sir R. Hamilton

Agree
M.H.

13.7.32

Jagjee

J.H.G.

7.7.32

To Justice of Appeal - (L. 1/10. no 44) - 25.7.32

Sir C. B. Sturtevant

No. 1 was enclosed a memorial to
S.P.S. In No. 2 copy was asked
to inform the memorialists that their memorial
had been received. No. 2 contains the
Governor's comments.

Dr. Sturtevant has
recd. 1. # of the
memorial
7/7/32

It is now for consideration whether a
fuller reply should be returned to the
memorial through the Governor. No. 2
suggests the possibility of a meeting between
Sir R. Hamilton & Dr. Arthur; see also
the next slip on 5.

It would in any case be inadvisable
to return a further formal reply to
before the interview has taken place.

W.P.S. 27/7/32

J.M. Allen

W.P.S. 27/7/32

paper bought forward.

R. 1/10

Reference the Division's minutes of 27/7

nothing further has been received from the Duchess of Atholl regarding an interview with or at them and the latter has not raised the question (see the red slip attached to 5 showing the action which Sir R. Hamilton proposed to take).

~~In the circumstances~~ It seems not in probable that the Duchess do not want to revive the controversy at this stage.

In the circumstances, it seems preferable to send no reply to the memoranda enclosed with 1 unless the mission raises the point - they were informed at 2 that it had been received.

Probably

H. D. D. D.
18/9/82

I agree

H. D. D. D.
12/10

H. D. D. D.

Yes. When Parliament meets, we may expect that the question, if ever, will be raised, but be can wait.

13.10.82

done

Reference to Draxton's memo of 27/7

Nothing further has been received from the Duchess of Atholl regarding an interview with or Arthur and the latter has not raised the question (see the red slip attached to 5 showing the action which Sir R. Hambro proposed to take)

~~In the circumstances~~ It seems not improbable that the Mission do not want to revive the controversy at this stage

In the circumstances it seems preferable to send no reply to the memo or enclosed with 1 unless the Mission raise the point - they were informed at 2 that it had been received.

Probably

R. P. Draxton
12/10/32

I agree

R. P. Draxton
12/10

St. Hill

Yes. When Parliament meets we may expect that the question, if ever, will be raised, but we can wait.

13.10.32

13

~~Mr. Mathews~~

You wanted to see the G. of S. Memo. of 1931, which is at (1). It is very long so to save you time I suggest you read:

- A. X on p. 29 to X on p. 44.
- B. p. 49 to X on p. 56 (Closure of Schools)
- C. X on p. 58 to p. 59 (Kangata)
- D. p. 66 to p. 73. (Quarrel between Church + State)
- E. App. III (the origin of the U.C.A.)

M. Scott
3/14

M. Scott

Returned with thanks

W. J. J.
23/7

C.O.

6/12/32
HW

Mr. Priestman 15/7

Mr. ~~Drach~~ 15/7

Mr.

Mr. Parkinson

Mr. Tomlinson

Sir C. Bottomley

Sir J. Shuckburgh

Parlt. U.S. of S.

Party. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

18005/32 Kenya.

C.D.
R 3 JUL
D 18

For Sir S. Wilson's signature.

25

Confidential. 25 July, 1932.

Dear Duchess, ~~of Atholl~~

You will remember ^{that,} in

DRAFT. *Copy in*

HIER GRACE
THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, D.B.E., M.P.

connection with the question
of female circumcision in Kenya
~~raised in your letter of the 5th~~

February, 1931, you suggested
last year that ~~your~~ ^{the} Committee for
the Protection of Coloured Women
in African Colonies should be
furnished with certain statistics
at the end of six months or a
year; ~~and that~~ in his letter of
the 12th March, 1931,

Dr. Drummond Shiels informed you
that the Governor of Kenya had

been

(Copy to appendix to 1)

(Copy of Schedule 1 and 11 & 1)

(4 in 17075/31K) -

Regina E. ...
✓/7

been requested to furnish the
desired statistics in about a
year's time.

We have now received
from the Governor a report on the
present position, together with
a full statement of the
prosecutions instituted for breach
of the regulations on the subject,
showing the result in each case.

Mr Robert Hamilton,
before leaving London, desired that
you should be furnished with a copy
of this report and of the annexed
statistics for the information of
your Committee, and I accordingly
enclose copies with this letter.

Yours sincerely
(Signed) S. H. WILSON.

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desired statistics in about a
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your committee, and I accordingly
enclose copies with this letter.

Yours sincerely

B. H. WILSON.

TELEPHONE.
FLAXMAN 6807

113
4

99, ELM PARK GARDENS,
S.W.10
7th June 1932.

Dear Sir Robert.

I have written to Mrs. Oakley of Kenya telling her of my talk with you.

I wonder whether you have seen a statement drawn up by the Church of Scotland Kikuyu Mission making clear the action taken by them in regard to female circumcision? - A copy was sent to the Colonial Office a few months ago. I should be very glad if you could find time to glance at it, as it shows that the action of the Mission authorities has been mis-represented. A letter published by some of the hostile Kikuyu, I believe in 1929, accused them of trying to get the rite prohibited all together, when all they were standing for was protection for girls who wished to evade it.

Dr. Arthur, head of the mission, is now at home on leave. I had a talk with him in Edinburgh the other day, and found him very level-headed about it all. I hope you will find time to see him before he goes back to Kenya?

Yours sincerely
Katherine Atwater

Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P.,
Colonial Office,
S.W.1.

Discd. s.o. 10/6/32

113
4

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FLAXMAN 6807

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S.W. 10.
7th June 1932.

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Yours sincerely
Katherine Atwell

Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P.,
Colonial Office,
S.W. 1.

Recd. s.o. 10/6/32

3



GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NAIROBI,
KENYA

KENYA.

NO. 58

16th April, 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL.

REC
DOL

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your Confidential despatch of the 22nd February on the subject of female circumcision in which you ask me to deal specifically with the Kikuyu Mission Council's complaint of misrepresentation in official documents, appearing in their memorandum transmitted to you in my confidential despatch of the 8th December, 1931.

2.

The Council protests that the actions of the Mission have been misrepresented in the Native Affairs Department Annual Report for 1929 and in the Annual Report of the Director of Education for the same year. After the most careful perusal of these reports and of the files on which these Reports were based I cannot discover that there are any material grounds for this protest, which is elaborated on pages 66 - 72 of the Mission's Memorandum.

3.

The gravamen of the statements in both reports is that in the autumn of 1929 a crisis was precipitated by the action of the Church of Scotland Mission through its Principal, the Rev. Dr. Arthur, in "suddenly requiring all his Church elders, on pain of expulsion, to sign a paper renouncing female circumcision". This action is characterized

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MAJOR SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE-LISTER, P.C., G.B.E., M.C., M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

Copy of 2nd and 3rd Reports of the Committee of Enquiry into the Circumcision of Natives, 1922 to 1924, to the Secretary of State, 1925, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932.

No 2

No 1

as the sudden launching of an attack against the custom of clitoridectomy. The memorialists argue that this action was not "sudden" and that it was not the cause but was a result of the crisis. This argument is not now conceivable of proof and the fact remains that simultaneously with Dr. Arthur's action the Kyanbu district was greatly disturbed. I enclose a copy of a letter from Dr. Arthur to the Director of Education which at least lends colour to the supposition that the former had decided to launch a sudden attack. In it he says:-

"I determined that we would not allow teachers and other agents who were not at one with us on the question of the circumcision of women" and "they were told that they would have to sign a declaration to this effect" and "we dismissed them".

4. On page 70 of the Memorandum it is denied that the Church Elders were required to sign a document of renunciation. On page 66, however, it is admitted that the Elders were required to affirm their loyalty and from Dr. Arthur's letter it is plain that "teachers and other agents" were required to sign a document. It appears to me that in this matter there has been no substantial misrepresentation though there may have been a distinction (which was not apparent to the District Commissioner, Kyanbu, on whose report the Native Affairs Department Annual Report was based) between requiring Elders to affirm and "teachers and other agents" to sign.

5. The Mission Council objects also to the statement that the African Inland and Gospel Missions followed Dr. Arthur's lead, maintaining that the action of these Missions was independent. On page 35 of the Memorandum, however, it is admitted that the declaration of attitude adopted at the

meeting at Tummu Tummu in March 1929 "probably constituted the first direct cause of the subsequent upheaval". Tummu Tummu is a station of the Church of Scotland Mission and Dr. Arthur is the head of that Mission in Kenya. He was also at the time a member of Executive Council. There is no doubt whatever that he was regarded by natives and non-natives as the protagonist in the campaign and I am convinced that it is true in the ordinarily accepted sense of the words that the other two Missions "followed his lead".

6. The statement that the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, lost four-fifths of its school children is also repudiated, and in this the Mission Council seems to be justified. On page 54 of the Memorandum are figures of attendances at the schools of that Mission. From these it appears that whereas the outschools in December 1929 had lost about nine-tenths of their pupils the central school at Kikuyu had lost only about 7%. It is almost certain that the District Commissioner had in mind the conditions at the outschools in his district and did not realize the extent to which the general average was affected by the numbers at the Kikuyu central schools. It is regretted that his statement was not checked before its incorporation in Mr. Maxwell's report.

7. The memorandum states that the report of the Director of Education for the year 1929 misrepresents the action of the Missions.

The memorandum criticises the following statements in the report.

- (i) "The Church of Scotland Mission took the decision
- (ii) "A number of schools were left without teachers and these schools were closed."
- (iii) "The Mission has indicated its right to control the political and spiritual beliefs of those whom it employed in its schools even though Government pays a part of their salaries."

4.

8. The objection to the first statement is that it was not the Church of Scotland Mission but only the Kikuyu and Chogoria stations which took the action.

The communication of the 5th November, 1929, a copy of which is attached to the despatch is headed 'Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu'. It is signed by Dr. Arthur. Dr. Arthur has been and still is recognised as the head of the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya. His home is at Kikuyu. Admittedly, the policy adopted applied to Chogoria as well as to Kikuyu. The Director of Education wishes to place on record that in the many interviews he had with Dr. Arthur he has always discussed matters with him as head of the Church of Scotland Mission as a whole.

Even if it is admitted that the Director of Education made an overstatement in using these words, it is reasonable to read the passage quoted with the limiting sentence "as far as the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu is concerned" on page 30: quoted on page 72 of the memorandum. In any case the matter appears to be trivial.

9. Objection is taken to the statement that a number of schools were closed. The memorandum appears to admit that the schools were closed and it is therefore unnecessary to pursue this matter.

The memorandum omits to state that in order to maintain an effective support of the Mission the Director of Education continued to pay salary grants for teachers who were doing no work.

There were no pupils present in at least two schools in the last three months of 1929, as compared with about 550 in July 1929.

10. Serious objection is taken to the statement that the Mission has attempted to control the political and spiritual beliefs of the teachers concerned. The

5.

memorandum admits that the mission did control the political views of its teachers. This is not contested. The attitude is made clear in paragraph 3 of Dr. Arthur's letter of November 5th, 1929.

11. No reference is made to the real gravamen of the Director of Education's charge against the Mission and that is that the Mission was controlling the political views of teachers whose salaries were in great part paid by the State. It may or may not be wise to insist on one's own employees holding certain views, but as soon as those employees become engaged in work paid for by the State, the right to control their political views disappears.

12. The Director of Education desires to emphasize the view that Missions too often regard co-operation with Government as meaning payment by Government and control by Missions. The attitude of the Mission is a signal example of this inability on the part of the Mission to recognise that the conduct of schools by Missions with payment of grants for salaries involves the Missions in certain definite responsibilities in respect of political liberty.

13. I enclose as an appendix to this despatch the report and statement asked for by Lord Passfield in paragraph 5 of his Confidential (2) despatch of the 12th March, 1931.

No 4
170757/31

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. W. Moore

GOVERNOR'S DEPUTY.

COPY.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION,
KIKUYU, KENYA COLONY.

5th November 1929.

The Hon'ble
The Director of Education,
Nairobi.

Sir,

Ref. Dismissed Teachers from Kikuyu School.

I have to report that at the end of last session closing in October and before commencing the new session on 1st November, I determined that we would not allow teachers and other agents in the employ of our school, who were not at one with us as the members of the Association of women, and unless they made a declaration that they were not members of the Kikuyu Central Association and would not become so until the Mission gave the consent.

2. At the end of the first fortnight's holiday, all agents were informed of this decision and they were told that they would have to sign a declaration to this effect. They were allowed to consider the matter and to let us know their decision before general assemblies. Many of the teachers and others signed the declaration.

3. On the return of the agents on Thursday the 31st October they were informed that in view of the difficulty there seemed to be in signing any document, we were willing to forgo signatures, but would ask of each the following question:

"Do you say with truth that you have given up the matter of women's emancipation, and that you are not a member of the Kikuyu Central Association, and will not become a member, unless the Mission allow you to do so, should that Association come into agreement with the Mission?"

The answer was yes.

A few more teachers made the declaration, though they would not agree to sign anything. Many refused. The following are the names of the teachers who refused to sign or answer the question above in the affirmative.

John Mwangi. late A.N.S.
James Kibin. late A.N.S.
Livingstone Warobi. late A.N.S.
Amos Mutahi.
Zephaniah Wainaina.
Stevenson Mwangi.
Kerstin Mura (Agriculture)

Signed but refused to sign on
because pay not increased.

Stevenson Mwangi.
Wilson Waitaha.

Rowland Mwangi.
James Mwangi.
Amos Mwangi.
Amos Mwangi.
Albert Mwangi.
Jonathan Mwangi.
Josi Gatun (Carpenter).
Amos Mwangi.

4. The most serious loss to us is of course that of the three ex-Alliance High School students. I understand that Dedan and Jared have applied to you for work. I think it is only right to let you know the conditions under which we dismissed them. They were not given letters as we would have had to state on them why they were leaving us. Neither Dedan or Jared seem to have had their kipandis signed on 1st March when they were taken on, possibly because Miss Grant left so shortly afterwards. Jared has not yet given an account of the sales of his out-school at which he was; he was told that he must return to us the books that were not sold. This also is the case with Livingstone. In the case of Dedan, he is a splendid teacher, and we have had nothing against him till now. We think, however, that he has been underhand in the way he has left us. He was told to return on Thursday in order to let us know what he had decided. He did not come but on Sunday wrote this letter: "To the Headmaster, U.S.M.Kikuyu.

Dear Sir,

I have got very important matter with some body at Nairobi and so kindly ask you to excuse me from coming to school on Monday and possibly Tuesday. I have already vowed and so you need not be afraid about it. I'm sorry this affairs which I heard when I was walking at Kagaa has caused a great delay to me.

I am, Sir, Yours obediently,
Sgd. Dedan Ngunya."

You can understand that we expected that he would return, as he had, as he wrote, taken the vow against the circumcision of women in Church in connection with the Church matters.

We have nothing against Jared or Livingstone except that they should return the books at their schools. We have nothing either against Dedan except the above apparent deception.

4. I am not asking you not to employ these teachers who have left us, as Government must naturally decide its own rules for its teachers. I am only putting the reasons for their leaving us so that you may have them before you when you come to make your decision in regard to them.

5. I would like to say that this circumcision has been a dead matter in this mission for years; it has now become a live issue because the Kikuyu Central Association have made it a political issue. ~~They~~ have had the same rule as here, and three years ago they were faced with the same thing, again as the result of the opposition of the K.C.A. Their teachers had to take the same declaration against the circumcision thing, and they lost many teachers and closed ~~several~~ several schools. They have now won through and are in a secure position. The A.I.E. of Gikuyu have done the same thing.

G.

3. The situation in the out-schools is not yet fully declared. It is the same or worse than here, and possibly we may have schools with much reduced numbers. In spite of our losses, we have sufficient teachers to do the school work here, and to staff with capable teachers all our out-schools except one, which was dead before this trouble arose.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

(sgd.) JOHN W. ARTHUR.

APPENDIX.

STANDARD RESOLUTIONS OF THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCIL

BY THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCIL, 1948.

It is the policy of the Government to encourage progressive and scientific methods to achieve valuable results in all fields. The severity of the operation should be reduced where the patient was not a virgin, it was unreasoning and probably the body of pain which is opposed to the performance of the rite in any circumstances and in eliminating the knowledge that it is a criminal offence to "consummize" any girl against her will.

The Elbu Resolution has been adopted as a Standard Resolution and shall be applied by the following Councils to the areas under their jurisdiction.

<u>Province.</u>	<u>Council.</u>
<u>Elbu.</u>	Elbu. Kiarbu. Fort Hall.
<u>.....</u>
<u>Coast.</u>
<u>.....</u>
<u>.....</u>	South P. viwendo (Kicili-Bakorisa) South Kavirondo (Luo-Abasuba).

The Standard Resolution reads as follows:-

- " (i) No person other than one duly authorized by the Local Native Council shall, within the District perform or assist in the performance of the operation of clitoridectomy.
- (ii) No person subject to the jurisdiction of the Local Native Council in the District when performing or assisting in the performance of clitoridectomy shall make an incision of greater extent or depth than is necessary for the removal or excision of the clitoris.

Any other incision or mutilating of the private parts of a woman shall not be performed or permitted to be performed.

(iii) ... may perform ... operation ...

(iv) ... shall be ...

(v) ...

It shall be ...

... Provinces ...

- THEY -

I. KIUMBU PROVINCE.

(a). Kiambu District. After the stormy times of October 1929 - March 1930 it has been thought wise to refrain from open allusion to the subject, but to punish impartially any breach of existing orders, and to confine propaganda to words in season in private conversations with influential natives.

The Kiambu District has bound itself by the standard resolution to the milder form of operation and also to the registration of persons authorised to operate. While it is practically impossible to detect breaches of the first of these orders, unless a complaint is lodged, there is reason to believe that the second order is generally respected. One operator who performed without permission has been fined Shs. 50/-.

(b). Nyeri District. There has been practically no change in the attitude of the Kikuyu of this district towards the custom of female circumcision.

The vast majority of the population are as strongly opposed as ever to any change in the rite or modification of the operations: the teaching of the Missions against this custom still arouses resentment, suspicion and hostility.

This is clearly shown on every occasion when this question comes into prominence, as for instance when the parties responsible for the circumcision of a girl without her consent are punished.

The results are always the same and have been for the past two years: there is a falling off in attendance at the Mission schools: there is a demand for and attempts to start independent schools and to hold independent Church services and Prayer meetings.

The fact is that the whole District with the exception of a few dozen individuals is opposed to any change in the ceremony or in the mode of conducting the operation.

Interference by Government or by Missions is greatly dreaded, and little is required to arouse suspicion, resentment and unrest.

Two cases have actually occurred in this district of girls being circumcized forcibly and without their consent. The first occurred in March 1930: the girl was a pupil in the Tumu Tumu boarding school who had accepted the Mission teaching on this subject; her age was 13 or 14 years; her father had her circumcized against her wish: he and the female operator, [a wife of Chief Nduini] were prosecuted under the Indian Penal Code (section 87) and convicted of voluntarily causing hurt and were sentenced the father to 14 days R.I. and the operator to a fine of Shs.70/-.

Check [] in copying the name

The second case occurred in October 1931 and was very similar. The girl again was a pupil of some 13 or 14 years of age in the Tumu Tumu boarding school; she had adopted the Mission teaching against the rite and was forcibly circumcized by her mother on October 8th while on a visit to her home.

The girl's mother, the operator, five other women and one man who assisted in forcibly carrying out the operation were prosecuted at Nyeri under section 214 of the Penal Code, Criminal Case No. 96 of 1931, and convicted of causing grievous harm. The girl's mother and the operator were each sentenced to 3 months imprisonment with hard labour and the remaining six

persons who assisted were sentenced to 6 weeks imprisonment with hard labour.

both cases caused quite a stir in the district and resulted in a large body of chiefs and elders coming in to protest against the imprisonment of Mory Firaya for following an ancient custom of theirs which is closely connected with their tribal life and religion.

In the last case they asked leave to forward a petition to His Excellency the Governor. This request was duly complied with. In their petition they asked that the convicted persons might be pardoned or at least that the sentence might be reduced to one of a fine. The Governor was unable to accede to this petition being of the opinion that the guilty had in fact been treated with leniency.

Except on occasions when a case of this sort brings the problem again into the limelight there are long intervals during which feeling is quite serene and relations between the divisions of the tribe are about as good as ever.

(c). Embu District. There is no doubt that the appointment of registered female operators has had an excellent effect and it may be safely assumed that the major operation is very rarely now performed in the Embu. So also among the other tribes in this district, there is no reason to believe that anything but the minor operation has hitherto been performed.

The male portion of the population is opposed to the major form and that opposition together with the fact that as will be seen from the statistics furnished herewith, 15 women have been incarcerated for infringing the Resolution passed by the Embu Local Native Council in 1926, should be sufficient to ensure that the more severe form will not again be introduced provided that a continuous watch is

maintained.

(d). Meru. The District Commissioner writes :-
 " I have spent considerable time on studying this
 matter during 1924 and discussing it with the Elders.
 Towards the end of the year four influential headmen
 were chosen by the Meru to tour Embu district and see
 what had been accomplished there. The matter requires
 very careful and tactful treatment but I have great hopes
 that at the next Local Native Council meeting we will be
 able to pass a Resolution which will modify the operation
 very considerably and make the registration of operators
 necessary."

Since the above was written a Resolution on the
 lines contemplated has been passed and has received the
 sanction of Executive Council.

This resolution has the effect of modifying Rule
 No. 2 of the rules quoted above by restricting the
 operation to the "removal of the tip of the clitoris"
 and the small dark ridges of skin along the free edges
 of the labia minora."

(e). Fort Hall. There are nine native women duly
 authorised to perform the circumcision operation in the
 Fort Hall district and all have been personally warned
 by the Administration of the by-law in force, they have
 also been continually instructed with regard to the evils
 and the mutilation caused by anything but a very simple
 operation.

No charges have been brought either
 under the Penal Code or under the Native Authority
 Amendment Ordinance of 1924 throughout the year.

All officers have taken every
 opportunity of impressing on barezas of natives the evils of
 the custom of female circumcision, except in
 an innocuous form and the Medical Officers have taken great

pains to instruct on the technical details of an innocuous operation.

The Fort Hall Local Native Council at their meeting on October 20th, 1931, passed the following minute which is relevant to the female circumcision question :-

" That as it seemed probable that these schools would be opened by a Mission if the dispute over female circumcision could be settled, the members were prepared to consider with their constituents the question of enforcing some lesser operation.

That the Mission concerned be asked to send a representative to discuss the whole question with the members at the next meeting of the Council".

The above minute show that there is a growing realization of the evils of the present form of operation and an embryonic desire to enforce a lesser and innocuous form throughout this district.

Any advance in the direction of altering the nature of the operation so that it becomes innocuous and finally of dispensing with it altogether must come from within and be backed by popular opinion and any drastic action by Government or Missions to enforce the prohibition of the operation at the present time will only be met by sullen suspicion and a closing and possibly an augmentation of the ranks of those natives who ignorantly believe that the ulterior motive of Missions and Government is to breakdown age old custom and thus detribalise the native in order to take his lands.

II. UKALBA PROVINCE.

(a) Kitui. Propaganda with a view to eventual abolition of the rite is being and will be pursued. The Kitui Local Native Council in addition to the Standard Resolution has passed the following Resolution also :-

" That it shall be unlawful for any person to perform any operation involving the mutilation of the private parts of any girl without the consent, personally expressed to the operator by both her father (or guardian, if the father is dead) and her mother (or her representative in Native custom, if she is dead)."

Since these resolutions were passed there have been only three prosecutions under the resolutions, as shown in the schedule attached hereto.

(b) Mechakos. Female circumcision has never caused uneasiness in this district, chiefly because the operation is a minor one and no ill effects result. In medical opinion the operation as carried out by the Akamba causes no trouble in child-birth.

No criminal charges in connection with the rite were tried in this district during 1931.

The policy here is one of quiet and tactful propaganda against the practice. It has been discussed by the Mechakos Local Native Council, but that Council has never adopted any definite line of action in the matter.

The Provincial Commissioner considers that as a rule the operation is a minor one though the statement in

Lindblom's book on the Wakamba that the 'labia minora' and 'præputium clitoridis' are cut away suggests that the operation is not so insignificant as it may appear. He further adds that he with the District Commissioner the Medical Officer, a local Missionary long resident in the Machakos district, and enlightened native opinion, are considering steps to be taken with a view to modifying the severity of the operation i.e. limiting it to the cutting of the 'præputium'. The enquiries are not yet complete. A proposal to this effect, if thought desirable, will be submitted to the Machakos Local Native Council in the near future and if approved by that body, the operators, who strangely enough are males in Ukamba, will be instructed accordingly.

III. NYANZA PROVINCE.

The Nilotic and Bantu Kavirondo do not practice female circumcision but there is a mild form among the Lumbwa, Kisii and Nyangori and the few Masai and Kigonyi who are in North Kavirondo.

IV. TURKANA PROVINCE.

The rite is only practised amongst the Suk tribe and not the Turkana.

Only the milder form of operation is performed in this district.

The subject has upon several occasions been discussed at Local Native Council meetings when the members remained unconvinced of the correctness of modern scientific opinion regarding the harmfulness of this ancient custom.

It was considered that at present there

10.

is no necessity to promulgate an order to prohibit unlicensed persons performing the operation.

It is worthy of remark that there were one or two elders who, having married Karanajong wives, whose tribe do not practice this custom, admitted that child-birth was an easier matter for a Karanajong woman than a Suk. To secure such an admission is a step in the right direction.

Prohibitive legislation would not only be dangerously unpopular at present but foredoomed to failure under the local conditions obtaining.

V. RIFT VALLEY.

One case was reported by the Kabertonjo Mission in Kamasia of threats by a girl's relatives to perform the operation by force.

A warning was given in the Local Native Council meeting against any such attempt, and the attitude of Government explained on the whole question, especially with regard to the serious operation.

The Kamasia are much too backward to expect any impression to be made on them in respect of the custom as a whole although they understand that compulsion on an unwilling individual will be severely dealt with. The operation is not as a rule as severe as in some districts.

VI. NZOIA PROVINCE.

The major operation is not apparently customary in this Province.

The tribes are very backward. There is practically no Christianity among them, and therefore no teaching diametrically opposed to native precepts.

It is known to them that Government views the practice with disfavour but it will only go with education. As in Kikuyu, its passing will be accompanied by ill-treatment of the innovators, but at present there are none. The practice in this Province is apparently quite harmless as nothing comes to the surface of hospital or Court, but more research is needed.

VII. COAST PROVINCE.

Female circumcision is not a matter of great importance in the Coast Province, and those tribes which practice it adopt the milder forms only.

There is no female circumcision at all amongst the Pokomo or Giriama tribes, nor is it at all common amongst the Duruma or Digo. In Teita it is the custom for female children to be circumcised within a week of birth, and the operation is necessarily a minor affair owing to the tender age of the child.

The Galla, Kore and Boni of the Lamu district continue to circumcise as heretofore and the District Commissioner reports that there is no sign of the practice dying out.

Teita is the only Local Native Council in the Coast Province which has passed a resolution dealing with the subject.

VIII. MASAI.

Female circumcision as practised by the Masai is believed to be a severe operation but medical officers who have worked among them maintain that, so far as they are able to judge it has no dangerous effects either on the women or the children.

The Masai are a particularly conservative tribe and efforts to modify any of their customs by precept and propaganda are largely ineffective. They refuse even to discuss female circumcision which they say is their own business and nobody else's.

Any reference to the practice is held to be indecent, and any movement to suppress it would be regarded as tantamount to an attempt to spread anarchy and to compass the disruption of their family life.

IX. NORTHERN FRONTIER PROVINCE.

The Samburu are in customs and habits similar to the Masai. They practice clitoridectomy in a rigorous form but apparently without causing any very serious after effects. The Rendile do likewise.

Among the Galla tribes the operation is a slight one and is practised at irregular and indefinite periods.

All the Somali tribes practice infibulation, the operation being performed in early infancy and following on clitoridectomy.

The Turkana are the only exception in that they do not practise clitoridectomy.

SCHEDULE 1.

PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE PENAL CODE.

KIKUYU PROVINCE.

South Nyeri District.

March 1930. - A girl of Tumu Tumu boarding school was circumcised against her wish. The father and the female operator were convicted of Voluntarily Causing Hurt, Sec. 87, I.P.C.

Sentence. 14 days R.I. and Shs.70/- respectively.

Crim. Case 96/31. - A similar case in which the girl's mother, 5 other women and a man who assisted were convicted under Sec.214 of the Penal Code of Causing Grievous Harm.

Sentence. 3 months' H.L. and 6 weeks' H.L.respectively.

Kyambu District. Nil.

Embu District. Nil.

Meru District. Nil.

Fort Hall District. Nil.

UKAMBA PROVINCE. Nil.

NYANZA PROVINCE. Nil.

TEREKANA PROVINCE. Nil.

NORTHERN FRONTIER PROVINCE. Nil.

NZOIA PROVINCE. Nil.

COAST PROVINCE. Nil.

RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE. Nil.

MASAI PROVINCE. Nil.

SCHEDULE 11.

CASES UNDER LOCAL NATIVE COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

KIKUYU PROVINCE.

South Nyeri District. Nil.
Meru District. Nil.
Port Hall District. Nil.
Kyambu District. -

<u>No. of Case.</u>	<u>No. of Accused.</u>	<u>No. of con- victed.</u>	<u>Fine.</u>
205/1931.	1	1	Shs. 30/- or 6 week H.L. in default.

Embu District.

<u>No. of Case.</u>	<u>No. of Accused.</u>	<u>No. of con- victed.</u>	<u>Fine.</u>
42/1928	5	5	Shs. 80/- each.
11 Class Court 26/1927	1	1	Shs. 100/- or 2 months R.L.
19/1927	5	2 (1 dismissed).	Shs. 80/- each.
23/1927	4	4	Shs. 80/- each.
24/1927	1	-(1 dismissed).	-
2/1928.	5	5	Shs. 100/- each.
16/1929	2	2	Shs. 100/- each.
12/1929	5	4 (1 dismissed).	Shs. 100/- each.
8/1930 (3 counts)	1	1	Shs. 150/- or 6 months R.L. (Fine not paid).

Kambu District (Continued).

<u>No. of Case.</u>	<u>No. of Accused.</u>	<u>No. of Con- victed.</u>	<u>Fine.</u>
18/1930 (2 counts)	2	2	Shs.150/- each or 2 months' R.I. (Shs. 132/- paid).
19/1930 (2 counts)	2	2	Shs.150/- each or 2 months' R.I. (Fine paid).
24/1930	1	1	Shs.20/-
111 Class Court Case of 1931.	1	1	Shs.150/- and in default 2 months' S.I.
14 to 32/1931 and 74/1931	20 (3 counts)	20	Shs.450/- each or 6 months' each M.L. (Fine not paid).
75/1931	1	1	Shs.150/- or 2 months' H.L. (Fine not paid).
76/1931	1	1	Shs.150/- or 2 months' H.L. (Fine not paid).
108/1931	1	1	Shs.150/- or 2 months' H.L.
115/1931 (3 counts)	1	1	5 months' R.I.

UKAMBA PROVINCE.

Kitui District.

Cr. Case 143/1927. 2 accused.

Charge. Circumcising a girl
without being persons authorized
to do so under L.N.C. Resolution
1/1927.

Penalty. Fined
Shs.50/- each and
in default 1 month
R.I.

Cr. Case 54/1928. 1 accused.

Charge. Circumcising girls
without being registered to do
so under L.N.C. Resolution
No. 1/1927.

Penalty. Fined
Shs.100/- and in
default 14 days
R.I.

Nzama Case No. 67/1931. 1 accused.

Charge. Allowing a man to

Penalty. Fined

Kitui District.(Continued).

circumcise his daughter contra
Native Law and Custom.

Shs.30/- and in
default 2 months'
H.L.

<u>NYANZA PROVINCE.</u>	Nil.
<u>TURKANA PROVINCE.</u>	nil.
<u>RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE.</u>	Nil.
<u>NORTHERN FRONTIER PROVINCE.</u>	Nil.
<u>NZCIA PROVINCE.</u>	Nil.
<u>COAST PROVINCE.</u>	Nil.
<u>MASAI PROVINCE.</u>	Nil.

TA 158

MEMORANDUM

This memorandum, prepared by the Kikuyu Mission Council, contains a great deal of information both as regards the female circumcision controversy, and also on other matters connected with affairs in the Kikuyu Province in recent years. In addition, it raises questions regarding Government policy which are of considerable importance. It seems worth while, therefore, to consider it in some detail.

Pages 1 and 2.

It has been the practice in recent years to refer to a "major operation" and a "minor operation", the minor operation consisting only of clitoridectomy. The memorandum shows that there is in fact no such operation as simple clitoridectomy in practice among the Kikuyu. This is borne out by the latest information from the Governor, see No. 37 on 16004/30, paragraph 3.

Pages 3 and 4.

There is little or no teaching or value associated with the ~~ritual~~^{rit} in Kikuyu, and the psychological effects of it are serious. Cases of tribes abandoning the operation have occurred in other parts of Africa.

Pages 4 and 5.

The data available would seem to suggest that the actual operation is but a minor, although essential, feature of the whole, and, as in the case of the Wakamba, it is probable that it possesses no religious significance whatever.

Page 6.

The Christian Elders consider the whole ceremony for boys and girls so impregnated with

with impurities that no Christian parent would desire his child to pass through ~~the rite.~~

For many years, the Missions have been opposed to the ceremony, and have conducted propaganda, etc. against it. The Church Laws of the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu, were amended in 1915 as follows:-

"A girl who has been baptised and has made public profession may not be circumcised". It was ~~also~~ therefore recommended that "Christians, Catechumens, hearers and others be taught that the circumcision of girls is unnecessary, and that it is contrary to the principles of Christianity."

Page 11.

In 1920, at a Conference of Native Christians held at Tumutumu "the leading Elders declared for absolute prohibition of the custom within the African Church, and supported the imposition of discipline on those members who might infringe the Church Laws pertaining thereto." In the same year a United Native Conference was held at Kambui, at which native members of the African Native Mission and the Gospel Mission came to similar conclusions.

Page 12.

Page 13.

The Church Missionary Society never pursued any uniform policy on the subject.

Page 14.

From time to time, since 1920, joint conferences of African Christians have considered the question further, and one such conference, held in October 1929 (i.e. after the controversy had started) passed a minute as follows:- "The Elders regret the accusations being made throughout the country that it is only the Europeans who want this custom removed, and not the Kikuyu. As Kikuyu, they desire to record in these minutes that the decision is their own free will, and not a matter of compulsion

Page 17.

compulsion by the Europeans."

The general conclusion is that there has been a widespread movement among Christians against female circumcision which has been carefully sponsored by some at least of the missions. ^{From year} There are a number of girls who have never been circumcised. 67 such girls signed a petition for protection in 1929.

Page 17.

The Government's policy has been based on the resolution of the Governors' Conference in 1926:- "The Conference consider that the practice of female circumcision which was of very ancient origin, should not be interfered with, but that the respective Governments concerned should endeavour to persuade such tribes as practice the more brutal forms of it to return to the more ancient and less brutal forms."

Page 21.

Various local Native Councils were induced to pass resolutions, whereby the operation could only be performed by skilled women authorized by the Council, and should be limited in its nature. The memorandum maintains that these resolutions remained a dead letter. The first prosecution under them took place in April, 1929.

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Section 4 of the Memorandum is a most interesting and useful history of the opposition to Government and the Missions. It appears that the opposition to Government was at its height in 1922 at the time of the Tangi troubles, but that throughout subsequent years the opposition to the Missions was increasing, and the distance between local chiefs and Government supporters on the one hand, and the young men represented by the Kikuyu Central Association on

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Pages 24-29.

the other hand, was increasing all the time (Appendix III contains a valuable history of the Kikuyu Central Association.)

Early in 1928 a big ^{baranga} ~~baranga~~ was held at Nyeri, which appears to have been concerned with the political situation generally in the reserve, and particularly with the activities of the Kikuyu Central Association. At this ^{baranga} the Kikuyu Central Association

Pages 29-31.

representatives announced that they stood for the preservation of the old tribal customs, laying special emphasis on "female circumcision". It thus for the first time was made a political issue. This brought the Kikuyu Central Association into direct conflict with the missions.

NB. The first action was taken by the K.C.A. = not by the missions.

In March, 1929, a representative conference of all the churches in the Kikuyu country was held at Tumutumu, at which the position with regard to female circumcision was reviewed, and the following resolutions passed:-

- (1) It was resolved, with one dissenting, that this custom is evil, and should be abandoned by all Christians;
- (2) It was resolved, by 30 votes to 9, that all submitting to it should be suspended by the churches everywhere;
- (3) The Conference made no recommendations as to periods of suspension. It remitted the question back to the churches asking for it to be carefully considered with a view to getting a definite decision at a further conference."

Pages 34 & 35.

In the following month occurred the first case of prosecution under the Local Native Council Resolutions. Various persons were prosecuted for performing

Pages 34 & 37.

performing the operation on a girl against her will. In addition to exceeding the resolution of the Local Native Council they were charged with causing grievous hurt under the Indian Penal Code. The latter charge was not substantiated as the Magistrate held that the girl in fact consented in the end, but two women were convicted for exceeding the Local Native Council Resolutions.

Much capital was made out of this case by the Kikuyu Central Association on the one side, and on the other it caused consternation in the hearts of many African Christians."

Pages 43 & 45.

The Church of Scotland started collecting signatures for a petition on the subject throughout the Kyambu District. This caused considerable feeling.

Finally, at the Church of Scotland Church at Chogoria it was decided that the only way to deal with the situation was to demand from all Church members a repudiation of female circumcision and ~~of~~ of the Kikuyu Central Association. This was a declaration of war upon the association, and the culmination of a long series of incidents. ^{The result} ~~It~~ led to a big drop in the membership of both churches and mission schools.

Page 49.

As regards churches, the number of Church of Scotland members has fallen from ^{3,573} ~~3,573~~ in September, 1929, to 1,492 in the middle of 1931.

Page 59.

As regards schools, the numbers were fairly well maintained in central schools, and have now increased. Many out-schools, however, became quite or practically empty. The following are the figures:-

Dec. 1928: Dec. 1929: Dec. 1930: Dec. 1931.

Out-schools	798	87	154	354
Central schools	647	600	709	332.

This shows that the position is improving

Some out-school members approached the Director of Education and asked him to send Government teachers to replace the mission teachers. After discussion with the mission authorities, the following attitude of both missions and the Director of Education was agreed:-

Page 52.

- (1) Government would not consider the sending of (Government) teachers to mission out-schools.
- (2) The teacher appointed by the mission would refrain in school hours from reference to the question of female circumcision.

Page 53.

Requests made for Government schools were not granted.

Throughout the end of 1929 and 1930 the Kikuyu Central Association and their followers did everything they could to make things unpleasant for the missions. In August, 1930, a baraza was held at which Government, in an endeavour to assist the missions, announced:-

- (a) That in two months' time the Administration would recommend to the Director of Education that Government grants should be withdrawn from such out-schools as had not 20 pupils, and
- (b) ^{with} in the event of this being done, and if, as a result of lack of funds, the Mission closed the schools, the Government had no intention of opening other schools in the neighbourhood.

The result of this declaration was

p. 59.

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the

the opposite of what was intended, as ^{the} Association, and their friends seem to have thought that the Director of Education could and would overrule the administration. They also relied on Kenyatta, who was shortly due back from England, being able to induce the authorities to meet their wishes. He made various efforts to improve relations and appears to have behaved quite reasonably.

Pages 57-58.

From December, 1930, the position improved.

The object of the Government has been, so the memorandum declares, to maintain neutrality, but the memorandum alleges that misunderstandings have occurred, and that the impression has got about that Government (and particularly perhaps the Education Department) would support the malcontents. This impression was strengthened by the resignation of Dr. Arthur from the Executive Council.

Pages 63 & 65.

The memorandum also alleges that various misrepresentations of the attitude of the missions occurred in the Native Affairs Department and Education Department Reports for 1929 and 1930, as also in Professor Julian Huxley's "Africa View."

WP 66-73

In the covering letter addressed to the Secretary of State, the Mission Council refer to the misunderstandings and misrepresentations and "press that Government will take some action to correct the misunderstandings caused by the reports mentioned, and to clear the good name of the Mission in regard to the mis-statements made in these reports."

The misstatements referred to are quoted in full on pages 66 and following of the memorandum.

Page 72.

memorandum. It will, I think, be admitted in the light of the information given in this memorandum, that they are not in all cases absolutely accurate accounts of what happened, but in no case, except possibly in the extract from the Education Department's Report, 1929 page 30 para graphs 1 and 2, is there any reflection on the good name of the Missions, ~~and~~ I really do not think that any useful purpose would be served by raking up this past history again.

On the other hand, if there is in the minds of natives, or anyone else, misunderstandings as to the Government attitude, that is a more serious question. The Government's attitude ^{has} (largely as a result of pressure from this country) changed in recent years to a certain extent. It was defined in a Native Affairs Department Circular of May, 1931, which is enclosed in No. 23 on 17/5/31 flagged. We might perhaps ask for the Governor's observations on the suggestion that the Government's attitude is misunderstood, and enquire whether he considers that any useful purpose would be served by publishing the Circular referred to above.

A (

(N.B. A general report on the subject has been asked for early this year, together with information on various particular questions).

The action on this paper might then be:-
 To acknowledge the despatch; to say that while the Secretary of State does not consider that any useful purpose would be served by going in detail into the questions ^{arising from} the past history of this matter, it would appear that the extracts from the Native Affairs Department and Education Department Reports

for 1929 and 1930 quoted at the end of the Mission Council memorandum were not entirely satisfactory accounts of the situation, and that it would seem expedient in order to preserve the cordial relations which have existed in the past with the Missions, that the next annual reports of these two departments should, if possible, contain some special recognition of the value of their work; and enquire, as suggested at "A" regarding the allegation that the attitude of the Government is misunderstood by the natives.

And ask that the Mission Council may be informed that the Secretary of State has received their letter, and that the memorandum enclosed in it has been read with interest; that the Secretary of State gladly recognises the most valuable services rendered by the Kikuyu Mission, and appreciates the assurance of their desire to assist the Government of Kenya in its task; and that consideration is being given to the question whether any action could usefully be taken with regard to the matters mentioned in paragraph 6 of their letter.

J. G. ...
18.1.32



KENYA.

No. 179

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NAIROBI,
KENYA.

8^A December, 1931.

CONFIDENTIAL.

RECEIVED
5-JAN-1932
COL OFFICE

Sir,

At the request of the Rev. Dr. Arthur, O.B.E., I have the honour to forward to you the enclosed interesting memorandum explaining his views on the history and causes of the recent discussions on the subject of female circumcision.

Answer (2)

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL.
GOVERNOR.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MAJOR SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE-LISTER, P.C., G.B.E., M.C., M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,

CONFIDENTIAL

Church of Scotland Mission.
Kikuyu.
Kenya Colony.

and 121 George Street.
Edinburgh.
Scotland.

1st December 1931.

The Right Honourable
The Secretary of State for the Colonies.
London.

through
The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.
Nairobi.

Sir,

• Memorandum re "Female Circumcision".

I have the honour to send herewith copies of the Memorandum prepared by the Kikuyu Mission Council of the Church of Scotland on the subject of "Female Circumcision".

2. The Mission Council have realised that the action taken by them has been misunderstood. When the Annual Reports of the Education and Native Affairs Departments for 1928 were published, the Council felt that an answer should be prepared showing that certain statements made therein were inaccurate. They have sought to show in the Memorandum the true state of affairs.

3. The Council have no desire to cause fresh trouble at this time, and so have issued the document as a "Confidential" one.

4. The Council feel that the Kikuyu Mission has rendered through its 33 years work in the country great spiritual and social services to the Kikuyu people. They regret that the action of the Government in this country by seeking to preserve its neutrality has given the unfortunate

impression that the Government are not in favour of mitigating the evils of this practice. The natives in consequence think that Government disapprove entirely of the Mission's stand for the freedom of girls to have choice in this matter. The two Reports quoted above have not in any way dispelled this impression but rather strengthened it.

5. It is stated that the leaders of the Kikuyu people were greatly disturbed by the Mission action, whereas the recognised leaders of the Kikuyu people in the affected area of Kiambu were largely on the side of the Mission.

6. The Mission Council trusts that Government will take some action to correct the misunderstandings caused by the Reports mentioned, and to clear the good name of the Mission in regard to the misstatements made in these Reports.

7. The Mission Council assures you, Right Honourable Sir, of its desire to assist the Government of Kenya in its difficult task among the native peoples of Kenya, and to forward in every way possible their enlightenment and their advancement.

On behalf of the Mission Council,

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient servants.

W. C. ...

Chairman.

J. ...
Secretary.