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SHAPING THE SYMBOLIC LANDSCAPE: PUBLIC MONUMENTS IN NAIROBI, 1899-1992

Laragh Larsen

Thesis Submitted to University of Dublin, Trinity College, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

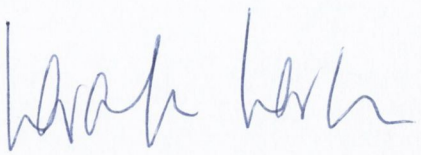
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Laragh Larsen
Trinity College, Dublin

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My most sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Mark Hennessy, for all his help and guidance through the years, and without whom this thesis would have not been possible. Many thanks also to all my friends and colleagues in the Department of Geography, Trinity College, particularly to Arlene Crampsie, Frank Ludlow, Annaleigh Margey, Freea Itzstein-Davey, Carrie Sheeran, Phil Lawton, Garry Prendiville, Enda Murphy, Rachel Kavanagh, Charlie Travis, Tony Brooks, Conor Quinlan, Barry O'Dwyer, Niall McCrory, Terry Dunne, Mabel Denniston and Prof. David Taylor. An additional thank you to Dr. Daniel Branch, Department of History, University of Exeter, for his input and comments.

I would also like to thank the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences for their Government of Ireland Scholarship, and the Department of Geography and Graduate Studies Committee, Trinity College, for their contributions to travel and fieldwork expenses.

During the course of research there have been numerous people who have been very generous with their time, knowledge and help. I would particularly like to thank Lucy Nyaboke Omwange and Lorraine Allen for their assistance, Mr. Zuma from the Ministry of Roads, Public Works and Housing, Nairobi, and Lord and Lady Delamere for their kind hospitality. Thanks also to Tigger, Gez, Dan and Nic for making the fieldwork in Nairobi so enjoyable.

I am extremely grateful to my friends for all their support over the years, thanks especially to Louisa, Katrien, Kari, Mark, Tara, Caoimhe, Nadia, Thomas, Paddy and Aoife. And a huge special thank you to my family, to Gran, for looking after me, and to Katie, Charlotte and Kristian for being there, always. But above all to Mum and Dad. I can not express the gratitude I owe to my parents, who have not only supported me every step along the way, but who have been enthusiastic to help in every way possible and at all times. This thesis is thanks to them.

SUMMARY

Geography is centrally concerned with the landscape. Landscape, in this thesis, is viewed and analysed as a cultural product, shaped by human processes and ideologies. Informed, primarily, by the cultural-historical geographical approach to landscape, this study applies iconographic theory to the interpretation of the layered meanings and symbolisms of the landscape. Iconography as an interpretative technique was developed in Western scholarship and geographical studies have tended to employ it in a Western context. The examination of public monuments in Nairobi, Kenya, addresses this gap in the literature. In addition, it illustrates the validity of employing iconography in the interpretation of the landscape in an East African context, and highlights the need to make the relationship between Western and non-Western scholarship more fluid.

This thesis examines the public monuments erected in Nairobi between 1899 and 1992. Thus it explores the city's changing iconographic landscape in a colonial and postcolonial context, and particularly investigates the notions of memory, identity and power as represented in the landscape through these monuments. Nairobi's monuments and statues, as elements of the landscape, have themselves been used as a source in this research, alongside documentary and archival sources to allow the reconstruction of the city's monumental landscape.

Three phases have been identified in the life of Nairobi's changing iconographic landscape during the period under study. The first phase is the colonial period, when Nairobi was born as a result of British colonialism and subsequently became the capital of the colony. During this period, as outlined in chapters two, three and four, monuments stood in Nairobi as visual links to the British Empire and as a means of asserting imperial, and colonial, power. The examination of colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape, and the absences from it, also uncovers the relationships of power that existed between the different races that make up Kenya's population, as well as the assigned memories and identities inscribed into the landscape by the dominant group, the elite of the European population.

The second phase identified is a transitional period in the city's iconographic landscape, as discussed in chapter five. During this period, colonial identities and colonial assertions of power were erased from the landscape and overwritten by attempts to create a new

postcolonial identity. While Nairobi's colonial landscape considered imperial identity and settler identity, ideas of national identity become apparent in the city's postcolonial landscape and this is most evident in the third phase of Nairobi's monumental landscape, as explored in chapter six. The monuments erected during this period take on a more abstract form and through the celebration of independence, they have been used as a device by the new dominant group, the African political elite, in an attempt to legitimise the authority of the post-independence ruling regime.

This examination of Nairobi's changing monumental landscape illustrates how the event of British colonialism has been the primary force in shaping the city's symbolic landscape. Before independence, the monumental landscape served to visually remind Nairobi's citizens of the country's place in the British Empire. After decolonisation, the city's monuments draw on the moment of freedom from colonial rule in order to establish a sense of 'now' and 'then', attempting to create a new identity for Kenya, while encouraging a sense of loyalty to the ruling party and their political philosophy. In addition, this thesis demonstrates how the wider political, social and cultural processes at work in a city are expressed in the landscape, and conversely how the landscape is used as a tool in shaping these processes.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine an iconographic landscape in an African context, using the example of Nairobi, Kenya, as a case-study. Through the iconographic interpretation of Nairobi, from the colonial period, through the achievement of independence, and until the re-introduction of multi-partyism in Kenya in 1992, this thesis seeks to explore the formation of the city's monumental landscape as it developed in the colonial and postcolonial periods.

This thesis examines Nairobi's public monuments and statues as sites of meaning and memory in the urban landscape, with the objective of uncovering the social, cultural and political processes at work in shaping, and in being shaped by, the city's iconographic landscape. In particular, Nairobi's changing monumental landscape will be considered in relation to the notions of power, memory and identity. Through the use of iconography in the interpretation of an African landscape, this thesis seeks to address the gap in historical and cultural geographical scholarship, which has tended to apply iconographical methods in a Western context. In addition, this research aims to illustrate the validity of using iconographic theory, as developed in Western scholarship, in a non-Western context.

This opening chapter first gives an account of the birth and development of Nairobi in order to introduce the study area. The relevant academic literature is then reviewed and this provides a theoretical framework for the research. In doing so, it traces the landscape tradition in cultural and historical geography and the development of iconography as a method of interpreting the landscape. Following this, the chapter outlines the notions of memory, identity and power in relation to the landscape and subsequently examines the relevance of using a city's public monuments and statues as a means of reading an urban

landscape. Although the production of this work has been informed by studies carried out in a variety of disciplines, the research has been principally approached from a cultural-historical geographical perspective and absorbs ideas from postcolonial theory in the iconographic interpretation of the landscape. Finally, this chapter outlines the contextual frameworks, methodology and sources used in the research.

1.2 Nairobi: the context

The area today known as Kenya was populated by Bantu, Cushitic and Nilotic peoples when the first non-Africans arrived to the East African coast. In the early seventh-century AD, Arab traders established themselves along this part of the coast, their colonisation responsible for the foundation of a new Bantu-Arab civilisation which developed into the coastal Swahili culture. The Portuguese arrived in Mombasa in 1498, after which followed a period of Portuguese rule until the Omanis conquered the region in 1698. The Omanis dominated the coastline until the arrival of the British and Germans, who partitioned East Africa between them and subsequently both colonised different parts of the region. It was during this time that the first borders of what became Kenya were drawn up, and the region was declared a British protectorate in 1895. In 1896, the British Government began the construction of the Uganda Railway which was to run from Mombasa to Kisumu. For this construction the British government recruited approximately 37,700 indentured labourers from India and after the completion of the railway around seven thousand chose to stay.[1] A further influx of immigrants from India followed, including the relatives of those who remained in Kenya as well as tradesmen and merchants hoping to take advantage of the business opportunities afforded by the development of the new East African Protectorate. The railway was responsible for opening up the interior of the country and in order to develop the country European colonisation was encouraged.

Walmsley wrote, in 1957, that 'In Kenya it is the custom to classify people according to a three-fold cultural division, to which the description "racial origin" abbreviated to "race", is incorrectly but conveniently applied.'[2] This classification broadly divides Kenya's

[1] Z. Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism: The Struggle of Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee for Equal Rights in Kenya*, Nairobi, 1997; J. S. Mangat, The Immigrant Communities (2): The Asians, in: D. A. Low and A. Smith (Eds), *History of East Africa*, Vol. III, Oxford, 1976, 467-488.
[2] R. W. Walmsley, *Nairobi: the geography of a new city*, Nairobi, 1957, 37.

population into Africans, Asians and Europeans. Although there are other groups, British policy in colonial Kenya was built about these three groups[3] and this classification continues to be used today and will be used in this thesis. Before Pakistan gained its independence from British India in 1947, the term 'Indian' was more commonly used than 'Asian'.

Yet it is important to note that these categories conceal further ethnic and cultural origins and differences. While the African population comprises different tribes, those that originally formed the 'Asian' group were predominantly Gujaratis and Punjabis, speaking Gujarati, Punjabi and Urdu. In addition the Asians can be further divided into different religious communities with separate schools and places of worship. Hindus form the majority and even within the Hindu religion there are different castes. While their religion is related to Hinduism, the Sikhs form a distinct community and among the Muslims there are Ahmadi Muslims and Ismali Muslims.



Figure 1.1 Map showing the location of Nairobi along the Uganda Railway.

[3] M. R. Dilley, *British Policy in Kenya Colony*, 2nd ed., London, 1965.

In the early life of the British colony, the Asian immigrants occupied the artisan positions such that, in terms of European colonisation, Kenya, unlike Southern Rhodesia, became 'a colony for gentlemen, not for artisans or the white working class.'[4] The term 'European' was applied in the colony in reference to all non-Asian immigrants, and therefore includes, for example, the region's South African settlers. Prior to 1911, a large number of Boers arrived to the East African Protectorate but did not integrate well with the British settlers.[5] Later immigrants from South Africa were of British origin and while settlers also arrived from, among other places, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, British immigrants came to dominate this colonisation of British East Africa, both in terms of numbers and in terms of political and economic influence, and formed the majority in the European category in colonial Kenya.[6] Thus in the late nineteenth-century when Nairobi was founded, Kenya's population was considerably ethnically, culturally and racially heterogeneous.

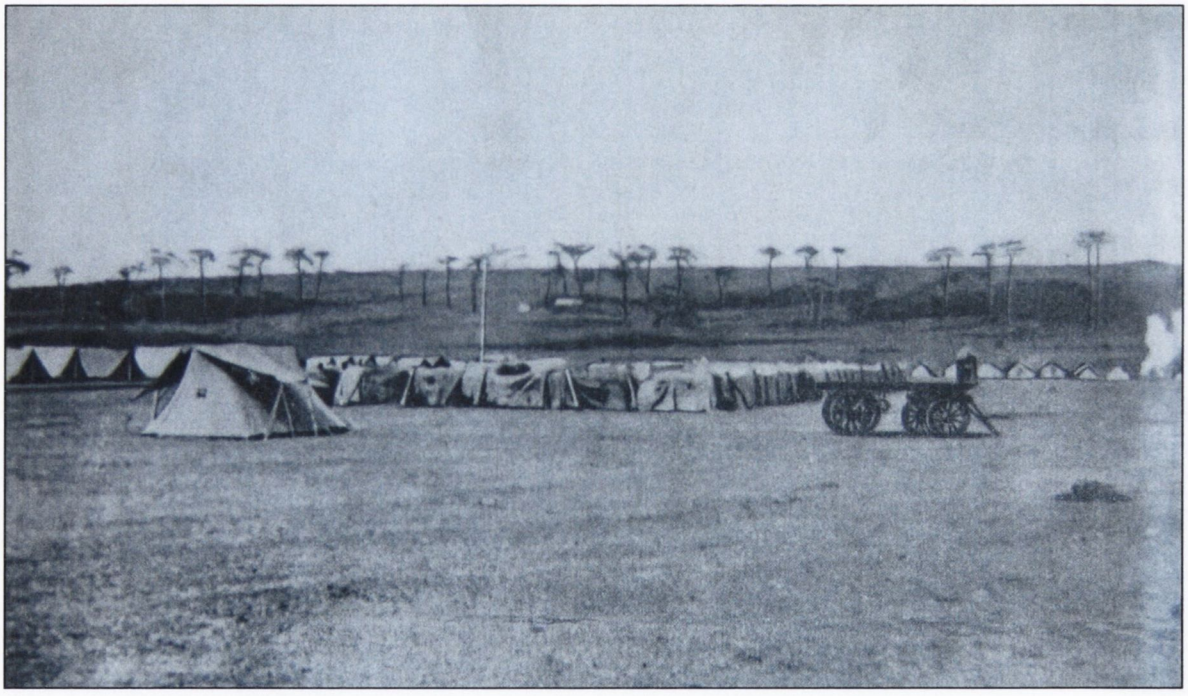


Figure 1.2 Nairobi in 1899.
Source: McMillan Library.

Nairobi was born with the construction of the Uganda Railway when, in the late 1890s, the railway engineers decided to make a base on the site where the city now stands (Figure

[4] D. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, London, 2005, 80.
[5] A. Smith, The Immigrant Communities (1): The Europeans, in: Low and Smith (Eds), *History of East Africa*, Oxford, 1976, 423-466.
[6] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*

1.1). In July 1899, the railway authorities decided to transfer the railway headquarters from Mombasa to this site while the colonial government administration was relocated here from Machakos with the opening of the railway in August 1899. Unlike other capital cities in East and West Africa, there did not exist a large African population in the area and while the land was used by the Maasai and Kikuyu tribes to graze and water their herds, no form of settlement existed before the arrival of the railway. When the railhead reached Nairobi, Colonel Patterson, then District Engineer of the Uganda Railway said of the site,

> There was an immense amount of work to be done in converting an absolutely bare plain, three hundred and twenty-seven miles from the nearest place where even a nail could be purchased, into a busy railway centre. Roads and bridges had to be constructed, houses and workshops built, turntables and station quarters erected, a water supply laid on, and a hundred and one other things done which go to the making of a railway township. Wonderfully soon, however, the nucleus of the present town began to take shape.[7]



Figure 1.3 Nairobi in 1900.
Source: McMillan Library.

Founded to cater for the needs of the Uganda Railway, Nairobi began its life as a railway town. The arrival of the government administration[8] to Nairobi was met with little

[7] Patterson, quoted in A. Hake, *African Metropolis: Nairobi's self-help city*, London 1977, 23.
[8] While the East Africa Protectorate's civil government and the Uganda Railway were both administered by the Foreign Office, the colonial government in Kenya was under the control of a different committee to that in charge of the Uganda Railway. The Colonial Office took over administration of the government from the Foreign Office in 1905 [J. Smart, *Nairobi: A Jubilee History 1900-1950*, Nairobi, 1950].

enthusiasm by the railway administration as the colonial government presence restricted the freedom of the railway's governance, especially in relation to land matters.[9] Such conflicting interests at the very beginning of Nairobi's life mark just one example of the tensions and divisions that were to become characteristic of colonial Kenya, as described by Churchill who wrote,

> One would scarcely believe that a centre so new should be able to develop so many divergent and conflicting interests, or that a community so small should be able to give to each such vigorous and even vehement expression ... The white man versus the black; the Indian versus both; the settler as against the planter; the town contrasted with the country; the official class against the unofficial; the coast against the highlands; the railway administration and the Protectorate generally; the King's African Rifles and the East African Protectorate Police; all these different points of view, naturally arising, honestly adopted, tenaciously held, and not yet reconciled into harmonious general conception, confront the visitor in perplexing disarray.[10]

Such conflicts were expressed in the urban landscape of Kenya's colonial towns which, according to Zeleza,

> provided a milieu for complex and fluid social and political change. In these towns the horizontal pull of ethnic identity was strengthened, while at the same time the vertical thrust of supra-ethnic affinity was engendered. In other words, the waxen pot of colonial urbanization, ethnic particularism and African nationalism developed simultaneously. Behind the slums and poverty lurked growing African political consciousness, which promised eventually to overturn colonial society. The colonial town was a stage where Africa and Europe met and clashed most openly.[11]

And Nairobi was the main stage. Littered with only a few tents in 1899 (Figure 1.2), the site that became Nairobi developed rapidly (see Figures 1.3 and 1.4). Figure 1.5 depicts the layout of Nairobi in *c.* 1905, shortly before Nairobi's first monument, a statue of Queen Victoria, was erected in the town. From this, Nairobi developed to become an important administrative centre, and the capital of the East African Protectorate, the Kenya Colony and independent Kenya. The erection of the Queen Victoria Statue in 1906 begins the story of Nairobi's monumental landscape. However, before this landscape is examined, it is necessary to review the theoretical and comparative framework of the study.

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[9] D. M. Halliman and W. T. W. Morgan, The City of Nairobi, in: W. T. W. Morgan (Ed), *Nairobi: City and Region*, Nairobi, 1967, 98-119.

[10] W. S. Churchill, *My African Journey*, London, 1962, reprinted from the original edition of 1908, 14.

[11] T. Zeleza, The establishment of colonial rule, 1905-1920, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*, London, 1989, 35-70, 66.



Figure 1.4 Nairobi in 1906.
Source: McMillan Library.

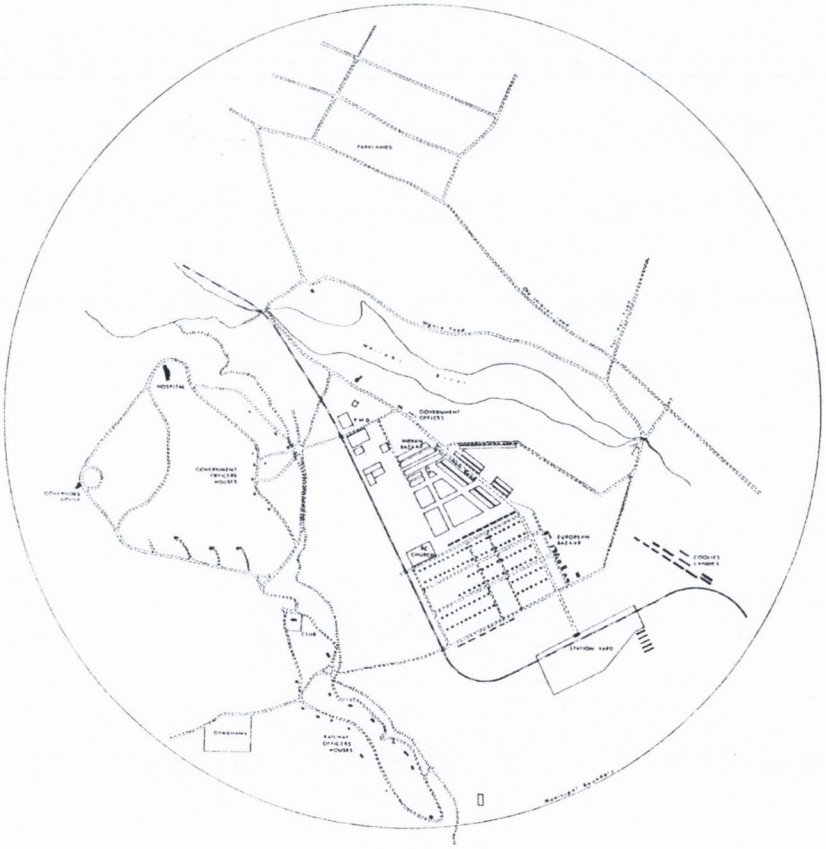


Figure 1.5 Central Nairobi, *c.* 1905.
Source: Halliman and Morgan, 102.

1.3 Theoretical and Comparative Framework

1.3.1 Historical and Cultural Geography

The development of historical geography as an established subfield of human geography has been accompanied by significant changes in the key arguments, themes and methods central to the subfield. The 1950s and 1960s witnessed an increased interest in the subdiscipline when historical geographers took a regional approach in reconstructing past geographies.[12] In recent years, historical geographical studies have begun to recognise the situated nature of interpretation and research and have increasingly used a theoretical base for the examination of new themes. These recent studies include heightened interest in the themes of colonialism, nationhood, heritage, environmental change and issues relating to identity, especially race and gender.[13] Exploration of such themes has been carried out within the historical geography subfield as well as drawing on other geographical subfields. In particular, recent changes within both historical and cultural geography have resulted in a blurring of the boundaries between the two subdisciplines, especially in relation to the study of landscape.

'Landscape' has remained constant in, and fundamental to, historical geography since its inception but like the subfield itself has undergone change in meaning through time. At the end of the nineteenth century French geographers started exploring ideas of *paysage* while German geographers became interested in the concept of *Landschaft*.[14] Drawing on this idea of *Landschaft*, Carl Sauer in 1925 published 'The Morphology of Landscape,' a paper which proved to be hugely influential in establishing a landscape tradition in both historical and cultural geography.[15] Cultural geography has, like historical geography, been a very dynamic subfield within geography, having experienced significant changes in approaches, theories and themes over the years. Until recently, cultural geographical

[12] D. W. Meinig, The Historical Geography Imperative, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 79 (1989) 79-87; C. Harris, Power, Modernity, and Historical Geography, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (1991) 671-683; C. Nash and B. Graham , The making of modern historical geographies, in B. Graham and C. Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies* (Essex, 2000) 1-9; A. R. H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge, 2003).

[13] Nash and Graham, The making of modern historical geographies.

[14] Baker, *Geography and History*.

[15] C. O. Sauer, The Morphology of Landscape, *University of California Publications* 2 (1925) 19-54: reprinted in: J. Leighly (Ed), *Land and Life: a Selection of the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, Berkeley, 1963, 315-349.

studies have, in Anglophone scholarship, primarily been North American with Sauer as the leading figure in the development of such studies.

The Sauerian approach to cultural geography focuses on the relationships and interactions between diverse human societies and their natural environment,[16] and studies emanating from this tradition are said to belong to the 'Berkeley School' of cultural geography. Critique of the Berkeley School scholarship has resulted in the development of what has been termed a 'new cultural geography'. Advocated by scholars such as Ley, Duncan, Cosgrove, Jackson and Daniels, new cultural geography emerged in the 1980s with keener emphasis placed on the use of social-theoretical approaches in geography. New cultural geography dismissed the traditional Berkeley school of thought as over-reliant on empirical methods, over-focused on material landscapes and theoretically void. This was the source of much contestation and debate within the cultural geography subfield where supporters of the Sauerian tradition argued they had been misrepresented by such claims.[17] However, relatively recent work in cultural geography seeks more of a convergence between the two sides of the debate as evidenced by, for example, Foote *et al.*'s *Re-Reading Cultural Geography*, Entrikin's *The Betweeness of Place* and Cosgrove's 'Orders and a new world.'[18] Yet, as with historical geography, the concept of landscape remained a dominant theme in cultural geographical studies throughout the subfield's development and has provided the theoretical background for this thesis. While landscape studies can be situated in either historical or cultural geography, this research takes neither label but rather draws on work from both subfields, as well as being influenced by works of scholars situated outside the discipline of geography.

1.3.2 Landscape

> The landscape discourse within geography both needs and deserves to be considered apart from others. It is concerned with the visible appearance of surfaces of the earth; it recognises landscapes as being cultural constructions and also cultural representations realised in imagination, in literary forms, in art or on the ground itself.[19]

[16] M. Price and M. Lewis, The Reinvention of Cultural Geography, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83 (1993) 1-17.
[17] See Price and Lewis, The Reinvention of Cultural Geography.
[18] Price and Lewis, The Reinvention of Cultural Geography.
[19] Baker, *Geography and History*, 112.

Yet while it can be said that landscape is 'perhaps the single most important word in the geographic language'[20] there has been, in geographic literature, much contention and debate over the evolution of the term and over the definition and meaning of, as well as the approach to, landscape.[21] In addition to the works and research of Carl Sauer and the Berkeley school, the landscape tradition in both cultural and historical geography owes much to the writings of Clifford Darby in Britain and Roger Dion in France.[22] Such past historical geographies viewed landscape as a physical entity, examining changes in the material landscape caused by both human and natural agencies and resulting in what Sauer termed the 'cultural landscape.'[23] While some relatively recent research continues to adopt this approach, including work by, for example, geographers such as Muir and Hooke,[24] the rise of new cultural geography brought with it cultural and historical landscape studies which focus more on the symbolisms and messages of landscape and landscape representations.[25] New cultural geographers continue to view the landscape as a cultural product but have opened up landscape interpretation to take into account the socio-cultural and political processes that help shape the landscape.[26] The Sauerian tradition of understanding the landscape interprets 'structures straightforwardly as the products of work, of the results of people labouring to meet their basic needs for food, water, clothing and shelter, and transforming landscapes in doing so.'[27] Baker argues that 'This approach to landscape, fundamentally utilitarian and economistic, was grounded in a weak conceptualisation of culture that separated off economy from consciousness, action from ideology.'[28]

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[20] Hartshorne quoted in K. Olwig, Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (1996) 630-653, 643; Hartshorne quoted in K. R. Olwig, Landscape: The Lowenthal Legacy, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93 (2003) 871-877, 871.

[21] Baker, *Geography and History*; Olwig, Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape; S. Seymour, Historical geographies of landscape, in: Graham and Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies*, 193-217; D. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London, 1984; A. R. H. Baker, Introduction: on ideology and landscape, in: A. R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger (Eds), *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on meanings of some places in the past*, Cambridge, 1992, 1-14; R. H. Schein, The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (1997) 660-680.

[22] Baker, *Geography and History*; Baker, Introduction: on ideology and landscape; Sauer, The Morphology of Landscape.

[23] Sauer, The Morphology of Landscape.

[24] Seymour, Historical geographies of landscape.

[25] Baker, *Ideology and Landscape*; Seymour, Historical Geographies of landscape; R. A. Butlin, *Historical Geography Through the Gates of Space and Time*, London, 1993.

[26] Schein, The Place of Landscape.

[27] Baker, *Geography and History*, 139.

[28] Baker, *Geography and History*, 139.

Such interpretations do not consider the role of human agency and imagination in achieving cultural and landscape change.[29] With the cultural turn of the 1980s, however, geographers such as Cosgrove[30] and Daniels[31] began to view the landscape as a cultural construction layered with ideologies.[32] In his landmark text *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, Cosgrove develops the idea that landscape can be viewed as a symbol of changing social orders and maintains, 'There are within any social formation at any given historical moment specific social and political or religious tensions and struggles being played out by individuals and groups. Landscape has frequently been deployed as a medium for commenting on them.'[33] Through studies on Renaissance Italy, North America and England, Cosgrove offers a theory of symbolic landscape focusing especially on ideas of feudalism and capitalism.

Thus, the evolution of new cultural geography allowed geographers to view landscapes in a different way. Landscapes came to be seen as *symbolic*, reflecting social attitudes and meaning, as well as material processes, which allowed for an expanded range of sources available to the geographer in the interpretation of landscapes.[34] Essential to this development in cultural and historical geographic landscape studies was the recognition that 'any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads.'[35] Hence the interpretation of a landscape depends on the social, political, economic and cultural position of the interpreter.[36]

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[29] Schein, The Place of Landscape.

[30] For example: Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*; D. Cosgrove, Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10 (1985) 45-62; D. Cosgrove, Place, landscape and the dialectics of cultural geography, *Canadian Geographer* 22 (1987) 66-72.

[31] For example: S. Daniels, Marxism, culture and the duplicity of landscape, in: N. Thrift and R. Peet (Eds), *New Models in Geography*, Vol. 2, Boston, 1990, 177-220; S. Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*, Cambridge, 1993.

[32] T. Cresswell, Landscape and the Obliteration of Practice, in: K. Anderson, M. Domosh, S. Pile and N. Thrift (Eds), *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, London, 2003, 269-281.

[33] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 66.

[34] D. Cosgrove and P. Jackson, New directions in cultural geography, *Area* 19.2 (1987) 95-101.

[35] D. W. Meinig, The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene, in: D. W. Meinig (Ed), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, 1979, 33-48, 34.

[36] A point emphasised by, among others: Butlin, *Historical Geography*; Seymour, Historical Geographies of Landscape; Schein, The Place of Landscape; J. Duncan and N. Duncan, (Re)reading the landscape, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6, 1988, 117-126; D. Cosgrove, Geography is Everywhere: Culture and Symbolism in Human Landscapes, in: D. Gregory and R. Walford (Eds), *Horizons in Human Geography*, London, 1989, 118-135; J. Duncan, *The city as text: the politics of landscape interpretation in the Kandyan kingdom*, Cambridge, 1990; Judy R. Walton, How Real(ist) Can You Get?, *Professional Geographer* 47, 1995, 61-65; D. Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*, Oxford, 2000.

While traditional methods of interpretation concentrated on the visible forms of landscape, as well as on the use of archival and other documentary sources, contemporary interpretative methods have broadened to include the use of cultural products themselves, such as paintings, poems, novels, film and song.[37] 'The discovery of meaning in landscapes is a challenging but difficult task, both in theory and in practice. Perhaps for that reason it has been described using a great variety of metaphors, most of which emphasise the duality of the 'apparent' and the 'hidden' in landscapes.'[38]

One such metaphor that has become common in recent studies on the symbolic meaning of landscape has been the treatment of cultural landscapes as texts to be read.[39] This metaphor recognises that landscapes are 'authored'; they are created by communities and societies and shaped by the cultural, social and political contexts in which they are situated. Such an approach to landscape is largely associated with the work of Duncan who argues that 'Landscapes anywhere can be viewed as texts which are constitutive of discursive fields, and thus can be interpreted socio-semiotically in terms of their narrative structure, their synecdoches, and recurrence.'[40] Through textual devices such as metaphor, allegory and metonymy written into the landscape, Duncan, in *The city as text* demonstrates the political struggle over power which centred on the meaning of the landscape of the Kandyan Kingdom in Sri Lanka.[41] By viewing landscape through the analogy of text Duncan asserts that landscape acts to reflect the ways in which a social system is produced and reproduced. Also acknowledged is the multiplicity of readings and meanings that can be produced in the interpretation of landscape. However, Cosgrove and Jackson have argued that such an analogy fails to fully appreciate the visual qualities of landscape.[42] Instead, they argue, as 'landscape is the history of a way of *seeing* or, better, representing,'[43] an iconographic approach is more suited to the interpretation of visual images in landscape and in landscape representations.

[37] Cosgrove, Geography is Everywhere.
[38] Baker, Geography and History, 139.
[39] See for example: Duncan, *The city as text*; Duncan and Duncan, (Re)reading the landscape.
[40] Duncan, *The city as text*, 184.
[41] Duncan, *The city as text*. See also J. Duncan, Representing Power: The politics and poetics of urban form in the Kandyan Kingdom, in: J. Duncan and D. Ley (Eds), *Place/Culture/Representation*, London, 1993, 232-248.
[42] Cosgrove and Jackson, New directions in cultural geography.
[43] Cosgrove and Jackson, New directions in cultural geography, 97.

1.3.3 Iconography

Iconography as an interpretative technique was originally devised by the cultural historian Erwin Panofsky who, in his *Studies in Iconology*,[44] developed a methodology of iconography and iconology in the understanding of Renaissance art.[45] The use of iconography in geography was limited until Daniels and Cosgrove embraced it as a method of landscape interpretation, defining the term as 'the theoretical and historical study of symbolic imagery.'[46] Introducing a collection of landscape studies entitled *The Iconography of Landscape*,[47] Daniels and Cosgrove outline the history of iconography and its development as an interpretative tool as developed by Panofsky.[48] They apply the iconographic method to landscape studies, highlighting how images in the landscape and images of landscape are embedded with cultural meanings. Iconographic interpretation seeks to unravel these meanings through the identification, description and analysis of symbolisms in the landscape. By placing such symbolisms in their historical and social contexts, the broader political, social and cultural processes at work in shaping the landscape, and being shaped by the human landscape, can be identified.[49]

As with comparing landscape to text, iconographic interpretations are open to multiple readings. This way of viewing landscape has developed partly as a result of a decline, in the social sciences, of positivist scientistic perspectives on society in favour of a more humanistic approach. Landscape has come to be seen as reflective of changing social orders, as a site where ideologies are played out and contested. As emphasised by Mitchell,

> landscape is complex and multifaceted, both a site to be struggled over and an ideology that seeks to govern our lived relations. In this sense we can see the landscape as a "vortex" within which swirl all manner of contests – between classes, over gender structures, around issues of race and ethnicity, over meaning

[44] In 1932 Erwin Panofsky presented a preliminary account of his theory on the relationship between iconography and iconology. In 1939 Panofsky developed this theory more thoroughly as a method of interpretation in *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* [New York, 1939], and later, with small amendments, in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* [Garden City, New York, 1955].
[45] Cosgrove and Jackson, New directions in cultural geography; W. F. Lash, Iconography and iconology, in: J. Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 15, London, 1996, 89-98.
[46] S. Daniels and D. Cosgrove, Introduction: iconography and landscape, in: D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, Cambridge, 1988, 1-10, 1.
[47] D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Eds), *The Iconography of Landscape*.
[48] S. Daniels and D. Cosgrove, Introduction.
[49] D. E. Cosgrove, Iconography, in: R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, M. Watts (Eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Oxford, 2000, 366.

> and representation, and over built form and social use. The landscape serves all at once as mediator, integrator, and actor in these struggles.[50]

Historical geographers have, in the past, focused on issues of class in the politics of landscape, but more recent landscape studies have broadened to include questions of, for example, gender, sexuality, race, colonialism, postcolonialism and national identity.[51]

1.3.4 Landscape and Art

In the creation and publication of identity, and in particular national identity, art is a popular device as it is an easily accessible and immediate form of communication. The very nature of geography requires a close relationship with art and artistic representation, while landscape art has become an increasingly studied area in geography. The expanded use of iconographic interpretation in geography is reflected in the study of landscape and art with most geographical studies of visual art carried out since the 1980s employing this interpretative technique.[52] Geographical studies of landscape art since this period have, in addition, begun to recognise the important link between art and identity as is illustrated in, for instance, studies on the role of landscape painters and their pictures in the creation and recreation of national identity.[53] For example, Osborne illustrates how 'artists as creators of national consciousness' in Canada have used the landscape as the foundation on which to build a unique Canadian national identity.[54] While in this example landscape is viewed as a subject, studies of landscape art in geography have also examined landscape as a medium, as it is in landscape gardening, and as a site, hosting, for instance, sculpture, monuments and mural art.[55]

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[50] Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, 139.
[51] Seymour, Historical geographies of landscape.
[52] S. Daniels, Landscape and Art, in: J. S. Duncan, N. C. Johnson, R. H. Schein (Eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, Oxford, 2004, 430-446.
[53] Daniels, Landscape and Art.
[54] B. S. Osborne, Interpreting a nations' identity: artists as creators of national consciousness, in: A. R. H. Baker and G. Biger (Eds), *Ideology and Landscape in historical perspective*, Cambridge, 1992, 230-254.
[55] Daniels, Landscape and Art.

1.3.5 Landscape studies in Africa

The theoretical background and development of landscape studies in cultural and historical geography outlined above have very much been centred on the West and despite recent appeals by geographers to address this issue, places other than Europe and America continue to be under-studied.[56] Furthermore, the proportionally small body of landscape studies in geography, at least in Anglophone scholarship, that have been carried out in Africa tend to focus on southern Africa, and in particular South Africa, while the rest of the continent has been largely ignored.

Grove claimed, in 1978, that 'history in southern Africa started in 1652 when the first permanent settlement was founded at the Cape of Good Hope,'[57] a statement that broadly mirrors the Eurocentric approach characteristic of South African historical geography at that time. Geographers of the early 1980s, however, began to recognise the need 'for an approach which gives much greater credence to the African contribution to landscape formation'[58] and a special issue of the *Journal of Historical Geography* in 1986 reflected such a shift, including in the issue studies on topics such as class struggle, social control in the diamond mining industry, the foundations of South Africa's migrant labour system, contradictions between segregation and capitalist production and the survival strategies of marginal social groups in the South African city.[59] Central themes explored in more recent geographical studies on southern Africa's landscape have engaged in the politicisation of land, heritage and history in the area, largely in response to current considerations of land appropriations of the apartheid and colonial eras. This politics of land has renewed interest in past exclusions in land use and re-examines the relationship between landscape and collective identities, as well as reviewing issues of nationalism and decolonisation as represented in the landscape of southern Africa.[60]

A concern with landscape ideas continues to grow in southern African historical geography and some of the current topics being studied appear in a more recent special issue of the

[56] J. McGregor, Introduction: Landscape, politics and the historical geography of southern Africa, *Journal of Historical Geography* 31 (2005) 205-219.
[57] A. T. Grove, Review of A. J. Christopher, *Southern Africa*, in *Journal of Historical Geography* 4 (1978) 320-321, 320.
[58] J. Crush, Towards a people's historical geography for South Africa, *Journal of Historical Geography* 12 (1986) 2-3, 2.
[59] Crush, Towards a people's historical geography for South Africa.
[60] McGregor, Introduction.

Journal of Historical Geography which examines the 'Landscape, politics and the historical geography of southern Africa'[61] in relation to two stated themes: the first group of articles centre themselves around ideas of wilderness and the politics of wildlife conservation while the second group examines issues of landscape, memory and identity. Arguing that 'travel-writing not only rehearses but helps construct subjectivities and identities as part of the act of 'reading the landscape'' and that 'there has been growing awareness that the traveler's encounter with landscape may be shaped by ... social factors, such as race, class, and nationality, as well as the shape and situatedness of the landscape encounter and its narration,'[62] Foster describes how the Cape-to-Rand railway journey became a site of memory that helped shape an identity for white South Africans. McGregor similarly explores the relationship between landscape and identity in southern Africa in 'The social life of ruins'[63] and 'The Victoria Falls 1900-1940.'[64] Through the history of tourism at Victoria Falls this latter paper investigates African and European ways of seeing and experiencing the waterfall and how, in the colonial appropriation of the area, such ideas of landscape shaped settler and colonial identities. However, the construction of these identities was not moulded exclusively by colonial authority but included local views of landscape, although such views were selectively represented. Thus, in respect to the two main African groups of the area, the Lozi and the Leya, colonial and imperial governments recognised the Lozi royalty's relationship with the river while in the development of tourism in the area the Leya people were excluded from the landscape despite their longer and closer relationship with the waterfall.[65] Yet as well as landscape acting as an inspiration in the formation of identities, it can also provide a stage through which concepts of memory and identity are played out.

1.3.6 Memory, Identity and Power in the Landscape

Inextricably bound together, the concepts of memory, identity and power all shape landscape and are shaped by the landscape. As according to Tilley, 'There is no perception

[61] *Journal of Historical Geography* 31 (2005).
[62] J. Foster, Northward, upward: stories of train travel, and the journey towards white South African nationhood, 1895-1950, *Journal of Historical Geography* 31 (2005) 296-315, 301.
[63] J. McGregor, The social life of ruins: sites of memory and the politics of a Zimbabwean periphery, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005) 316-337.
[64] J. McGregor, The Victoria Falls 1900-1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29 (2003) 717-737.
[65] McGregor, The Victoria Falls.

of place and landscape without memory. We mingle past experiences with those of the present.'[66] Thus, much recent research in the geography of landscape politics addresses questions of how the past is valued and viewed and this has been accompanied by an increased interest in memorial landscapes.[67] Johnson, for example, examines how, in Ireland, public memory of the Great War was forged through the spaces in which remembrance day parades took place and demonstrates how these parades uncovered contradictions and ambiguities over the memorialisation of the dead.[68] The construction of a collective memory of the Great War, Johnson argues, challenges Pierre Nora's distinction between modern memory and traditional memory.[69] Nora describes the difference between

> true memory, which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories, and memory transformed by its passage through history, which is nearly the opposite: voluntary and deliberate, experienced as a duty, no longer spontaneous; psychological, individual, and subjective; but never social, collective, or all encompassing.[70]

Nora suggests that modern memory replaced 'true' memory with the political and economic developments of the late eighteenth century. Citing Winter's work, however, Johnson illustrates how, in commemoration of the Great War, traditional forms of memory and mourning have endured 'precisely because such practices had healing powers in ways that modern ironic responses to the Great War did not.'[71]

In her study on a series of stone ruins in the area of Zimbabwe's Hwange National Park, McGregor similarly disputes Nora's notions of traditional memory which she claims too readily ignore narrative and the political nature of traditional connections with the past.[72] McGregor traces the social lives of the ruins, first as stone-walled towns then after their ruination becoming sites sacred to local African communities. Pilgrimage to, and rituals at the ruins evoked the past as the ruins became 'sites of memory'. With colonialism, however, local people were evicted from the vicinity of the ruins and the area was designated a national park, the ruins becoming part of a larger 'wilderness' visited by

[66] C. Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture*, Oxford, 1999, 178.
[67] Baker, *Geography and History*.
[68] N. C. Johnson, The spectacle of memory: Ireland's remembrance of the Great War, 1919, *Journal of Historical Geography* 25 (1999) 36-56.
[69] N. C. Johnson, Historical geographies of the present, in Graham and Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies*, 251-272.
[70] P. Nora, Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire, *Representations* 26 (1989) 7-24, 13.
[71] Johnson, Historical geographies of the present, 253.
[72] J. McGregor, The social life of ruins.

tourists. Meanwhile, the site also attracted attention from local intellectuals interested in claiming it as part of their ethnic heritage, publicising their own versions of culture and history as related to the ruins. Thus, in the exploration of the many interpretations and social lives of the stone ruins, McGregor has emphasised how the ruins have represented contested sites of memory in the African landscape.

Gunner, in 'Remapping land and remaking culture,' likewise considers memory in the African landscape and her paper centres on the role of the prophet and poet Isaiah Shembe in remapping land and remaking culture in the KwaZulu-Natal region of South Africa.[73] In 1910, Shembe founded the Nazarite Church and his ideas of landscape persist as church leaders draw on the memory of the prophet and the texts and hymns he composed. Shembe's construction of sacred landscapes was marked by two distant mountains and through this the prophet appropriated landscape in his own religious terms, a landscape which breached colonial boundaries and through narrative evoked meanings deemed subversive by the state. Pilgrimages to the mountains and the dancing and singing of hymns performed during the pilgrimages embody the experience of landscape and memory such that the annual event 'becomes part of social, moral and liturgical memory.'[74] As with the remembrance day parades described by Johnson,[75] 'Memory becomes communal as it is performed'[76] in the spectacle of the dancing and singing, allowing church members to experience community in the contexts of the abuses of apartheid rule and the uncertainties of post-apartheid South Africa. These studies highlight some of the issues that current African historical and cultural geography is concerned with and reiterate the southern African bias of current Anglophone scholarship on ideas of landscape, memory and identity.

In 'Memory and Identity,' Gillis outlines how the two terms are inextricably interconnected and how they are also linked with the concept of power.[77] The relatively recent abundance of research carried out on such ideas highlights how

> identities and memories are highly selective, inscriptive rather than descriptive, serving particular interests and ideological positions. Just as memory and identity

[73] L. Gunner, Remapping land and remaking culture: memory and landscape in 20th-century South Africa, *Journal of Historical Geography* 31 (2005) 281-295.
[74] Gunner, Remapping land and remaking culture, 291.
[75] Johnson, The spectacle of memory.
[76] Gunner, Remapping land, 291.
[77] J. R. Gillis, Memory and Identity: the history of a relationship, in: J. R. Gillis (Ed), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994, 3-24.

> support one another, they also sustain certain subjective positions, social boundaries, and, of course, power.[78]

In the study of the symbolic landscape these issues become particularly important as emphasised by Bodnar who claims that

> Rooted in the quest to interpret reality and connect the past with the present, the ideas and symbols of public memory attempt to mediate the contradictions of a social system: ethnic and national, men and women, young and old, professionals and clients, leaders and followers, soldiers and their commanders. The competing re-statements of reality expressed by these antinomies drive the need for reconciliation and the use of symbols, beliefs and stories that people can use to understand and dominate others.[79]

Bodnar illustrates this in his study of Cleveland's urban landscape where patriotism and official memory competed with ethnic and vernacular memory, each dominating public commemoration at varying degrees from the period prior to World War I through to the present. Charlesworth similarly examines contestation of public memory using the example of Auschwitz to demonstrate Communist and Catholic efforts to 'de-Judaise' the memorial landscape at the concentration camp.[80] Thus landscape can be seen as a medium through which different and competing public memories are played out, both simultaneously and through time, and how these memories create different identities.

'The landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or nation-state.'[81] Many different identities are inscribed in landscapes, including those related to class, gender, race, ethnicity and religion. Smith argues that

> Of all the collective identities in which human beings share today, national identity is perhaps the most fundamental and inclusive. ... Other types of collective identity ... may overlap or combine with national identity but they rarely succeed in undermining its hold, though they may influence its direction.[82]

Woolf defines national identity to be

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[78] Gillis, Memory and Identity, 4.
[79] J. Bodnar, Public memory in an American city: commemoration in Cleveland, in: J. R. Gillis (Ed) *Commemorations*, 74-89, 76.
[80] A. Charlesworth, Contesting places of memory: the case of Auschwitz, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994) 579-593.
[81] B. Bender, Introduction: Landscape – Meaning and Action, in: B. Bender (Ed), *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, Oxford, 1993, 1-17, 3.
[82] A. D. Smith, *National Identity*, London, 1991, 143.

> an abstract concept that sums up the collective expression of a subjective, individual sense of belonging to a socio-political unit: the nation state. Nationalist rhetoric assumes not only that individuals form part of a nation (through language, blood, choice, residence, or some other criterion), but that they identify with the territorial unit of the nation state.[83]

In 'National Identity and the Nation State' Williams emphasises the difference between nation and state and claims that the tendency to confuse the two terms and equate them with one another has resulted in multicultural states taking on the construction of a single nation through the use of symbols of collective identity, such as flags, currencies, anthems and stamps.[84] Through such symbols the formation of national identity manifests itself and becomes visible in the iconographic landscape.

An example of the role of landscape iconography in the construction of national identity is Leitner and Kang's study of Taipei in which they highlight how Chinese Nationalist political leaders 'usurped the urban landscape to promote the concept of a Chinese nation and national identity, in an effort to legitimize their right to political power.'[85] Leitner and Kang illustrate how Chinese Nationalist ideology was inscribed into Taipei's landscape through the renaming of public spaces, buildings and streets. In this process names of nationalist heroes, place names from the claimed Chinese homeland and nationalist slogans and terms, including 'nation-state building' and 'recovering China', were drawn on to promote the sense of a unified China. Such reinvention of the meaning of symbolic streetscape has been a device used in many cities worldwide, including Nairobi where the city was 'Africanised' after independence. However the process was symbolically heightened in Taipei where the renaming of the capital's streets with place names from mainland China reflected the geography of the mainland such that, for example, streets in the southern part of Taipei were given place names from southern China. Yet since the mid-1980s this Chinese nationalist writing of Taipei's streetscape has been challenged by oppositional forces and while only one street name has been changed in the process, contestation in the urban landscape is evident through the reappropriation of public spaces through other means such as demonstrations, civic gatherings and street paintings.[86]

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[83] Woolf quoted in B. Graham, The past in place: historical geographies of identity, in: Graham and Nash (Eds) *Modern Historical Geographies*, 70-99, 72.
[84] L. Williams, National Identity and the Nation State: Construction, Reconstruction and Contradiction, in: K. Cameron (Ed), *National Identity*, Exeter, 1999, 7-18.
[85] H. Leitner and P. Kang, Contested urban landscapes of nationalism: the case of Taipei, *Ecumene* 6 (1999) 214-233, 214.
[86] Leitner and Kang, Contested urban landscapes of nationalism.

Thus it becomes evident that the urban landscape is a playground in which multiple identities, meanings and memories are contested and played out. Yeoh similarly illustrates the use of street names in creating a national identity, examining 'the changing bases underlining the naming of streets as part of the newly created nation-state's bid to foster a sense of 'nation' and 'national identity' in Singapore.'[87] However while the process of street-naming is used to 'create' national identity, to 'make' memory, there is in the very action of renaming an underlying means of 'forgetting'; the reinvention of the symbolic landscape overwrites previous identities, meanings and memories inscribed into the urban streetscape. In the construction of a national identity the act of forgetting can be as equally important as the inspiration of remembering as 'new memories necessitate the collective amnesia or forgetting of older ones.'[88] The control of what is forgotten and what is remembered thus reflects the importance of power in the manipulation of memory. As Le Goff argues,

> collective memory has been an important issue in the struggle for power among social forces. To make themselves the master of memory and forgetfulness is one of the great preoccupations of the classes, groups, and individuals who have dominated and continue to dominate historical societies.[89]

These power struggles become apparent in the urban landscape and often dominant groups or cultures are better able to assert their power more visibly in the symbolic landscape than are less dominant groups.[90] However this does not exclude subordinated societies from playing a role in the shaping of the landscape as demonstrated by Yeoh in the case of colonial Singapore.[91] Through the examination of strategies used by the Municipal Authority of Singapore to control the city and its inhabitants, and how this built environment was challenged by the dominated society, Yeoh illustrates how

> The colonial urban landscape is ... not simply a palimpsest reflecting the impress of asymmetrical power relations undergirding colonial society, but also a terrain of discipline and resistance, a resource drawn upon by different groups and the contended object of everyday discourse in conflicts and negotiations involving *both* colonialists and colonized groups.[92]

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[87] B. S. Yeoh, Street-naming and nation-building: toponymic inscriptions of nationhood in Singapore, *Area* 28.3 (1996) 298-307, 299.
[88] N. C. Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*, Cambridge, 2003, 4.
[89] J. Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. S. Rendall and E. Claman, New York, 1992, 54.
[90] Cosgrove, Geography is Everywhere.
[91] B. S. A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore*, Oxford, 1996.
[92] Yeoh, *Contesting Space*, 10.

Thus power struggles may be expressed in and through the framework of landscape where, as Yeoh has exemplified in colonial Singapore, the urban landscape served to negotiate between the control of colonial institutional structures and the everyday lives of the city's residents. A city's *iconographic* landscape, on the other hand, lends itself to the imposition of power where 'A dominant group will seek to establish its own experience of the world, its own taken-for-granted assumptions, as the objective and valid culture of all people.'[93] Through the control of collective memory written into the landscape a dominant group can reproduce its own definition of national identity.

Handler describes nations to be 'bounded in time', 'bounded in space' and 'internally homogenous in terms of what is taken to be shared cultural content.'[94] While it may be recognised that internal diversity exists within a nation's boundaries, nationalist ideology attempts to unite nationals under a common identity. State boundaries drawn by imperial powers in East Africa were, and still are, inconsistent with the region's tribal boundaries thus the creation of a national identity has been important both in colonial and post-independence Kenya. Such a situation has existed in many African countries and in the case of colonial South Africa Foster illustrates how the early colonial national governments aided the creation of a 'broadly-based white South African nationalism' which required uniting the country's divided white societies.[95] In this process

> Reification of 'the land', through locally specific ways of physically and imaginatively using the landscape, became an effective way of glossing over the deep underlying divisions in white society. As in Canada, not religion, not language, not race ... but *the land itself* was seen as the determining factor of future society in South Africa.[96]

Foster describes how this reification of the land was largely achieved through the relationship between photography and South African Railways and Harbours. As well as being largely instrumental in national development, the country's state-run railway became the principal supplier of visual images of the South African landscape during the first half of the twentieth century. The Railways reshaped the experience of travel through the national landscape and created a new way in which that national landscape was viewed and represented. This allowed for the creation of a landscape distinctive to the new nation and

[93] Cosgrove, Geography is Everywhere, 128.
[94] R. Handler, Is "identity" a useful cross-cultural concept?, in: Gillis (Ed), *Commemorations*, 27-40, 29.
[95] J. Foster, 'Land of Contrasts' or 'Home we have always known'?: the SAR&H and the Imaginary Geography of White South African Nationhood, 1910-1930, *Journal of South African Studies* 29 (2003) 657-680.
[96] Foster, Land of Contrasts, 659.

thereby constructed an 'imaginary geography' that came to be seen as belonging to South Africa's white population.[97] So what is apparent is that

> Memory is an essential element of ... individual or collective *identity*, the feverish and anxious quest for which is today one of the fundamental activities of individuals and societies. But collective memory is not only a conquest, it is also an instrument and an objective of power.[98]

This relationship between memory, identity and power can be found expressed in the landscape. Mitchell claims that

> the landscape must (and does) function as a vast system of *signs*, signs that "advertise" meanings to their consumers – and to those watching them. The recreation of the city *as* landscape works to order all the multitudinous spaces produced through myriad investment, production, and consumption decisions into an understandable whole.[99]

Thus cities provide a highly designed space for reading the landscape. And part of any city are the statues and public monuments which have been symbolically placed into its streetscape. Influenced by the cultural turn and development of iconographic interpretative techniques in the discipline, geographers have only relatively recently begun to study public monuments as a means of unravelling the politics of memory, identity and power as articulated in the landscape.

1.3.7 Public Monuments and Statues

The word 'monument' has its origin in the Latin *monumentum*, which in turn comes from *monere*, meaning to remind, advise, instruct.[100] Thus, monuments are deliberately placed into the landscape as symbols to be read. Ancient Egyptian monuments were on the whole either erected to appease the gods or as funerary monuments designed to pave a closer union between the deceased and the gods.[101] Contact with the East during the Orientalizing period[102] greatly influenced the earliest Greek monumental art although

[97] Foster, Land of Contrasts.
[98] Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 98.
[99] Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, 137-138.
[100] *The Oxford Dictionary, Thesaurus and Wordpower Guide*, Oxford, 2000.
[101] M. Stocker, Monument, public, in: J. Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 22, London, 1996, 41-49.
[102] 720-*c.*570 BC.

public monuments in pre-Hellenistic Greece[103] were erected to celebrate the city state rather than to praise the individual.[104] Thus began the tradition of the public monument in the West, although monuments have since undergone many developments - aesthetically, artistically and politically.[105] A great proportion of monuments in the West, particularly those featuring statuary, were erected between 1870 and 1914 AD, largely as a result of 'industrial democracy, national self-consciousness and imperialism.'[106]

In terms of statuary, before *c.* 1400 AD the 'athletic victors, cult statues and idealized portraits created in bronze and marble by the leading Greek sculptors were apparently often regarded as works of art, independent of any sacred pretext or purpose.'[107] However, Hellenistic princes did commission statues portraying themselves as gods or demigods and placed these statues in conspicuous public spaces in their cities.[108] With this Hellenistic influence, Republican Rome witnessed the erection of public statues also in praise of living people but here statues were instead secular celebrations of great citizens.[109] Since this time statues have taken on many different meanings and functions. During the period 1500 to 1800 AD, statues in European cities were predominantly monarchical, for the most part situated in key and central locations in the city and with only a few exceptions took the form of equestrian statues.[110] During the nineteenth-century statues of non-royal figures returned to European streets and it is particularly since then that public monuments have acted as 'foci for collective participation in the politics and public life of towns, cities, and states.'[111] Their physical form and location in the cityscape have embraced such collective participation. In addition, these traits have meant that public monuments and statues lend themselves to the visualisation of ideologies, a visualisation which is easily accessible to the population at large.

According to Giedion,

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[103] Before 323 BC.
[104] Stocker, Monument.
[105] For a more detailed account see Stocker, Monument, who traces the history and development of public monuments in the Western tradition.
[106] Stocker, Monument, 47.
[107] N. Penny, Statue, in: Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 29,559-567, 559.
[108] Penny, Statue.
[109] Penny, Statue.
[110] See Penny, Statue, for a fuller account of the changing uses and abundance of statues in Western cities.
[111] N. J. Johnson, Cast in stone: monuments, geography, and nationalism, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995) 51-65, 51; also Y. Whelan, The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape: monuments to British monarchs in Dublin before and after independence, *Journal of Historical Geography* 28 (2002) 508-533, 509.

> Monumentality springs from the eternal need of people to create symbols for their activities and for their fate or destiny, for their religious beliefs and for their social convictions.
>
> Every period has the impulse to create symbols in the form of monuments, which, according to the Latin meaning are "things to remind," things to be transmitted to later generations. This demand for monumentality cannot, in the long run, be suppressed. It will find an outlet at all costs.[112]

Implicit in the word monument is the idea of memory. Küchler argues that landscape, being layered with meanings, provides a society with a readily available and an extensively shared means by which it can learn about and decipher its past and future.[113] As part of the symbolic landscape, monuments can thus be seen as focal points of memory, as '"places" where memories converge, condense, conflict, and define relationships between past, present, and future.'[114]

As outlined previously, geographical landscape studies have witnessed heightened interest in memorial landscapes and monuments have increasingly been used as a tool in the interpretation of such landscapes. For example, Cooke's examination of the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial in London illustrates how competing memories and identities were expressed through disputes over the location and design of the memorial such that the resulting monument is ambiguous in who it commemorates as well as 'becoming indistinct as it merges into the English landscape.'[115] However, the study of memorial landscapes in geography has tended to focus on the memorialisation of war. For instance in her study on 'the Great War and the geography of remembrance,' Johnson discusses the debates surrounding the erection of war memorials in Ireland and particularly in Dublin.[116] She hence illustrates how the creation of memorial landscapes in Ireland was highly contested and how space and place became a central issue in the siting of these memorial landscapes, arguing that 'perhaps more important than the scale of the ultimate physical space was the symbolic scale of the state's unease with finding a location for the memorial in the political heart of the fledgling state.'[117] Withers similarly examines monuments as sites of memory,

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[112] S. Giedion, *Architecture, you and me: The diary of a development*, London, 1958, 28.
[113] S. Küchler, Landscape as Memory: The Mapping of Process and its Representation in a Melanesian Society, in: Bender (Ed), *Landscape*, 85-106.
[114] N. Z. Davies and R. Starn, Introduction: Memory and Counter-Memory, *Representations* 26 (1989) 1-6, 3.
[115] S. Cooke, Negotiating memory and identity: the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial, London, *Journal of Historical Geography* 29 (2000) 449-465, 461.
[116] Johnson, *Ireland*.
[117] Johnson, *Ireland*, 111.

focusing on three memorials of rural protest in Highland Scotland.[118] Yet despite their roles as memorials, Withers illustrates how memory is contested at these sites and how the different meanings gleaned by various members of the local communities suggest that there is no single collective social memory being enacted.

Such is the relationship between memory and identity that the creation of identity and the inscription of identity into the landscape are rarely divorced from concepts of remembering or forgetting. Acting to prompt memory, monuments are hence popular tools in the articulation of identity. Thus a significant proportion of geographical studies have focused on public monuments and statues as a means to examine issues of identity, and in particular national identity. For example, Whelan illustrates how, in the decades following independence in Ireland, a postcolonial national identity was inscribed into Dublin's O'Connell Street through the erection of new monuments and the removal of older imperial ones.[119] While chosen memories can be written into a landscape as a means of inspiring national identity, the erasure of memories from the landscape can be an equally effective device. Such a strategy has been commonly used in postcolonial cities worldwide where the achievement of independence brought with it strong desires to replace colonial identities and histories with new independent national identities. The official and unofficial removal of monuments to British monarchs from Dublin's urban landscape is discussed in Whelan's paper 'The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape.'[120] In this paper she outlines how statues of members of the British royal family were erected to confirm Dublin's position as a city of the British Empire but how the meanings ascribed to these statues reflected the changing political context of Ireland. From their intended role as declarations of loyalty to the empire the statues became sites of protest and contestation and eventually the King William III, King George I and King George II statues were removed from Dublin's streetscape by force of bomb while that of Queen Victoria was officially taken down with the consent of the Irish government.

[118] C. W. J. Withers, Place, Memory, Monument: memorializing the past in contemporary Highland Scotland, *Ecumene* 3 (1996) 325-344.

[119] Y. Whelan, Symbolising the State – the iconography of O'Connell Street and environs after Independence (1922), *Irish Geography* 34 (2001) 135-156. See also Y. Whelan, Symbolic Streetscapes: Interrogating Monumental Spaces of Dublin, in: J. Hourihane (Ed), *Engaging Spaces: People, Place and Space from an Irish Perspective*, Dublin, 2003, 90-105; Y. Whelan, Written in Space and Stone: Aspects of the Iconography of Dublin after Independence, in: H. B. Clarke, J. Prunty, M. Hennessy (Eds), *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Angret Simms*, Dublin, 2004, 585-612.

[120] Y. Whelan, The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape.

Johnson similarly examines the contested nature of Dublin's iconographic landscape and demonstrates how the city's monuments and statues reflected the highly charged nature of nineteenth-century Irish politics.[121] Through statues of royalty and leaders of British military campaigns, the iconography of early nineteenth-century Dublin reflected the status of 'Dublin as a provincial capital within a Union whose centre was London.'[122] Statues in honour of Irish literary figures were later inserted into the city's streetscape to counterbalance the imperial symbolism and in the latter half of the nineteenth-century nationalist leaders made their appearance in Dublin's monumental landscape. The erection of statues to nationalist figures stood alongside, and competed with, the existing imperial monuments. Whelan uses the iconography of Dublin's Sackville Street (which became O'Connell Street after independence) to highlight this point and illustrates how the erection of nationalist monuments in the second half of the nineteenth-century

> signalled the onset of a new era in the symbolic geography of Dublin. These statues stood alongside the pillar dedicated to Lord Nelson in an uneasy juxtaposition and served as a challenge in stone to the ... monumental landscape of imperial power that had been constructed centuries earlier. ... Ireland may have been a colony of the British Empire, but its status as a colony was deeply ambivalent.[123]

However this challenge was expressed not only in Dublin but throughout the country and focused on, as demonstrated by Johnson, the centenary of Ireland's 1798 rebellion in an effort to 'unite Irish nationalists and to reinterpret the role of the rebellion in Irish historiography and in the popular consciousness.'[124] Yet, 'Although the centenary celebration was a national event, the construction of monuments was geographically specific and locally executed'[125] and mirrored the strength of republican politics in different parts of Ireland. Johnson further illustrates how the unveiling ceremonies of the monuments played an important role in encoding meaning into the landscape, a point also emphasised by Whelan in her research on Dublin's monumental landscape and by Osborne in his study on the George Etienne Cartier monument in Montreal.[126]

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[121] Johnson, Cast in stone.
[122] Johnson, Cast in stone, 59.
[123] Y. Whelan, Monuments, power and contested space – the iconography of Sackville Street (O'Connell Street) before Independence (1922), *Irish Geography* 34 (2001) 11-33, 31.
[124] N. C. Johnson, Sculpting heroic histories: celebrating the centenary of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19 (1994) 78-93, 84.
[125] Johnson, Sculpting heroic histories, 85.
[126] Whelan, Monuments, power and contested space; Whelan, Symbolising the State; Whelan, The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape; Whelan, Symbolic Streetscapes; Whelan, Written in Space and Stone; B. S. Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power: the George Etienne Cartier monument, Montreal, *Journal of Historical Geography* 24 (1998) 431-458; Y. F. Whelan, *Dublin: the symbolic*

Subsequent public gatherings and events fixed around a monument further encode a landscape with meaning and can reflect changing ideologies. This is exemplified in the case of the George Etienne Cartier monument where Osborne demonstrates how the changing ideals of Canadian nationalism were reflected through public use of the monumental space and reactions to the monument between 1910 and 1997, thus highlighting how, 'Whatever their original rationale, symbolic spaces are not static but dynamic sites of meaning and depositories for successive generations' ideological bric-à-brac.'[127] In this paper Osborne also recognises the ability of those without power to symbolically inscribe a monumental space and describes how, at the Cartier monument,

> contemporary vernacular forces demonstrate how they have their own view of history and geography, leaving behind their own contributions to the symbolic texts in their graffiti, litter and protest placards. At regular intervals, municipal crews descend on the monument and attempt to erase the social protest and commentary daubed over the Cartier monument. They fail, however, and the spray-can inscriptions form a continuum with those crafted in bronze 80 years ago.[128]

Peet, on the other hand, in deconstructing the Daniel Shays' Memorial in Petersham, Massachusetts, claims that 'landscapes are the spatial surfaces of regulatory regimes, intended to frame social imaginaries often in definite, system-supportive ways, articulated via discursive means among others, but conjoined expressly with regional and national systems of power.'[129] In examining issues of identity as expressed in the iconographic landscape of Tashkent in Uzbekistan, Bell similarly reflects on how the privilege of inscribing a public landscape lies with the more powerful groups of a population where, 'In the case of Tashkent's built environment, iconic elements of a Soviet-defined Uzbek identity have been selectively jettisoned, preserved or reinvented in a process of nation-building dominated by reigning political elites.'[130]

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geography of a capital city in transition, 1900-1966, with a comparative perspective on Helsinki, Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland, Dublin, 1999; Y. Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, Iconography and the Politics of Identity*, Dublin, 2003.

[127] Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power, 453.

[128] Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power, 452.

[129] R. Peet, A Sign Taken for History: Daniel Shays' Memorial in Petersham, Massachusetts, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (1996) 21-43, 37.

[130] J. Bell, Redefining national identity in Uzbekistan: symbolic tensions in Tashkent's official public landscape, *Ecumene* 6 (1999) 183-213, 207.

The relationship between identity, power and memory has been explored earlier. Public monuments can make this relationship concrete and thus provide geographers with a useful tool in the interpretation of landscape.

> But landscapes never have a single meaning; there always exists the possibility of different readings. Neither the production nor reading of landscapes is ever "innocent." Both are political in the broadest sense of the term, for they are inextricably bound to the material interests of various classes and positions of power within a society.[131]

The meaning of a monument is similarly dynamic. It changes with the fluctuating social and political contexts in which it is set, it can be altered according to interpretations brought to it by succeeding generations of viewers. As exemplified already, the meaning of the Cartier monument adjusted with changing concepts of nation and empire.[132] Rome's Vittorio-Emanuele II Monument is another example, where, erected to promote 'greatness' and place Rome at the centre of the Italian nation and Empire, the monument instead 'became an object of irreverent amusement among Romans and scornful ridicule among architects and urbanists.'[133] This also highlights how the passage of time can render the original meaning of a monument obsolete. Auster illustrates this in his study on the Drummond memorial column in New South Wales where, with time, the intended meaning of the memorial becomes 'less clear, much more dependent on what the visitor brings to it.'[134] Thus, while monuments are constructed out of materials designed to stand the test of time, their meaning and form can become archaic and immaterial as time passes.[135] Monuments are erected to fix concepts in time and in space but

> time drags old meaning into new contexts, estranging a monument's memory from both past and present, holding past truths up to ridicule in present monuments. Time mocks the rigidity of monuments, the presumptuous claim that in its materiality, a monument can be regarded as eternally true.[136]

Whereas the Cartier monument described by Osborne and the Drummond memorial discussed by Auster have survived in the landscape, taking on different meanings with the

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[131] Duncan, The city as text, 182.
[132] Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power.
[133] D. Atkinson and D. Cosgrove, Urban Rhetoric and Embodied Identities: City, Nation, and Empire at the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument in Rome, 1870-1945, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (1998) 28-49, 45.
[134] M. Auster, Monument in a Landscape: the question of 'meaning', *Australian Geographer* 28 (1997) 219-227, 223.
[135] Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power.
[136] J. E. Young, The counter-monument: memory against itself in Germany today, in: W. J. T. Mitchell (Ed), *Art and the Public Sphere*, Chicago, 1992, 49-78, 76.

passage of time, removal has been the fate of many monuments whose meanings have taken on new symbolisms. Such has been the case in Ljubljana where Jezérnik notes that

> In observing these monuments in the winds of change, we can perceive how fragile, uncertain and deceptive the reality of everyday life is. Its foundations seem secure enough to contemporaries who always hope to build a firm future for themselves and their heirs. But in the course of time, they invariably prove to be temporary constructs which may be changed or forgotten at any moment. The image of what one generation believed to be the realization of their forebears' ideals was conceived by the succeeding generation to be no more than an illusion which should be replaced with the closest possible realization of their dreams, whatever the cost.[137]

Yet despite this, monuments continue to be viewed as an important means of evoking a national identity, of concretising memory and of asserting power. Thus, as has been exemplified, geographers have used the iconographic qualities of statues and monuments to unravel these issues as played out in the landscape. Much of this work has focused on Western Europe[138] and North America,[139] with studies also carried out in countries of the former Soviet Union.[140] Within geographic scholarship such research is poorly represented outside these core areas.[141] While monuments have been used to examine debates surrounding memory, identity and power in the African landscape, this relatively small body of literature has been written by academics other than geographers, including studies done by, for example, historians, art historians, architects and anthropologists. In addition there is an obvious absence of such studies in the East African context and, as with African landscape studies in Anglophone geography, research on monuments in African cities has concentrated on South Africa.

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[137] B. Jezérnik, Monuments in the Winds of Change, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22 (1998) 582-588, 587.

[138] For example Johnson, Cast in stone; Johnson, Sculpting heroic histories; Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*; Whelan, The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape; Whelan, Monuments, power and contested space; Whelan, Symbolising the State; Cooke, S., Negotiating memory and identity; Atkinson and Cosgrove, Urban Rhetoric and Embodied Identities; D. Harvey, Monument and myth, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (1979) 362-81.

[139] For example Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power; Peet, A Sign Taken for History.

[140] For example Bell, Redefining national identity in Uzbekistan.

[141] There are exceptions of course. For example, in Australia, Auster explores issues surrounding the meaning of a monument. In likening monumental works to allegorical works he uses allegory as a means of interpreting a monument and understanding its meaning [Auster, Monument in a Landscape]. Yeoh and Ho examine the extent to which Singaporeans can identify and recognise their national monuments, although their study focuses on buildings as gazetted monuments rather than on statues and public monuments [B. S. A. Yeoh and L. Y. Ho, Popular cognition of national monuments in Singapore, *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment* 44 (1997) 21-31]. In Kandy, Sri Lanka, Duncan highlights the 'symbolic decolonization' of the city after independence when British colonial statues were removed and replaced with Sri Lankan nationalist statues. In addition this was a highly politicised act where the new statues erected were dedicated to the nationalist leaders of only one political party. [J. S. Duncan, The power of place in Kandy, Sri Lanka: 1780-1980, in: J. A. Agnew and J. S. Duncan (Eds), *The power of place: bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations*, London, 1989, 185-201].

One such example is Delmont's study on the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.[142] Through a detailed examination of the monument's architecture and sculpture, Delmont illustrates how, in order to construct an Afrikaner identity, the Voortrekker Monument mythologizes Voortrekker history. For example a marble frieze decorating the monument merges the four separate treks depicted in the imagery such that the Great Trek is deliberately portrayed as a single event as opposed to the series of independent treks that is was. The monument draws on this imagery of the Great Trek undertaken by the Voortrekkers to sculpt an Afrikaner identity despite the fact that

> the Voortrekkers did not regard themselves as a nation and did not see the Great Trek as a conscious expression of Afrikaner identity. ... However, the construct of the Voortrekkers as a self-consciously defined nation clearly served the interests of those working towards fostering an Afrikaner identity.[143]

In the fabrication of an Afrikaner identity the monument also sets in stone the ideology that the Great Trek encouraged the spread of civilisation and order and required that the Voortrekker dominated and controlled both the natural environment and the local Africans. Delmont argues that these myths, along with others visualised in the Voortrekker Monument, 'which were central to the construction of Afrikaner nationhood, were deliberately perpetuated to foster a sense of Afrikaner identity in the 1930s and 1940s, and to reinforce the superiority of white Afrikanerdom at a central point in its history.'[144]

In her thesis describing the importance of land and landscape in imagining South African politics, Beningfield is also drawn to the Voortrekker Monument.[145] The monument, the event it depicts, the site on which it stands, and elements of its visual imagery and architecture, she argues, combine to evoke 'the wider narrative of the trek, and ... the surrounding landscape.'[146] In so doing, the monument claims the veld, South Africa's grasslands, as the homeland to the Afrikaner nation. This in turn is linked to how the representation of South African landscape suppressed certain histories of the land such that it became a construction of Afrikaner ideology and a reflection of Afrikaner efforts to gain social, political and economic authority.

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[142] E. Delmont, The Voortrekker Monument: Monolith to Myth, *South African Historical Journal* 29 (1993) 76-101.
[143] Delmont, The Voortrekker Monument, 77.
[144] Delmont, The Voortrekker Monument, 101.
[145] J. M. Beningfield, The Frightened Land: land, landscape and politics in twentieth-century South Africa, Ph.D. thesis, University College London, 2003.
[146] Beningfield, The Frightened Land, 93.

Afrikaner ideology also draws heavily on the Voortrekker victory over the Zulus at the Blood River battle of 1838, as detailed by Girshick.[147] In 1938 a large granite ox-wagon was commissioned to be placed on the Afrikaner side of the river at the site of the battle. In 1971, an additional monument was erected close by and in 1996 a museum was opened at the site. The Blood River site (called *Bloedrivier* in Afrikaans and *Ncome* in Zulu) became the focus of attention in post-apartheid South Africa as part of a move to 'redress apartheid versions of history and promote reconciliation, both viewed as important steps in nation-building.'[148] Girshick outlines how the form of commemoration to be launched on the Zulu side of the river was initially conceptualised to be a memorial but finally took the form of a monument, arguing that,

> While monuments embody the myths of beginnings, memorials mark the reality of ends. Memorials typically refer to lives sacrificed and embody grief, loss, and tribute. Their goal is the healing embrace of remembrance and reconciliation. Memorialization is accomplished through the use of texts or lists of the dead. In contrast, monuments tend to use less explanation. They are celebratory and triumphal, asserting collective potency and banishing from memory acts of humiliation and failure.[149]

In addition, the initial plan to erect an information site metamorphosed into the construction of a museum at Ncome. These transformations, Girshick claims, act to detract from the Zulu defeat and instead promote Zulu culture, publicising the Zulu as a brave, heroic tribe. Such conceptual transformations came about largely as a result of the strong Zulu nationalist involvement in the planning of the site, as well as the formulaic views of 'Zuluness' held by both the Zulu and the Afrikaner planners. Rather than promoting reconciliation as was initially intended, Girshick argues that the site has instead come to symbolise resistance. During apartheid the site represented Afrikaner domination, its symbolism heightened by annual celebrations on the site every anniversary of the battle. The lack of Zulu ceremonies performed at the newly constructed Ncome due to objection from many Afrikaners also expresses resistance. But most symbolically, the footbridge linking both sides of the river and intended as the key gesture of reconciliation was never completed.

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[147] P. Girshick, Ncome Museum/Monument: From Reconciliation to Resistance, *Museum Anthropology* 27 (2004) 25-36.
[148] Girshick, Ncome Museum/Monument, 25.
[149] Girshick, Ncome Museum/Monument, 25.

In addition, Girshick's study highlights the important relationship between monument and 'place' and reiterates the South African focus on African monumental studies.[150] In addressing the lack of such studies in an Eastern African context it is necessary to examine ideas of postcolonialism.

1.3.8 Postcolonialism

Clayton contends that 'The geographical literature on questions of colonialism and postcolonialism is now enormous, and there is no consensus about the appropriate aims and methods of postcolonial analysis in geography or any other discipline.'[151] In addition, the definitions of 'postcolonial' and 'postcolonialism' are diverse and dynamic. Ryan identifies two main uses of the term 'postcolonialism' in geography.[152] The earlier application of the word is used to describe the period after colonialism and is in particular applied to the African and Asian states that underwent European decolonisation in the second half of the twentieth century. The second application of the term sees postcolonialism as a way of thinking, as a theory that moves beyond colonialism,[153] where Said's influential study, *Orientalism* was largely responsible for the development of postcolonial theory.[154] The practices and ideas of anticolonial struggle are a focus in this application of the term where works by authors such as Fanon and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o are seen as seminal. In current Anglo-American geography it is this second meaning of postcolonialism which is most commonly adopted. Thus within geographic scholarship postcolonialism has been defined as

> A critical politico-intellectual formation that is centrally concerned with the impact of colonialism and its contestation on the cultures of both colonizing and colonized peoples in the past, and the reproduction and transformation of colonial relations, representations and practices in the present.[155]

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[150] Outside of South Africa Arnoldi [M. J. Arnoldi, Symbolically inscribing the city: public monuments in Mali, 1995-2002, *African Arts* 36 (2003) 56-65] has carried out a study on the monumental landscape of Bamako, Mali's capital. In this study she examines the city's statues and monuments and illustrates how they have been used to project the political ideology of the Konare government in the popular imagination.

[151] D. Clayton, Imperial Geographies, in: J. S. Duncan, N. C. Johnson and R. H. Schein (Eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, Oxford, 2004, 449-468, 449.

[152] J. R. Ryan, Postcolonial Geographies, in: Duncan, Johnson and Schein (Eds), *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, 469-484.

[153] Ryan, Postcolonial Geographies; A. D. King, Cultures and Spaces of Postcolonial Knowledges, in: Anderson, Domosh, Pile and Thrift (Eds), *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, 381-397.

[154] E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1978.

[155] D. Gregory, Post-colonialism, in: R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt and M. Watts (Eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th edition, Oxford, 2000, 612-615, 612.

While Fanon's postcolonial writings focus on violence,[156] most postcolonial scholars now view colonialism as a cultural process, as is highlighted in the above definition.[157] Rather than economic, political or military domination, for example, power through culture is considered, in postcolonial scholarship, to be the principal tool of imperialism.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan novelist, playwright and essayist, is one example of a postcolonial scholar who emphasises the cultural subjugation of colonialism. Ngũgĩ agrees that imperialism operated through the economic and political domination over the colonised, but argues that 'the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism ... is the cultural bomb.'[158] Ngũgĩ views culture to be shaped by a people's history and also as a mirror of that history. It is made up of values, he argues, through which a society views itself and its position in time and space.[159] 'The effect of the cultural bomb,' Ngũgĩ continues,

> is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves.[160]

Similarly, in *Moving the Centre*, Ngũgĩ maintains that cultural domination facilitates 'the control of the individual and collective self-image of the dominated nation and classes as well as their image of the dominating nations and classes.'[161] Literature, as an element of culture, is an example used by Ngũgĩ to illustrate colonial domination in Africa.[162] In the same vein, monuments can be seen as cultural artefacts which have been used as tools in the imperial process of domination.

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[156] C. Harris, How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94 (2004) 165-182.

[157] Harris, How Did Colonialism Dispossess?; King, Cultures and Spaces of Postcolonial Knowledges;; A. Lester, Historical geographies of imperialism, in: Graham and Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies*, 100-120; T. Ploszajska, Historiographies of geography and empire, in: Graham and Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies*, 121-145; D. Clayton, Critical Imperial and Colonial Geographies, in: Anderson, Domosh, Pile and Thrift (Eds), *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, 354-368; D. Kennedy, Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24 (1996) 345-363; A. King, Rethinking Colonialism: An Epilogue, in: A. AlSayyad (Ed), *Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, Brookfield, USA, 1992, 339-351.

[158] T. Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind: the politics of language in African literature*, Nairobi, 1986, 3.

[159] T. Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms*, London, 1993.

[160] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 3.

[161] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*, 52.

[162] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind.*

Yet Ngũgĩ's work not only criticises British colonial attitudes but also critiques the continuity of colonial mentalities in the postcolonial nation. He describes how, in Kenya, a small

> elite was educated into the culture, values, outlook, and consciousness of the imperialist bourgeoisie. ... This thoroughly colonised petty bourgeoisie was the class that inherited the management of the colonial state under new flags raised aloft at independence. ... Their mission became that of overseeing the continuity of the colonial state in a new guise, the neo-colonial guise. They are able to carry out their mission with absolute conviction because they have inherited the same world outlook, even vis-à-vis themselves, formerly held by the imperialist bourgeoisie. ... In fact under neo-colonialism, the cultural and the psychological aspects of imperialism become even more important as instruments of mental and spiritual coercion.[163]

Ngũgĩ highlights how continuity of the imperialist cultural tradition is evident in the postcolony through the neo-colonial regime's approach and attitude to culture. Thus, art that the coloniser regarded and identified as truly African remains officially sanctioned as authentic African art in the post-independence era.[164] Such postcolonial assertions can provide a useful lens through which to examine the continued use of monuments in a post-independence symbolic landscape.

As a result of such colonial continuities, Ngũgĩ sees the anti-colonial struggle as ongoing. Again taking literature as an example, he argues the need to 'decolonise the mind' and calls for African literature to be written in African languages rather in the language of the coloniser.[165] Ngũgĩ's own contributions to African literature are written in his native tongue, Gĩkũyũ, or in Kiswahili, Kenya's national language.

However, while Ngũgĩ describes how the narrow strata of the neo-colonial elite has perpetuated imperial traditions, he also identifies a tradition of resistance against 'imperialist-sanctioned African culture.'[166] This has manifested itself through, for example, sculpture, songs, dances and poetry, what he calls a 'patriotic resistance' culture.[167] Yet,

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[163] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*, 51-52.
[164] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*.
[165] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*.
[166] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*, 44; Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*.
[167] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*, 44.

> During the colonial period the practitioners of this culture were often jailed, maimed or even killed. Their songs, dances and even their sculptures were often banned. ... Unfortunately, even after independence the new regimes maintained this hostility to national patriotic cultures that reflected peoples' total opposition to the continued plunder of their labour and wealth by imperialism and its local black allies. Artists and writers belonging to this tradition have been jailed, maimed and killed. Peasant and worker-based theatre movements have been banned. Cultural centres built by the efforts of peasants and workers have been destroyed.[168]

In 1977, Ngũgĩ himself was detained without trial for a year in Nairobi's Kamiti Maximum Security Prison after writing his first Gĩkũyũ work, *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (the English translation is titled *I Will Marry When I Want*). In essence, this play outlines how Kenyan independence simply involved an inter-elite transfer of power and how the ordinary Kenyan was no better off in the post-independence country.[169] The uninhibited political message of the play, readily available to the ordinary Kenyan through its form, culminated in Ngũgĩ's arrest and detention as a political prisoner.

This begs the question, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'[170] Moving back to the discipline of geography, postcolonial geographers have begun to emphasise the need to uncover the voice of the marginalised, thus more recent postcolonial geographical scholarship has begun to concentrate less on official views and has sought to reveal more about the popular mind.[171] In examining the 'historical geographies of the colonised world,' Yeoh stresses the importance of looking at what she terms the 'contact zone', at exploring the intersection between the colonised and the coloniser 'in fleshed out accounts of the processes of conflict, collusion and negotiation that animated spatial politics.'[172] In particular, using Singapore as an example, she considers the idea of 'resistance' as played out in the space of the colonial city.[173]

In 'Postcolonial cities', Yeoh outlines how urban centres provide a space in which postcolonial politics are played out and that, 'By overlaying and etching the complex contours of the postcolonial debate onto a specific space with both material and imagined

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[168] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*, 44-45.
[169] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind.*
[170] G. C. Spivak, Can the Subaltern Speak?, in: C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, London, 1988, 271-313.
[171] Ploszajska, Historiographies of geography and empire; A. Lester, Introduction: Historical Geographies of Southern Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29 (2003) 595-613.
[172] B. S. A. Yeoh, Historical geographies of the colonised world, in: Graham and Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies*, 146-166, 146.
[173] Yeoh, Historical geographies of the colonised world; Yeoh, *Contesting Space*.

dimensions such as the city,'[174] geographers are well positioned to carry out postcolonial studies. A noteworthy strand of such studies identifies the 'postcolonial city as an important site where claims of an identity different from the colonial past are expressed and indexed, and, in some cases, keenly contested.'[175] Along with culture, and closely related to it, postcolonial geographic research to a great extent concerns itself with questions of identity.[176] Such studies explore issues surrounding the creation and contestation of a postcolonial identity and how the postcolonial present is represented. As already highlighted, memory is an essential component of identity, and 'Postcolonial memory is a fraught terrain, contestory and multistranded, and woven around the politics of inclusion and exclusion, of remembering and forgetting.'[177] To once again place this in the context of the city, Yeoh writes,

> What constitutes 'history' in multi-ethnic postcolonial nations where the perspective of hindsight is continually destabilized; ... as well as who controls (and benefits from) the whole process of transforming 'history' into tangible presences (and hence also absences) on the landscape and for what purposes (such as nationalism and tourism) are difficult questions which are not unique to postcolonial cities but particularly significant in such contexts.[178]

Ryan notes that 'cultural geographers are well placed to employ postcolonial theory in the "deconstruction" of a range of different post-colonial cultural artifacts, including films, novels, poems, music, and theatre, in order to reveal and confront continuing forms of imperial and colonial prejudice and discrimination.'[179] Public monuments can be added to this list. Influenced by Ngũgĩ's ideas of cultural domination by the coloniser, public monuments can be viewed as a tool in the project of imperial control. In the post-independence city, postcolonial theory similarly lends itself to the historical and cultural geographical examination of monuments and their continued use in the landscape as instruments of power. In addition, the study of monuments in the postcolonial city also addresses questions of identity and memory. Yet who controls what is remembered or forgotten in the monumental landscape and what identity is represented in the monumental landscape sharply brings into focus who can, and who can not, make their voices heard. The consideration of monuments in a city speaks of who has the power to inscribe the

[174] B. S. A. Yeoh, Postcolonial cities, *Progress in Human Geography* 25 (2001) 456-468, 457.
[175] Yeoh, Postcolonial cities, 458.
[176] Clayton, Imperial Geographies; Ryan, Postcolonial geographies.
[177] Yeoh, Postcolonial cities, 461.
[178] Yeoh, Postcolonial cities, 461.
[179] Ryan, Postcolonial geographies, 479.

landscape. The examination of a monumental landscape, whether colonial or postcolonial, addresses the subaltern by revealing whose voices are excluded.

1.4 Frameworks and Methodology

This thesis engages with the range of conceptual and comparative frameworks outlined above. Landscape is seen and treated as a cultural construction, shaped by human processes and relations. Notions of power, identity and memory and the shaping of the monumental landscape in the East African context are examined, taking Nairobi as a case-study. Geographers have carried out research on issues of memory and identity in the African landscape but while, for example, Foster[180] discusses landscape as an experience and McGregor[181] emphasises how different ideas of landscape have formed different identities, in this study, Nairobi's symbolic landscape is examined as a medium through which different and competing public memories are played out, both simultaneously and through time, and the way in which these memories create different identities. While Foster describes how landscape helped to mould a new identity in South Africa, this thesis examines how the creation of identity in both colonial and post-independence Kenya has contributed to the shaping of the monumental landscape of Nairobi.

Some of the issues that current African historical and cultural geography is concerned with have already been outlined and the southern African bias of such studies has been highlighted. Through the examination of Nairobi's symbolic landscape, this thesis addresses the need for such research in an East African context. However, in contrast to the work carried out by McGregor[182] and Gunner,[183] for example, this study explores memory and identity in an urban rather than a rural landscape.

The city provides a useful space in which to examine postcolonial politics and the statues and monuments erected in a city offer a valuable means through which to interpret the landscape. Through the examination of Nairobi's statues and monuments, this thesis seeks to uncover changing social, cultural and political relationships in the city and considers the

[180] Foster, Northward, upward.
[181] McGregor, The Victoria Falls 1900-1940.
[182] McGregor, The social life of ruins.
[183] Gunner, Remapping land, 291.

shifting balance of power between European, African and Asian identities in Kenya. The study can be said to be postcolonial in two senses. Firstly, it has been carried out after the event of, and in the knowledge of colonialism, and it examines post-independence changes in the making of Nairobi's monumental landscape. Secondly, it attempts to discern the voice of the colonised through the silences in Nairobi's monumental landscape, and incorporates ideas from postcolonial theory in the iconographic interpretation of landscape. Through the use of iconography as an interpretative tool, this thesis essentially applies a Western tradition in an East African colonial and post-independence framework.

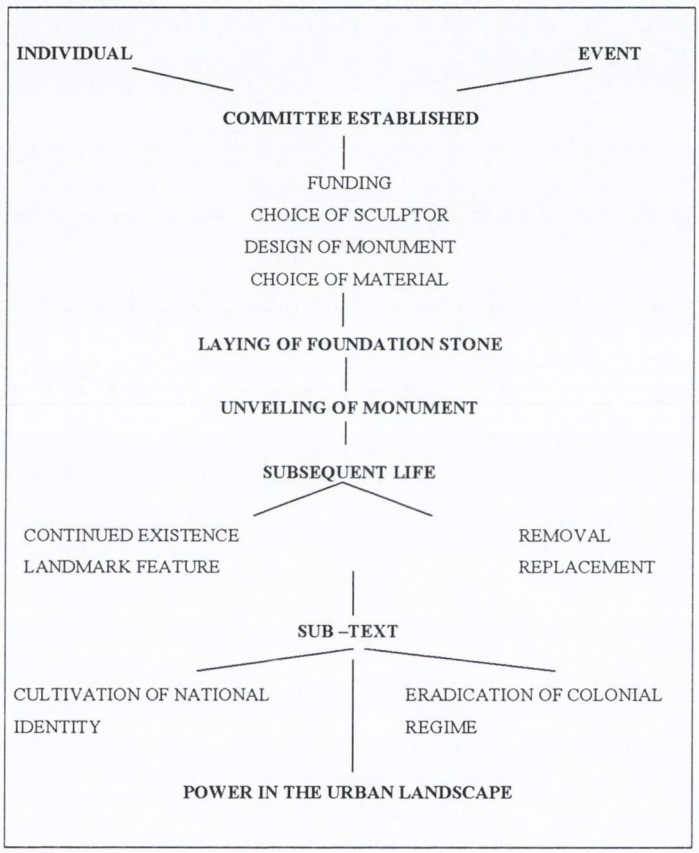


Figure 1.6 The life cycle of a public monument.
Source: Whelan, Monuments, power and contested space, 28.

The method used has been to apply Whelan's 'Lifecycle of a monument' narrative approach to individual monuments grouped into chronological categories (Figure 1.6). This narrative is used to identify the processes at work in the shaping of Nairobi's iconographic landscape and the forces that have shaped those processes. Using mostly documentary and archival sources (including photographs), the life cycles of the monuments were traced in as much detail as possible. Due to the nature of the sources, the amount and quality of information available and collected for each monument varied

greatly but has, for each monument, uncovered as complete as possible individual life stories.

'The many-layered meanings of symbolic landscapes await geographical decoding'[184] and, as outlined earlier, public monuments and statues are one means by which geographers can unravel the symbolisms of landscape in order to reveal the broader social, cultural and political processes at work in shaping, and in being shaped by, the landscape. Thus, Nairobi's statues and monuments, as elements of the landscape, are a source in themselves. Their form, their symbolism, their size, their location and their state of disrepair, as the case most often was, were all vital in this construction and interpretation of Nairobi's iconographic landscape. Yet the iconographic interpretation of a public monument requires that the monument be placed in social and historical perspective, and this has primarily been achieved through archival research.

Historical geographers have had to grapple with the biased nature of the archive, to recognise that '*every* source, literary or numerical, is a socially constructed representation.'[185] Far from simply recording facts and figures, sources are produced in a social and cultural context. Sources record not only the concerns and prejudices of those who produced them, but also those on whose behalf they have been produced. Thus the historical geographer must demand questions of the source, be it a map, memo or minute note, and consider why it was recorded, who recorded it, on whose behalf was it recorded, and for whom it was recorded. Dennis contends that 'Almost all literary, visual and numerical representation are 'from above''[186] and while archives can be an invaluable resource and provide a wealth of information, it is important to be aware that archival material tends to document the experiences of those in power and silence ordinary histories.

This history of Nairobi's monuments has been largely, and unavoidably, shaped by government documents and files as these formed the bulk of primary sources available during the course of research. Such research has centred on how Nairobi's monumental landscape has been inscribed, rather than how it is perceived. Yet a monumental landscape

[184] Cosgrove, Geography is Everywhere, 126.
[185] R. Dennis, Historical geographies of urbanism, in: Graham and Nash (Eds), *Modern Historical Geographies*, 218-247, 242.
[186] Dennis, Historical geographies of urbanism, 243.

tends to be written and rewritten by those who have the power to do so. This thesis focuses on why each monument was erected in Nairobi and how it came to stand in the city. Each monument in Nairobi has a life story. However, the range of sources available to uncover each life story varies greatly between monuments.

The histories of Nairobi's colonial monuments were determined primarily through information gathered from the Kenya National Archives (KNA). Here, many files related to Nairobi's monuments were from the Governor's Office. The Governor in colonial Kenya, as with other British colonies, was the head of the colonial administration. As the Governor unveiled most of colonial Nairobi's monuments, many of these files contain details related to the unveiling ceremonies of the monuments. With certain monuments, such as the King George V Statue, the government played a key role in the writing of these monuments into Nairobi's landscape, and in these cases the Governor's Office files reveal more of the history of the monument, from discussions on the form the monument was to take, to correspondence related to the appeal for funds for the monument. In addition, internal notes within the Governor's Office, as recorded in these files, indicate this department's thoughts and perceptions on certain monumental projects.

Secretariat files in the KNA also provided much information, although an important portion of central government files were destroyed in the Secretariat fire of 1939. The Chief Secretary was, after the Governor, the senior official in Kenya and was responsible for the daily running of the government. The Secretariat files consulted in this research contained, for example, communication regarding the delivery of statues from England and the practicalities of erecting certain statues, and correspondence regarding fund appeals. Also stored in the KNA are the minute books of the Municipal Council of Nairobi, which became the City Council of Nairobi after Nairobi became a city in 1950. Such minute books principally revealed discussions and debates concerning the location of a particular monument.

Although other departmental files were consulted, the above-mentioned files, documents and sources were the most useful in the KNA. In relation to the Delamere Statue, the Lord Francis Scott Papers in the archives of the University of Nairobi (UoN) were of particular value in the reconstruction of the history of this monument. Lord Francis Scott was chairman of the Delamere Memorial Committee and his private papers, donated to the

university, consist of minutes of meetings of the Delamere Memorial Committee and general correspondence related to the statue, from the formation of the idea to erect a monument to Delamere, to the unveiling of the statue.

In the reconstruction of colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape, files in the National Archives in London (TNA) were also consulted. Here, Colonial Office files generally consisted of correspondence with the colonial government in Kenya regarding, for example, the unveiling of a monument or the appeal for funds for a monument. In addition, files from the Foreign Office, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Dominions Office were referred to in the examination of British policy on the removal of statues and monuments from other British colonies as the British Empire was coming to an end.

A thirty-year closure rule at the KNA and TNA meant that these archives were much more useful in composing the histories of Nairobi's colonial monuments than they were for the city's post-independence monuments. Particularly useful in the research of monuments erected after independence, however, were Ministry of Roads, Public Works and Housing (MoW) records, kept at the ministry. These files, all from the Buildings or Architectural Departments of the ministry, contained a range of information on the post-independence monuments erected in Nairobi during Moi's presidency. Competition details, correspondence with artists and architects, and internal memos related to the construction of the monuments or to the maintenance of the monuments are all, among other things, contained within these files. In addition, files from Africa Design and Planning Consultants (APDC), the architects of the Nyayo Monument, helped to shape the history of the Nyayo Monument and its meaning in the landscape, while records from Intergroup Architects, Planners and Design Consultants Kenya (Intergroup), who designed the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, were useful in interpreting this monument's place in Nairobi's monumental landscape.

Supplementing these government records and private files, newspapers have also been an important source in researching both Nairobi's colonial and its post-independence monuments. According to Colombijn, 'newspapers, and a collection of popular columns provide very precious information on the assumption that newspapers can only survive if

they articulate meanings shared by ordinary people.'[187] Yet when using newspapers as a source of information it is still vital to consider the readers and their position in society. Thus, for example, in colonial Kenya the *East African Standard* (*EAS*), the country's oldest newspaper, targeted the settler community, expressing settler views over Asian and African interests. In post-independence Kenya, however, the paper is more widely read by educated Africans.[188] Taking this into account, newspaper articles, primarily from Kenya's *East African Standard* (*EAS*) and *Daily Nation* (*DN*) newspapers, have proved to be a valuable source of information. In colonial Nairobi, the *EAS* often reported the unveiling ceremonies of the monuments in depth, while in post-independence Nairobi the newspapers were a means by which the intended meaning of the monuments was related to the general public. Thus, in post independence Kenya, the newspapers have been helpful in interpreting the symbolic form of these monuments.

In addition to these written sources, interviews contributed to sculpting the stories of some monuments. As with the retrieval of archival material, the use of oral interviews varied greatly with each monument as the ability to carry out interviews depended greatly on the availability of relevant people. As a result, such interviews were of most use in the research of Nairobi's post-independence monuments. In relation to these monuments, interviews were conducted, where possible, with the artists of the monuments, as well as with others involved in the scripting of these monuments into Nairobi's cityscape. The interviews carried out as part of the research on colonial Nairobi's monuments and statues were useful to a variable degree. These interviewees included Zarina Patel, the granddaughter of Jeevanjee, who erected Nairobi's first monument, a statue of Queen Victoria; the present Lord Delamere, the grandson of Kenya's famous white settler, Hugh Cholmondeley, the third Baron Lord Delamere, whose statue once stood in colonial Nairobi; and Henry Lustman, a former partner of Vamos, Lustman and Tree, the architectural firm who designed the King George VI Memorial Fountain. All interviews conducted were recorded and later transcribed.

[187] F. Colombijn, Canberra: A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22 (1998) 565-581, 567.

[188] Today's *EAS* was set up as the *African Standard* in 1901 by Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, an Asian businessman and later politician, and one of colonial Kenya's most prominent personalities. In 1905, Jeevanjee sold the newspaper to A. G. Anderson and F. Mayer when it became the *East African Standard*. Thus, after 1905 the paper increasingly came to voice Kenya's settler interests until the country became independent. In 1974 the *EAS* was bought by the Lonrho group of companies and became the *Standard* until 1995 when it once again changed ownership and its name reverted to the *EAS*.

In *Picturing Empire*, Ryan examines the Victorian and Edwardian eras of the British Empire and considers how the British Empire was represented in photographs during this time.[189] In addition, he illustrates how 'photographic practices and aesthetics also express and articulate ideologies of imperialism.'[190] Photographs were also used, to a certain extent, during the course of this research on Nairobi's monumental landscape, where depictions of colonial Nairobi and colonial monuments were valuable in placing those monuments erected before independence in context. Photographs of the unveiling ceremonies of monuments, where available, revealed further insights into the life story of these monuments. Additionally, photographs have been used in this thesis in order to illustrate the form of the monument under discussion, and where otherwise acknowledged, all photographs are taken by the author.

1. 5 Structure

This thesis examines the statues and monuments written into and erased from Nairobi's symbolic landscape, from the birth of the settlement in 1899, up until 1992. The processes involved in writing a monumental landscape are ongoing, and in carrying out a study such as this, it is necessary to define the parameters of the study period. 1992 saw the re-introduction of multi-partyism in Kenya after a long period of single-party government with Daniel arap Moi as President. 1992 also marks a shift in Nairobi's monumental landscape. Prior to this turning point in Kenyan politics, the monuments erected in Nairobi during Moi's presidency form a distinctive postcolonial aesthetic. After 1992, however, and particularly after the end of Moi's presidency in 2002, a new phase can be identified in the development of Nairobi's monumental landscape. Thus 1992 provides a natural and logical watershed in relation to the topic of the study.

Three key phases have been identified in the development of Nairobi's iconographic landscape: colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape, the transitional period in the city's monumental landscape surrounding the achievement of independence, and the post-independence monumental landscape of Moi's single-party government. The thesis is structured accordingly.

[189] J. R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire*, London, 1997.
[190] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 13.

Colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape is dealt with in chapters two, three and four, and within this phase the monuments have been grouped thematically. The story of Nairobi's monumental landscape begins with the erection of a Queen Victoria statue in the young settlement. This statue became, along with the King George V Statue and King George VI Memorial, part of an imperial iconography. Chapter two discusses these 'Monuments to British Monarchs in Colonial Nairobi' and illustrates how this iconographic landscape acted to link Kenya with the rest of the British Empire. In addition, the examination of these monuments reveals aspects of the social and political relations at work in the colonial capital.

Chapter three looks at the 'First and Second World War Memorials' erected in Nairobi. The examination of the Obelisk, the African War Memorial and the East Africa Memorial in this chapter uncovers the competing iconographies and public memories represented in the landscape. As with chapter two, this chapter demonstrates the creation of an imperial landscape and the use of monuments in linking and uniting the empire. Although the Obelisk was not part of the wider imperial commemoration of the war dead, as were the African War Memorial and the East Africa Memorial, the form of the memorial and its role in annual Remembrance Day ceremonies connected the monument to Britain through its symbolic role. The Obelisk became, in colonial Nairobi, a memorial to the Kenyan settlers who had lost their lives in the First World War.

The 'Settler Monuments in Colonial Nairobi' described in chapter four similarly show a symbolic connection with Britain through, for example, the artists commissioned to sculpt the statues, or the use of the Union Jack in the unveiling ceremonies of the monuments. The examination of the Lord Delamere Statue, the Galton-Fenzi Memorial and the Hamilton Fountain in this chapter illustrates attempts by Kenya's settlers to assert settler power and to establish a settler society in the country. The creation of an identity for this society was largely, it is argued, rooted in a sense of connection with the African land.

After the discussion of colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape, Nairobi as 'A Monumental Landscape in Transition' is examined in chapter five. During the period coming up to, surrounding, and just after independence in Kenya, Nairobi's symbolic landscape underwent a transitional stage in its development. The first half of this chapter discusses the removal of statues in Nairobi in an attempt to decolonise the monumental

landscape. This part of the chapter also includes comparative studies with the removal of statues in Sudan and in India in order to identify Nairobi's place in the symbolic dismantling of the British Empire. In addition, the example of the King Leopold II statue in Kinshasa is used to further situate Nairobi's experience in the African context. The second half of chapter five deals with the erection of new monuments in the post-independence capital city. The two Kenyatta statues, it is argued, were inscribed into Nairobi's monumental landscape using the commemorative language of the coloniser and their form created continuity with Nairobi's colonial monumental landscape. Subsequent to these two Kenyatta statues, the city's monuments take on a different form, as is outlined in chapter six.

Chapter six interprets the 'Nyayo Era Monuments' erected during Moi's presidency, which draw on the memory of the achievement of independence in an attempt to create a Kenyan national identity and in an effort to legitimise and assert the power of the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union. Nairobi's post-independence iconographic landscape reflects a desire to forge a national identity, where the efforts to unite an ethnically and racially heterogeneous population are highlighted in the country's adopted '*Harambee*' and '*Nyayo*' philosophies and are reflected in the city's monuments. Finally, chapter seven identifies the main conclusions that can be drawn from reviewing the entire period under study, in a theoretical and comparative context.

CHAPTER 2

MONUMENTS TO BRITISH MONARCHS IN COLONIAL NAIROBI

2.1 An Imperial Monumental Landscape in Nairobi

The birth of Nairobi at the end of the nineteenth century occurred during an era of 'statumania'[1] in many European cities and as a new town of the British Empire it is no surprise that statues commemorating members of the British monarchy were put up in Nairobi. Thus the erection of monuments to Queen Victoria, King George V and King George VI in pre-independence Nairobi reminded the town's residents of the ties between British East Africa[2] and its colonial rulers. The unveiling ceremonies of these monuments and their presence in Nairobi's symbolic landscape made concrete the construction of imperial power and the expression of loyalty to the British Empire. The Queen Victoria statue came first in the construction of an imperial iconography in Nairobi's monumental landscape and was also the first monument to be erected in the young town.

2.2 Queen Victoria Statue

In 1906 Nairobi's population was reported to consist of approximately six hundred Europeans (of predominantly British origin), 3,600 Asians and between 7,400 and 9,300 Africans.[3] Yet despite this proportionally weak representation of British in terms of population numbers, Nairobi's monumental landscape reveals how the early settlement was quick to express loyalty to the British Empire when, in 1906, a statue of Queen

[1] A term coined by Maurice Agulhon [W. Cohen, Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-Century Provincial France, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989) 491-513].
[2] British East Africa Protectorate became Kenya Colony and Protectorate in 1920.
[3] The census reported in the Williams Report counted Nairobi's population in 1906 as consisting of 559 'Europeans', 3,582 'Asian and others' and 7,371 'Africans' while the 1906 census reported in the Feetham Report counts Nairobi's population as made up of 642 'Europeans', 3,581 'Asians' and 9,300 (est.) 'Africans' [L. W. Thornton White, L. Silberman and P. R. Anderson, *Nairobi: Master Plan of a Colonial Capital*, London, 1948, 84].

Victoria was erected. Donated to the Municipal Council of Nairobi by a wealthy Indian businessman, Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, the choreography of events surrounding the statue's unveiling demonstrates how the statue was used by Nairobi's European community to become a symbol of British authority in the landscape.

Jeevanjee first arrived in Mombasa from Karachi in 1890 and was quick to set up business in the coastal town. Having previously spent some time in Australia he spoke fluent English and thus easily set up relations with the Imperial British East Africa Company. As a result, Jeevanjee was employed to help in the construction of the Uganda Railway and was involved in recruiting labour from India as well as supplying rations to these railway workers. In 1900 he bought his first plots of land in Nairobi from the railway. From then on Jeevanjee became an instrumental figure in the development of the new settlement. In 1904 the *Anglo-African Argus* described how 'Mr. Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, the senior partner of A. M. Jeevanjee & Co., owns about half Mombasa and the greater part of Nairobi.'[4]



Figure 2.1 Jeevanjee Gardens, Nairobi, 2005.

[4] Quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 50.

Since the late nineteenth century the East African Protectorate was governed by Indian legislation and in 1893 the Indian rupee was adopted as the official currency.[5] Patel argues that in 1900 Nairobi 'was more of an Indian than a European township'[6] and at this time many of Nairobi's Asians greatly admired the British Empire. As expressed by one of Kenya's Asian residents, 'I am not now in "love" with the "noble" idea of imperialism, but in 1901 even I was fond of indulging in dreams regarding the Empire.'[7] During Nairobi's early life Jeevanjee too held the British Empire in high esteem and in 1906 erected a statue of Queen Victoria in the public park he had bequeathed to the citizens of Nairobi, the Jeevanjee Gardens (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

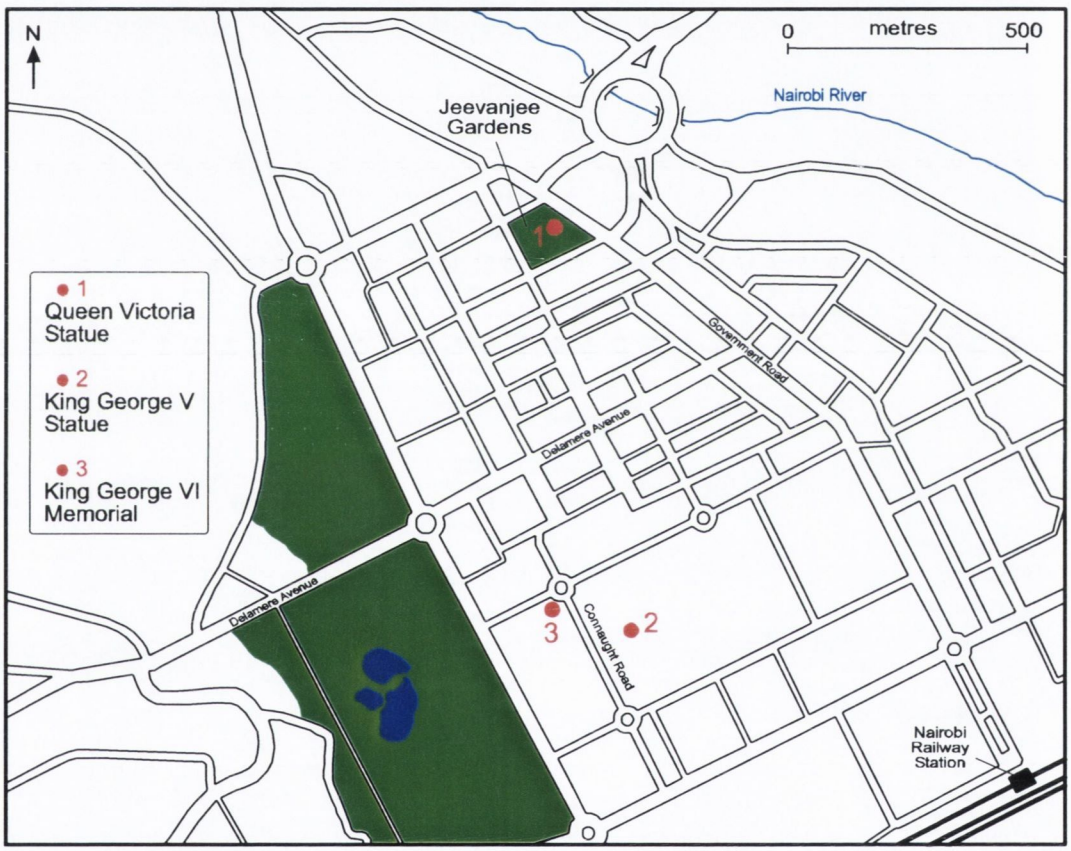


Figure 2.2 Map showing the location of colonial Nairobi's Queen Victoria Statue, King George V Statue and King George VI Memorial Fountain.[8]

[5] The rupee was used until 1920, when the East African Protectorate became the Kenya Colony.
[6] Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 38.
[7] Oza, quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 55.
[8] This map has been constructed from maps of present-day Nairobi (primarily R. W. Moss (Ed), *Nairobi A to Z: A Complete Guide*, 4th ed., Nairobi, 2002) and therefore the monuments are depicted in relation to Nairobi's post-independence street pattern. The main grid pattern remains essentially the same, although much developed since the erection of the Queen Victoria Statue in 1906. Delamere Avenue was once called Sixth Avenue and is now called Kenyatta Avenue while Government Road is today's Moi Avenue.

Privately financed by Jeevanjee, the marble statue was sculpted in England and depicts Queen Victoria in royal robes holding in her right hand the sceptre, the symbol of royal power. After its erection in the Jeevanjee Gardens, the statue was donated to the Municipal Council of Nairobi and unveiled on 17 March 1906 by the Duke of Connaught. Although unofficial, the visit to East Africa by the Duke, his wife and their daughter was a much anticipated event as 'Never before has a member of any Royal Household set foot on these shores.'[9] Such was the importance of this royal visit that even trivial details were extensively reported in the *East African Standard*, where whole pages throughout the newspaper, before, during and after the visit, were dedicated to details such as the colour of the clothes worn by each family member on their arrival to the Kenyan coast. Arriving at the coast, the Royal family travelled by train from Mombasa to Nairobi where the choreography of events surrounding the unveiling of the Queen Victoria monument and public participation in the ceremonies combined to demand loyalty to the British Empire from people of all races in Nairobi and to assert British authority in the landscape.



Figure 2.3 The visit of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught to Nairobi, March 1906. Exhibit of Game Trophies en-route.
Source: McMillan Library.

[9] *East African Standard* (hereafter *EAS*), 17 March 1906, 6.



Figure 2.4 The visit of the T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught to Nairobi, March 1906.
Source: McMillan Library.



Figure 2.5 The visit of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught to Nairobi, 1906. Exhibit of Game Trophies en-route.
Source: McMillan Library.

On the day of the unveiling, Nairobi was 'profusely decorated'[10] and the streets following the family's journey from Nairobi Railway Station to the Public Gardens were 'thronged with enthusiastic crowds, and lined on either side by Masai warriors who gave a most picturesque effect to the whole scene, and were an excellent object lesson in loyalty to the more truculent members of other local tribes'[11] (Figures 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6) As reported in the *East African Standard*, this statement underlines the relationship of power between Nairobi's British community and the local African population and illustrates how the unveiling ceremony and the Duke's visit were used to confirm British dominance.



Figure 2.6 The visit of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught to Nairobi, 1906.
Source: McMillan Library.

Gathered at the Jeevanjee Gardens were Government officials and leading members of the settler and Indian communities. Upon the arrival of the Duke of Connaught to the Gardens, John Ainsworth, Sub-Commissioner for the province of Ukamba (of which

[10] *EAS*, 10 March 1906, 11; *EAS*, 24 March 1906, 7.
[11] *EAS*, 24 March 1906, 7.

Nairobi is the capital) read an address of welcome from the townspeople of Nairobi. In this address he drew attention to the town's multi-racial population, highlighting how,

> Assembled here to honour you to-day are representatives of every community in British East Africa.
>
> There is hardly one of His Majesty's dominions but has contributed sons or daughters to our present gathering, and although composed of many and varied races but one feeling that beats in every heart this day, that of loyalty and devotion to King Edward's throne.[12]

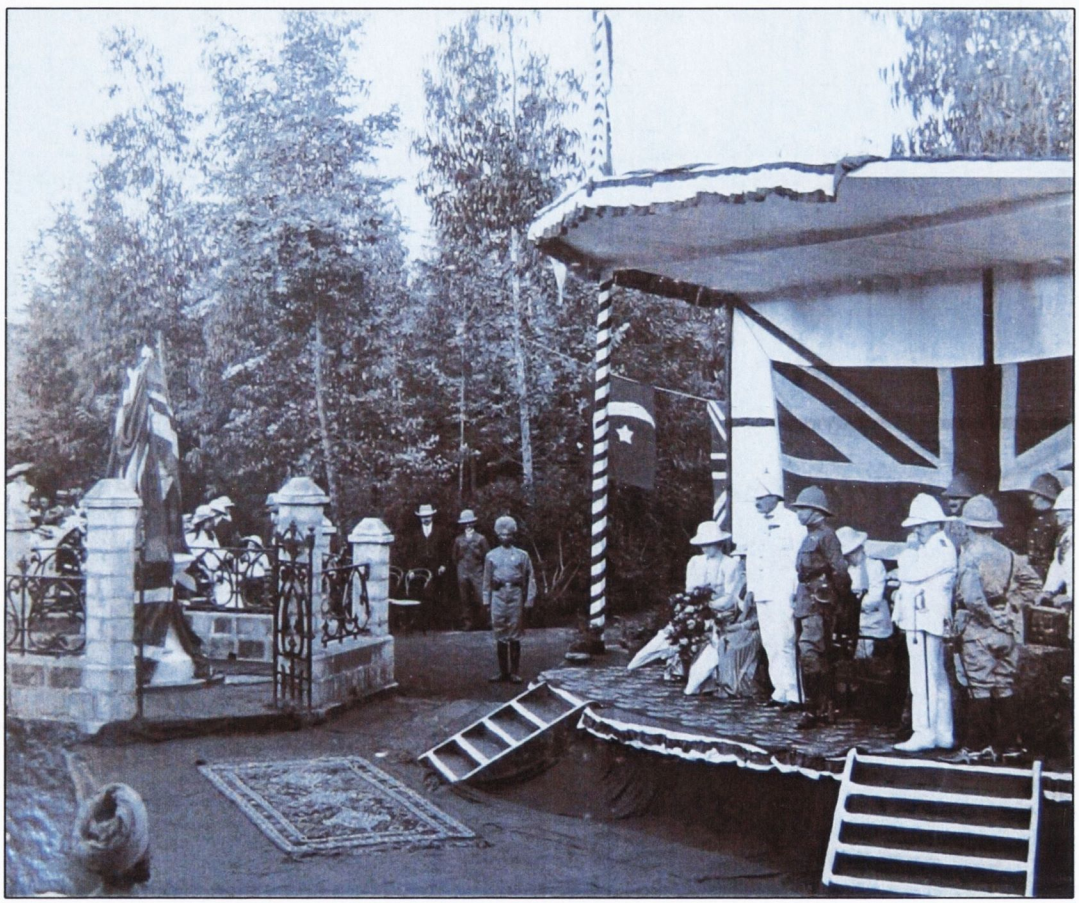


Figure 2.7 Royal Party at the Jeevanjee Gardens prior to performing the ceremony of unveiling the statue of Queen Victoria.
Source: McMillan Library.

After this address, Jeevanjee was presented to the Duke who then unveiled the Queen Victoria statue while a band played *God Save the King*. The statue had been covered by a Union Jack, as illustrated in Figure 2.7. The unveiling was followed by addresses read on behalf of both the Colonists' Association and the Indian Community. Despite Ainsworth's statement, no members of Nairobi's African population were invited to address the Duke of Connaught. The Secretary of the Colonists' Association, Mr. McLellan Wilson,

[12] *EAS*, 24 March 1906, 7. See Appendix I for the full address.

expressed how 'the Settlers of this Protectorate ... wish your Royal Highness to convey to His Majesty and Her Majesty Queen Alexandra our sentiments of the most loyal and affectionate devotion.'[13] Similarly, Mr. Ghandy, as the representative of the Indian Community, voiced how the 'Indian subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, now residing in Nairobi, ... pray Your Royal Highness to convey to His Majesty, the King-Emperor, the assurance of the devoted loyalty of his Indian subjects to his person and throne.'[14] Thus this unveiling ceremony afforded an opportunity for Nairobi's British officials, settlers and Asian residents to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Empire.

In a despatch from the Commissioner's Office in Nairobi to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir James Hayes Sadler describes the success of the Duke of Connaught's visit and remarks how 'His Royal Highness was particularly impressed ... by the contented appearance of the natives who throughout the tour welcomed His Royal Highness with unmistakable feelings of loyalty and pleasure.'[15] Yet the choreography of events at the unveiling ceremony of the Queen Victoria statue in Nairobi illustrates the power relations between the different races in the young town where, although donated by an Indian, the statue was appropriated by Nairobi's British officials and, to a lesser extent, settler community as a means of highlighting their authority. The town's African population had no active role in the unveiling ceremony but were merely 'ornamental', used for their 'picturesque' qualities but also as a means of demonstrating to the Royal visitors that British domination had been successfully established.

With a stronger numerical presence than the British, and having played a pivotal role in the development of the town, the Asian community held a prominent position in early Nairobi. Through his successful business ventures, Jeevanjee became well known not only among the Asians but also among the Europeans. Many of British East Africa's early British officials had come from India and thus had good relations with the Asians living in the Protectorate. Yet even in their acceptance of Jeevanjee, that they got on well with him was largely attributed to and explained as a result of his 'European qualities', as highlighted in the *Leader* which noted that,

[13] *EAS*, 24 March 1906, 7. See Appendix I for the full address.
[14] *EAS*, 24 March 1906, 7. See Appendix I for full address.
[15] Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, to Commissioner's Office, Nairobi, 20 March 1906, TNA CO533/12: 307-308.

> Of all the Indian prominent men that we have met in this country, Mr. Jeevanjee is the first and only one with whom one may converse just as one might with a European businessman. Mr. Jeevanjee does not even pretend to 'education'; but he speaks colloquial English fluently; uses British terms and airs his views just as any European of his position and commercial standing might do. In fact Mr. Jeevanjee is typical of a British self-made man in his frankness, independence and lack and abhorrence of humbug. Perhaps his Eastern mind and early training and associations peep out in a thread of dry philosophy, rather quaint in his otherwise matter-of-fact views.[16]

Hence Indian representation at the unveiling ceremony of the Queen Victoria statue acknowledged the influence of this community in Nairobi and British East Africa, but in the context of emphasising their role as British subjects. In addition, the order in which the addresses were made to the Duke of Connaught at the ceremony reflects the power relations between the different groups of Nairobi's society at this early stage of the town's life. As the government's representative, John Ainsworth was first to address the Duke, followed by an address read on behalf of the settler community and lastly one read by the Indian community. No address was made by any Africans.

While early British officials maintained a cordial relationship with the Protectorate's Indians, the settlers were less receptive to them and appealed to Sir Charles Eliot, Commissioner of British East Africa between 1900 and 1904, to discourage Indian settlement and support European immigration.[17] In addition, Lord Elgin, the Secretary of State, pledged in 1908 that 'as a matter of administrative convenience grants in the upland areas should not be made to Indians.'[18] Thus Europeans were given the exclusive right to the Protectorate's highlands and through the Governor's veto on the sale of lands between people of different races, the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 equipped the colonial state with a means to maintain the 'White Highlands'.[19] As settler numbers grew, so did the tensions between the European and Asian communities. And as the settlers strove to make the territory a 'white man's country', Jeevanjee found himself more and more drawn into the world of politics, having been appointed by the Indian community as their leader in their struggle for equal rights. As summarised by Patel,

> The early British officers who came here actually came from India, they transferred here from there. So they had very good relations with the Indians here. And they

[16] *Leader*, 13 February 1913, quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 26-27.
[17] Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*; Zeleza, The establishment of colonial rule; R. Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance, 1920-1929, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya*, 71-111.
[18] Quoted in M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway*, Nairobi, 1949, 380.
[19] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance.

> were aware of how much they could do in terms of developing the country, you know, so they used them. Later on we had white settlers coming in from England, and then we had the Boers coming in from South Africa. And they didn't want to hear about the Indians. And that's how Jeevanjee got politicized. He was not a political person, he just came for business. But when he came up against the race issue ... and you see Queen Victoria had said that people who emigrate to other colonies will get equal treatment.[20]

In Jeevanjee's eyes, 'the Indians are British-subjects'[21] and what he found particularly unjust was that in a British Protectorate, non-British Europeans were afforded greater privileges than British Indians. This prompted him in 1912 to write 'An Appeal on behalf of the Indians in East Africa' and in the introduction he expressed how,

> ... I felt very keenly the humiliating condition of my fellow countrymen; I could not bear to see with philosophic calmness the unequal and unjustifiable treatment, meted out to them by the "white population" in East Africa. I could not bear to witness, with patience, the tremendous harm, that is being done to the noble idea of Imperialism by a policy of colour-hatred ... how the British Indians, the loyal subjects of King George could not purchase certain plots of land, which were offered for sale to persons only "of European origin;" ... Here in India we are proud of the British connection. We are proud of being the citizens of an empire over which the Sun never sets. We are conscious of innumerable blessings that the British Rule has conferred on India. We have been taught to believe that the name of British Rule stands for justice and equality. ... Now I ask you is it right, that those very British subjects who cleared the way for Great Britain to enter the country, who have done the pioneer work, who have converted the hopeless desert into fertile field and a useful mart for the world's wares, should be regarded by the microscopic minority of the white settlers as undesirables and niggers to be boycotted and got rid of? ... We, British Indians, who have such vast interests in Africa, who have adopted East Africa as *our country* and made it *our home* cannot afford to run away at the mere approach of the white bullies. We turn to the Imperial Government for help and protection against the white tyranny. ... We don't want the whole country to ourselves. ... What we want is equal rights and equal treatment.[22]

In their empathy with the Indian cause, early British administrators also felt the brunt of settler resentment and in April 1906, not long after the Queen Victoria statue was unveiled, the *Times of East Africa* published a letter advocating that

> ... the Indian policy of certain officials must become a thing of the past. No official who is known to favour the preposterous demands of the Indians must be suffered to retain his position. They have known the feeling of the European population and they have disregarded it with thinly veiled contempt.[23]

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[20] Interview, Zarina Patel, Nairobi, August 2005.

[21] A.M. Jeevanjee, Forward to 'An Appeal on behalf of the Indians in East Africa', Bombay, 22 February 1912, in: G. H. Mungeam (Ed), *Kenya: Select Historical Documents 1884-1923*, Nairobi, 1979, 473-476, 475.

[22] Jeevanjee, Forward, 473-475.

[23] Quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 63.

At the time of Jeevanjee's Appeal, the Indians still viewed the Imperial Government as a potential ally in their fight against settler domination. And while the Protectorate's first British administrators were sympathetic to Indian rights, this was not to remain the case for long as later British administrators supported settler cause or gave in to pressures from the settlers. Sir Edward Northey, who was appointed Governor in 1919, showed particular favouritism to the settlers over the Indians and in 1919 expressed these thoughts in a letter to the Indian Association, stating that 'This country is primarily for European development, and whereas the interests of the Indian will not be lost sight of, in all respects the European must dominate.'[24] By 1920, Jeevanjee had lost his faith in the Imperial ideal and in a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies written on 2 September, he lamented how the 'Indians fare no better at the hands of the Imperial Government than at those of a Self-Governing British Colony.'[25]

Issues of racial segregation quickly became a concern in the colonial Protectorate and by the 1920s the Asians were particularly aggrieved by segregation policies. In 1915, as well as the enforcement of the Crown Lands Ordinance which reserved the Highlands[26] for the exclusive use of the Europeans, the Government announced that segregation of Europeans, Asians and Africans was to be applied in the commercial and residential areas of the main urban centres.[27] In 1921 the grievances felt by the Asians culminated in a mass meeting held by the Indian Association of Nairobi to protest the segregation clause passed by the Legislative Council (Legco). This meeting took place in the Jeevanjee Gardens. Thus the Queen Victoria statue which was erected as an expression of loyalty to the British Empire came to gaze upon a mass protest against a series of colonial policies that had set in motion the Asians' anti-colonial struggle. The statue now stood in an uneasy juxtaposition in Nairobi's landscape. The Asians who had once admired the ideals of imperialism had lost their faith in it and felt betrayed by it. As expressed, in 1923, by Hukam Singh, one of Nairobi's Asians,

> I am now in my 60s, I gave the best of my life to the service of the British Government but when I take into consideration the treatment to me and my

[24] Quoted in E. Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya: 1914-1931*, Vol. II, London, 1968, 115.
[25] Quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 91.
[26] Land in the Kenya Highlands was much sought after as it was among the best land in the country for agriculture.
[27] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi*.

compatriots, I cannot naturally entertain the same old feeling of loyalty and affection for the British Raj as I used to before. The feeling of loyalty must be founded on some common interest, but as long as Britishers choose to treat us with contempt and hostility, you will appreciate that it would be humanly impossible for us to be over pleased with the British connection.[28]



Figure 2.8 Queen Victoria Statue, Jeevanjee Gardens, 2005.

Yet not only had the Asians lost their faith in British Imperialism, they now actively fought against it. And the man who had donated the Queen Victoria statue to the citizens of Nairobi became one of the leading figures in this fight. A once wealthy entrepreneur who built much of Nairobi, Jeevanjee died a poor man on 2 May 1936. His unplanned entrance into politics and his role in it thereafter cost him his fortune but earned him the great respect of the Protectorate's Asians, 'he loved the Indian community and they loved him ... no leader has ever been given so much respect by the masses.'[29] His obituary in the *Kenya Daily Mail* articulated how

[28] Letter to the *Democrat*, 16 Feb 1923, quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 126.
[29] *Kenya Daily Mail*, 18 May 1936.

> Indians in East Africa lost a great pioneer ... for nearly two decades his masterful personality dominated the Indian public life in almost all activities, but more especially in the politics of the period ... It is to his pioneering courage and foresight that Indians in Kenya are today in a far better position than in any other colony or Protectorate of the British Empire.[30]



Figure 2.9 The Queen Victoria Statue stands dilapidated in Nairobi, 2005.

In donating the Queen Victoria statue to Nairobi, Jeevanjee stipulated that the monument never be removed. Thus the statue still stands in Nairobi's Jeevanjee Gardens (Figure 2.8) but, like most of the city's public monuments, it stands in a state of disrepair (see, for example, Figure 2.9), its inscription no longer legible. Hence in postcolonial Nairobi 'the millions of people who see the statue don't know their eyes are graced with an important – at least historical – sight'[31] and in addition, many visitors to the park are under the impression that the statue depicts the Virgin Mary.[32] The Jeevanjee Gardens have become a popular place for open-air preaching and rather than projecting an ideology onto those

[30] *Kenya Daily Mail,* 18 May 1936.
[31] *Sunday Nation*, 24 July 1983.
[32] Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*; *EAS*; *Daily Nation* .

who view it, the statue is instead blanketed with meanings cast onto it by those viewers. Thus

> a monument is, at one level, just a rock or stone, perhaps incorporating a carving or representation of some sort. Superimposed on that basic 'thingness', it may carry a formal inscription. And in due course, yet other thoughts will be inscribed or projected on to it, literally or metaphorically, the later ones partly or wholly obscuring the earlier ones: it becomes a palimpsest. Because it is durable, because extension in time is of the essence of a monument, it has a narrative quality: it speaks of 'then' and 'now'.[33]

So to those who recognise the monument as a statue of Queen Victoria, it stands as an imperial reminder, inspiring a sense of a colonial 'then' which places into perspective the 'now' of a Kenya having achieved independence from colonial rule. Yet even then it tells only of British colonialism and British domination in Nairobi and the rest of the country. It speaks nothing of the Asian role in the British colonisation of the Protectorate, of how the man who donated the statue to Nairobi's citizens had once admired British imperialism and then confronted it. The ironies folded in Queen Victoria's robes are hidden from the casual viewer, only revealed in the statue's history. Yet unfolding the statue's history gives an insight into the unsettled nature of Asian identity in Nairobi. When the Queen Victoria statue was erected in 1906, Nairobi's Asians viewed themselves as British subjects and in their struggle for equal rights with the country's settlers appealed to the Imperial government for support. Jeevanjee was an instrumental figure in this struggle and not receiving the support they asked for, the country's Asians felt betrayed by the colonial government and lost their faith in the imperial ideal. So 'Settler racism and Imperial hypocrisy'[34] came to redefine Asian identity as the Asians were less willing to view themselves as British subjects. Even today the issue of identity in Kenya's Asian community remains problematic. An Asian-African exhibition at the National Museums of Kenya expressed how,

> After a continuous presence of over 200 years and having fifth generation Africans in almost all families, our Asian African minority is taking stock of itself. Is it Asian or African; Indian or South Asian or Kenyan; or all of them? What are its identities civic, cultural, political, social? ... All this has generated interest within the community and among fellow Kenyans. This exhibition examines part of the record. ... This process of defining a community must come from the community itself. In respect of the Asian African community, Dr. Sultan Somjee says, "How I define my social identity is my responsibility. For it is also my human right to practice and enjoy my bi-continental tradition. I hold the culture of the Indian

[33] Auster, Monument in a Landscape, 220-221.
[34] Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 102.

> Ocean of my Asian ancestors and their African descendents. That makes my family Asian African." Such a process of definition is necessary for every Kenyan community. It is a process of self-definition, and not of being defined by colonial or chauvinist apologists or administrators, or merely updating their ideas, pronouncements or stereotypes, and re-examination of memories, images and the artefacts of daily life. ... The Asian African presence is neither sufficiently represented in our history books nor in our schools or universities. Therefore, education and self-examination by the minority as by the nation itself, are overdue.[35]

This exhibition was set up by members of Nairobi's Asian community and in struggling to clarify the identity of Asians in Kenya there is a desire to re-evaluate Kenyan Asian identity outside colonial parameters. In addition to once admiring the British Empire, many Asians in colonial Kenya held British passports. Yet in the struggle for equal rights and with the achievement of Kenyan independence, the redefinition of Asian identity does not acknowledge any British loyalties. Erected as an expression of loyalty to the British Empire from all of Nairobi's communities, the passage of time has brought with it a change in the messages conveyed by and the meanings interpreted from the Queen Victoria monument. This passage of time has also been accompanied by a physical deterioration of the monument, which now stands 'stained, tainted and weathered'[36] and is 'the very picture of neglect.'[37]

This deterioration of the monument with time is also reflective of the deterioration of the statue's symbolic statement of power in the landscape. Donated to the citizens of Nairobi by an Asian, the Queen Victoria statue was appropriated by Nairobi's European community through the Duke of Connaught's visit and the unveiling ceremony of the monument. The unveiling of the statue was used as a means of highlighting, to Nairobi's residents, the authority of the British in the town. But it was also used to illustrate to the visiting British Royal family that British authority had been asserted. In addition, the aggrandisement of the town allowed the colonial government in Nairobi to prove to the royal visitors Kenya's status as a loyal country of the Empire. The monument came to stand in Nairobi's symbolic landscape as a statement of European colonial power. However, with the achievement of independence the symbolic power of the statue, like parts of the statue itself, has eroded away. The statue instead represents, to some, a reminder of a colonial past. To others it is just part of the Jeevanjee Gardens.

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[35] National Museums of Kenya and The Asian African Heritage Trust, *The Asian African Heritage: Identity and History*, Exhibition hosted by National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi, viewed September 2005.
[36] *The People*, 2 March 2001.
[37] *Daily Nation*, hereafter, *DN*, 6 May 2001.

2.3 King George V Statue

Between the erection of the Queen Victoria statue in 1906 and that of King George V in 1945, Nairobi developed substantially and this growth occurred particularly in the inter-war years. It was during this time that large buildings such as the Law Courts, the Town Hall, the Railway Headquarters, the Market and the Library were built. In the development of Nairobi, 1926 proved to be an important year. It was in this year that the Governor appointed a Local Government Commission to examine the planning and organization of the Nairobi municipality.[38] In the same year, F. Walton Jameson of Kimberly, South Africa, was invited as a consultant to prepare a new town plan for Nairobi. Jameson worked on this plan with Herbert Baker, an architect who was a key figure in South African architecture between 1892 and 1912 and who also played a large role, along with Edwin Lutyens, in designing New Delhi. In order to implement Jameson's proposals a joint Government and Municipal Town Planning Authority was appointed and although it appears to have been short-lived, it enabled Nairobi to develop rapidly in the following few years.[39]

Meanwhile in the early 1920s Kenya witnessed the emergence of African protest, which was triggered by the negative repercussions of the First World War and the post-war depression. But perhaps more significantly, this protest was also in reaction to the colonial state's preferential treatment towards the settlers, which had an unfavourable impact on many Africans in terms of increased taxes, wage cuts, the *kipande* registration system[40] and forced labour, loss of land, and the lack of political rights, especially in relation to those held by the settlers.[41] African discontent was voiced by men such as Harry Thuku, who emerged after the First World War as part of a generation of educated elite produced by Kenya's mission schools.[42] However, despite the emergence of African political associations during this time, Maxon describes how 'Such protest in the early 1920s was

[38] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi*.
[39] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi*.
[40] Settler pressure resulted in the introduction of a registration system in Kenya. Approved in 1915 but not fully implemented until 1920, the Registration Ordinance was employed in order to provide settlers with a more reliable and stable labour supply. Thus African males over the age of sixteen were obliged to carry with them an identity card, which also functioned as a work record. This registration document, known by the Kiswahili word *kipande*, was hugely resented by Africans as it controlled and restricted the movement of African labour and enabled the European settlers to more easily force Africans to work for them. In addition, to the Africans it highlighted their inferior status in their own country and was seen as a tool of control and domination.
[41] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance.
[42] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance.

diffuse, it was concentrated largely among small numbers of Africans, had not developed a solid and consistent mass following, and effective national links pulling together all major ethnic groups had not developed.'[43] Notwithstanding this, the protests and political organizations which arose as a result of African dissatisfaction had a significant impact on African politics in the future. In addition, as a result of the expanding impact of capitalism, the 1920s and 1930s saw the emergence in the country of a small, but noteworthy, African petty-bourgeoisie, which too was to have an effect on the future of Africans in Kenya.[44]

It was in this context, and after the death of King George V in 1936, that a King George V Memorial Committee was appointed by the Kenya Government to consider 'whether or not Kenya should have a memorial [to King George V] and, if so, what form of Memorial would be the most suitable and to draft an appeal for the necessary funds.'[45] At a meeting held in October 1936, the King George V Memorial Committee considered various suggestions on the form the memorial could take. These included a King George Research Building as part of the proposed hospital, an x-ray room, and improvement of the Coryndon Memorial Museum. The idea of a statue was also raised at this meeting although committee members differed greatly in their views of this idea. Mr. Nicol[46] at first 'thought the general feeling would be that a statue was of no use to anybody'[47] but later suggested 'a really magnificent statue, such as that at the entrance of the Suez Canal, on a prominent hill overlooking the plains.'[48] Captain Anderson, on the other hand, proposed that 'the Memorial should take the form of something more than the usual type of statue. ... it should be erected on a really prominent site. Its base might be in parts – a part for every section of the Community. It should be accompanied by something which would impress the imagination.'[49]

Thus, only months after the death of King George V, the idea of erecting a statue as a form of memorial to the late King began to take shape and from the beginning it was envisioned

[43] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance, 84.
[44] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance; T. Kanogo, Kenya and the depression, 1929-1939, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya*, 112-143.
[45] Minutes of meeting of King George Memorial Committee, Nairobi, 5 October 1936, KNA CS/2/1/8: 2.
[46] A European member for Mombasa on the Legco.
[47] KNA CS/2/1/8: 2.
[48] KNA CS/2/1/8: 2.
[49] KNA CS/2/1/8: 2.

that such a memorial should be targeted at 'all communities in the Colony.'[50] By June 1937 this idea had developed no further, prompting the Governor, Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, to write in a note to the Chief Secretary, 'I am definitely of the opinion that if this Colony does nothing in the way of a Memorial to King George the Fifth, it will remain a permanent blot on her history.'[51] However, he also expressed his opposition to any form of statue, arguing that 'In the first place, nobody ever likes a statue when it is made, there will be considerable difficulty in deciding its location, and I do not believe it is the form of Memorial that King George the Fifth would have wished. I suggest it that it takes the form of x-ray equipment for one or more hospital.'[52] On the other hand, one member of the public queried

> ...what is the memorial to be? Is it really to be an effort to commemorate the memory of an illustrious sovereign, who served his Empire in such an outstanding manner, or are we to seize the opportunity under the guise of a memorial, to endow some utilitarian scheme, which we should like to have, but which otherwise we feel we cannot afford. In other words is it a real memorial we want, or are we going to give ourselves a present thinly disguised, in the manner in which a man might give his wife a box of cigars for Christmas? I sincerely hope that we are going all out for a real memorial, in which case it must mean the erection of a statue or statues. ... Many people, especially English people dislike statues, largely because they come from a country which abounds in them, and where they are often erected to commemorate comparative mediocrities or even nobodies, but in a young colony like this statues are not overdone, and therefore a statue would immediately catch the eye and constitute a real memorial.[53]

An appeal for funds was launched on 17 September 1937 by which stage there was still no decision as to the ultimate form the memorial should take except that 'the funds will be directed to benefit the youth of all races in the country and will also include some visible Memorial in the Capital of the Colony.'[54] All communities in Kenya were asked to make subscriptions to the fund, and local organisations and committees were set up throughout the country in order to collect such subscriptions. As regards to collecting funds from Asians, Dr. S. D. Karve, Secretary of the Indian National Congress and member of the Committee, stressed that

> the Indian community is not used to sending their subscriptions towards any fund in fact on a Press appeal and a personal canvas is necessary if adequate subscriptions are to be expected. The Committee will therefore have to appoint

[50] KNA CS/2/1/8: 2.
[51] R. Brooke-Popham to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 15 June 1937, KNA GH/15/2: 1.
[52] KNA GH/15/2: 1.
[53] *Kenya Weekly News*, 2 July 1937.
[54] KNA CS/2/1/8.

> local Indian Sub Committees in different places ... Unless this is done I do not think the support from the Indians would be adequate.[55]

In addition, in order to maximise the collection of funds from Asians, copies of the Chairman's appeal were printed in the more common Indian languages in East Africa. Thus, as well as one thousand English copies of the Chairman's original appeal, one thousand each in Urdu, Gujarati and Hindustani were printed and distributed around the Colony.[56] While a member of the Asian community was placed in charge of collecting funds for the memorial from his own community, the appeal for, and collection of funds from the African community was put under the direction of Committee member H. R. Montgomery, the Chief Native Commissioner. Montgomery issued a circular to all Provincial Commissioners and Officers in Charge in which he expressed how, in his opinion,

> natives of the Colony would appreciate the erection of a suitable statue in the capital, something dignified and impressive which they and future generations could look at. ... I would suggest that in Native Reserves you should ask the missions to co-operate and of course all Headmen will assist and I very much hope that there will be thousands of small individual subscriptions which will amount to a large sum in the aggregate.[57]

However, at a meeting of the King George V Memorial Committee in October 1937, Montgomery explained how the 'Provincial Commissioners considered that the psychological moment had been lost and that natives were now far more interested in the present King and Queen than in His late Majesty.'[58] In a letter to Brooke-Popham in January 1938, Rhodes expressed his disappointment at the response from the African section of Kenya's population and his hopes of stimulating further interest among Africans by distributing photographs of King George V to 'the natives for all contributions of 1/- and upwards.'[59] The apparent difficulty in collecting funds from Africans could be attributed to many factors and could be read as reflecting their lack of interest in, or their resistance to, the British Empire. The Provincial Commissioners' explanation for the lack of contribution towards the memorial from the African community is interesting, however; such was the esteem with which the British held their empire that rather than read such poor response as lack of loyalty or attachment to the empire's monarchy, it was reasoned

[55] Dr. S. D. Karve, Mombasa, to Sir Godfrey Rhodes, Nairobi, 26 August 1937, KNA CS/2/1/8: 27.
[56] KNA CS/2/1/8.
[57] KNA CS/2/1/8.
[58] KNA CS/2/1/8.
[59] KNA CS/2/1/8; KNA CS/2/1/11.

that the African community were instead preoccupied in their loyalty to the new rulers of the empire. Those Africans that did subscribe to the fund were rewarded with an image of the king.

An appeal for subscriptions was also made in England through the Commissioner for East African Dependencies, the Crown Agents for the Colonies and the newspaper *East Africa and Rhodesia*. Thus, in establishing a memorial to King George V in Kenya, a huge appeal for funds was set in motion. Not only were funds sought in the Colony, but also in England. In addition, the appeal for funds in Kenya was a country-wide appeal, targeted at all communities, although a concerted effort was made to encourage Asians and Africans to subscribe to the fund. In the appeal for funds for the memorial, loyalty to the British Empire was demanded from all races in Kenya.

At a King George V Memorial Committee meeting in January 1938 the form the visible memorial should take was discussed and it was suggested that visible memorials also be erected in the provincial capitals of Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Nyeri. At a February meeting the Committee agreed that the fund appeal should officially be closed at the end of March which 'would mean that active propaganda would cease, but there would be no objection to receiving further subscriptions after that date should they be forthcoming.'[60]

As ideas regarding Nairobi's visible memorial began to take shape, Brooke-Popham looked to Uganda and Tanganyika as to how they had commemorated King George V.[61] One part of Uganda's memorial was to consist of a statue of the King.[62] This was eventually erected in front of the High Court in Kampala and unveiled on 2 December 1939 by the then Governor of Uganda, Sir Philip Mitchell.[63] The Uganda King George V statue was designed and sculpted by Gilbert Ledward.[64] By means of enquiries through the Crown Agents, the Kenya King George V Memorial Committee also considered

[60] KNA CS/2/1/8.
[61] KNA GH/15/2.
[62] The Uganda Memorial Fund was divided into two parts, the first devoted to a continuing memorial and the second to monuments. For the continuing memorial, £9,700 was subscribed by the public and the Uganda Government added a further £10,300. This £20,000 was invested by the Crown Agents 'and the income is to be devoted in such charitable, educational, social or scientific purposes as the trustees determine.' For the monuments, the Uganda Government gave £5,000 which was to be devoted to a Memorial window in Namiembe Cathedral, a monument at the Ripon Falls near Jinja and the statue of King George V in Kampala [KNA GH/15/2: 79].
[63] TNA CO536/203/2: 20.
[64] Sir Philip Mitchell (Governor of Uganda) to Brooke-Popham, 4 May 1938, KNA GH/15/2: 79.

commissioning Ledward.[65] Brooke-Popham saw 'no reason to confine ourselves to him. The Uganda statue will doubtless be imposing, but from the photographs I saw at Entebbe, it seems to me more like King Alfred than King George V.'[66] The Committee, however, 'were very favourably impressed with Ledward's design for the statue of H. M. in Service Dress'[67] and the sculptor was appointed to carry out a similar statue for Nairobi. As with the Uganda statue, Nairobi's statue depicted King George V in service dress, remembering the King for his role in World War I (Figure 2.10).



Figure 2.10 King George V Statue, Nairobi.
Source: *EAS.*

[65] A British sculptor, Ledward was one of the main artists employed by the Imperial War Graves Commission to memorialise the fallen of the Great War. He continued to produce public sculpture until after World War II and devoted himself largely to memorials [A. Borg, *War Memorials: from antiquity to the present*, London, 1991]. Ledward's work was predominantly figurative and in London, his most renowned work is the Guards' Division Memorial at Horse Guards Parade.

[66] Brooke-Popham to C.S., Nairobi, 12 July 1938, KNA GH/15/2: 24.

[67] A. de Wade (Chief Secretary King George V Memorial Committee) to Brooke-Popham, Nairobi, 20 August 1938, KNA GH/15/2: 72; KNA: GH/15/2.

Brooke-Popham also opposed the erection of small memorials in the provincial capitals, arguing that 'Personally I think it would be better to concentrate on having one really good one, and that to have a total of 4 memorials as well as the one at Nairobi would mean dissipation of our available assets.'[68] Yet by early January 1939, the King George V Memorial Committee had decided that the funds collected should be devoted to a visible memorial in Nairobi in the form of a statue of King George V, and to visible memorials at Mombasa, Nyeri, Nakuru and Kisumu of a nature to be recommended locally but subject to approval by the Governor. The balance was to be divided between the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides Associations.[69]

A site in City Square in front of the Law Courts (Figure 2.2) was chosen to host the statue and preparations to erect the pedestal, made out of local granitic gneiss, began in late 1939. The statue arrived in Nairobi from England at the end of June 1940[70] although there were concerns that if erected then it would be subject to war-related damage:

> Is it the intention of Government that the Statue should be erected, keeping in view the fact that it might be desirable to protect it against bomb splinters during the period of the war, and also keeping in view that the Statue is at present stored at the Public Works Department where it would probably be more likely to receive injury from a similar cause.
>
> The erection of the Statue in position would, it is presumed, entail an unveiling ceremony which might not be considered desirable in the present circumstances. Again, from other points of view a ceremony might be considered desirable.[71]

In 1940, African political organisations such as the Kikuyu Central Association, the Ukamba Members Association and the Taita Hills Association had been banned as part of a wartime effort to suppress dissent.[72] Thus, while possible damage to the statue was undesired, the perceived advantages achieved through the symbolism of the statue and its unveiling were considered to perhaps outweigh the threat of damage to the monument at a time when there were attempts to contain African protest in Kenya. Yet, while J. C. Stronach, the Director of Public Works suggested that 'Possibly a few indentations or holes

[68] Brooke-Popham to C.S., Nairobi, 22 August 1938, KNA GH/15/2: 28.
[69] Other suggestions for the balance of the funds included setting up an agricultural training centre, a polytechnic institute or a scholarship scheme, KNA CS/2/1/11.
[70] J. Stronach (Director of Public Works) to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 4 July 1940, KNA CS/2/1/23: 75.
[71] Stronach to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 15 August 1940, KNA CS/2/1/23: 82.
[72] Kanogo, Kenya and the depression; W. Maloba, Nationalism and decolonization, 1947-1963, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya*, 173-201.

in the statue would give it more historical value'[73] it was decided to place the bronze statue in safe storage 'where it can be taken care of, as it would be unfortunate if it was defaced by natives or others taking a fancy to the material of which it is constructed and carving pieces out of the statue.'[74]



Figure 2.11 King George V Statue in front of the Law Courts.
Source: *EAS.*

Sir Henry Moore, Governor of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate from 1940 to 1944, had originally intended that the unveiling ceremony of the King George V statue 'should take place after some important stage in the war had been reached such as the liberation of Paris or the capture of Cologne,'[75] which would have increased the symbolic entry of the monument into the landscape. However, Moore was replaced by Sir Philip Mitchell[76] in

[73] Stronach to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 28 August 1940, KNA CS/2/1/23: 90.
[74] Stronach to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 6 September 1940, KNA CS/2/1/23: 99.
[75] KNA CS/1/2/23: 343.
[76] Sir Philip Mitchell was Governor of Uganda between 17 October 1935 and 7 July 1940, and Governor of Kenya from 11 December 1944 to 21 June 1952.

December 1944 and thus Mitchell came to unveil a second statue in East Africa of King George V. The statue was unveiled on 3 June 1945 in 'a brief ceremony but without speeches'[77] in front of a 'moderate, though most representative crowd.'[78] Among those present were Army, Navy, Air Force and Police representatives, Executive and Legislative Councillors, the Mayor of Nairobi and Municipal Councillors, trustees of the King George V Memorial Fund, and European, Asian and African members of the general public. The Governor inspected the Guard of Honour of the 30th Battalion of the Kings African Rifles before unveiling the statue, which was covered with a Union Jack. Meanwhile a band played *God Save the King*.

By this stage, the African voice in Kenya was beginning to be heard and while, as already mentioned a number of African political organisations were proscribed in 1940, in October 1944, Oxford-educated Eliud Mathu became the first African to be nominated to the Legislative Council. His nomination followed persistent protest by Africans to be represented by a member of their own community rather than by Europeans, and growing concern from the Colonial Office and colonial government about African representation in the Legco in response to increasing settler power.[79] In addition, the Kenya African Study Union, later renamed as the Kenya African Union (KAU), was also formed in October 1944. According to Maloba, 'The formation of KAU in 1944 should rightly be seen as the first serious attempt to organize a party with territorial ambitions – the first formal attempt at territorial nationalism.'[80]

A huge effort had been put into collecting funds from all of Kenya's different communities. An appeal over the wireless had been given by the Governor on 10 November 1937, while 'the fullest possible publicity for the Appeal was given by all sections of the Press, who also kindly published summaries periodically, showing the progress of the Fund.'[81] In addition, pamphlets in various languages were distributed through the District Officers and other organisations to 'establish contact with the different communities of the Colony.'[82] Nine years after the appointment of the King George V Memorial Committee in 1936, a statue of King George V was finally unveiled in Nairobi

[77] KNA CS/2/1/23: 344; KNA CS/2/1/23: 355.
[78] *EAS*, 4 June 1945.
[79] T. Zeleza, Kenya and the Second World War, 1939-1950, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya*, 144-172.
[80] Maloba, Nationalism and decolonization, 186.
[81] KNA CS/2/1/11.
[82] KNA CS/2/1/11.

(Figures 2.10 and 2.11 show the statue as it stood in colonial Nairobi). However, by 1945, African dissatisfaction with colonial policies had begun to make itself heard and the unveiling ceremony of the King George V statue had much less of the pomp and ceremony of the Queen Victoria statue unveiling and was out of all proportion to the energy that had been applied in the appeal for funds for the memorial. In this appeal, Brooke-Popham, Governor of Kenya between 1937 and 1939, complained at one stage that

> The last time mention was made of this Memorial it was criticised as being a purely Government plan, though actually the exact reverse was the case: my whole intention was that a Committee representing all communities in the Colony should organise the appeal and decide exactly what was wanted, and it had to be referred to me eventually because they couldn't come to any decision.[83]

However, in matters such as the form of memorial to the King, the artist commissioned to sculpt the statue and the issue of visible memorials to be erected elsewhere in the Colony, many of Brooke-Popham's suggestions appear to have been ignored. For example, in considering the form the memorial was to take, the Governor felt strongly that the memorial should not consist of a statue. Indeed even after the appeal for funds had been launched there was considerable divergence of views throughout the Colony with regards to the form that the memorial to King George V should take and whether a statue should be part of the memorial or not. In addition to appealing to all communities to subscribe to the memorial, from the beginning there was an emphasis on the fact that the memorial should be one for all races in the country. Thus, many felt that a statue was the only solution as a 'utilitarian' memorial would inevitably favour certain races over others.[84] 'On the other hand, there was also a very strong body of opinion against the expenditure of funds on a statue, bust or monument. The Committee found it impossible to reconcile these two contrary views and it was decided ... that both demands should be met, if possible.'[85] Hence it was decided that a statue of King George V should be erected in the capital. In addition, it was agreed that small memorials should also be erected in the four provincial centres of the Colony although by 1939 only Mombasa, Nakuru and Nyeri were to receive funds for the erection of memorials to King George V while there was no further mention of Kisumu.[86] In Nyeri a King George V Memorial Clock tower designed by Lord Baden Powell was unveiled by the then Governor, Sir Henry Moore, on 4 March 1940.[87] While

[83] Brooke-Popham to C.S., Nairobi, 16 June 1939, KNA GH/15/2: 42.
[84] KNA CS/2/1/11.
[85] KNA CS/2/1/11.
[86] KNACS/2/1/23.
[87] KNA CS/2/1/216: 133; KNA CS/2/1/23: 39.

£250 had been given to each of the committees responsible for the erection of the King George V memorials in Mombasa and Nakuru, by January 1951 no memorials had been erected in either of these towns.[88]

2.4 King George VI Memorial

After the Second World War, the Mayor of Nairobi described how Nairobi had 'reached the stage where a new purpose and directive was imperative, to fit it for the mature rôle of a Colonial Capital.'[89] In addition, the changed colonial practices of Britain after the Second World War realised the promotion of industrialization. The *Master Plan*[90] of 1948 was to tackle these issues by managing and controlling the development of land use, and zoning land in the capital in order to benefit industry in particular, and the economy in general.[91] Not all changes which occurred in Nairobi after the plan necessarily took place because of, or according to, the plan but it did enable the articulation of certain proposals, such as the realignment of the railway. The town continued to grow and on 16 April 1950, on the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of local government in Nairobi, King George VI granted a Royal Charter raising the town's status to that of a city. In August of the same year Mau Mau was banned.

The Mau Mau rebellion was largely confined to the Kikuyu, Kenya's largest ethnic group.[92] In 1948 the Kikuyu numbered around 1.4 million and occupied the highlands in central Kenya, close to Nairobi and bordering the main regions of white settlement.[93] The Mau Mau uprising emerged in the early 1950s, shaped by the politics of the militant nationalists among the Kikuyu which had begun to surface in the 1930s. The leaders among these militant nationalists tended to come from the poorer Kikuyu families with less land, and through Mau Mau intended to voice the concerns of those being excluded by

[88] KNA CS/2/1/216: 62.
[89] F. G. R. Woodley, Foreword, in: Thornton White, Silberman and Anderson, *Master Plan*, iii.
[90] In 1945 a team led by Professor L. W. Thornton White, Head of the Architectural Faculty of Capetown University, was invited to develop a new town plan. Also on the team were Mr. L. Silberman, sociologist and Lecturer in the Department of Social Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and Mr. P. R. Anderson, Senior Town Planning Engineer of the Van der Byl Estate Company, Johannesburg. This team put together a town plan, published in 1948 as *Nairobi: Master Plan of a Colonial Capital.*
[91] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi.*
[92] The correct spelling is Gĩkũyũ but the terms 'Gikuyu' and 'Kikuyu' are more commonly used in referring to the tribe and the tribal language. This thesis will use the term 'Kikuyu'.
[93] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*

social and economic transformations within Kikuyu society.[94] Among their strong supporters were those Kikuyu evicted from European farms, those faced with land hunger within the Kikuyu reserves, and the urban workers and unemployed in Nairobi. By the 1940s, African urbanization accounted for much of Nairobi's growth and the large African population housed in the estates and shanties in the eastern part of the city meant that Nairobi became the centre of militant politics.[95] By the time of Governor Baring's arrival in Nairobi on 30 September 1952, the violence had escalated and less than a month later he declared a state of emergency in Kenya.[96] It was in this setting that the idea of erecting a memorial to King George VI, who had died in February 1952, was mooted, before the declaration of the state of emergency in Kenya, but at a time when Mau Mau violence had started to escalate.



Figure 2.12 King George VI Memorial Fountain, Nairobi, 2005.

Unlike Nairobi's King George V memorial whose ultimate form only evolved after years of debate and discussion, it was determined from the start that a public memorial to King

[94] The main grievances of the Mau Mau included land alienations, racial discrimination and lack of political progress.
[95] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*
[96] Sir Evelyn Baring was Governor of Kenya between 30 September 1952 and 14 October 1959.

George VI should constitute a fountain with a pool (Figure 2.12 depicts the King George VI Memorial Fountain as it now stands in Nairobi). This idea arose in March 1952 at a meeting of the Estates and Parks Committee, a sub-committee of the City Council of Nairobi, through discussion over the development of a proposed traffic island at the junction of Delamere Avenue and the Africa Highway.[97] At this meeting it was also resolved to widen the sub-committee to form an Appeal Committee with authority to invite public subscription to the memorial. Thus the original idea involved the formation of an *ad hoc* sub-committee of the Nairobi City Council but the City Council decided it was a matter of much wider interest and instructed that the sub-committee form itself into the King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee.[98] In May 1952, the government was invited to nominate a representative to serve on the committee.[99] In private correspondence between members of the Secretariat, however, it was felt that

> It does seem to be of doubtful propriety that the Nairobi City Council should be the initiator and sponsors of a Fund Appeal Committee associated with His Late Majesty King George VI. It would seem the more proper course for such a Committee to have Government sponsorship.[100]

In addition, the Government took issue with the title of the committee, claiming that

> The impression is created by the title that it is to be a Colony Committee and yet it is initiated and sponsored by the Nairobi City Council. It seems to me hardly proper for a Local Authority to try to float an appeal in this way and particularly when the specific object in view is an amenity to the City of Nairobi which the City Council would in any event have had to provide for itself.[101]

Thus in July 1952 the Government nominated Mr. C. F. Atkins, the District Commissioner of Nairobi, to serve on the committee but in a letter to the City Council expressed how

> The Government considers it desirable that it should be made clear in the title of the committee, and in any other ways that may be necessary, that the appeal is a City Council one, not on behalf of the Whole Colony; and the memorial will be that of the City of Nairobi, and not the Colony of Kenya. To this end it is suggested that the title of the committee might be "The City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee".[102]

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[97] *City Council of Nairobi Minutes* (hereafter *NCC*) *1951-52*, Vol. XIX, KNA RN/4/100: 1007.
[98] KNA CS/2/1/412.
[99] James Smart (Town Clerk, City Council of Nairobi) to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 29 May 1952, KNA CS/2/1/412: 1/1.
[100] J. J. Adie to D.C.S., Nairobi, 19 June 1952, KNA CS/2/1/412: 3.
[101] C. E. Mortimer (Member for Health, Lands and Local Government) to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 11 June 1952, KNA CS/2/1/412: 1.
[102] J. J. Adie (for Acting Chief Secretary) to Town Clerk, Nairobi, 22 July 1952, KNA CS/1/2/412: 19.

The committee changed its name accordingly and in August 1952, a technical sub-committee was appointed to organise a competition for the design of the memorial based on the criteria that the memorial take the form of a fountain incorporating a plaque bearing the profile of King George VI, and that the cost of the memorial should not exceed £5,000. In addition it was decided that the competition be publicised in East Africa although entries from elsewhere would also be accepted.[103] Following a meeting of the Technical Sub-Committee, further details of the competition were discussed and it was resolved that the Chairman of the East African Institute of Architects be invited to act as Assessor and to draw up the conditions of competition.

In September 1952, the Estates and Parks Committee expressed their opinion 'that in order to permit free public access to the King George VI memorial it would be advisable if the proposed fountain were erected on the corner formed by the junction of Delamere Avenue and Princess Elizabeth Way to the north-west of the new traffic island.'[104] Discussions surrounding the siting of the memorial ensued and a variety of sites were suggested by the Technical Sub-Committee, the Estates and Parks Committee and the City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee. Eventually it was decided that the memorial be erected at the junction of Connaught Road and Sergeant Ellis Avenue (Figure 2.2). Having chosen the site the conditions of the open competition were determined and E. D. Hill, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, was appointed as assessor. The competition was advertised in January 1954 and the deadline for the submission of designs was 10 May 1954. Prizes were set at £100 for first place, £50 for second and £25 for third position. In addition, the competition brief highlighted how it was

> the intention ... that the Memorial shall form the terminal feature of a "vista" running approximately North from a point opposite the Main Entrance to the New Legislative Council Building. The Memorial also occupies a prominent position on an important road (Connaught Road) in relation to the City Square development.[105]

On 4 February 1954 the Press published an appeal by the Mayor of Nairobi, Harold Travis, for 'all citizens to give freely to the Memorial Fund which opens on the 6th February,'[106] the second anniversary of King George VI's death. In addition, the Mayor broadcasted a message on 5 February. In the collection of funds for the memorial, the City of Nairobi

[103] KNA RN/4/108. See Appendix II for the full appeal and broadcasted message by the Mayor.
[104] *NCC 1952-53*, Vol. XX, KNA RN/4/102: 232.
[105] KNA RN/4/108.
[106] KNA RN/4/108; KNA CS/2/1/412: 32.

King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee expressed their hopes of getting 'a warm response from people of all creeds and races in Nairobi in their effort to produce a fountain worthy of the memory of so gracious, tolerant and well-behaved a Sovereign.'[107] To ensure the appeal was directed at all segments of society, it included messages from representatives of Nairobi's different populations. Thus, published messages of support for the appeal were made by M. K. Malde, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Aga Khan. In addition, Councillor Kairu Ngure, the senior African member of the Nairobi City Council, appealed 'particularly to the Africans in Nairobi to show, by making donations however small, that they honour the principles of godliness, brotherhood and tolerance by which King George's life and reign were moulded.'[108] Representing the 'business men of all races in the City of Nairobi,'[109] J. J. Hughes, President of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, also supported the appeal for funds for the memorial. The then Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring similarly expressed his hope that 'people of all races, not only in Nairobi, but throughout the Colony, will subscribe generously towards the commemoration in our capital of His Late Majesty King George VI.'[110] Finally Sir Philip Mitchell appealed to all citizens to give generously to the fund and drew attention to the plan

> to build a fountain in the City Square, in the heart of State and Civic Authority, where stands the statue of the King's famous father; where, as the years pass and the pages of our history, so recently begun, are written in honest purpose and high endeavour, there will be other memorials to those who have earned honour by service. It is a very fitting plan, for the King is the fountain of honour ...[111]

While the appeal was targeted primarily at the capital's citizens, residents of the Colony were also encouraged to donate, as emphasised in the Mayor's broadcast:

> For the citizens of Nairobi, the memorial has a special significance, because it was by Charter of King George VI that our town became a city.
>
> However, I am sure many up-country people listening tonight will wish to support this appeal in the knowledge that any money remaining after the memorial has been paid for will be held and paid into any Colony-wide memorial Fund which is inaugurated.[112]

[107] KNA RN/4/108.
[108] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[109] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[110] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[111] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954. For full messages see Appendix II.
[112] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 6 February 1954.

Twenty-two designs were submitted and first prize was awarded to Vamos, Lustman & Tree (Figure 2.13 illustrates a model of the winning design). Of the winning design, Hill, the Assessor remarked

> ...Though a circular design is the simplest solution to the problem of being viewed from all angles, Scheme 20 (the winning design) has produced a much more interesting solution. ... it is my opinion that this scheme will produce a very pleasing, if unconventional Memorial ...[113]

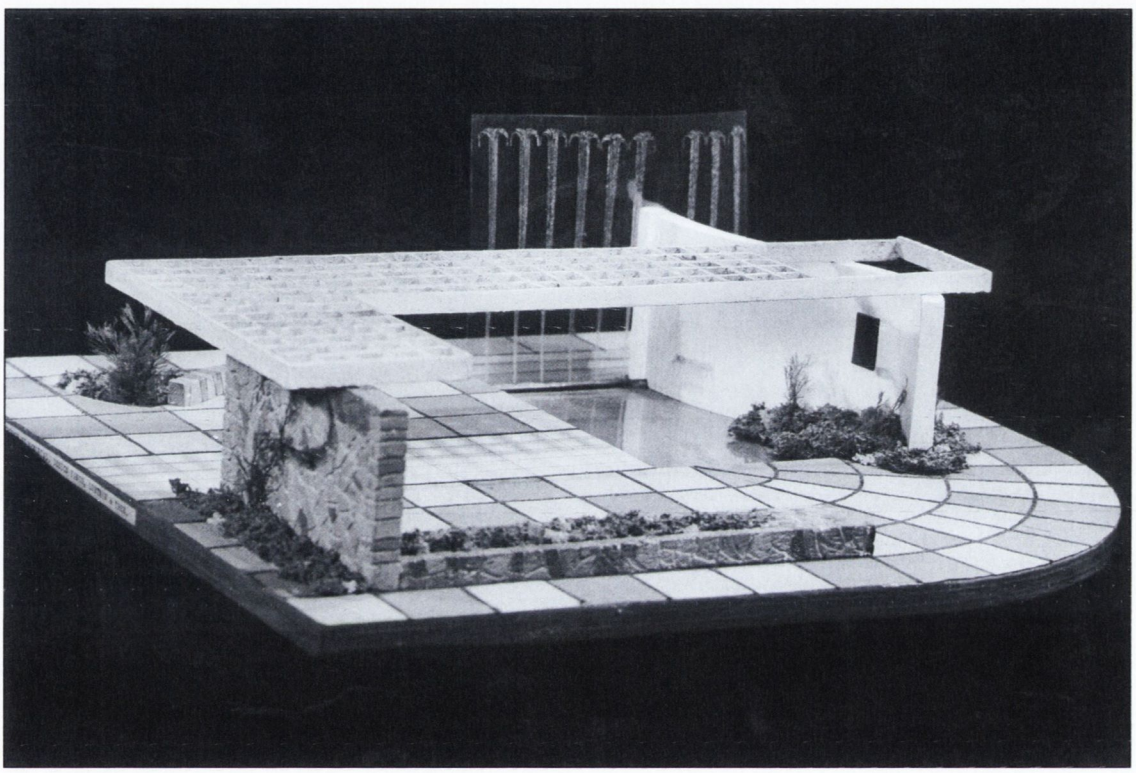


Figure 2.13 Model of the King George VI Memorial.
Source: *EAS.*

By March 1954, the subscriptions collected had passed the halfway mark of the original £6,000 target.[114] In January 1955 the Fund was still £1,000 short of the construction costs and Travis, the Chairman of the City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee (and Mayor of Nairobi between 1953 and 1954), wrote to the Governor asking the government to make a donation to the Fund in order to enable the Committee to go forward with the construction of the memorial:

> I intend, in the next few days, to reopen the Appeal for funds, and if Government were in a position to promise a sum of the order of £500 (which was the sum

[113] KNA GH/4/14: 3.
[114] The appeal was for £6,000 which included the target cost of the memorial at £5,000 and additional costs such as architect's fees, supervision costs etc., KNA CS/2/1/412: 47.

> donated by the Nairobi City Council), my Committee would be in a position, I think, to announce that the memorial would be constructed during 1955. I should very much like to be able to make such an announcement before the third anniversary of the late King's death, namely, 6th February.[115]

Yet the contract for construction was not advertised until March 1956. The major part of the construction work was completed by the end of 1956 but the unveiling of the plaque at the memorial to King George VI did not take place until 16 December 1957. This was due to a number of problems in the construction of the fountain. For example, marble slabs imported from Italy were found to have been cracked in transit and the replacement of the damaged slabs took several months.[116] The final cost of the completed memorial came to £7,000, of which £5,600 was donated by public subscription and the rest was covered by the City Council.[117]

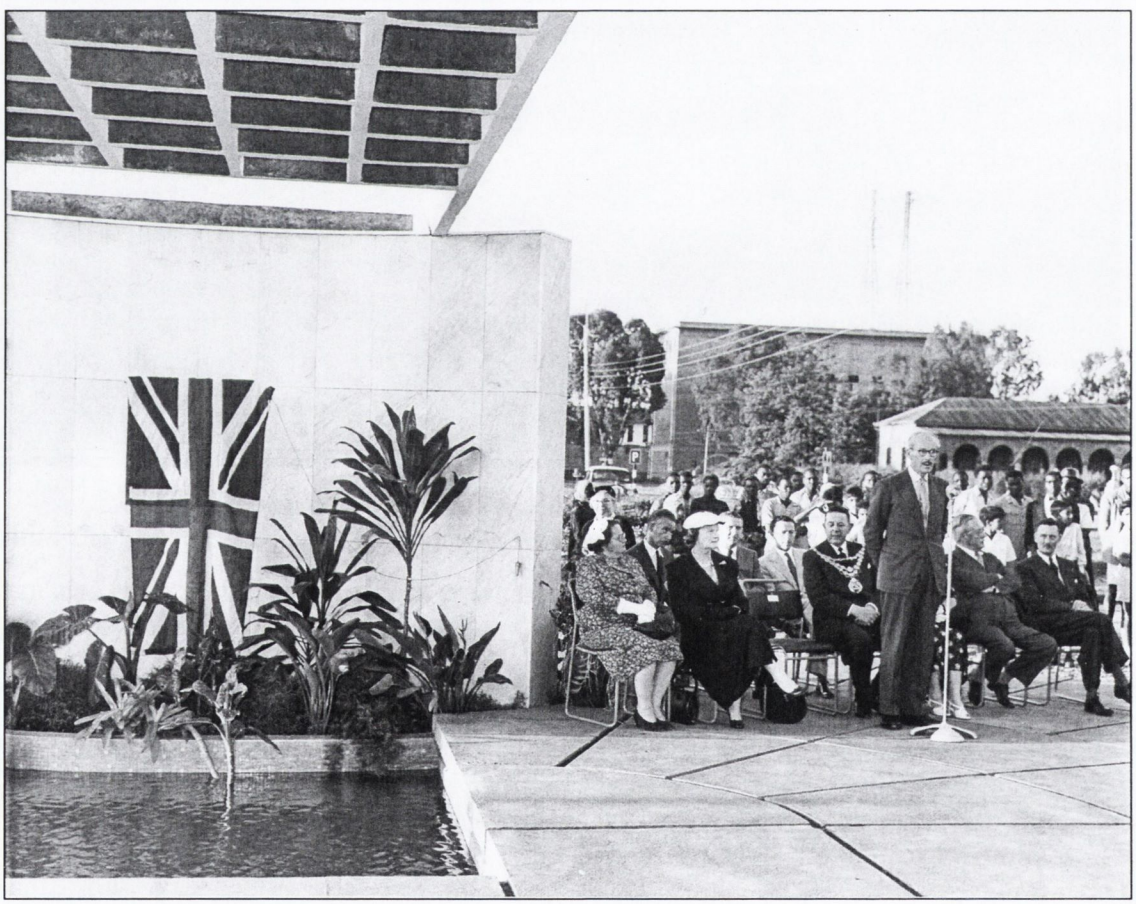


Figure 2.14 Opening of King George VI Fountain.
Source: *EAS.*

[115] Harold Travis (Chairman of City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee) to Sir Evelyn Baring (Governor), Nairobi, 7 January 1955, KNA GH/15/5: 5.
[116] In addition a defect appeared in the concrete pergola. This had to be attended to and test-loaded, KNA GH/4/14.
[117] KNA GH/4/14.

On 16 December 1957 the plaque at the King George VI memorial fountain, which had been covered with a Union Jack, was unveiled by the Acting Governor, R. G. Turnbull (Figures 2.14 and 2.15). The ceremony was short and apart from the members of the Appeal Committee and those immediately connected with the construction of the fountain, there was no formal guest list, although those who had contributed to the Fund were also invited to attend.[118] This small unveiling ceremony was placed in the context of heightened African politics. By the end of 1953, the Colonial Office had been continuing apace with plans for constitutional changes in all of Britain's African colonies that would lead to electoral government, with the eventual goal of self-government.[119] While Kenya was, at that stage, in the midst of war against Mau Mau, it too was subject to these trends. In the Colonial Office it was hoped that constitutional changes in Kenya would help end the conflict through political rewards.[120] Hence in 1954 the Lyttelton Constitution established a multi-racial Council of Ministers providing for two Asian members and one African member. In addition, it allowed Africans to directly elect their representatives to the Legco. The elections were held in 1957 when eight Africans were elected. Thus, as Ochieng' argues, in 1957, the year the memorial plaque to King George VI was unveiled, 'a new generation of African politicians had come to the centre stage. It was this new generation, and not the colonial governor or his overlords in London, who held the initiative and dictated the pace of events'[121] in the lead to independence.

While the idea to erect a memorial to King George VI arose out of discussions concerning the development of a traffic island, it evolved into its own project and became a memorial in its own right, afforded a position in City Square, the centre of authority in colonial Nairobi. The idea was proposed at a time when Mau Mau violence in Kenya was rising, and thus at a time when the visual expression of loyalty to the British Empire was particularly important to Kenya's European population, allowing them to restate their power in the Colony and to give some semblance of order and control in the country. Like the King George V Memorial, the appeal for funds for the memorial to King George VI was targeted at all races and communities and hence acted as a means to remind Nairobi's population of the link between the country and its British colonial rulers. Through refocusing the city's population on the ultimate power of imperial rule, the appeal for

[118] KNA GH/4/14.
[119] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*
[120] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*
[121] W. Ochieng', Independent Kenya, 1963-1986, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980,* 202-218, 204.

funds demanded loyalty to the British Empire from all segments of Nairobi's society at a time when Africans were increasingly expressing their discontent with colonial policies. Unlike the King George V memorial, which was initiated by the colonial government, the King George VI memorial was instigated and supported by local government, as a local restatement of British imperialism. The importance of Nairobi was not only realised in its position as capital of the colony, but also as the centre of militant nationalism in Kenya.



Figure 2.15 The Acting Governor of Kenya, Mr. Turnbull, and the Mayor of Nairobi, Ald. H. Travis, stand by the memorial plaque of King George VI while the band of the Kenya Police play the National Anthem. Mr. Turnbull had just unveiled the plaque.
Source: *EAS.*

Also in contrast to the King George V statue, the form the memorial was to take was decided from the inception of the idea of a memorial to King George VI. Yet not only was the memorial to take the form of a fountain, but the fountain was to be ornamental only, with no provision made for drinking water.[122] Fountains are also notably incorporated in

[122] KNA RN/4/108.

many public monuments erected in Nairobi after independence. As well as serving decorative purposes, fountains may fulfil a practical role and have, since ancient times, featured in both public and private spaces. In addition to commemorating events or people of historical significance, they have been erected as objects of religious importance. They have also been constructed to demonstrate technological advancement in society, for example in the exploitation of water for public use, and have been used to create poetic and theatrical displays.[123] While fountains were used in palaces and gardens of the Islamic world as a means of asserting power through the control and display of water, a scarce resource, in mid-sixteenth century Italy and northern Europe, they became, along with monumental sculpture, the focus of newly created town squares.[124] In nineteenth-century Europe, fountains were often erected to denote urban development and in the years after World War II, waterfalls, water walls, pools and jets became more popular than fountains in the use of water in public space.[125] Thus, in the idea of a fountain with a pool, the memorial drew on European concepts of the role of fountains in the urban landscape. But by inviting artists and architects based in East Africa to enter the design competition for the monument, an attempt was made to localise these concepts and place them in an African context, and upon the completion of the fountain, the Mayor of Nairobi asked the members of the City Council 'to co-operate in instilling among people of all races and their children a proper attitude to public memorials which have a great significance to the citizens of Nairobi.'[126]

2.5 Conclusion

In *Interpreting Nairobi*, Nevanlinna describes how the urban form of colonial Nairobi was utilised as a means of establishing a power structure in the city and describes how, '[w]ithin this structure, the European colonial power was absolute legislatively, militaristically, and technologically, and very dominant politically; economically, individual members of the Asian community had some influence.'[127] While the Africans and Asians by far outnumbered the Europeans, control of the urban form of Nairobi allowed the Europeans to maintain their dominance such that 'the urban form of Nairobi in

[123] N. Miller, Fountain, in: J. Turner (Ed) *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 11, London, 1996, 338-347.
[124] Miller, Fountain.
[125] Miller, Fountain.
[126] *NCC 1957-1958*, Vol. XXV, KNA JW/2/31: 841.
[127] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi*, 125.

the first two decades had been developed into an instrument for the production and re-production of the systems of colonial power.'[128] Ranger argues that in

> contrast to India ..., Africa did not offer to its conquerors the framework of an indigenous imperial state nor existing centralized rituals of honour and degree. Ready connections between African and European systems of governance could only be made at the level of the monarchy; Africa possessed, so the colonisers thought, dozens of rudimentary kings. Hence in Africa the British made an even greater use of the idea of "Imperial Monarchy" than they did within Britain or India. The 'theology' of an omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent monarchy became almost the sole ingredient of imperial ideology as it was presented to Africans.[129]

Thus Nairobi's monuments to British monarchical figures contributed to the construction of a landscape of colonial power and as with, for example, Uganda's King George V Statue and Dublin's Queen Victoria and Kings William III, George I and George II statues,[130] acted to remind the city's citizens of the colonial connection with Britain.

Cannadine argues that the grandeur and popular celebration of the British monarchy in the British Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries was a result of, and was made possible because of, the diminished real power and influence of the monarchy.[131] Such celebration of the monarchy, Cannadine asserts, was part of the process through which Britain linked its empire as a social entity, through the reproduction, in its periphery, of its own perceived domestic social hierarchy:

> Drawing on precedents established during the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the British created their imperial society, bound it together, comprehended it and imagined it from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth in an essentially ornamental mode. For ornamentalism was hierarchy made visible, immanent and actual. And since the British conceived and understood their metropolis hierarchically, it was scarcely surprising that they conceived and understood their periphery in the same way, and that chivalry and ceremony, monarch and majesty, were the means by which this vast world was brought together, interconnected, unified and sacralised. As such, hierarchy was the conventional vehicle of organization and perception in both the metropolis and the periphery: it provided the prevailing ideology of empire, and it underpinned the prevailing spectacle of empire. Thus envisaged, the British

[128] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi*, 125.
[129] T. Ranger, The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa, in: E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger (Eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, 211-262, 211-212.
[130] Whelan, The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape.
[131] D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, London, 2001; D. Cannadine, The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977, in: E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, 101-164.

> Empire was, like the British nation and the British people, a quintessentially Burkeian enterprise of 'faith ... family ... property ... monarchy', organically evolving in its structure across the centuries, across the continents and across the seas, and with ample available plumage for showing it and for showing it off.[132]

Statues of British monarchical figures linked the empire through the common reverence of those at the top of Britain's social hierarchy, and in addition to celebrating the royal member depicted, such monuments can be seen as symbolic of the empire itself. Queen Victoria in particular was a central figure in the representation of empire and by the beginning of the First World War, close to one hundred and fifty statues of the queen stood in cities and towns around the globe.[133] The image of Victoria became an expression of identity not only in England, but 'Her imperial subjects also used the queen symbolically as they wrestled with issues of national self-determination and imperial power.'[134] In describing 'The Raj and the image of Queen Victoria', Smith writes that

> ... the British held loyalty in high esteem, and Indians who wished for influence or favour tried to demonstrate this quality. Scholarly Indians could prove loyalty by publishing books on Victoria. Wealthy Indians occasionally went further and donated statues of Victoria to cities or towns.[135]

Indian expression of loyalty to the queen was not restricted to India, as demonstrated by the erection of a Queen Victoria statue in Nairobi by Jeevanjee. Similarly, Smith outlines how, in the late nineteenth-century, Indian nationalists 'constructed [Queen Victoria] as a symbolic ally, whose goodness contrasted with the workings of imperial policy'[136] and how, by 'Portraying her as a friend to India, they juxtaposed her sympathy to what they felt were the injustices of British rule.'[137] In Nairobi too, the Kenyan Indians felt that colonial rule in the country belied 'the noble idea of Imperialism'[138] and appealed to the Imperial Government in their fight for equal rights in Kenya.

However, although the Queen Victoria Statue was donated to Nairobi by an Indian, it has been illustrated how the European community used the unveiling ceremony of the statue to confirm their position at the top of the racial hierarchy that existed in the colonial town.

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[132] Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, 122.
[133] V. R. Smith, *Constructing Victoria: the representation of Queen Victoria in England, India, and Canada, 1897-1914*, Ph.D. thesis,, New Brunswick Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, 1998.
[134] Smith, *Constructing Victoria*, 8.
[135] Smith, *Constructing Victoria*, 214-215.
[136] Smith, *Constructing Victoria*, 8.
[137] Smith, *Constructing Victoria*, 316.
[138] Jeevanjee, Forward, 473.

Lonsdale argues that after the arrival of the British in East Africa, 'district boundaries, lines on the map rather than shifting margins of subsistence and trade, began ... to mark out 'tribes' which claimed the ethnographic purity that the British expected of them, quite unlike the hospitable eclecticism that had existed before.'[139] By defining distinct tribes the British could better control the African population and on the day the Queen Victoria statue was unveiled in Nairobi, the 'decorative' Maasai were given an identity by the British and used as an example of loyalty for other tribes. However, Africans were not officially represented at the unveiling ceremony. Similarly, Africans were expected to contribute to the King George V memorial but the collection of funds from this community was placed under the direction of a European. In the inscription of Nairobi's symbolic landscape, such details are telling of the power relations that existed in the colonial town, how the British saw their own position in these power relations and the prejudices the British held about the African character.

However, although the hierarchy remained the same, these power relations slowly changed with time. While the Queen Victoria statue was unveiled with displays of ceremony and spectacle, the unveiling of the King George V and King George VI memorials were understated affairs, reflecting the changing political and social situation in Kenya. In addition, by the time funds were being sought for the King George VI Memorial, Africans represented themselves on the Legco and in the Nairobi City Council, and an African Councillor appealed to Africans to contribute towards the construction of the memorial.

The process of fundraising is part of the intrinsic meaning of a monument.[140] For both the King George V and King George VI monuments, a concerted effort was put into encouraging all of Kenya's communities to participate in the donation of funds to the memorials. While this would have helped with the raising of sufficient funds to pay for the memorials, it was also a means by which the monuments would appear to reflect common consensus on the reverence of the British rulers.

While different actors were responsible for each monument's existence in Nairobi's urban landscape, their presence in the landscape commonly sought to legitimise the authority of

[139] J. Lonsdale, The Conquest State, 1895-1904, in: Ochieng' (Ed), *A Modern History of Kenya*, 6-34, 28; J. Lonsdale, The Conquest State of Kenya: 1895-1905, in B. Berman and J. Lonsdale (Eds), *Unhappy Valley: conflict in Kenya and Africa*, London, 1992, 13-44, 38.
[140] Smith, *Constructing Victoria*.

the British Empire and to assert British dominance in Nairobi. In addition, whether through the appeal for funds or through the unveiling ceremony, Nairobi's monuments to British monarchs demanded loyalty to the British Empire from all segments of society and all communities of the town's population. Yet these monuments to British monarchs in colonial Nairobi spoke not only of domination and subordination of the city's other races by the British, but also of how the British in Nairobi themselves viewed their monarchy, their empire and their own position within this empire.

CHAPTER 3

FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WAR MEMORIALS

3.1 Remembering the War Dead

The Great War marked a change in the way in which wars and the casualties of war were symbolically remembered. Prior to 1914, official burial sites and memorials to the war dead were uncommon.[1] After World War I, war became less overtly glorified and official war commemoration placed more focus on the ordinary soldier.[2] Simple obelisks and crosses became the preferred forms of commemoration in terms of sculpture[3] and the 'Tomb of the Unknown Soldier' became popular in many countries, 'seeking to push back the boundaries associated with anonymity, and proclaiming, over a nameless body, the cohesiveness of a nation united in common memory.'[4]

War memorials have to a great extent been overlooked by cultural geographers concerned with iconography and landscape interpretation[5] but Johnson argues that they 'are of special significance because they offer insights into the ways in which national cultures conceive of their pasts and mourn the large-scale destruction of life.'[6] However, in multi-racial colonial Kenya, the culture of the war memorial was the culture of the Europeans and thus the war memorials erected in colonial Nairobi were the expression of a section of this society's interpretation of memorialising war, an interpretation that was projected upon Kenya's other communities to adopt as their own. 'While remembering the dead is frequently conceived as a private, personal affair, commemoration of war dead became a

[1] M. Heffernan, For ever England: The Western Front and the politics of remembrance in Britain, *Ecumene*, 2 (1995), 293-323.
[2] Stocker, Monument, public; Heffernan, For ever England; Johnson, Cast in stone; R. Werbner, Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun: Postwars of the Dead, Memory and Reinscription in Zimbabwe, in: R. Werbner (Ed), *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*, London, 1998, 71-102; Borg, *War Memorials*.
[3] Stocker, Monument, public.
[4] Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 89.
[5] Johnson, Cast in stone.
[6] Johnson, Cast in stone, 54.

public, collective event which implicated the society as a whole.'[7] Thus the collective commemoration of the war casualties in the East African campaigns of World War I and World War II were used to unite the country's diverse population in common memory of the dead while the fact that they died fighting for the British Empire confirmed and reasserted Kenya's position under British rule. In Nairobi this collective commemoration included the Obelisk and, opposite it, the African War Memorial. Erected on Sixth Avenue,[8] these memorials became the focus around which annual Armistice and Remembrance Day ceremonies took place, allowing the further articulation of public memory through spectacle (Figure 3.1).

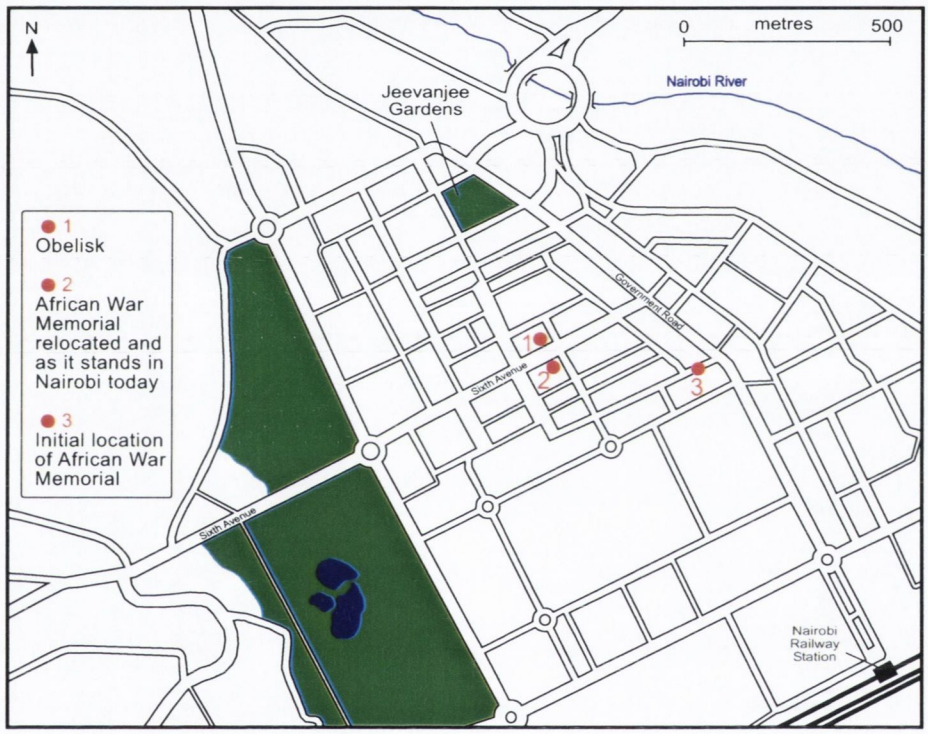


Figure 3.1 Map showing location of Obelisk and African War Memorial.[9]

3.2 Obelisk

After the First World War a War Memorial Committee was set up in Nairobi to consider the form of memorial to those who had sacrificed their lives in the Great War. In

[7] Johnson, The spectacle of memory, 37.

[8] Sixth Avenue became Delamere Avenue. After independence its name was again changed and it is now called Kenyatta Avenue.

[9] As with the map in Chapter 2, this map has been constructed from maps of present-day Nairobi (primarily R. W. Moss (Ed), *Nairobi A to Z: A Complete Guide*, 4th ed., Nairobi, 2002) and therefore the monuments are depicted in relation to Nairobi's post-independence street pattern.

November 1922, the Committee requested permission from the Municipal Council to erect an obelisk on the vacant space in front of the Colonists' Plot on Sixth Avenue.[10] By November 1923, Wevill & Davies, an architectural and quantity surveying firm in Nairobi, had been contracted to erect an obelisk on the site[11] although it was felt that 'If the monument is going to be placed in front of the building, it seems that the Uganda form of cenotaph would be more appropriate.'[12] In addition, it was suggested that the monument would be more suitably placed at the junction of Government Road and Sixth Avenue, on the spot where the ceremony had taken place since the Armistice. However, the Governor felt that the site was too small and 'quite different from noble woodpaved Whitehall. The fact that [the] streets are cleared for [a] short annual ceremony is no justification for placing [a] permanent monument there.'[13]



Figure 3.2 Obelisk in front of Memorial Hall, Sixth Avenue, Nairobi, 1927.
Source: Akbar Hussein.

In December 1923 the committee decided that the monument was 'to be "needle" form (not cenotaph)'[14] as this form would be best suited to the site. The war memorial finally took the form of an obelisk rising out of a rectangular stone block and was erected in front

[10] *Municipal Council of Nairobi Minutes, January to June 1936*, KNA RN/4/64: 140. The Colonists' Plot was a plot of land in Nairobi city centre reserved for the use of the European colonists of Kenya.
[11] KNA GH/4/28.
[12] Meeting at Nairobi Club, Nairobi, 28 December 1923, KNA GH/4/28: 10. The cenotaph in Kampala took the form of a short, square column, slightly tapered at the top.
[13] KNA GH/4/28: 10.
[14] Notes with regard to the Memorial Hall, Nairobi, 28 December 1923, KNA GH/4/28: 14.

of the Memorial Hall (Figure 3.2). While an obelisk is identified by its shape, having a square or rectangular shaft with tapering sides and a pyramidal apex, a cenotaph merely refers to a grave monument with no body, an 'empty tomb', although it is most often associated with a boxlike form.[15] Obelisks became one of the most common forms of war memorial in Britain and were especially widespread after the First World War. Although initially used by the Egyptians, it is through the Romans that the obelisk became part of military memorialisation. However, more obelisks were created between 1920 and 1930 than during any other period in history.[16] The form of memorial to be erected in Nairobi drew on wider concepts of memorialising the war dead, while the choice of an obelisk, in particular, reflected British trends in such memorialisation, although, in Nairobi, the choice of an obelisk rather than a cenotaph was ultimately determined by the site chosen for the monument and the memorial's location relative to the Memorial Hall.



Figure 3.3 Unveiling of the Memorial Obelisk in Nairobi on 29th November 1924.
Source: University of Nairobi.

[15] E. Iversen, Obelisk, in: J. Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 23, London, 1996, 329-331; J. R. Lenz, Cenotaph: Western World, in J. Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 6, London, 1996, 170.
[16] Borg, *War Memorials*.

On 29 November 1924 the Obelisk was unveiled by the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon,[17] as part of a triple ceremony which also included the opening of the Memorial Hall and the presentation of Lord Delamere's portrait in the Hall. Arriving at the site of the Obelisk and the Memorial Hall, Coryndon was met by the Trustees of the Colonists' Plot, Lord Delamere and Mr. T. S. Wood, as well as the Architect, Mr. Wevill, the contractor of the Memorial Hall, Mr. Montagu and Mr. C. K. Archer, President of the Convention of Associations.[18] After receiving the Royal Salute the Governor inspected the Guard of Honour and was then asked by Lord Delamere, 'who referred to the sacrifice made by the colonists in every field of battle, to unveil the Obelisk.'[19] Before removing the Union Jack from the monument the Governor highlighted how, 'In no part of the Empire was the response to the call more nobly met. Death took a heavy toll of our numbers. But they did not die in vain if their memory leaves us with a nobler conception of duty to our King, to our Colony, and to ourselves'[20] (Figure 3.3 illustrates the unveiling of the Obelisk).

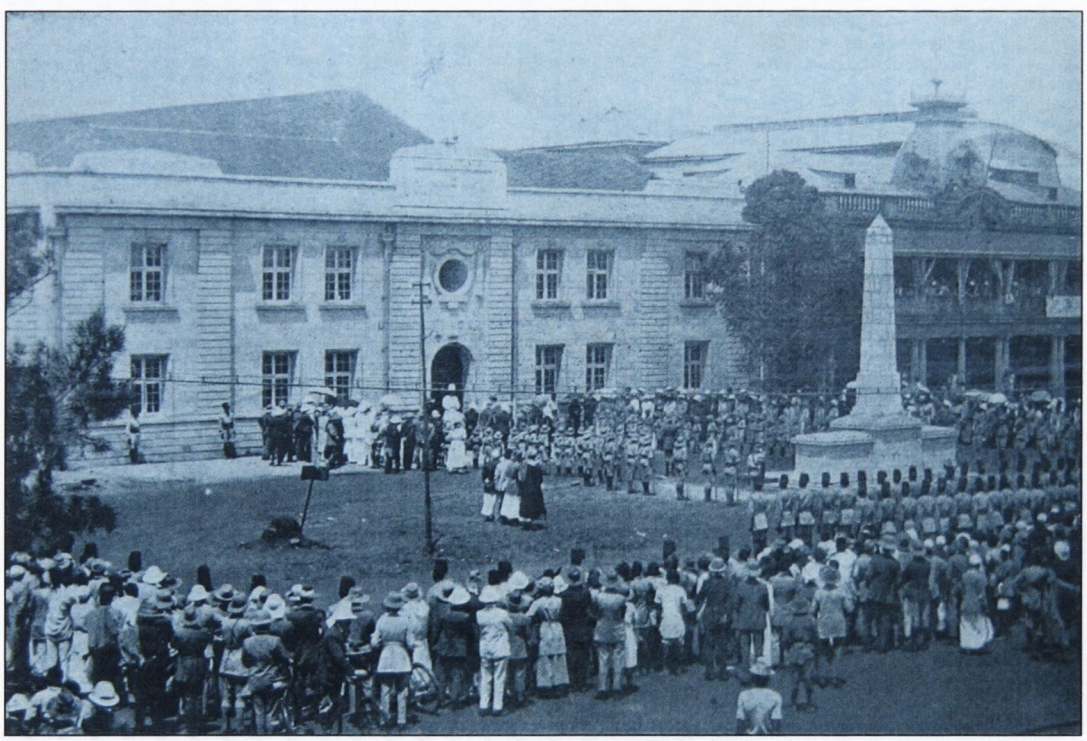


Figure 3.4 Opening of Memorial Hall, Nairobi on 19th November 1924.
Source: University of Nairobi.

[17] Sir Robert Thorne Coryndon was Governor of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate between 31st August 1922 and 10th February 1925.

[18] Up until the formation of the Convention of Associations, the Colonists' Association had been the main means by which settlers' demands were articulated. In 1910 the Convention of Associations was formed when all the Kenya Colony's settler associations came together. The Convention of Associations soon became known as the 'Settlers' Parliament' [Zeleza, The establishment of colonial rule].

[19] *EAS*, 1 December 1924.

[20] *EAS*, 1 December 1924. See Appendix III for entire address.

After unveiling the Obelisk, the Governor performed the opening ceremony of the Memorial Hall which was a component part of the monuments memorialising the war dead (Figure 3.4). In addressing the crowd, Coryndon's speech began

> This Hall which I am now about to declare open stands upon land which has been reserved for the European Colonists of Kenya; it has been erected by the trustees of the Colonists Plot and the Committee of the East African War Memorial Fund with a dual purpose to commemorate those Europeans of the Colony who laid down their lives in the Great War and to provide a building which shall always be used by and be at the disposal of the European Colonists of Kenya.[21]

Following this opening ceremony, Lord Delamere was presented with a portrait of himself. The presentation was made by Archer, who stressed how

> We have had our governors of great ability, men who have in varying degree left their mark upon the land of their administration ... but I feel that no single one of them would deny to Lord Delamere the credit for a large share in the successful development of Kenya. Whether as private citizen, as pioneer farmer, as Executive Councillor, as member of the War Council, or as leader of the Unofficial side of the Legislature he has worked – and worked without sparing himself – in the public interest and for the attainment of certain objects dear to his heart – the spread and consolidation of British influence in Eastern Africa, and the ultimate lifting of this part of the Empire on to the plane of the Self-Governing Dominions.[22]

In addition, Archer likened Delamere to 'that great Empire builder in the South, Cecil Rhodes,'[23] and of the painting expressed how, 'that when succeeding generations look upon the features which have been admirably portrayed by one of the leading artists of the day, they will be reminded of a great gentleman and a great Imperial statesman, and, I trust, of the Colony's first Prime Minister'[24] (Figure 3.5 depicts the Obelisk on Delamere Avenue in colonial Nairobi).

Thus, while Coryndon had declared how the Obelisk stood as a 'memorial of those East African men and women who laid down their lives in the Great War,' its unveiling as part of the triple ceremony and its location in front of the Memorial Hall to be used exclusively by the European settlers, underline how the obelisk was ultimately a monument to the European colonists of Kenya.

[21] *EAS*, 1 December 1924. See Appendix III for entire address.
[22] *EAS*, 1 December 1924. See Appendix III for entire address.
[23] *EAS*, 1 December 1924.
[24] *EAS*, 1 December 1924.



Figure 3.5 Obelisk on Delamere Avenue, Nairobi.
Source: Akbar Hussein.

By the end of the First World War, Kenya's settlers had been pushing for greater control in the Municipal Committee which was, at that time, still dominated by Government officials, and in 1920 the first European councillors were elected. Meanwhile rising political self-consciousness resulted in the Indian community boycotting the Council and from 1919 to 1925 there were no Indian representatives on the Council, which came at a time when important post-war decisions were being put in place regarding issues such as the distribution of resources and the implementation of controls in the town. In addition, the political influence of the settlers had strengthened as the Colonial Office had granted the privilege of elective representation in the Legco to Europeans. In 1920, eleven European unofficial representatives sat on the Legco while Asians were permitted two nominated representatives and Africans were not represented at all.[25] The opening of the Memorial Hall and the presentation of Lord Delamere's portrait reflects the power the settlers felt they held in colonial Kenya and mirrors their confidence that this power would be long-term.

Meanwhile, the struggle between Kenya's Indians and Europeans was escalating and the 'Indian question', as it became known, became part of discussions on British colonial policies and practices, and culminated in 1923 with negotiations in London. Both the

[25] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance.

European settlers and the Kenyan Asians sent representatives to state their cause. While the Europeans were demanding 'European self-government, strict control of Asiatic immigration, the Highlands for Europeans only [and] severe limitation of non-European participation in the legislature,'[26] the Asians sought 'no segregation, no change in immigration policy, common franchise with some conditions [and] the Highlands policy to be left open for discussion.'[27] Within the framework of the discussion of British colonial policies, the British Government published, in 1923, the White Paper entitled 'Indians in Kenya'. Better known as the Devonshire Declaration, this ruling stressed the importance of defending African rights and declared African paramountcy in colonial policy:

> Primarily, Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail ... in the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races.[28]

The paper also detailed the composition of the Legco which was changed to include eleven elected Europeans, five elected Indians, two Arabs, one elected and one nominated, and an appointed missionary to represent African interests.[29] In addition, communal franchise was to remain, and while segregation in the towns between Europeans and Asians was abolished, restrictions on immigration were to be implemented. Furthermore, Indians were denied the right to hold land in the Kenya Highlands, which became known as the 'White Highlands.'

So in dealing with the 'Indian question' in Kenya the British Government officially advocated the rights of Kenya's Africans, although the Paper stated that

> ... neither the Indian nor the European should have control of native affairs, and the legislative power should be kept in the hands of the Imperial Government until such time as the African is able to manage his own affairs.[30]

---

[26] Quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 130.
[27] Quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, 130.
[28] *Command Paper 1922*, 1923, quoted in Hill, *Permanent Way*, 399; quoted in M. R. Dilley, *British Policy in Kenya Colony*, 2nd ed., London, 1966, 167-168.
[29] Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*.
[30] Quoted in Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*.

The 'interests' of Kenya's African population were recognised, but not in their own right. In practice they remained at the bottom of the racial power hierarchy that existed in Kenya and African representation on the Legco would not be achieved until 1944. However, with the proclamation of African paramountcy there was a need to make visible such a policy, and the African role in WWI was inscribed into Nairobi's monumental landscape. During the East African campaign of World War I approximately seven thousand Africans were killed or died of wounds in the twenty-two Battalions of the King's African Rifles while around forty-two thousand African porters belonging to the Carrier Corps were killed and died of wounds. The African War Memorial in Nairobi was erected in memory of these African soldiers and carriers.

3.3 African War Memorial



Figure 3.6 African War Memorial.

The African War Memorial, also called the Native War Memorial in colonial Kenya, consists of three statues depicting a Carrier, a King's African Rifleman and an Arab Rifleman (Figure 3.6). Part of the Imperial War Graves Commission effort to commemorate the dead of the Great War, the inscription was composed by Rudyard

Kipling[31] and appears on the bronze plaque in English, Kiswahili and Arabic[32] (Figure 3.7). The monument was sculpted in 1924 by James Alexander Stevenson[33] and cast by Morris Bronze Founders of Westminster, London. However, the unveiling ceremony did not take place in Nairobi until 1928 as

> The Monument was originally placed some distance from the Cenotaph round which the Armistice Ceremony takes place on November 11th every year. In that position it could not have been included in the great annual commemoration of those who fell in the War. But no one wished that it should be forgotten on that day, and since a second ceremony would have been very difficult to hold, it was decided unanimously that the Monument should be moved to this spot opposite the Cenotaph where it stands to-day.[34]



Figure 3.7 Inscription of African War Memorial.

The African Memorial had originally been erected at the junction of Hardinge Street and Government Road[35] (Figure 3.1). It was the local memorial, rather than the Imperial War Graves Commission memorial to the African war dead, that the annual Armistice ceremonies had centred on. Thus, through its location in the city and the focus of the annual Armistice ceremonies on the Obelisk, the African role in WWI was excluded from the official collective memory of the war, until 1928 when the monument was re-erected opposite the Obelisk and officially inaugurated into the symbolic landscape through its

[31] G. Hodges, *The Carrier Corps: Military Labor in the East African Campaign, 1914-1918*, Connecticut, 1986. Kipling was employed by the Imperial War Graves Commission as literary advisor, providing counsel on inscriptions.

[32] See Appendix IV for inscription.

[33] Stevenson signed himself as 'Myrander' which is the signature that appears on the memorial.

[34] Governor Grigg's speech at the unveiling ceremony of the Native War Memorial as reported in the *EAS*, 21 May 1928. For full speech see Appendix IV.

[35] KNA RN/4/58; KNA RN/4/64. Although it was ascertained where the African War Memorial had stood before it was re-located, no further information on when it was first erected in Nairobi could be found.

unveiling (Figure 3.8 shows the Obelisk and African War Memorial standing opposite each other in colonial Nairobi, while Figure 3.9 illustrates the two monuments in the post-independence city).



Figure 3.8 Obelisk and African War Memorial standing opposite each other in colonial Nairobi.
Source: KNA.

On 20 May 1928, the re-located Native War Memorial was unveiled by Princess Marie Louise, King George V's cousin, in front of 'one of the largest and most representative gatherings ever witnessed in Nairobi,'[36] including 'gorgeously attired chiefs and thousands of other Africans gathered from all over the country.'[37] Also among those present were members of the Legco, Heads of Government Departments dressed in uniform, members of the clergy, the police, settlers and members of the Indian community, while the King's African Rifles formed the Guard of Honour.[38] After *God Save the King* was played the service was opened by the Reverend Dr. Arthur delivering prayers in English and the Reverend Canon Burns in Kiswahili. The Governor, Sir Edward Grigg[39] then addressed the crowd, praising the monument as 'a thing of beauty, worthy of the great devotion and

[36] *EAS*, 21 May 1928.
[37] *The Times*, 21 May 1928.
[38] KNA AG/16/205; *EAS*, 21 May 1928.
[39] Sir Edward Grigg was Governor of Kenya between 3 October 1925 and 27 September 1930.



Figure 3.9 Obelisk with African War Memorial opposite, Kenyatta Avenue, 2006.



Figure 3.10 Unveiling of the Native War Memorial, Sunday 20th May 1928.
Source: Akbar Hussein.

signal sacrifice which it commemorates.'[40] (The unveiling of the African War Memorial is depicted in Figures 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12). Yet while the monument was erected in memory of the African troops and Carriers, Grigg used the unveiling ceremony to bind all races together in loyalty to the British Empire as he stated

> There is one feature of the Memorial which is, I think an especially happy one. Dedicated to the Native Africans who served the King, it is also dedicated to the memory of all men of whatever race who fell in the East African theatre. All those to whom this Monument is raised belonged to one great comradeship, whatever their race. In that comradeship at that time the whole Empire was bound. Without our help the Africans who fought for the King could not have held this, their own land. Without their help we should have had to weaken this already hard-pressed line in France and elsewhere in order to defend the King's possessions in East Africa. Throughout the Empire in those days we were united by the great struggle in one common purpose, and that common purpose, to the utmost of our strength we served.[41]



Figure 3.11 Unveiling of the African War Memorial.
Source: KNA.

Grigg continued to emphasise the racial issue, asserting that

> No race in Kenya can prosper long or surely by looking to its own interests. We must strive to understand each other's needs, to respect each other's rights, to help

[40] *EAS*, 21 May 1928.
[41] *East African Standard*, 21 May 1928.

> each other's progress, if all races are to enjoy peace, plenty and happiness in this, our common land.
>
> This Monument, raised after a common victory, stands a witness to what the races can accomplish by mutual service, mutual help. Let all who honour it to-day strive always to promote that spirit of goodwill between the races, upon which the welfare of each and all depends.[42]

After the Governor's address Princess Marie Louise delivered a short speech before removing the Union Jack to unveil the monument[43] (Figure 3.11 shows the African War Memorial covered with the Union Jack just before it was unveiled and Figure 3.12 shows the monument after it had been unveiled). Following the singing of *God Save the King*, the Governor and Princess Marie Louise laid wreaths at the base of the monument. A wreath was also laid by the President of the Indian National Congress on behalf of the Indian community of Eastern Africa (Figure 3.13 show the African War Memorial as it stood in colonial Nairobi).



Figure 3.12 African War Memorial unveiled.
Source: KNA.

[42] *East African Standard*, 21 May 1928.
[43] See Appendix IV for Princess Marie Louise's address.

The European population in colonial Nairobi, although very much a minority in terms of numbers,[44] played a dominant role in Nairobi's symbolic landscape, reflecting the power they held in the town. With the Devonshire Declaration of 1923 ruling on African paramountcy, it became necessary to visibly recognise the huge role the African soldiers and porters had played in the East African campaign of the Great War and to make evident the implementation of this policy. Hence, although Nairobi's large African population did not have the means to memorialise their dead in the town's iconographic landscape, the collective memory of the African war dead was written into the streetscape by those with the power to do so. Yet celebrating the memory of the Africans who died fighting for the British Empire was placed in the context of loyalty to the Empire and this memory was used as a tool by the British to reaffirm the authority of Imperial rule.

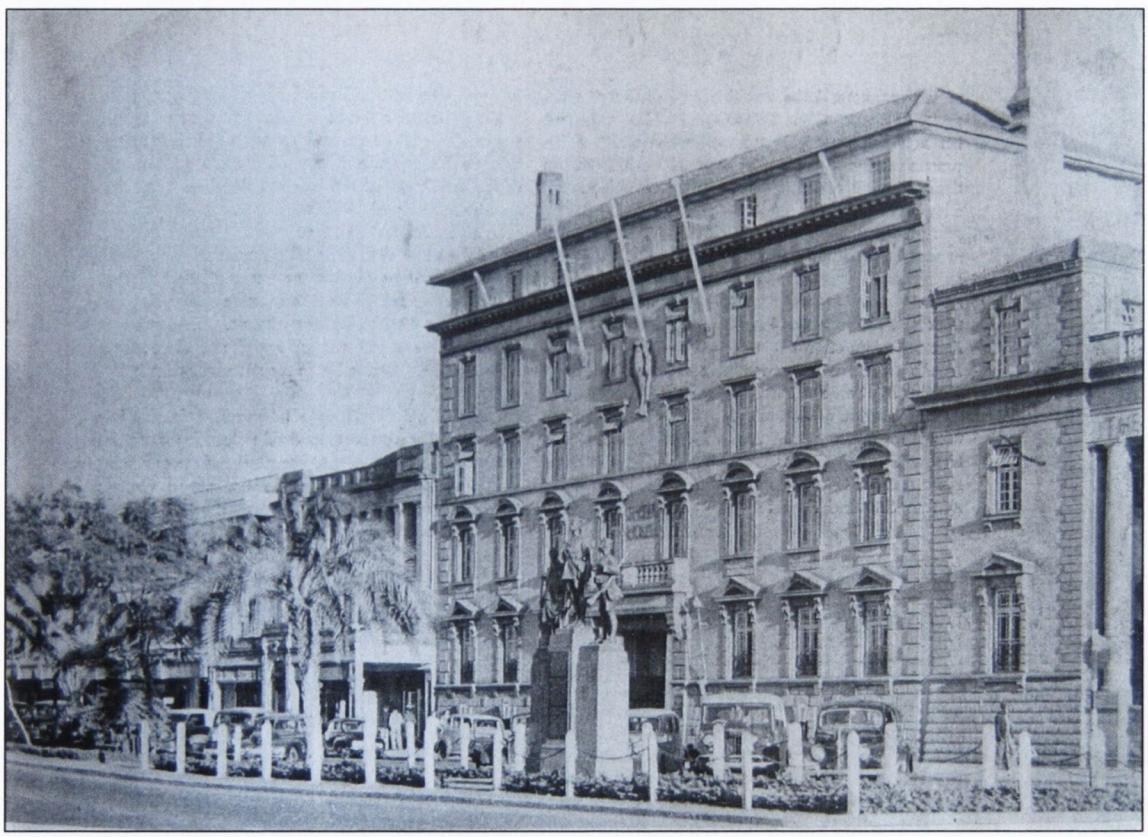


Figure 3.13 African War Memorial in front of Shell House, Nairobi.
Source: KNA.

[44] For example, in 1921 Nairobi's population approximately consisted of between 2,000 and 3,000 Europeans, between 8,900 and 9,500 'Asian and Others', and 12,000 Africans. In 1926 an estimated 2,600 to 4,600 Europeans lived in Nairobi while there were approximately 7,400 to 10,500 'Asian and Others' and between 28,000 and 29,900 Africans. In 1929 Nairobi's population is reported to be made up of 4,500 Europeans, 11,000 'Asian and Others' and 47,500 Africans [These figures are reported in Thornton White, Silberman and Anderson, *Nairobi Master Plan* and are figures determined variously by the Feetham Report, the Non-Native Census, the Williams Report and the Ministry of Health].

The foundations of the combatant force in East Africa were the King's African Rifles, mostly made up of Sudanese and men from the East African protectorates, later reinforced by soldiers from India and South Africa, and in 1917, from West Africa. The officers and necessary technical troops, however, were British.[45] In 1928 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Edward Grigg wrote, as Governor of Kenya, that the

> point which has deeply impressed me is the amazing response of the African people to white leadership during the whole of a campaign which tested them, body and mind, as they had never been tested before. There is hardly a tribe in Central and Eastern Africa which has not contributed to the ranks of the King's African Rifles since it was first formed of mixed Sudanese, Somalis, and Swahilis in the early nineties...[46]

The power relationship between the British and the Africans that was in place during the war was reproduced in Nairobi's symbolic landscape after the war.



Figure 3.14 African War Memorial, Kenyatta Avenue, Nairobi, 2006.

While the African War Memorial stands opposite the Obelisk (Figures 3.8 and 3.9), both monuments complementing one another in commemorating the dead of the First World War, they also face each other in a battle of contesting memories. Erected first, the

[45] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, http://www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_details.aspx?cemetery=4005067&mode=1, accessed 27 July 2006.
[46] *The Times*, 10 November 1928.



Figure 3.15 African War Memorial in Mombasa, 2005.



Figure 3.16 African War Memorial in Dar es Salaam.
Source: Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

Obelisk, dedicated 'To Our Glorious Dead', became a memorial to Kenya's colonist soldiers, while the African War Memorial was erected in memory of the African soldiers and porters who died in the war. The different memories concretised by the two memorials are heightened in the contrasting iconography of the two monuments. The stone column of the Obelisk was characteristic of wider symbolisms in the European memorialisation of the Great War. On the other hand the figurative statuary of the bronze African War Memorial emphasised that the monument commemorated the African casualties of World War I. In 1920 the Graves Registration Unit came under the control of the Imperial War Graves Commission, and a specific programme was drawn up for the construction and maintenance of cemeteries in East Africa. In addition to the death of approximately seven thousand fighting men, forty-two thousand African porters died in the war. To commemorate the porters, general memorials were erected at central points and similar memorials were put up in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam[47] (Figures 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16). No names appear on any of these memorials. Therefore the Nairobi African War Memorial was part of, and typical of, the World War I monuments to Africans in colonial British East Africa.[48] In other parts of colonial Africa, World War I monuments to African soldiers were stylistically different. For example, in Mali's capital, Bamako, the war memorial dedicated to the West African soldiers who fought with the French in the First World War, while also figurative, depicts both African and European soldiers, standing on a base representing a palisade, evoking the trenches of the battlefields.[49] Named *Aux héros de l'armée noire*, this monument emphasizes the 'inequality between the white officer holding the flag, distinguished by his posture and his uniform' and the African soldiers grouped behind him.[50]

3.4 United in Thought through Spectacle

Johnson argues that 'The collapsing of time into space through the annual rehearsal and repetition of a spectacle provides the framework ... for understanding remembrance.'[51] So although the Obelisk and the African War Memorial each anchor different memories in the landscape, the annual Armistice and Remembrance Day ceremonies which centred on both

[47] Commissioned by the Imperial War Graves Commission, the Mombasa and Dar es Salaam African Memorials were also sculpted by James Alexander Stevenson.
[48] *The Times*, 10 November 1928.
[49] Arnoldi, *Symbolically inscribing the city*.
[50] G. Mann, Locating Colonial Histories: Between France and West Africa, *American Historical Review* 110 (2005) 409-434, 418.
[51] Johnson, The spectacle of memory, 39.

monuments in colonial Nairobi aimed to unite all races in common loyalty to the British Empire. The celebration of Armistice Day which took place in Nairobi in 1928, the year the African War Memorial was unveiled, was headed by the Prince of Wales. The *Yorkshire Post* claimed that

> No gathering so truly representative of the British Empire has probably ever before been called together for the celebration of Armistice Day as that which observed the Two Minutes' Silence in Nairobi to-day. ... the crowd which surrounded the Cenotaph[52] and the native war memorial in the main street of the town, where the ceremony was held, included representatives of all races in British East Africa – Asiatics, Europeans, Canadians, and all grades of society all welded together by the bond of reverent remembrance of those who fell for the Empire to which all belonged.[53]

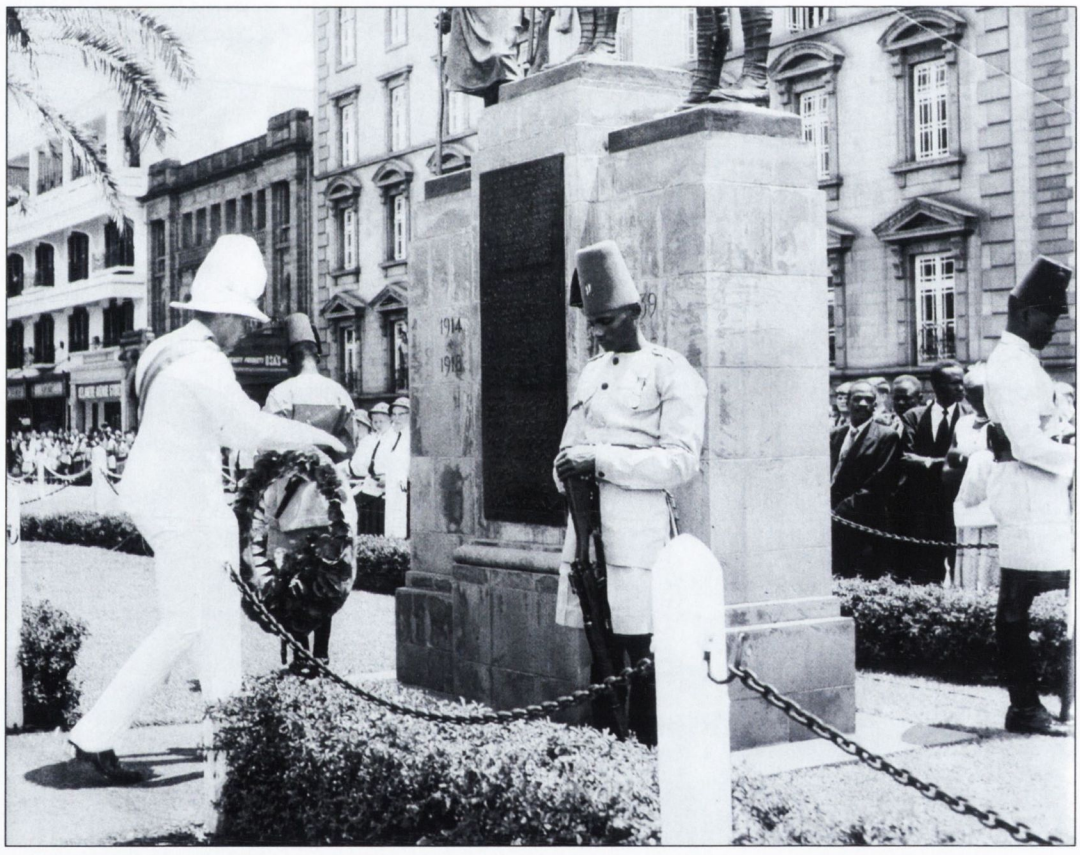


Figure 3.17 Armistice Day Ceremony, November 11 1957.
Source: *EAS*.

Around the base of the Obelisk was mounted a mixed guard composed of an African policeman, a European police constable, an African soldier and a European N.C.O. of the

[52] In the 20th century and particularly after the erection of the Cenotaph in London in 1920, the word cenotaph is often used synonymously with many war memorials that do not contain the physical remains of the dead [Borg, *War Memorials*].
[53] *Yorkshire Post*, 12 November 1928.

King's African Rifles while the guard at the African War Memorial consisted of Africans only.[54] After the playing of the *Last Post*, the two minutes' silence, the *Reveille*, and then the singing of *God Save the King*, the Prince of Wales laid a wreath of poppies first at the base of the Obelisk and then at that of the African War Memorial.

> Following the Prince came the Governor and Lady Grigg, and then a long line of other mourners. Indians in gorgeous robes, soldiers in uniform – both native and European, representatives of the Civil Services, white women, some in mourning and some in bright dresses, but all wearing medals, African women clothed in hides, chiefs of fighting tribes and many other representatives of the residents of the Colony followed on another in a long line, until the bases of both memorials were hidden in flowers.[55]

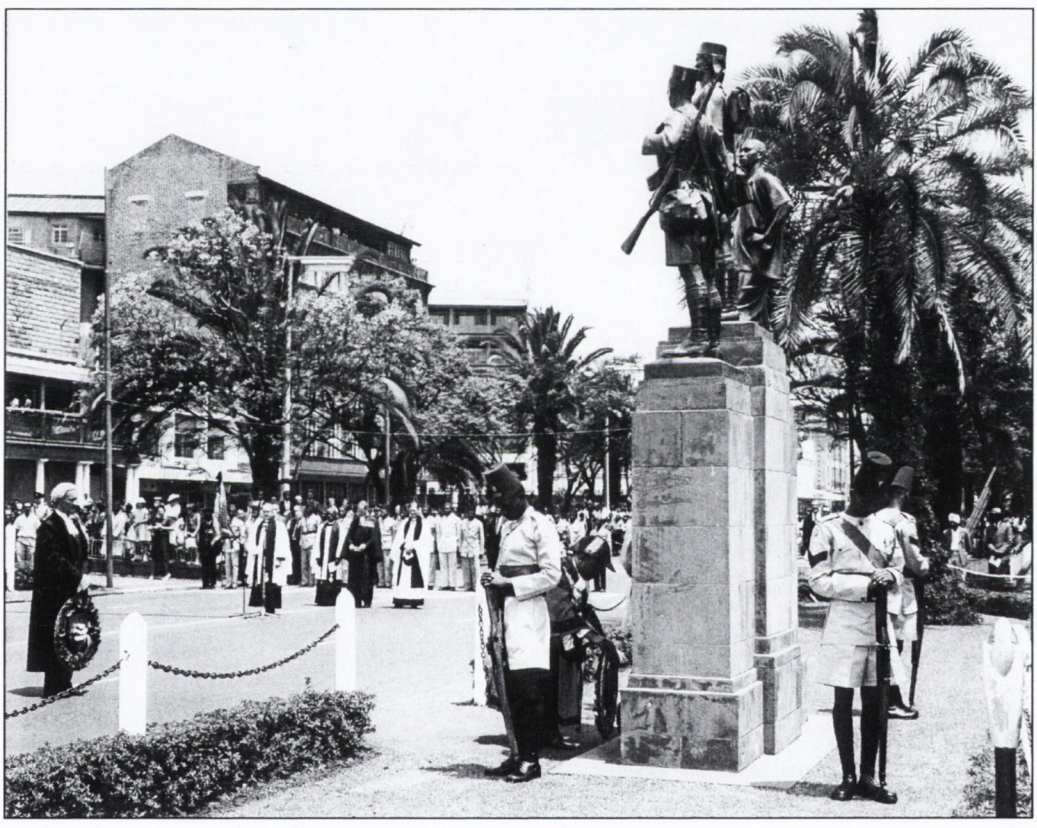


Figure 3.18 The Mayor of Nairobi, Ald. Charles Rubia, lays a wreath at the African War Memorial in Delamere Avenue, November 1963.
Source: *EAS*.

Remembrance Day ceremonies such as this took place every year in colonial Nairobi (Figures 3.17 and 3.18 show such ceremonies in 1957 and 1963 respectively). Casualties of the Second World War were usually commemorated through additional inscriptions to

[54] *Yorkshire Post*, 12 November 1928.
[55] *Yorkshire Post*, 12 November 1928.

existing monuments,[56] and this too was the case in Kenya when towards the end of October 1946 the Municipal Council resolved to have inscriptions relative to World War II added to both war memorials on Delamere Avenue.

Remembrance Day celebrations still occur annually at the Cenotaph at Whitehall in London, and, at the same time, in smaller ceremonies around municipal war memorials in towns and villages across England. Heffernan states that 'These simultaneous nationwide events are ... arguably the most obvious annual reaffirmations of British national identity.'[57] And while the Remembrance Day ceremonies in colonial Nairobi became part of the spectacle which 'united the whole Empire in one common thought,'[58] the ceremony was discontinued in Nairobi when Kenya became independent.

3.5 'History remains history however bitter it may be'[59]

Whereas other colonial monuments were removed from Nairobi's symbolic landscape when Kenya achieved independence, both the Obelisk and the African War Memorial were left standing. However, in March 1984 proposals were put forward suggesting that the African War Memorial be replaced by a monument to the freedom fighter Dedan Kimathi. Playing a large role in the Mau Mau uprising, the British had identified Kimathi as the 'most wanted' rebel leader in July 1953, leading to his capture in October 1956 and his hanging in February 1957. In today's Kenya, Kimathi's 'name, more than anyone else's, is synonymous with the struggle for freedom. He is unquestionably the heroic figure of the Mau Mau rebellion.'[60]

Yet the proposal to erect Kimathi's statue in place of the African War Memorial sparked outrage in the media, not at the idea of monumentalising the Mau Mau hero, but at the suggestion of removing the monument to the African soldiers who had died in the two World Wars. The idea had been mooted in Parliament by an Assistant Minister for Local Government and while some Members of Parliament suggested that the African War

[56] Stocker, Monument, public; G. L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, Oxford, 1990.
[57] Heffernan, For ever England, 294.
[58] Quoted by the Prince of Wales in his speech at a luncheon after the Armistice Day ceremony, Nairobi, 1928. Quoted in *Yorkshire Post*, 12 November 1928.
[59] *Kenya Times*, 31 March 1984.
[60] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 286.

Memorial should be housed in the National Museum, other MPs felt there was no need to remove the memorial and that the Kimathi monument could be erected elsewhere.[61] In reaction to the proposal, the *Sunday Nation* carried out a survey to gauge public opinion. While some did not 'know what the present statue stands for anyway,'[62] others supported the idea to erase this colonial reminder from Nairobi's symbolic landscape. Most, however, recognised the war memorial as part of Kenya's history and were against the monument's removal, arguing that a monument to Kimathi would be better placed on the street named after the Mau Mau leader, Kimathi Street.[63] This was the general view reflected in the media at the time which, in the main, emphasised how the memorial

> clearly depicts the social, political and economic history of this country and it should be preserved as a living testimony to our people's forcible participation in that ugly war. ...
>
> Care should be taken ... to avoid the possibility of distorting history at the expense of praising our freedom fighters – and our political achievements. It is important that suitable places be identified for the erection of statues and monuments.
>
> But under no circumstances should we destroy sites of historic significance simply because we want to replace them with what we feel should be the "right" monuments. History remains history however bitter it may be to us.[64]

In addition, others felt that participation in the wars inspired Kenyans to strive for independence. Interviewed by the *Daily Nation*, an African soldier who fought for the British in East Africa claimed, 'We fought a war which gave us the inspiration to fight the white man,'[65] and a member of the public described how, 'Those soldiers died for us. Those who survived came back with the idea of getting our own independence. We should remember them. The statue should remain where it is.'[66] One other issue raised in the discussions highlighted how the memorial has become, to many Kenyans, a landmark in Nairobi's city centre.

This was not the first time proposals were put forth suggesting the replacement of a colonial monument with a statue of Kimathi. After independence the memorial bas-relief plaque had been removed from the King George VI fountain but the fountain itself was left standing. In July 1971 the Town Planning Committee considered the 'conversion of

[61] *DN*, 29 March 1984.
[62] *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984.
[63] *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984.
[64] *Kenya Times*, 31 March 1984; see also *DN*, 30 March 1984; *DN*, 31 March 1984; *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984; *Sunday Times*, 1 April 1984; *DN*, 2 April 1984 *DN*, 6 April 1984.
[65] *DN*, 6 April 1984.
[66] *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984.

former King George Fountain near Parliament Buildings to a suitable Memorial, in honour of the late Dedan Kimathi'[67] and it was resolved that the Mayor take up this matter with the Kenya Government. The Town Planning Committee also recommended that 'commemorative monuments [to Kenya's National heroes who sacrificed their lives for this country] be erected appropriately on main roads in the city. Members felt that this question was a matter of national importance.'[68] The suggestion to convert the fountain did not raise as much press coverage as that to remove the African War Memorial although one article in the *East African Standard* protested that 'national pride can be satisfied without dishonouring the memory of somebody who has done nothing to deserve a smack across his immemorial face.'[69] Nothing further was mentioned of the City Council's proposal to convert the King George VI Memorial Fountain to a monument commemorating Kimathi and the fountain still stands today in post-independence Nairobi, its bas-relief removed, commemorating neither King George VI nor Kimathi.

Similarly the African War Memorial has remained a part of the post-independence city's streetscape. At the time of the controversy over this memorial's removal, President Moi applauded the monument as an important part of Kenyan history and under his instruction the African War Memorial was to be left standing on Kenyatta Avenue.[70] Such debates surrounding the post-independence removal of British colonial monuments were common in many countries formerly under British rule and President Moi's 'timely directive'[71] echoes, for example, President de Valera's anxieties regarding British colonial monuments in Ireland when, in 1938, he 'expressed concern about the fate of the various imperial relics and went on to state that it was not Government policy to remove sculpture solely because it was associated with the British regime.'[72]

The proposal to replace the African War Memorial with a monument to Kimathi brought to the surface deeper issues concerning the memorialisation of Mau Mau. When arguing against the removal of the war memorial it was suggested that the Kimathi statue should be erected elsewhere in the city. However, plans to put up a monument to Kimathi were never realised and while Kimathi has been recognised in Nairobi's symbolic landscape, for

[67] *NCC 1971*, KNA JW/2/45 2767.
[68] KNA JW/2/45.
[69] *EAS*, 6 November 1971.
[70] *Sunday Times*, 1 April 1984; *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984; *DN*, 2 April 1984.
[71] *DN*, 2 April 1984.
[72] Whelan, Symbolising the State, 145.

example Kimathi House and Kimathi Street are both named after the Mau Mau rebel, memorials to Mau Mau have, until recently, been absent from Nairobi's monumental landscape and are lacking in Kenya as a whole.[73] With the achievement of independence, the public memory of Mau Mau was quelled, the 'public memories of detention camps, of massacres, of punishments, and of dispossession were suppressed. National unity was the message.'[74]

In his examination of Civil War monuments in North America, Savage discusses how the role of the Black American has not been overtly acknowledged in monumentalising the Civil War and argues how

> Public monuments do not arise as if by natural law to celebrate the deserving; they are built by people with sufficient power to marshal (or impose) public consent for their erection. In this respect, ... the public monument represents a kind of collective recognition – in short, legitimacy – for the memory deposited there.[75]

Thus, although monuments to black soldiers were occasionally suggested, Savage claims that 'blacks did not have the cultural privilege to seek this form of legitimacy, and whites did not care to give it to them.'[76] In Kenya, Mau Mau veterans have complained for years that their role in the independence struggle was never fully acknowledged, and have called for memorials celebrating Mau Mau leaders and monuments recognising the role of Mau Mau in the country's history. However, the policy of the ruling elite that took up government when Kenya became independent was to bury the past. In 1968 Jomo Kenyatta, a conservative nationalist and Kenya's first president, wrote 'Mau Mau was a disease which had been eradicated, and must never be remembered again.'[77] Hence Mau Mau veterans do not have the 'cultural privilege' to legitimise the memory of the rebellion and those with power have deliberately written this memory out of Nairobi's monumental landscape. Following independence, airports, schools and stadiums were renamed after Kenya's new leaders and two statues of Kenyatta were erected in Nairobi. It was only in 2007 that a monument to the Mau Mau came to stand in the city.

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[73] It was not until February 2007, fifty years after his death, that a statue of Kimathi was erected in Nairobi. See discussion in Chapter 7.
[74] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 336.
[75] K. Savage, The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument, in: Gillis, *Commemorations*, 127-149, 135-136.
[76] Savage, The Politics of Memory, 136.
[77] J. Kenyatta, *Suffering Without Bitterness: The Founding of the Kenya Nation*, Nairobi, 1968, 189.

In discussing the repression of political opposition in Kenya, Mueller contends that post-independence Kenya inherited a statist economy from the colonial government, which helps to explain why it was important to maintain political power.[78]

> During the pre-independence period, the colonial government attempted to create a moderate middle class, not only to stabilise its rule but also to guarantee continuity after 1963. That this class grew with a relatively weak independent entrepreneurial base was no accident, being tied to the state by virtue of the latter's monopoly over the means of production, jobs and other economic rewards. Political moderation and economic mobility were thus married, with politics providing access to wealth rather than the reverse.[79]

Economic reasons, Mueller argues, significantly contributed to the importance of retaining political power and why the suppression of opposition was so widespread after independence. Thus the suppression of Mau Mau after independence may have been a means by which Kenyatta's regime hoped to maintain political power. Lonsdale, however, argues that Kenyatta denounced Mau Mau because they had defied the prevailing Kikuyu social order:

> What gave people 'the dignity that makes a person a person', [Kenyatta] had said in 1947, was social order, which he then visualized as the age-set discipline of circumcision. And however much he owed Mau Mau, its veterans remained anti-social hooligans, ... as he called them in 1952. Scarcely any forest fighter had made boast of his age-set; the 'Forty Group' who supplied many of their leaders had openly flouted the rules of age. To have accorded Mau Mau any privilege would not only excite non-Kikuyu suspicion but honour men who had broken the social order that ought to distribute power.[80]

Having lost much of their land to white settlers, one of the main grievances of Mau Mau was the issue of land. After independence Mau Mau fighters had hoped to be given land and to be rewarded by the new African government, but instead 'live and die in misery and abject poverty.'[81] Assuming presidency, Kenyatta had preserved private land tenure and did not sanction large-scale land grants to Mau Mau or any other landless, maintaining that land should be earned by labour and not handed out, fitting in with widespread Kikuyu attitude to land tenure.

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[78] S. D. Mueller, Government and Opposition in Kenya, 1966-9, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 22 (1984) 399-427.

[79] Mueller, Government and Opposition in Kenya, 405.

[80] J. Lonsdale, Jomo Kenyatta, God and the Modern World, in: J. Deutsch, P. Probst, H. Schmidt (Eds), *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*, Portsmouth, 2002, 31-66, 60. Many Mau Mau members camped in, and fought from, the Mount Kenya and Aberdare forests and were known as forest fighters. The 'Forty Group' was a powerful, largely Kikuyu, criminal gang which grew up in Nairobi in the 1940s.

[81] *The East African*, 29 April 2002.

Another explanation offered by Kenyatta's cabinet secretary, Duncan Ndegwa, as to why Mau Mau were not granted land was that it would be perceived as tribal bias; Mau Mau was largely the struggle of the Kikuyu and Kenyatta, president of the new African government, was Kikuyu. 'There are more than 30 tribes in Kenya and the unity of Kenya was our foremost priority. Kenyatta's concern was that rewarding the Mau Mau would be seen as Kikuyus rewarding themselves.'[82] In discussing the erection of a monument to Kimathi, tribal issues were also raised in an article in the *Daily Nation* which argued that

> Throughout the whole period of Kenya's chequered freedom struggle, which in fact started the day foreigners from without set foot on Kenyan soil, we have seen so many really brave and dedicated leaders and warriors (of both sexes) who hailed from all the country's tribes, that it would be extremely difficult to have them all honoured individually. ... If all the fallen warriors were to be honoured individually, such an undertaking would ... be both expensive and, indeed, rancorous – the latter because every community would like their own illustrious warrior to be fittingly honoured and, of course, there's no dearth of politicians who might try to raise such claims on the floor of the august National Assembly.[83]

Thus, while nothing ever came of the proposals to replace the African War Memorial with a monument to Dedan Kimathi, the suggestion brought to the fore contesting public memories and identities underlying Kenyan society, supporting Gristwood's claim that 'the archive of unrealised schemes and the politics surrounding them may be as eloquent as the built form itself; these absences also convey important messages about contradictory and painful aspects of identity.'[84] The unrealised schemes of monumentalising Mau Mau reflect the ambivalence of this public memory and the power of those with the cultural privilege and political power to suppress it. Kenyatta's government felt that recognising Mau Mau would be 'disintegrative and ... recall traditional tribalism in a way that threatened both modernization and nation-building.'[85] Yet others felt that with the lionisation of Kenyatta after independence, 'there seems to have been a consistent attempt to portray the struggle as having been perpetrated by one man single-handedly.'[86] Banned by the British in 1952, Mau Mau remained an illegal organisation throughout KANU's

[82] Duncan Ndegwa quoted in *Mail & Guardian*, 3 December 1998.
[83] *DN*, 2 April 1984.
[84] A. Gristwood, Commemorating empire in twentieth-century Seville, in: F. Driver and D. Gilbert (Eds), *Imperial cities: Landscape, display and identity*, Manchester, 1999, 155-173, 170.
[85] B. J. Berman, Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Modernity: The Paradox of Mau Mau, in: Grinker and Steiner, *Perspectives on Africa*, 653-670, 660.
[86] *DN*, 27 February 2000.

time in government.[87] In 2002 KANU was voted out of government and the 1952 order banning Mau Mau was withdrawn. In addition, President Kibaki's new government announced that it would launch a proper search for Kimathi's bones and that the Mau Mau hero would be afforded a proper burial.[88] Yet despite this official recognition of Mau Mau, it was still years before a monument commemorating Kimathi was erected in Nairobi.



Figure 3.19 African War Memorial (left) and Obelisk (right), Nairobi 2006.

The suggestion to erect a monument to Kimathi in place of the African War Memorial raised a number of issues, and ensuing debates focused both on memorialising Mau Mau and on the removal of the African War Memorial as a colonial relic. While the African War Memorial was erected to the African troops who died fighting for the British in the two World Wars, the Obelisk was a primarily a memorial to the white settlers who died in the wars. Thus, it is noteworthy that these discussions centred on the African War Memorial rather than the Obelisk standing opposite it, of which no mention was made. In post-independence Nairobi, there are those who do not know what the two monuments 'are

[87] After Kenyatta's death, his political party, KANU (Kenya African National Union) continued to rule the country through the presidency of Daniel arap Moi. In the 2002 elections, NARC (National Rainbow Alliance) took over from KANU and Mwai Kibaki became President.

[88] When Kimathi was hanged the British gave him no grave and the hunt for his bones became a cause for many who wanted to commemorate the Mau Mau hero, Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*

meant to portray. People are too busy and hurried to notice'[89] them. To those who do notice the monuments, attention has focused on the African War Memorial, its figurative statuary making it more noticeable in the landscape than the stone column of the Obelisk. Unlike the King George VI Memorial Fountain which, in post-independence Nairobi, 'is no offensive colonial relic, like the Great White Grandmother of Empire, or some bristling Governor on horseback,'[90] the figurative statuary of the African War Memorial singles it out as a stamp of colonialism.



Figure 3.20 African War Memorial and Obelisk, Nairobi, 2006.

With the achievement of independence, the symbolic meaning of the two war monuments changed. After independence the annual Remembrance Day ceremonies and demonstrations of collective memory centred on the war memorials were discontinued, while the monuments took on new meanings in the landscape. Although in colonial Nairobi the Obelisk was associated with the colonists, in the post-independence city this association has faded with time and the column, with no inscription dedicating it specifically to the memory of the settlers, instead stands generally 'to those who fell in the

[89] *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984.
[90] *EAS*, 6 November 1971.

two world wars.'[91] In colonial Nairobi, the two war memorials were a dominant feature of the streetscape and the symbolic landscape, their symbolism heightened with the annual remembrance celebrations. In the post-independence capital, the dominance of the monuments in the landscape as centres of meaning has diminished. This is also reflected through the reduced physical dominance of the monuments on Kenyatta Avenue, where the memorials now stand partially covered by trees (Figures 3.19 and 3.20).



Figure 3.21 Shanty at the Obelisk, June 1982.
Source: *EAS.*

In addition, rather than providing a site for annual celebrations as they did in colonial Nairobi's Remembrance Day ceremonies, the memorials provide, in post-independence Nairobi, a site for the city's homeless to sit and sleep, whether for a short rest or as somewhere more 'permanent'. For example in 1982 the *Standard* described how the Obelisk had become home for one man who had 'put up a shanty around the monument where he now resided'[92] (Figure 3.21). Some time later another article relates how the monument once again housed a member of Nairobi's homeless, describing how the man converted the Obelisk 'into a home. There was a lot of litter about and a polythene bag filled with paper which he uses to make his bed. In one corner was a collection of ash and

[91] *Sunday Nation*, 1 April 1984.
[92] *Standard*, 3 June 1982.

wood, hot ashes were puffing out a little smoke.'[93] Thus the reduced dominance of the two war memorials and the transformed use of space around them reflect the shifting context of these monuments in Nairobi's symbolic space with the achievement of independence.

3.6 East Africa Memorial

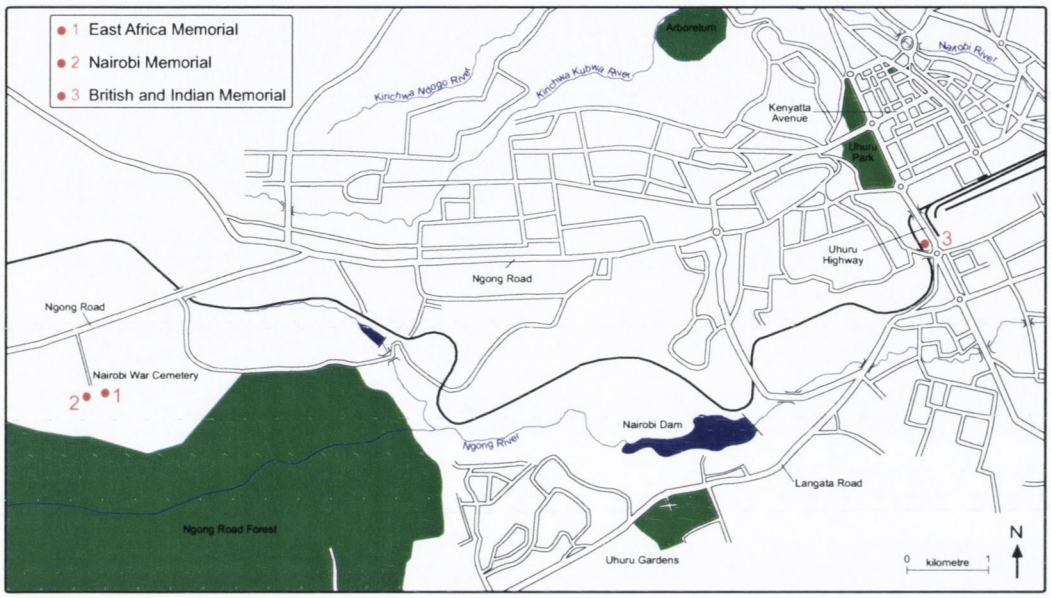


Figure 3.22 Map showing location of East Africa Memorial and Nairobi Memorial in Nairobi War Cemetery, and British and Indian Memorial.

As a result of the Second World War Nairobi's population rose from sixty-five thousand in 1940 to 109,000 in 1944.[94] During the war Nairobi was the principal base of the campaign in Italian Somaliland and Southern Ethiopia and was the headquarters of the East African Forces which provided garrisons for the occupied territories and for the defence of Ceylon. Later in the conflict Nairobi also served as a rear headquarters for the training and equipment of forces which were despatched from East Africa to Madagascar and Burma. As well as commemorating, in Nairobi, the casualties of this war through additional inscriptions on the two memorials on Delamere Avenue, the Second World War is remembered in the city's war cemeteries, constructed by the Imperial War Graves Commission. In 1960 the Imperial War Graves Commission became the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and this commission continues to maintain Nairobi's war

[93] *DN*, 9 December 1983.
[94] Town Clerk's Reports of 1941 and 1945, quoted in Thornton White, Silberman, Anderson, *Nairobi: Master Plan of a Colonial Capital*, 84.

cemeteries in post-independence Kenya. The Nairobi Kariokor Cemetery and the Nairobi Muslim Cemetery contain fifty-nine and thirty-three Commonwealth burials of the Second World War respectively, while the Nairobi Forest Road Cemetery contains seventy-three Commonwealth graves of World War II (as well as five First World War burials and thirty-eight non-war graves). The Nairobi War Cemetery is situated on the outskirts of Nairobi, about ten kilometres west of the city centre on Ngong Road. The cemetery was opened in 1941 by the military authorities and contains 1,952 war graves of the Second World War. This number includes the original burials as well as numerous graves transferred to the cemetery from African civil cemeteries and temporary army grounds in other locations in East Africa, such that it is now the largest war cemetery in East Africa. Also within the cemetery are the Nairobi Memorial, which commemorates 477 men of the United Kingdom, South African and East African Forces whose graves are elsewhere in Kenya, and the East Africa Memorial (Figure 3.22).



Figure 3.23 East Africa War Memorial, Nairobi War Cemetery, 2006.

Standing in the eastern side of the Nairobi War Cemetery, the East Africa Memorial commemorates 2,402 soldiers who fell in the Second World War campaigns in Italian Somaliland, Southern Ethiopia and Madagascar during the operations based on Kenya

under the command of General Sir Alan Cunningham, and whose graves are unknown. Out of these soldiers commemorated in the East Africa Memorial 1,961 came from the East African Forces, 236 from the West African, 182 from the British, fifteen from the South African and eight from the Indian Forces. The memorial was constructed by the Imperial War Graves Commission to the design of Alan Stewart, an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects[95] and was the nineteenth such memorial of the Second World War completed by the Imperial War Graves Commission after the end of the hostilities.[96]

> The Commission's aim from the first was to reflect the spirit of equal sacrifice in which all had fought and died and yet to remember the individual among the multitude. Thus it was judged right that while no man should receive greater honour than another, each would have his own separate and distinct memorial, whether in the form of the headstone designed to mark his grave or the carved line that singles him out among the host of his comrades named upon the great memorials to the "missing" dead.[97]

So within the cemetery full of uniform headstones, the East Africa Memorial consists of a hedged enclosure containing twelve stone columns inscribed with names (Figure 3.23). At the rear of the enclosure stands a memorial column with the inscription:

> 1939-1945
> The columns in this enclosure bear the names of two thousand four hundred men and women of many races united in service to the British Crown who gave their lives in Italian Somaliland, Kenya and Madagascar but to whom the fortune of war denied a known and honoured grave.

The memorial was due for completion and unveiling at the end of 1954 when Kenya was in the throes of Mau Mau. But due to a revision in the construction programme the unveiling ceremony was delayed initially until August 1955, the general feeling that 'Perhaps the delay is not altogether a misfortune; conditions in Kenya may be easier in a year's time.'[98] Eventually the East Africa Memorial was unveiled on 21 January 1956 by General Sir Alan Cunningham (Figures 3.24 and 3.25). It had been outlined that

> The Commission do not normally hold ceremonies of unveiling or inauguration on the completion of construction of one of their cemeteries. At the time of burial of

[95] KNA OP/1/387: 1/3; TNA CO1032/70.
[96] KNA OP/1/387: 64. The other World War II memorials constructed by the Imperial War Graves Commission prior to Nairobi's East Africa Memorial include the Air Forces Memorials at Runnymede and Malta, the Merchant Navy Memorial on Tower Hill in London, the Naval Memorials at Chatham, Portsmouth, Plymouth and Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the Memorials at El Alamein in Egypt, Saiwan Bay in Hong Kong, Bayeux in Normandy, Port Moresby in New Guinea and Bourail in New Caledonia.
[97] Imperial War Graves Commission, Nairobi, 9 January 1956, KNA OP/1/387: 64; TNA CO1032/70.
[98] Imperial War Graves Commission to Sir Thomas Lloyd, Colonial Office, London, 9 September 1954, TNA CO1032/70: 2.

> every man buried in a known grave a Chaplain, or, in his absence, the man's comrades, said the words of committal and the knowledge of this is of consolation to the next of kin. In the case of those with no known grave there is no certainty that such a service of committal was ever held, and, therefore, the ceremony of unveiling of a memorial is in a sense a mass service of committal and the service of dedication is an integral part of the ceremony. The aim of this Ceremony is therefore to bring consolation to the next-of-kin.[99]

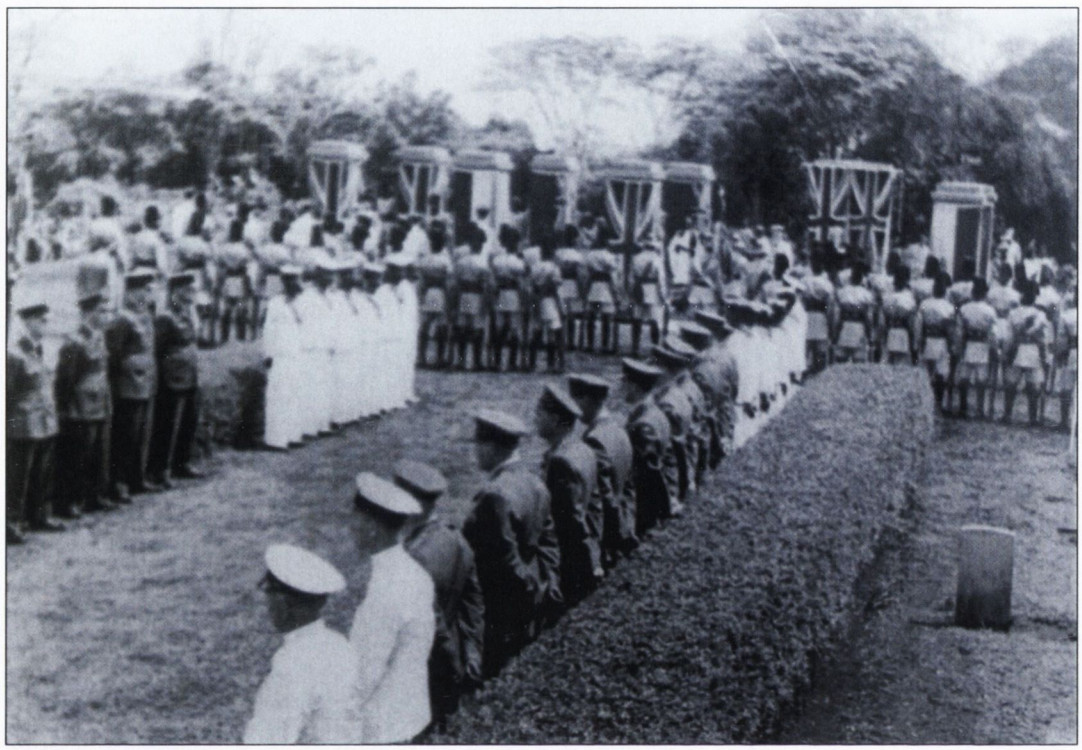


Figure 3.24 Unveiling ceremony of East Africa Memorial, Nairobi War Cemetery. The troops in the foreground include the royal airforce (extreme left), Africans of the Royal East African Navy and members of South African defence forces (foreground). Source: KNA.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that the purpose of the unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial was to bring comfort to the relatives of the soldiers who died fighting in the East African campaign of World War II. However, in a letter to Governor Baring in Nairobi, the Imperial War Graves Commission in London wrote

> It was the Commission's hope that it would have been possible to extend to the relatives of the men commemorated on the Memorial a general invitation to be present at this ceremony, and to arrange pilgrimages to enable those who wish to do so to be able to make the trip. We quite realise that in present circumstances this would be most undesirable and, whilst we are circulating to the relatives both of those commemorated on the Memorial and those buried in the cemetery, the

[99] Aide Memoire, Nairobi, KNA OP/1/387: 1/7; TNA CO1032/70.

> letter is in the form of a notification that the Ceremony will take place rather than an invitation to them to be present.[100]

As mentioned previously, the large African population living in Nairobi's estates and shanties meant that the city had become a hotbed of militant politics. Therefore further African immigration to the city during Mau Mau, even for a short period, was undesired. In addition, in a circular from the Office of the Chief Secretary, Nairobi, the Administrative Secretary expressed how

> This memorial records the names of over 1900 Africans who lost their lives in the last war and have no known graves. Information is not available of the names and whereabouts of next of kin or close relatives of these Africans and it is extremely doubtful whether any considerable number of close relatives would make the effort to be present even if they could be individually invited. It is significant that although there are individual graves of some 1600 Africans in the Nairobi War Cemetery very few Africans have so far made pilgrimage to the Cemetery.[101]

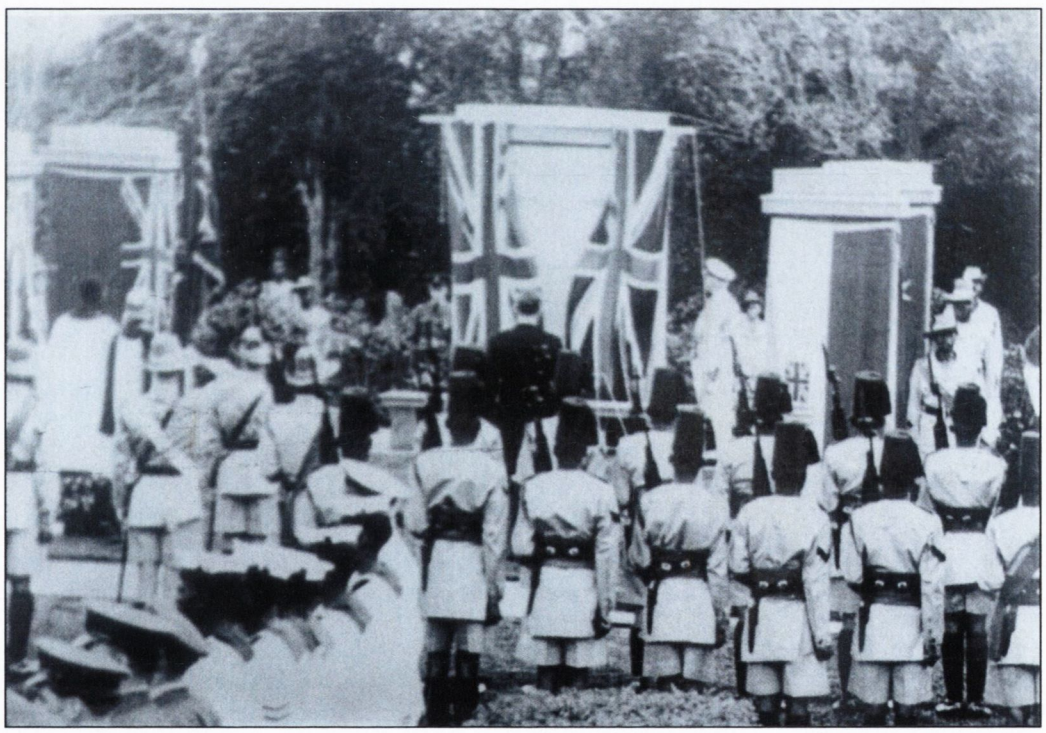


Figure 3.25 East Africa War Memorial unveiled by General Cunningham.
Source: KNA.

So while the unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial was primarily intended as a means to offer consolation to the relatives of the Africans who died fighting for the British

[100] Arthur Longmore, Imperial War Graves Commission to Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor of Kenya, Nairobi, 18 August 1954, TNA CO1032/70.
[101] Administrative Secretary, Office of the Chief Secretary to Secretary to the Treasury, Secretary for African Affairs, Secretary for Community Development, and Director of Information, Nairobi, 28 November 1955, KNA AB/17/31.

in the Second World War, British war against Mau Mau meant that in practice the Kenya government were unwilling for all relatives to attend the ceremony. This was reiterated in an internal note within Nairobi's Office of the Chief Secretary in which Mr. Clinton Wells remarked, 'I think we must on security grounds not encourage any large number of Africans we know little or nothing about to come into Nairobi.'[102] However, as the greater majority of those commemorated in the memorial are African, African representation at the ceremony was important:

> It is however most desirable that the African community should be well represented at this ceremony and I suggest that about 50 Chiefs and sub-Chiefs chosen by the Administration from those Districts which have in the past sent men to the Forces should be brought to Nairobi on the 20th January, 1956, and returned to their Districts on the 22nd.[103]

Fears of fuelling Mau Mau meant that free attendance by Kenyan Africans at the unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial was not desired. Yet African representation was required. Thus the colonial government sought to solve this perceived problem by ensuring that the African population would be represented by those members of the population deemed suitable by the colonial administration. These Africans were not to be invited to attend the ceremony, but were to be 'brought' to it.

However it was felt that close relatives of the Africans commemorated by the memorial who wished to attend the ceremony should be allowed to do so with 'no difficulty'[104] and with 'no obstacle in their way.'[105] So while individual invitations were not issued to these relatives, it was suggested that the ceremony be advertised in the 'Vernacular Press so that any close relatives who really wish to attend will be aware of the ceremony and be in a position to seek the advice of their District Commissioners.'[106]

The planning of the unveiling ceremony was carried out by a committee on which sat representatives from the War Office, the Colonial Office and the Imperial War Graves Commission,[107] and the ceremony was to reflect the fact that most of those commemorated

[102] Mr. Clinton Wells to Assistant Secretary, Office of the Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 24 November 1955, KNA OP/1/387: 11.
[103] Administrative Secretary, Office of the Chief Secretary to Secretary to the Treasury, Secretary for African Affairs, Secretary for Community Development and Director of Information, Nairobi, 28 November 1955, KNA AB/17/31.
[104] KNA OP/1/387: 11.
[105] KNA AB/17/31.
[106] KNA AB/17/31.
[107] TNA CO1032/70.

on the memorial were African soldiers. Therefore the guard of honour and many of the other troops taking place in the parade were to be drawn from the East African Forces.[108] The Imperial War Graves Commission in London stressed that

> The form and sequence of the Ceremony, which is that which has been followed upon these occasion since 1918, must not be altered, but the positioning of the various units in the parade, the seating of the relatives and guests and the other arrangements, particularly for the arrival, reception and departure of the principal personages must necessarily be left ... to plan in the light of ... familiarity with the site of the Memorial.[109]

Thus men of the Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika battalions of the King's African Rifles formed a guard of honour for the arrival of General Cunningham and the Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring. The grass walk to the memorial was lined with a guard from the Army, Royal Navy, Royal Air Force, the Royal East African Navy and the three South African Armed Forces. Standard-bearers of the British Legion led the guard on to parade. A sergeant of the Royal West Africa Frontier Force represented the four West African territories of Nigeria, Gambia, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.[110] Before Cunningham's address the Chaplain-General's representative conducted the service of remembrance. Cunningham spoke in English and Kiswahili to a crowd of over one thousand, describing the campaigns fought by those commemorated in the East Africa Memorial.[111] And as with both the Obelisk and the African War Memorial, the unveiling speech of the East Africa Memorial emphasised the unity of different races bonded together by a common goal:

> The 2,402 men and women whose names are recorded here came from the lands and territories of East, West, Central and South Africa, India, Pakistan and the United Kingdom.
>
> It is almost exactly fifteen years ago that, on February 11th, 1941, the troops of East Africa Force, formed of units of all these different races, marched out on the first stage of their journey towards their goal. Thereafter side by side and shoulder to shoulder, with all thought of differences of creed or race submerged in a common object, they fought on, in close co-operation and with ever increasing mutual respect, to save Africa from the tyranny of the Dictators.[112]

Cunningham finished his address by situating it in the present:

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[108] F. Higginson, Imperial War Graves Commission to Sir Thomas Lloyd, Colonial Office, London, 17 January 1956, TNA CO1032/70: 44.
[109] TNA CO1032/70.
[110] *EAS*, 23 January 1956.
[111] See Appendix V for full address.
[112] KNA OP/1/387.

> Now once again has Africa reached a critical stage. I am sure that all those of us who were associated so closely together in the comradeship of those distant days will pray that once again by the same methods of co-operation, good will and mutual trust the various peoples of this Continent will solve their problems and bring peace and prosperity to their lands. Then, those whom we are honouring here today, and those near to them whom they left behind, may feel that their sacrifice has not been in vain.[113]

At this time Kenya was fighting a war of independence, while nationalist movements across the African continent were beginning to gain momentum, and this challenge against colonialism contributed to the dismantling of the British Empire which had begun to gather pace after the Second World War. Drawing on the public memory and collective mourning of the African war dead of the Second World War, Cunningham called for peace and unity in this uncertain stage of empire. Through this collective call to the Africans, Cunningham reminded them of their role and sacrifice in the war and recalled the comradeship the empire had provided. The public memory of the African war dead was used to highlight the unity of the empire in an attempt to deflect the trend towards the dissolution of empire. Yet also apparent was the ambiguous nature of Cunningham's address in which he spoke about Africa and the people of Africa with no mention of imperial control. However, the whole unveiling event was strictly formal and controlled and imperial authority was made apparent through, for example, the use of the Union Jack in the ceremony and the singing of *God Save the Queen*.

After delivering his address, Cunningham unveiled the central memorial stone bearing the inscription, which had been covered with the Union Jack (Figures 3.24 and 3.25). Following this, and to the signal of a roll of drums, soldiers standing at the other twelve columns pulled cords and the flags of Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Pakistan, India and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland fell to the ground to reveal the name panels.[114] The unveiling of the memorial was followed by the sounding of the *Last Post* and the prayer of dedication pronounced by the Chaplain-General's representative. Buglers then sounded the *Reveille*, after which a short service of prayers was read first by the Chaplain-General's representative, then by the Roman Catholic Chaplain and finally Muslim prayers were read by an Imam. Finally came the laying of wreaths and the singing of *God Save the Queen*.

[113] KNA OP/1/387.
[114] TNA CO1032/70; *EAS*, 23 January 1956.

On the morning of the unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial, special church services of remembrance were held in Nairobi and on the day of the ceremony Union Jacks were flown from buildings in the city such as the Secretariat, Legislative Council and Treasury. At the time of the unveiling these flags were flown at half mast.[115] The African Broadcasting Service aired the ceremony live, and also after the event with an African commentary. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) transmitted a fifteen minute recorded programme in the United Kingdom and on other overseas BBC services and the following day the Forces Broadcasting Service broadcasted a recording from the ceremony with their own commentary.[116] All this combines to place the unveiling ceremony as part of a wider British effort to commemorate the casualties of the Second World War throughout the Commonwealth.



Figure 3.26 Cross of Sacrifice, Nairobi War Cemetery, 2006.

The mass death of the Great War presented a new challenge in the commemoration of war. In response the Imperial War Graves Commission was founded in Britain and official war commemoration turned its focus towards remembering the individuality of the fallen common soldier. To deal with the challenge the Commission developed a commemoration

[115] KNA OP/1/387.
[116] TNA CO1032/70.

strategy which ensured 'consistent design approach' and in which 'Equality was the core ideology.'[117] The common soldiers were no longer left anonymous. Instead,

> their names, their dates of birth and death, their bodies and last resting places, all became the object of elaborate state remembrance, equally for all, on an unprecedented scale. This standardised practice, so distinctively the modern democracy of death, appeared most strikingly in the making for the first time of mass military cemeteries with row after row of uniform graves on standardised plots for individuals.[118]

The designs of Commonwealth First World War cemeteries were built on a template and this design template was also used to commemorate the casualties of the Second World War. Thus the Nairobi War Cemetery stands in the African capital as a 'quintessentially English landscape,'[119] also containing the Cross of Sacrifice and the Stone of Remembrance symbolic of many war cemeteries around the world commemorating those who sacrificed their lives in the cause of the nation-state and the British Empire (Figures 3.26 and 3.27).



Figure 3.27 Stone of Remembrance with East Africa War Memorial in background, Nairobi War Cemetery, 2006.

[117] Commonwealth War Graves Commission, http://www.cwgc.org/content.asp?menuid=1&submenuid=4&id=4&menuname=History&menu=sub, accessed 2 August 2006.
[118] Werbner, Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun, 71.
[119] Heffernan, For ever England, 306.

The unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial within the Nairobi War Cemetery highlighted the role of the East African troops in the Second World War and was also used as an opportunity to create a sense of loyalty to the emerging idea of a British Commonwealth of Nations at a time when the British Empire was unravelling. The idea of a commonwealth, in this context, developed in the early twentieth century with the recognition that some of Britain's older-established colonies were essentially self-governing and to group them collectively under the term 'empire' failed to realise their real independence.[120] Instead the word 'commonwealth' 'was felt by some to express better the form the empire would take: a union or federation of equal nation states, united for the common good of the whole.'[121] As decolonisation progressed after the Second World War, most of Britain's ex-colonies were admitted to the Commonwealth and

> Most imperialists regarded this process with pride. Some of them indeed saw the new Commonwealth as the culmination of the empire, the goal to which its evolution had been directed for a hundred years or more. ... It was also widely hoped that the Commonwealth might prove to be a powerful political and economic force in the world, all the more powerful for being free, and so revive Britain's flagging 'great power' status and role.[122]

Thus, in relation to the unveiling of the East Africa Memorial, F. Higginson of the Imperial War Graves Commission in London stressed how, 'Nowadays it is very pleasing to have, once in a while, an occasion like this which so emphasises the unity of the Commonwealth.'[123] The form of the East Africa Memorial is similar to the Nairobi Memorial which stands across from it on the western side of the Nairobi War Cemetery. Both consist of columns of light pink artificial stone, with bases and capitals of a darker colour. Both memorials consist of a rear central column with an inscription, surrounded by columns inscribed with names of war dead. The East Africa Memorial has twelve of these columns while the Nairobi Memorial has only four (Figure 3.28).

Also standing in a Commonwealth War Graves Commission cemetery is the British and Indian Memorial in Nairobi South Cemetery (Figure 3.22). This memorial takes the form

[120] B. Porter, Commonwealth of Nations, in: J. Cannon (Ed), *The Oxford Companion to British History*, Oxford, 1997, 233-234.
[121] Porter, Commonwealth of Nations, 233.
[122] Porter, Commonwealth of Nations, 234.
[123] F. Higginson, Imperial War Graves Commission to Sir Thomas Lloyd, Colonial Office, London, 17 January 1956, TNA CO1032/70: 44.

of a screen wall with an inscription[124] and panels carved with the names of over 1,200 Indian Officers and British officers and men who died in the East African Campaign before the advance to the Rufiji in January 1917 (Figure 3.29). The later casualties are commemorated by the Dar es Salaam British and Indian Memorial (in the Dar es Salaam War Cemetery) which names more than 1,500 officers and men who died in East Africa during and after January 1917. The Dar es Salaam British and Indian Memorial is similar to that in Nairobi.[125]



Figure 3.28 Nairobi Memorial. In the background stands the Stone of Remembrance and beyond that, the East Africa War Memorial. Nairobi War Cemetery, 2006.

No archival records exist of the Nairobi Memorial in Nairobi War Cemetery and the British and Indian Memorial in Nairobi South Cemetery while the only archival records concerning the East Africa Memorial are in relation to the unveiling ceremony of this memorial. This ceremony closely followed the structure and sequence of Imperial War Graves Commission unveiling ceremonies executed elsewhere in the Empire, being

[124] The inscription reads 'Here are recorded names of officers and men who fell in East Africa before the advance to the Rufiji in January, 1917, but to whom the fortune of war denied the known and honoured burial given to their comrades in death'.

[125] The Jinja Memorial in the Jinja War Cemetery in Uganda is also of a similar form to the Dar es Salaam and Nairobi British and Indian Memorials. The Jinja Memorial commemorates over 120 war casualties of the East African Forces of the Second World War who were buried in Uganda but whose graves could not be maintained.

conducted along 'similar lines to those ... carried out in the United Kingdom and Malta.'[126] The purpose of the ceremony was clearly stated:

> ... the principal aim of the Ceremony is to bring consolation to the relatives of those commemorated on the Memorial ... The Ceremony ... is a Common act of homage by the General who commanded the men whose memory this Memorial perpetuates, by the Army in which they served and by the sister Services at whose prayers offered at the Memorial and the religious Services held earlier, the bringing before God of these soldiers for many of whom no service of burial could ever be held.[127]

Yet while this was a memorial to the Africans who fell in World War II and the purpose of the unveiling ceremony was to bring comfort to the relatives of these Africans, the fear of aggravating Mau Mau politics meant that the British and Kenyan Governments wished to exert a degree of control over African attendance at the ceremony. So while the Africans who fought and died were commemorated, this commemoration was designed and carried out by the imperial power.



Figure 3.29 Nairobi South Cemetery, 2006. The British and Indian Memorial, consisting of a screen wall, stands in the left of the photograph and the cemetery's Cross of Sacrifice can be seen in the background of the photograph.

[126] Arthur Longmore, Imperial War Graves Commission to Governor Baring, Nairobi, 18 August 1954, TNA CO1032/70.
[127] KNA OP/1/387: 64; *EAS*, 13 January 1956.

3.7 Conclusion

In the examination of landscapes of war and memory, geographers have considered debates surrounding the commemoration of the war dead and the construction of regional or national identities.[128] The Great War marked a juncture in the commemoration of war and the war dead, and has been treated by many scholars as a turning point in the birth of modern memory. In response to the volume of casualties of the Great War, the Imperial War Graves Commission created landscapes of collective remembrance in Europe. Examining the contentious debates surrounding the commemoration of British war dead Heffernan argues that

> the large-scale collective commemoration of the dead of the Great War in carefully designed sacred places, though seemingly natural, was an unprecedented development. The very fact that these great cemeteries and memorials were created at all, despite powerfully articulated rival claims to the bodies of the dead and to the process of commemoration, is evidence that a bureaucracy of imperial, collective commemoration triumphed over personal and private desires. The cultural landscape of the Western Front demonstrates, therefore, the ideological authority of the British Empire over the rights of the individual citizen.[129]

The cemetery at Forceville in France became the template for the Imperial War Graves Commission's building programme which stressed consistency and equality. The consistency in design provided a 'commemorative grammar'[130] which was in keeping with the Commission's ideology of equality and in addition imposed a strong connection between the landscapes of remembrance such that they comprised a 'coordinated front.'[131] The design of the cemeteries reproduced many components of a 'quintessential English style of landscape architecture'[132] in a desire to domesticate the landscape abroad 'in a way in keeping with the familiar tastes of those at home.'[133]

In East Africa this landscape was replicated in the Nairobi South Cemetery, in which there also stands a memorial naming the British and Indian officers and men who died in the First World War. The Africans who died fighting for the British in this war are commemorated in Nairobi by the African War Memorial which stands on Kenyatta

[128] Johnson, The spectacle of memory; Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*; Heffernan, For ever England.
[129] Heffernan, For ever England, 313.
[130] Savage, The Politics of Memory, 131.
[131] Savage, The Politics of Memory, 131.
[132] Johnson, Historical geographies of the present, 256.
[133] Johnson, Historical geographies of the present, 256.

Avenue. No names are inscribed on the memorial. The figurative statuary of the African War Memorial strongly contrasts the form of the British and Indian Memorial and emphasises the different collective memory provided for the Africans as compared to that provided for the British and the Indians, despite the fact that they all fought for the same cause in the same war. The British and Indian Memorial situated in an Imperial War Graves Commission cemetery enabled the British and Indians who died in the First World War to become part of a wider imperial commemoration of the war dead. On the other hand, for the Africans who died in the same war, a different collective commemoration was created and along with the Commission's African War Memorials in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, this memorial forms part of an East African iconography commemorating the Africans who died fighting for the British Empire in World War I.

Opposite the African War Memorial in Nairobi stands the Obelisk which was also erected to commemorate the dead of World War I. This monument was not an Imperial War Graves Commission project but rather was put up in Nairobi by the local government. Although dedicated to the East African men and women who died in the First World War, the unveiling of the Obelisk as part of a triple ceremony meant that it became a memorial to the Kenya colonists who, at the time of the monument's unveiling, were striving for greater power in Kenya, hoping to follow in the footsteps of Southern Rhodesia which, in 1923, had become self-governing under a white settler government. So while the Obelisk was not constructed and erected by the British Imperial War Graves Commission, its form, its function as a cenotaph and the annual Remembrance Day services centred on the memorial highlight the connection with Britain. The Cenotaph in London was unveiled in 1920 by King George V as a memorial to the fallen of the British Empire in the First World War. The national Remembrance Day parade that continues to take place annually in Britain has been structured around London's Cenotaph since its erection and through imitating this tradition in Nairobi, where the remembrance ceremonies took on a similar form to those carried out in London, a British landscape of memory was created in the colonial town. Colonial Nairobi's remembrance ceremonies focused on both the Obelisk and the African War Memorial. Through the spaces in which these ceremonies took place, and the formal iconography associated with them, such as flags, uniforms and anthems,[134] a public memory was developed and this public memory shaped in Nairobi was a memory strongly rooted in British tradition and identity.

[134] Johnson, The spectacle of memory.

With the annual ceremonies based around Nairobi's two First World War memorials (later also commemorating those who died in the Second World War) and the development of Delamere Avenue as the main street of Nairobi, the Obelisk and African War Memorial were very dominant in colonial Nairobi. After independence, however, the dominance of these memorials has faded and their context in Nairobi's iconographic landscape has shifted. They stand physically less commanding in the streetscape and no longer host Remembrance Day ceremonies. Their meaning in the landscape and the space in which they stand have changed while the figurative form of the African War Memorial has brought attention to the monument in discussions on rewriting Nairobi's symbolic landscape.

However, while the Africans who died in the East African campaign of World War I were commemorated by this memorial, which contributed to an East African First World War imperial iconography, those Africans who died in the Second World War were included in the Empire's wider commemoration of the war dead. Thus the Africans who died fighting for the British in the Second World War became part of the symbolic landscape of remembrance created by the Imperial War Graves Commission and were buried in the Nairobi War Cemetery and commemorated in the East Africa Memorial. In Europe the uniformity applied to the design of the Commission's First World War cemeteries was continued in the commemoration of the war dead of the Second World War. While similar landscapes of remembrance to those elsewhere in the Empire had been created in East Africa to commemorate World War I casualties, these imperial landscapes were reserved for the British and Indian war dead. Thus although the form of the Second World War cemeteries also remained, in East Africa, in keeping with First World War cemeteries, these landscapes of memory now included the African war dead, reflecting the change in the position of the African in the eyes of the colonial rulers. The unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial was also consistent with those carried out elsewhere in the Empire. So even as Africa was scrambling for its independence, the British continued to assert their cultural power and brand their imperial stamp on Nairobi's landscape.

CHAPTER 4

SETTLER MONUMENTS IN COLONIAL NAIROBI

4.1 The Hopes of Founding a White Man's Country

As British East Africa was opened up to white settlement, a distinct settler society was formed. From the beginning, Kenya's white settlers were determined that the country be settled by Europeans, that it become a ''white man's country' in the sense that Europeans could live, breed, thrive and establish homes there, and so create a new British dominion.'[1] In the face of such ambitions, the settlers came together to establish themselves as a society and to assert their position in the Protectorate. Elkins and Pedersen argue that settler colonialism in the twentieth century is defined by negotiation and struggle between 'an imperial metropole where sovereignty formally resides, a local administration charged with maintaining order and authority, an indigenous population significant enough in size and tenacity to make its presence felt, and an often demanding and well-connected settler community.'[2] In addition, they stress that settler privilege is inherently built into the political, economic and social relationships between the native population and the settler society.[3] In British East Africa, the relatively large Asian population formed a further group which participated in these relationships of struggles. Settler privilege also exerted itself over this Asian community. These struggles were played out in the politics of colonial Nairobi.

Arriving in unfamiliar land, the settlers sought to found a cohesive community and to exert their power in the country. In order to do this it was necessary for them to bond under a common identity. In discussing settler society and culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, Kennedy asserts that

[1] Huxley, *White Man's Country*, vi.
[2] C. Elkins and S. Pedersen, Settler Colonialism: A Concept and Its Uses, in: C. Elkins and S. Pedersen (Eds), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, London, 2005, 1-20, 4.
[3] Elkins and Pedersen, *Settler Colonialism.*

> settlers found themselves in distinctly strained and tenuous circumstances – an ethnic minority, situated in an unfamiliar environment, whose paramountcy was dependent upon constant and elaborate mechanisms of control over a far more numerous, latently hostile indigenous population. This alien land and its people were simultaneously an opportunity and a threat to white settlers. Power was matched by fear, arrogance by anxiety, disdain by suspicion. It was from this complex of experience that the colonial communities acquired their very special character.[4]

Kennedy explores the climatic theories held by the settlers, who felt that the physical environment of Africa posed a threat to European health, and describes the phenomena of 'black peril', the perceived danger to European women of rape by African men.[5] The fear of these perceived threats to European well-being acted to bond the white settlers in racial unity. As a result of colonist efforts to generate a sense of cohesion, Kennedy contends, pre-existing social distinctions between settlers were broken down and discriminating between the different origins of the colonists became less important than constructing a sense of solidarity within the settler group.[6]

> Settler culture, then, was pre-eminently the expression of the white community's tenuously held position of predominance in the colonial order. The power to shape and control social identity, to determine the distinctions between themselves and others, was crucial to that predominance.[7]

In addition, Kennedy claims that one 'central feature of the settler culture was its renunciation and repression of any substantive adaptation to the host environment.'[8] However, this chapter will argue that a sense of 'conquering' the African land, of controlling it for European use, and eventual familiarity with the host landscape, contributed to the formation of a settler identity, allowing the colonists to feel they belonged to the country. As Kenya's settlers established themselves as a community, they strove to assert their power in colonial Kenya, and did so with varying degrees of success.

In 1895 the British proclaimed a Protectorate over East Africa[9] and in 1896 construction on the Uganda Railway began. Prior to the building of the railway, the small Indian, and even smaller European populations, were largely confined to the coastal area of British East

[4] D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939*, Durham, 1987, 187.
[5] Kennedy, *Islands of White*.
[6] Kennedy, *Islands of White*.
[7] Kennedy, *Islands of White*, 189.
[8] Kennedy, *Island of White*, 189.
[9] Prior to 1895 the area had been administered by the Imperial British East Africa Company which was founded after the Berlin Treaty of 1885.

Africa, while the inland area was regarded as an expanse of wasteland inhabited by potentially hostile tribes.[10] The railway opened up the interior of British East Africa and facilitated settlement inland. Initially, many believed that the area was better suited to Indian settlement than it was to European settlement, a policy that was supported in the Foreign Office.[11] As Sir Clement Hill, head of the African Protectorates Department, remarked, the Foreign Office was 'rather looking to India for our East African system and for development.'[12] However, Sir Charles Eliot, who replaced Sir Arthur Hardinge as Commissioner of British East Africa in December 1900,[13] supported European settlement over Indian settlement, especially in the areas most suited to agriculture and grazing, the highlands of what was to become Kenya.

By publicising the attractions of the Kenyan highlands for white settlement, Eliot hoped to divert British settlers away from Canada and Australia and to East Africa.[14] In the promotion of the European colonisation of British East Africa, Eliot was supported and encouraged by the few white settlers already in the Protectorate. These pioneers opposed Indian immigration and settlement and hoped, like Eliot, to found a 'white man's country'.[15] Yet despite Eliot's efforts at attracting British settlers, by the end of 1902 the highlands still lacked a substantial body of European farmers. Thus, in 1903, Eliot turned to South Africa to look for settlement. Those first South Africans that settled in British East Africa were almost all of British descent and were followed by an influx of Boers. Until around 1912, settlers from South Africa outnumbered the settlers from Britain. However, this British settler group was largely made up of members of the English gentry and aristocracy whose social standing and wealth 'enabled them to exert an influence in politics and society which was out of all proportion to their number.'[16] Arriving from Britain to settle in the British East African Protectorate in 1903, Hugh Cholmondeley, better known as Lord Delamere, quickly became an accepted leader among the white settlers and 'was soon to rank with Eliot as a founding father of the European colony in the

[10] Smith, The Immigrant Communities (1): the Europeans.
[11] M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European settlement in Kenya*, London, 1968.
[12] Quoted in Sorrenson, *Origins of European settlement*, 36.
[13] Sir Arthur Hardinge was British East Africa's first Commissioner, holding the position from 1 July 1895 to 7 October 1900. C. H. Craufurd was acting Commissioner until Sir Charles Eliot's arrival at the end of December 1900. Eliot was Commissioner of British East Africa between 30 December 1900 and 20 May 1904.
[14] Sorrenson, *Origins of European settlement*.
[15] Eliot quoted in Sorrenson, *Origins of European settlement*, 42.
[16] Sorrenson, *Origins of European settlement*, 67.

highlands.'[17] While Kenya's white settlers became concentrated in the highlands, they exerted their influence and power through Nairobi-based politics.

In 1902, the settlers had formed a committee to promote European colonisation and discourage Indian colonisation, and when he arrived in 1903, Delamere formed the Planters' and Farmers' Association. Initially concerned with protecting the agricultural interests of the settlers, this association soon replaced the older committee as the forum for settler politics. In 1905, the Planters' and Farmers' Association changed its name to the Colonists' Association. Also in this year the East African Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, a move the settlers had urged. Early British officials showed sympathy towards Indian rights and distrusted the policy of white settlement. Thus hostilities grew between the officials and the settlers and the settlers believed that the new colonial office administration would be more sympathetic to their cause.[18] In 1907, the Colonial Office instituted a constitutional change and the apparatus of a Crown Colony government was put in place. The Commissioner became Governor, and Executive and Legislative Councils were formed. Three nominated settler members were to sit on the newly formed Legco and Delamere was one of these three. In 1910 the Colonists' Association came together with a number of other settler associations which had been set up in the Protectorate, and the Convention of Associations was formed. The Convention of Associations soon became known as the 'Settlers' Parliament', and through this Association and the Legco, the ruling elite of Kenya's settlers were able to assert their political power. This power continued to grow until the early 1920s.

Soon after Sir Edward Northey became Governor of Kenya in February 1919, the Government launched a scheme to settle ex-soldiers in British East Africa. This Soldier Settlers Scheme invited applications for grants of land in the Protectorate, specifying that

> The applicant must be a British subject of purely European extraction who has served during the present War in the Naval, Military, or Air Forces of the United Kingdom, British Colonies, or Protectorates, or the self-governing Dominions, or in those of His Majesty's Allies.[19]

[17] Sorrenson, *Origins of European settlement*, 42.
[18] G. Bennett, Settlers and politics in Kenya, in: V. Harlow, E. M. Chilver and A. Smith (Eds), *History of East Africa*, Vol. II, Clarendon Press, 1965, 265-332; Zeleza, The establishment of colonial rule.
[19] The Soldier Settlers Scheme: Memorandum of Conditions with Press Notice 1919, in: Mungeam (Ed), *Kenya: Select Historical Documents*, 360-365, 362.

The Soldier Settlers Scheme increased the number of British settlers and their landholdings, and the railway, road and port facilities were extended for improved transport of settler produce.[20] Also in 1919, as mentioned previously, the Colonial Office granted to Europeans the right of elective representation in the Legco which was inaugurated in February 1920. In addition, 1920 saw the first election of Europeans to the Municipal Council. Thus, by the beginning of the 1920s the settlers were in a position to exert a greater political influence than ever before.[21] As well as this, in July 1920, the East African Protectorate became the Kenya Colony and Protectorate,[22] a move viewed by the settlers as a step towards their goal of self-government as they became more confident in their power.

However, African protest had begun to emerge in the early 1920s while the Colonial Office applied brakes on increasing settler power through the Devonshire declaration of 1923. Although this White Paper favoured, on the whole, European interests over Indian interests, it was to put a halt to the settlers' ambition of self-rule as, 'In times of crisis over the next forty years, Britain would fall back on the Devonshire declaration to justify its intervention in thwarting settler aspirations and ultimately facilitating the emergence of an African middle class as a more realistic alternative to the settlers.'[23]

However, Smith argues that, 'In Kenya right up to the end of the 1950s a highly articulate section of the white community still regarded white local dominance as entrenched.'[24] Bennet similarly describes how, in post-Second World War Kenya, 'optimists could still talk of the other races accepting European leadership in a transfer of power from Westminster. The idea itself was typical of the aristocratic mentality of the Kenya settler community.'[25] And despite the fact that their aspirations of following in Southern Rhodesia's footsteps to become self-governing under a white settler government were not to be realised, Nairobi's monumental landscape suggests that Kenya's settlers continued to assert settler dominance and to create an identity for themselves in the country they helped develop.

[20] Kanogo, Kenya and the depression.
[21] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance.
[22] The coastal strip belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar was not annexed and became the Kenya Protectorate.
[23] Maxon, The years of revolutionary advance, 89.
[24] Smith, The immigrant communities, 433.
[25] Bennet, Settlers and politics in Kenya, 332.

4.2 Lord Delamere Statue

Without a common history or background, the settlers of British East Africa looked to other criteria in the formation of a settler identity. 'Individuals composing a society almost always feel the need to have ancestors, and one of the roles of great men is to fill that need.'[26] Through his contribution to the agricultural development of the country and his role in settler politics, Lord Delamere became to the European community what Jeevanjee was to the Indian. He became the 'accepted leader'[27] of the settlers, and having also played a key part in the white settlement of Kenya, Delamere naturally became the settlers' ancestor in the establishment of a Kenyan settler society. This helped provide the foundations upon which to build a settler identity.

Hugh Cholmondeley, third Baron Delamere, first set foot in the Kenyan highlands on a hunting expedition in 1897, returning more permanently in 1903 to stay as a settler. While he was not one of British East Africa's first white settlers, he became one of its most influential. He 'became an Imperialist, a pioneer of Empire and, in the maturity of years, a statesman of great influence in East Africa.'[28] He was during his life compared to Cecil Rhodes (see section 3.2) and similarly, after his death on 13 November 1931, the *East African Standard* wrote how 'the Empire in Africa, and in particular the Colony of Kenya, loses a public figure whose qualities of statesmanship during 30 years entitle him to be compared in his creative capacity with Cecil Rhodes.'[29] Delamere's ideals, like Rhodes', were of creating a British Empire in Africa. He had visions of forming a link between East Africa and 'the great Imperial possessions and white communities to the south.'[30] In adopting Delamere as their leader, these grand visions became the visions of the settlers, allowing them to bond together through the common ideals of their settler society.

However, as mentioned above, not only was Delamere's name synonymous with settler politics, but also with settler farming in Kenya. Delamere's success as a farmer, his success in 'conquering' the land after years of trial and error with different strains of wheat and different breeds of sheep and cattle, was another source of inspiration in the creation of

[26] Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 10.
[27] *EAS*, 14 November 1931.
[28] Hill, *Permanent Way*, 257.
[29] *EAS*, 14 November 1931.
[30] *EAS*, 14 November 1931.

a settler identity. Prior to 1912, European settlers had been, on the whole, unsuccessful in commercial agriculture.[31] However, Delamere became one of the largest farmers in the country through his early experiments in farming, greatly contributing to the economic development of Kenya. Yet

> Valuable though Lord Delamere's pioneer contributions were to the economic development of the country, by far the more important influence of his life was exerted in the field of politics. It is no exaggeration to say that the story of Lord Delamere's political life is the story of Kenya, the growth of its white settlement and the development of the vigorous influence on policy which has been so marked a feature of the decade of controversy which followed the termination of the war. He was easily the most outstanding personality in the whole of the East African territories.[32]

Delamere was such a part of colonial Kenya that the day after his death the entire front page of the *East African Standard* carried an article describing his life and achievements. This article, which was continued throughout the pages of the newspaper, described Delamere as 'East Africa's greatest public figure.'[33] In addition, it was reported how the 'British Press [was] at one in eulogising the work which Lord Delamere did for the Colony'[34] while the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent to the Governor of Kenya, Sir Joseph Byrne,[35] a telegram expressing his sympathy at the death of Lord Delamere.[36]

In 1932, a committee was formed to consider a suitable memorial for Delamere. This Delamere Memorial Committee consisted of a sub-committee in Kenya which, at its formation in 1932, included members of the Convention of Associations, members of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, members of Nairobi Municipal Council, the Colonial Secretary and, as Chairman, Lord Francis Scott. Lord Francis Scott arrived in British East Africa in 1919 having been allotted land through the Soldier Settlers Scheme. In British East Africa he became active in settler politics where his 'wide connections amongst the British aristocracy gave him considerable political influence.'[37] He also became one of Delamere's closest friends.

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[31] Kennedy, *Islands of White*.
[32] *EAS*, 14 November 1931.
[33] *EAS*, 14 November 1931.
[34] *EAS*, 16 November 1931.
[35] Sir Joseph Aloysius Byrne was Governor of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate between the 13th February 1931 and the 22nd December 1936.
[36] *EAS*, 16 November 1931.
[37] Introduction to Guide of 'Lord Francis Scott Papers', UoN FS/8/10.

A sub-committee of the Delamere Memorial Committee was also set up in London, although its first meeting was not held until July 1935. The Chairman of this committee was Sir Edward Grigg, who had been Governor of Kenya between October 1925 and September 1930. In addition, among those in attendance at the first meeting of the London sub-committee was another former governor of British East Africa, Sir Edward Northey,[38] as well as Elspeth Huxley, who, in 1935, published the story of Lord Delamere's life in *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the making of Kenya.* Also present at the meeting was Delamere's son, Thomas Cholmondeley, fourth Baron Delamere, who was, at that time, living in England.

Meetings were held by both the Kenya Committee and the London Committee to determine the form of memorial to Delamere and in these deliberations two schemes were considered. The main part of the memorial, it was discussed, was to involve the establishment, in Kenya, of a training farm for Europeans. It was also decided that a statue of Delamere should be erected in Nairobi. At the July meeting in 1935, the London Committee suggested that the Kenya Committee should concentrate on raising funds for the erection of the statue while the London Committee would concentrate on the training farm.[39] However, in Kenya, Lord Francis Scott 'felt that the best course may be to collect money for the main scheme and that if insufficient funds are forthcoming to concentrate on the statue.'[40] Thereby the Kenya Committee asserted their authority, ensuring that the memorialisation of Delamere was seen to belong to the Kenya Colony as Delamere himself belonged to the Kenya Colony.

The first appeal for funds for the memorial was launched in Kenya in 1932, the year the Delamere Memorial Committee was established, and a sum of £800 was collected. Delamere had died in the trough of an economic depression which hindered the collection of funds. Thus it was not until May 1937 that Grigg wrote to the then Governor of Kenya, Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, with suggestions of launching a Delamere Memorial appeal in England, asking whether the Kenya Government would head the list with a subscription of £500. Brooke-Popham felt, however, that 'it would not be right ... to subscribe merely

[38] Sir Edward Northey was Governor of British East Africa, and then Kenya Colony and Protectorate, between February 1919 and August 1922.
[39] UoN FS/8/10: 26, 37.
[40] Minutes of meeting of Kenya Sub-Committee of Delamere Memorial Committee, Nairobi, 27 September 1935, UoN FS/8/10: 25.

towards a bronze statue,'[41] while subscribing to the Agricultural Scholarship, which had replaced the idea of a training farm as part of the memorial to Delamere, would be inappropriate as the scholarship was only open to Europeans and would therefore not benefit any Africans or Asians who subscribed. In addition, Brooke-Popham expressed his sentiments on the lack of a King George V Memorial in Kenya:

> I am horrified to find that there is no form of memorial to King George the Fifth in Kenya. A committee was formed and had one meeting last October, and nothing whatsoever has been done – no appeals for subscription or anything else ... and I feel it will be a blot on Kenya if we do nothing. I want to get a move on with this at once, and I feel that as the Delamere Memorial has been dragging on for some five years, it could wait for, say another six months before further action is taken.[42]

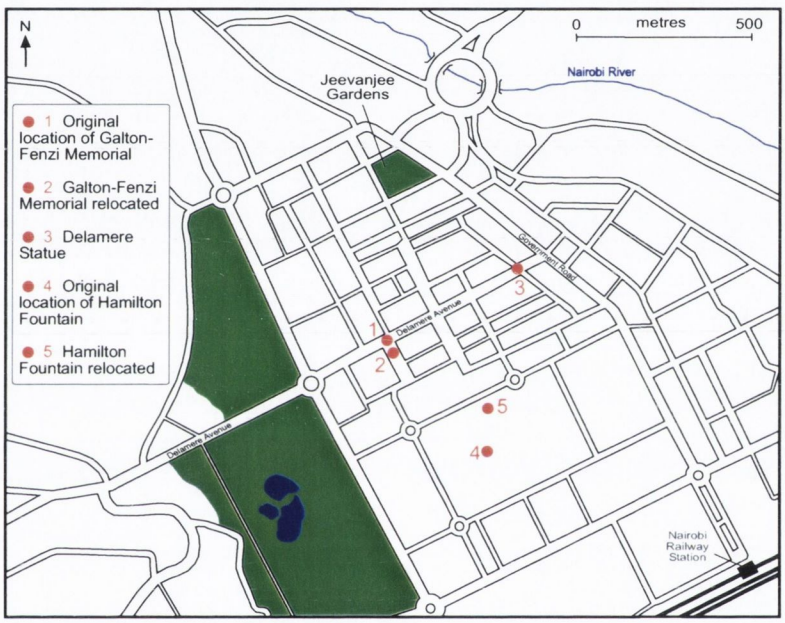


Figure 4.1 Map showing: the location of the Delamere Statue in colonial Nairobi; the original location of the Galton-Fenzi Memorial in colonial Nairobi and the site to which it was moved; the original location of the Hamilton Fountain in colonial Nairobi and the site to which it was moved.[43]

As a consequence of the King George V Memorial campaign which Brooke-Popham had started in Kenya, Grigg suspended launching the Delamere Memorial appeal in England until May 1938, when the Delamere Memorial appeal in Kenya was simultaneously re-launched.[44] In the symbolic inscription of Nairobi's iconographic landscape, the government asserted their power over the settlers who were reminded of their position in

[41] R. Brooke-Popham to Sir E. Grigg, Nairobi, 14 June 1937, UoN FS/8/10: 44.
[42] Brooke-Popham to Grigg, Nairobi, 14 June 1937, UoN FS/8/10: 44.
[43] As with the maps in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, this map has been constructed from maps of present-day Nairobi (primarily R. W. Moss (Ed), *Nairobi A to Z: A Complete Guide*, 4th ed., Nairobi, 2002) and therefore the monuments are depicted in relation to Nairobi's post-independence street pattern.
[44] TNA CO533/499/12.

the empire. Kenya was a Crown Colony, not a self-governing dominion. Loyalty to the empire was demanded over the settlers' statements of influence and identity.

By the time the Delamere Memorial appeal was launched in England, and re-launched in Kenya, it had been decided that the memorial was to consist only of a statue, to be sculpted by the British artist Kathleen Kennet and costing a total of £2000. Despite Brooke-Popham's initial hesitation in subscribing towards a statue, the Kenya Government contributed £300 to this cost while the Nairobi Municipal donated £75.[45]

Meanwhile, in June 1936, the General Purposes Committee of the Nairobi Municipal Council had met to consider a suitable site for the Delamere statue. As Mayor of Nairobi, Delamere's widow, Lady Delamere,[46] was present at this meeting at which it was resolved that

> in the opinion of this committee the most suitable site for this Memorial is within the open space in front of the Law Courts in the City Square, and that the necessary steps be taken to obtain Government's sanction to erect the Memorial on the site now indicated.[47]

This site was approved by Government[48] but in 1938 the Delamere Memorial Committee expressed their preference that the statue be erected on Delamere Avenue and suggested a number of sites on this main street in Nairobi.[49] At a similar time Brooke-Popham expressed his interest in situating the King George V Memorial on the same street at a site where 'the statue would be visible all the way along Delamere Avenue to anyone facing west. The Municipality will of course have to be consulted in the matter, but I think the site might be temporarily earmarked so as to prevent any chance of it being allotted to anything else.'[50] However, the King George V statue was eventually erected on the site originally selected by the Nairobi Municipal Council as suitable for the Delamere statue, in front of the Law Courts in City Square. On the other hand, at a meeting in August 1940, the Town Planning Committee approved the site selected by the Delamere Memorial Committee for the erection of the statue on the traffic island at the junction of Delamere

[45] KNA CS/2/1/65: 4; TNA CO533/499/12: 2; KNA JW/2/53: 409.
[46] Lady Delamere was Mayor of Nairobi between 1938 and 1941.
[47] KNA JW/2/50: 422.
[48] KNA JW/2/51: 153.
[49] KNA JW/2/53: 64.
[50] Brooke-Popham to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 13 July 1938, KNA GH/15/2: 25.

Avenue and Hardinge Street[51] (Figure 4.1 shows the location of the junction and Figure 4.2 depicts the traffic island on which the Delamere Statue was to be erected). Lady Delamere was again present at this meeting and the Municipal Council at this time consisted of a European unofficial majority. In the power struggle between the government and the settlers over the symbolic inscription of the town, the settlers re-asserted their power and the Delamere Statue was afforded a prominent position on the town's central street.



Figure 4.2 Delamere Avenue in 1939. The traffic island in the background became the site of colonial Nairobi's Lord Delamere statue.
Source: KNA.

Having never met Delamere, Kennet sculpted the statue from photographs and communicated with the Delamere Memorial Committee on the design of the sculpture. Discussing issues such as the pose of Delamere in the statue, the likeness of the statue to the man, and other details of the statue, Kennet wrote,

> I am glad also that we are all in agreement that a figure of this sort, although it must suggest in general the physique of the original, nevertheless has to serve a great ideal purpose in future generations, and must bear that in mind in the manner in which it deals with details.[52]

[51] KNA JW/2/55: 63.
[52] Kathleen Kennet, London, to Lord Francis Scott, Nairobi, 26 January 1939, UoN FS/8/10: 38.

Yet despite close communication over the details of the statue, those in England who went to view the progress of the sculpture still voiced their concerns to Scott. One friend of Scott's commented, 'I recognised who it was, but possibly that was because I know who it was supposed to be. The face to my mind was too thin, and the jaw slightly underhung.'[53] Similarly, Armagel de Wade, a Delamere Memorial Committee member, wrote 'I must say I am rather perturbed because, although I like the general design and pose, the statue doesn't seem to be a very good likeness of D as I remember him.'[54] A few weeks later he again expressed his worries over the sculpture, and asserted that 'I am of course very anxious that our statue should be beyond criticism.'[55]



Figure 4.3 The Lord Delamere statue in colonial Nairobi, August 1952.
Source: *EAS*.

[53] UoN FS/8/10: 39.
[54] A. de Wade, Surrey, to Lord Francis Scott, Nairobi, 21 June 1939, UoN FS/8/10: 41.
[55] A. de Wade, Surrey, to Lord Francis Scott, Nairobi, 5 July 1939, UoN FS/8/10: 51.

In the design of the statue, not only were Delamere and his achievements to be commemorated but his role as an ancestor in Kenyan settler society was recognised. Delamere's ideals were to be perpetuated for future generations and it was important for these future generations to be able to identify with those ideals and thus with one another. However, at the same time the statue became something personal to the present generation of settlers, to those who knew Delamere. Such was the importance of Delamere to settler society that the statue had to be perfect, their ancestor had to be without fault.



Figure 4.4 Lord Delamere statue, Elementaita, 2005.

The statue depicts Delamere at his most familiar, dressed in the khaki trousers and well-worn cardigan that became symbolic of the Delamere personality. He sits in a relaxed pose, a pair of binoculars in his hand connecting him with the African landscape (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Yet Delamere's statue was not only to gaze upon the African landscape. In England, the head of the Imperial Institute, 'very much liked the photographs of [the] statue'[56] and wrote to Kennet asking if she would sculpt a three-foot replica for the Institute. Kennet agreed and the Imperial Institute had received the replica Delamere statue by September 1939.[57] The full-size Kenya statue was also completed in 1939. The

[56] Kathleen Kennet, London, to Sir Francis Scott, Nairobi, 5 June 1939, UoN FS/8/10: 49.
[57] UoN FS/8/10: 53.

plinth and stonework for this statue were prepared locally by George Blowers, a building firm in Nairobi, and were ready to receive the statue by October 1940.[58] However, with the outbreak of the Second World War it was decided to keep the statue in England.[59] Thus the Delamere statue was stored in Martyn's Foundry in Cheltenham until the end of the war and it did not arrive in Mombasa until June 1946.

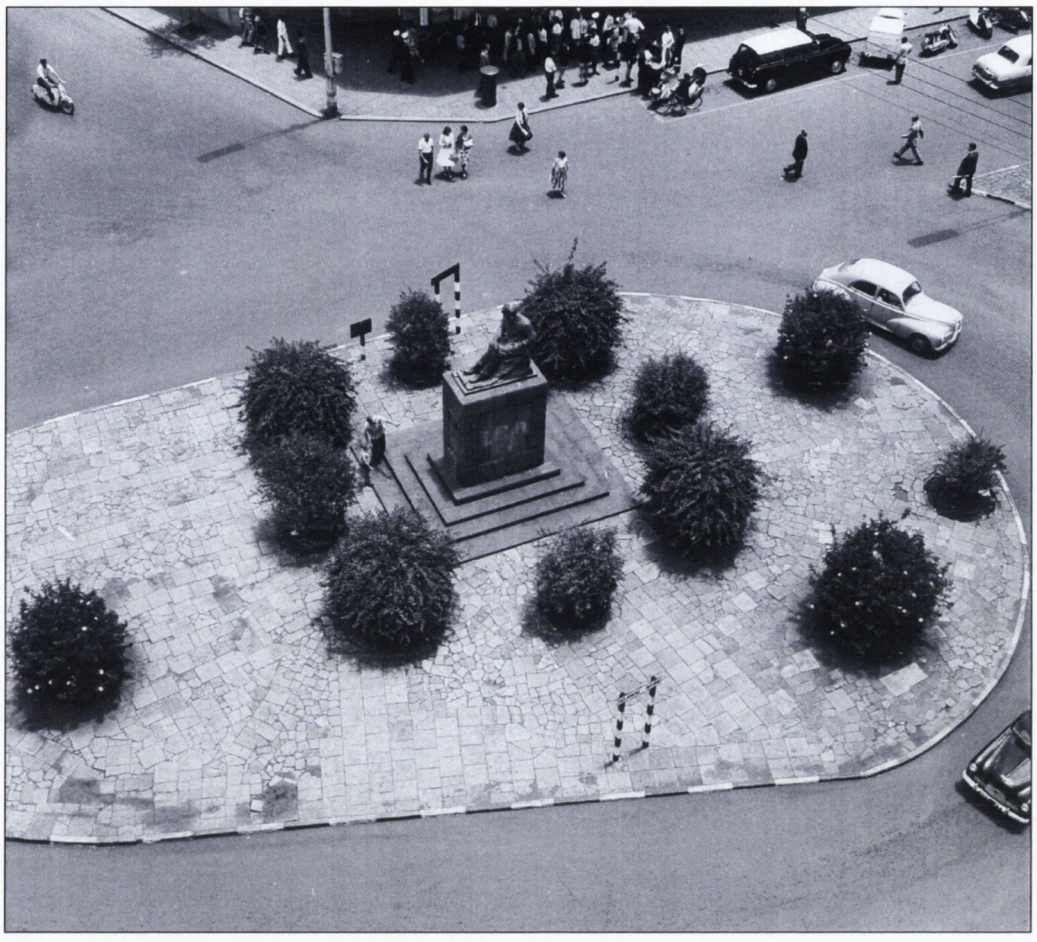


Figure 4.5 The Lord Delamere statue in colonial Nairobi, September 1959.
Source: *EAS*.

On 6 August 1946, the Delamere Statue was unveiled by Lord Francis Scott. Addressing the crowd, Scott emphasised Delamere's aspirations that Kenya would become a self-governing dominion of the British Empire, yet also opined that 'While [Delamere] can truly be called the Father of White Settlement, he also held a higher position in the eyes of the Africans, and especially of the Masai, than any other European has ever held.'[60] In October 1944 Eliud Mathu had become the first African member to be nominated to the

[58] UoN FS/8/10: 68.
[59] KNA CS/2/1/65; UoN FS/8/10; *EAS*, 16 July 1946.
[60] Quoted from Lord Francis Scott's speech at unveiling of Delamere Memorial, UoN FS/8/10: 87; *EAS*, 7 August 1946. For full speech see Appendix VIII.



Figure 4.6 The Lord Delamere statue in colonial Nairobi.
Source: Akbar Hussein.



Figure 4.7 The Lord Delamere statue in colonial Nairobi.
Source: KNA.

Legco and in July 1946, the first African Councillors took their seats in the Nairobi Municipal Council and African voice was slowly making itself heard in Kenyan politics. The Delamere Statue was unveiled in this setting and the settlers' reverence of Delamere was projected by the settlers into African society as claims of Delamere's close relationship with the country and its people was highlighted. Being out of Nairobi, the Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, was absent from the unveiling ceremony. While Kenya's Governor played a large role in the unveiling ceremonies of other monuments in colonial Nairobi, Mitchell's absence from the unveiling of the Delamere Statue underlines settler effort in the monument's presence in the landscape.

The life of the Delamere Statue, from the seed of conception, through the long germination period before it took root in the landscape, highlights the constant power struggle that took place between the colonial government and Kenya's settler society. The settlers concretised their ideals for future generations of settlers through the inscription of Nairobi's monumental landscape and asserted their self-perceived authority through the Delamere Statue, which became a commanding part of the town's symbolic landscape (Figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 show the statue as it stood in colonial Nairobi). Depicted sitting comfortably, the Delamere Statue came to sit more familiarly, perhaps, in the landscape than did the Queen Victoria and King George V statues. In colonial Nairobi there was also situated on Delamere Avenue the Galton-Fenzi Memorial.

4.3 Galton-Fenzi Memorial

Land is at the core of settler colonialism and the development of land is important to the development of a settler society. Good infrastructure is a significant contributor to such development and a country's road network forms a central part of this infrastructure. While there were very few cars in Nairobi before 1914, by the late 1920s the car became a dominant force in the shaping of Nairobi and had a considerable impact on the growth of the city.[61] Outside of Nairobi, the opening up of key routes played a large role in the development of the country and Lionel Douglas Galton-Fenzi was an important pioneer of many of these routes. Galton-Fenzi settled in East Africa in July 1918, and in 1919 was

[61] Hake, *African Metropolis*.

one of the founding members of the Royal East African Automobile Association (REAAA). He became the Honorary Secretary of the REAAA and

> devoted himself entirely to the work of the Association which from its small beginning largely due to his initiative and energy, [grew] to a vast organisation with a well organised head office at Nairobi and voluntary workers throughout East Africa.[62]

Among the roads Galton-Fenzi pioneered were those from Nairobi to Mombasa, Cape Town, Cairo, Sudan, Nyasaland and Tanganyika.[63] After Galton-Fenzi's death on 15 May 1937, the *East African Standard* described how

> He will always be remembered for his great service to the motoring public and to the country which more than anyone else he has helped "to put on the map." ... There are few people whose effective personal contribution to the opening up of these Territories has been greater and his record of service to the cause of sound publicity and to the spreading abroad of the good name of East Africa is unique. He has left behind him a tribute to his citizenship an organisation which has made these Territories known all over the world. The preservation of the work he began is the best memorial he would have wished.[64]

However, the REAAA wished to perpetuate the memory of Galton-Fenzi through a visible memorial:

> When one considers the volume of tourist traffic these routes carry into East Africa and how more and more this volume is increasing, something of the debt of gratitude the country owes to such an intrepid spirit is realised and the need for some permanent and visible Memorial becomes apparent.[65]

A committee meeting of the REAAA was held in July 1937 to discuss the form the visible memorial should take, and a sub-committee was appointed to handle matters related to the erection of a memorial to Galton-Fenzi. An initial proposal suggested that the memorial take the form of a stone column with the badge of the Association mounted on top of it. Metal signposts pointing north and south and listing the names of and mileages to the chief towns on the roads pioneered by Galton-Fenzi were also to be attached to the column.[66] In January 1938, the Municipal Council agreed to a memorial being erected on a traffic island

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[62] *EAS*, 17 May 1937.
[63] With the achievement of independence Nyasaland became Malawi and Tanganyika, Tanzania.
[64] *EAS*, 17 May 1937.
[65] Quoted from the President of the REAAA's appeal for funds for the Galton-Fenzi Memorial, KNA GH/7/5: 118.
[66] KNA AM/2/3.

to be constructed at the junction of Delamere Avenue and Sadler Street[67] and, in the same month, a public appeal for funds was launched.[68] Harold E. Henderson designed the memorial and upon Arthur Tannahill's suggestion (Tannahill was Vice-President of the REAAA at this time) and the approval of the Municipal Council, the memorial was adapted as a milliary stone.[69] 'Mrs. Galton-Fenzi's wish was that the Memorial should be one of plain simplicity. The idea of a Milliary Stone was, therefore, evolved, which would fulfil a function similar to that of the "London Stone" in the south wall of St. Swithin's from which, in Roman times, the miles from London were measured.'[70] Thus the chosen design for the memorial took the form of a stone orb mounted on a rectangular stone pedestal (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). The design of the memorial

> cut away from the usual marble mason's yard, the statue, or bust, or the obvious clocktower and drinking fountain. This memorial fulfils a purpose, useful, scientific and logical, depicting the achievements and ideals of the late Galton-Fenzi. The architect's motif is evidently restraint, plain, solid and taciturn, with no architectural embellishments.[71]



Figure 4.8 Galton-Fenzi Memorial in colonial Nairobi.
Source: Akbar Hussein.

[67] KNA JW/2/53.
[68] KNA GH/7/5. See Appendix VI for fund appeal for Galton-Fenzi Memorial.
[69] KNA RN/4/89.
[70] *EAS*, 20 May 1940.
[71] *EAS*, 17 May 1940.

Inscribed around the pedestal are the routes laid out by Galton-Fenzi and the distances, in kilometres and miles, between Nairobi and thirty-four other places in Africa.[72] It concludes with a quotation from Isaiah, 'suitably commemorating the ideals of Galton-Fenzi: "And an highway shall be there."'[73] In addition, there is a marble milliary stone on one side of the pedestal, engraved with the latitude, longitude and altitude of the memorial while on the opposite side was a bronze memorial plaque.[74]

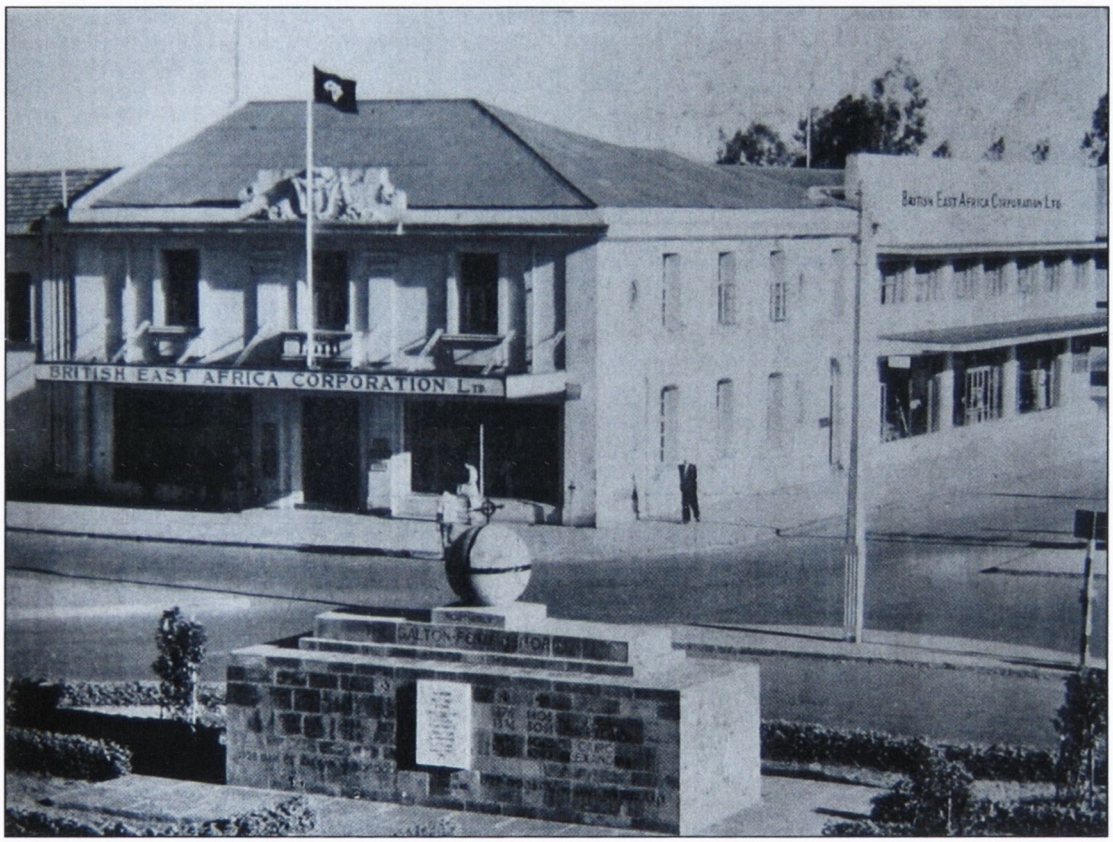


Figure 4.9 Galton-Fenzi Memorial in colonial Nairobi.
Source: KNA.

This bronze tablet was unveiled by the Governor, Sir Henry Moore on 17 May 1940, in a short ceremony and 'in the presence of a representative gathering, including H.W. [His Worship] the Mayor and members of the Nairobi Municipal Council, heads of

[72] These routes inscribed on the pedestal are: Nairobi to Gondokoro and Mongalla (Sudan) 1924, Nairobi to Lake Nyasa 1924, Nairobi to Mombasa 1926, Dar es Salaam to Morogoro 1928 and Mombasa to Dar es Salaam 1929.
[73] *EAS*, 17 May 1940.
[74] The inscription on this plaque reads: *This, the Nairobi Stone, is erected to the eternal memory of Lionel Douglas Galton-Fenzi, O.B.E., order of Leopold II who, having founded the Royal East African Automobile Association in 1919, remained its devoted Honorary Secretary until his death on May 15 1937 during which period he pioneered several motor car routes as inscribed below.* The bronze tablet has now been replaced with a marble plaque with the same inscription.

Departments'[75] and 'a number of prominent members of the community.'[76] Arriving at the memorial, the Governor was met by Mrs. Galton-Fenzi and her son, the Mayor of Nairobi, Lady Delamere, and, in the absence of the President from the country, the Vice-President of the REAAA, Arthur Tannahill. Tannahill then asked the Governor to unveil the memorial. In this speech he highlighted how 'Many people have subscribed to the cost of the construction' of the memorial and assured 'those present that the entire cost has been subscribed and every item of the cost has been paid.'[77] The Governor then addressed the small crowd, emphasising how 'There could be no greater proof of the general esteem in which the late Mr. Galton-Fenzi was held than the fact that the entire cost of this Memorial has been raised by public subscription, and that the Worshipful Mayor and Council of Nairobi and the Municipality have given so desirable a site for its erection.'[78] After this address, Moore unveiled the bronze tablet which had been covered by a Union Jack.

Thus the Galton-Fenzi Memorial came to stand in Nairobi. Taking the form of a milliary stone, the monument does not commemorate the personality of Galton-Fenzi but rather memorialises his ideals, what he stood for and what he represented. In doing so it reflects ideals that were important to the colony's European population. The fact that the monument was funded by public subscription highlights public support for the ideals symbolised in the memorial. This public support is further reflected through the prominent position afforded to the monument by the Municipal Council of Nairobi. The Municipal Council at this time consisted of a European unofficial majority and no African councillors,[79] hence the decision to erect the Galton-Fenzi Memorial on Nairobi's main street was to a great extent indicative of European sentiment on the importance of the monument's symbolism. Through publicity, tourism and improved transport of goods, the routes through East Africa pioneered by Galton-Fenzi helped to develop the country. In addition, Galton-Fenzi helped to 'open the way to motorists' and 'to facilitate in every way possible the comings and goings of the motoring public.'[80] Yet the territory of East Africa was only opened up to those who had the use of a car, principally the Europeans.

[75] *EAS*, 18 May 1940.
[76] *EAS*, 20 May 1940.
[77] KNA GH/7/5: 141. For full speech see Appendix VII.
[78] KNA GH/7/4: 147. For full speech see Appendix VII.
[79] While African interests were represented on the Council by an administrative officer of Nairobi District, there were no African councillors until 1946, when two Africans were nominated to the Municipal Council.
[80] Quoted from address by Tannahill at unveiling of Galton-Fenzi Memorial (see Appendix VII).

During his time in East Africa, Galton-Fenzi had set out and 'blazed ... trail[s] where no car had ever been before,'[81] taming the African land such that it could be more easily traversed by the motoring Europeans. Through this impression of 'conquering' the land it allowed the country's Europeans to form a relationship with the territory, thereby giving them a sense of belonging to the country and thus contributing to the creation of a settler identity. Yet this settler identity was somewhat rooted in Britain where the design and function of the memorial were compared with the London Stone[82] while the Union Jack covered the bronze memorial plaque when the monument was officially inaugurated into Nairobi's streetscape.



Figure 4.10 Galton-Fenzi Memorial in Nairobi, 2006.

[81] Quoted from the public appeal for funds for the Galton-Fenzi Memorial made by Joseph Sheridan, President of the REAAA (see Appendix VI).

[82] The London Stone is believed to have been used in Roman times as the central milestone from which distances in Great Britain were measured.

In November 1946, the Council agreed to accept liability for the future maintenance of memorials in Nairobi. The REAAA agreed to the Council taking over the maintenance of the Galton-Fenzi Memorial subject to the conditions that 'No alterations are made to the inscriptions without ... consent,' 'The stone is not used as a "platform" or "centre" for any purpose' and that 'The stone is not moved from its present site.'[83] While the Estates and Parks Committee of the Nairobi Municipal Council agreed to the first two conditions, it was felt that 'whilst there is no intention on the part of the Council at the present time to move the stone, traffic conditions or town planning requirements in the future may necessitate a resiting of the memorial.'[84] In 1947 the memorial remained where it had been erected although the hedge and grass plots were replaced with paving. However, by January 1953, traffic conditions in Nairobi were such that the Traffic Control Committee of the Nairobi City Council recommended the removal of the Galton-Fenzi Memorial. Thus the monument was moved to a site nearby, at the same junction, but now situated on Sadler Street rather than Delamere Avenue.[85] The original site of the memorial was 'reinstated as road surface'[86] and in independent Kenya the Galton-Fenzi memorial remains located at the junction, Delamere Avenue having been renamed Kenyatta Avenue and Sadler Street now Koinange Street (Figure 4.1 shows the original location of the Galton-Fenzi Memorial in Nairobi and its present location in the city. Figure 4.10 depicts the memorial in post-independence Nairobi).

Like the African War Memorial and Obelisk, the Galton-Fenzi Memorial stands less commanding in the post-independence city than it did in colonial Nairobi (Figure 4.11). In addition, as with the two war memorials on Kenyatta Avenue, before the railings were erected around it, the space of the Galton-Fenzi Memorial provided a space attractive to the city's homeless. The *East African Standard* wrote how the monument was, at one stage, 'smeared with soil by a young man, making it difficult to read the message inscribed on it,' and described how 'The man has been spending his days atop the monument, where he had also kept his belongings and some flowers'[87] (Figure 4.12). In 1993, the memorial was painted in preparation for the city's celebrations of thirty years of Kenya's independence, highlighting the ambiguity of the monument in post-independence Nairobi (Figure 4.13). Although erected through settler effort to create a settler identity, the

[83] *Municipal Council of Nairobi Minutes 1938-39*, KNA RN/4/94: 138.
[84] *Municipal Council of Nairobi Minutes 1938-39*, KNA RN/4/94: 138.
[85] KNA RN/4/102.
[86] KNA RN/4/102: 1093, 1110.
[87] *EAS*, 27 March 1992.



Figure 4.11 Galton-Fenzi Memorial in Nairobi, 2005.



Figure 4.12 In post-independence Nairobi the Galton-Fenzi Memorial provided a space used by Nairobi's homeless.
Source: *EAS.*

monument has been inscribed with new meaning. With the achievement of independence, the place of the settlers in Kenyan society was repositioned and their dominance was diminished. Instead of asserting settler identity in Nairobi, the memorial ironically became part of the celebrations commemorating the very event which officially saw the end of settler dominance.

However, in the colonial town the memorial played an important part in symbolically inscribing the city and forging a settler identity. While Galton-Fenzi did not partake in settler politics and did not conform to the stereotypical characteristics of a Kenyan settler, as did Lord Delamere, his achievements represented ideals important to the country's settler society and to the creation of an identity.

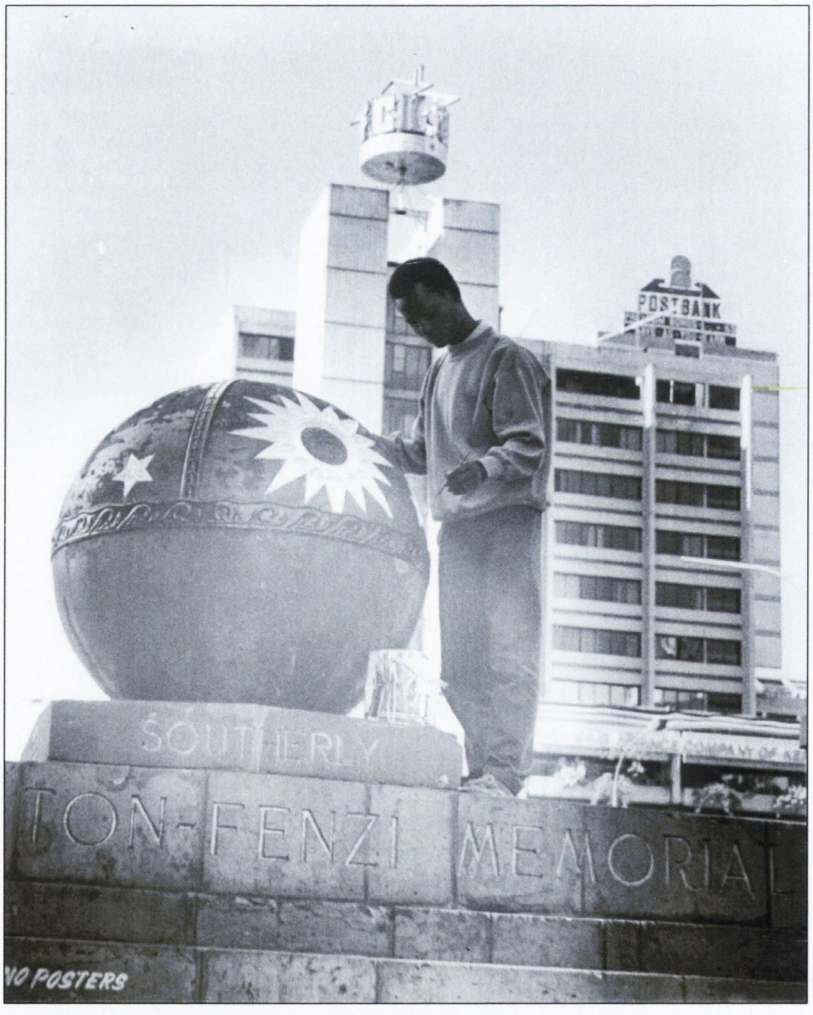


Figure 4.13 Galton-Fenzi Memorial being painted in preparation for the thirty years of independence celebrations, 14 December 1993.
Source: *EAS.*

4.4 Hamilton Fountain

In addition to the Galton-Fenzi Memorial and Lord Delamere Statue, the Hamilton Fountain contributed to colonial Nairobi's settler iconography. This fountain consists of a boy holding a fish (Figure 4.14), and was erected by Gertrude Hamilton in memory of her husband, George Alexander Hume Hamilton. George Hamilton was an Irish solicitor who arrived in Kenya in the early 1900s, joining the Nairobi law firm Tonks & Allen in May 1913. The partnership of Allen & Hamilton was formed in January 1916, and in 1927 the firm became Hamilton, Harrison & Mathews. This firm still exists in Nairobi and is one of the oldest law firms in Kenya.[88]



Figure 4.14 The Hamilton Fountain, Nairobi, 2006.

After her husband's death in 1937, Gertrude Hamilton commissioned the fountain from a sculptor in England. However, the *Sunday Standard* and *The People* have both reported that this original sculpture never made it to Kenya as the ship carrying it sank on its journey from England.[89] A replica sculpture was ordered and erected outside the Law Courts but this memorial, it was reported, was stolen. Finally, a Kenya-based artist, Robert

[88] Hamilton, Harrison & Mathews, http://www.hhm.co.ke/history.php, accessed 6 September 2006.
[89] *Sunday Standard*, 6 July 1980; *The People*, 18 September 1994.

Glen, was commissioned to sculpt a replacement.[90] K. A. Fraser, a current partner in the firm recollects that

> ... the fountain used to be on the side of the Law Courts facing Parliament Building – where the statue of President Kenyatta now is. In those days the judges' entrance to the Law Courts used to come off City Hall Way ... This led to a roundabout before turning left into what was a large car park/parade ground leading to what was then the main entrance to the Courts on the Parliament side. The writer's recollection is that the fountain was in the middle of that car park/parade ground.[91]

Although very little information could be found on this monument, decisions regarding its location in colonial Nairobi seem to have competed with decisions regarding the position of the King George V Statue to be erected in the town. In selecting possible sites for the King George V Statue, Governor Brooke-Popham wrote

> ... how will the George V statue fit in with the proposal by some lady whose name I have forgotten to erect a fountain in front of the Law Courts? I quite agree that this fountain must give way to the statue and I am strongly opposed to any sort of direct combination of the two ...[92]

As with the Delamere Statue, the erection of the Hamilton Fountain in colonial Nairobi illustrates the colonial government's perceived importance of the making of an imperial monumental landscape over the construction of a settler monumental landscape. Despite Brooke-Popham's protestations, both monuments did stand aligned in front of the Law Courts (Figure 4.15 shows the Hamilton Fountain as it stood in colonial Nairobi. The monument can also be seen in Figure 2.11, between the King George V Statue and the Law Courts). Yet while the King George V Statue was removed when Kenya became independent, the Hamilton Fountain remains standing in the post-independence city. Although the fountain is still positioned in front of the Law Courts, it now stands at a different site to that on which it was originally located (Figure 4.1 shows both locations of the Hamilton Fountain and Figure 4.14 shows the monument as it stands in post-independence Nairobi).

Fraser recounted

> I have spoken to one of our consultants who has been in the practice longer than I but he unfortunately cannot add anything further although he was under the impression that the fountain was in memory of George Alexander Hume Hamilton

[90] *Sunday Standard*, 6 July 1980; *The People*, 18 September 1994.
[91] K. A. Fraser, *pers. comm.*, 8 September 2006.
[92] Brooke-Popham to C. S., Nairobi, 16 June 1939, KNA GH/15/2.

> although he never understood why a partner in this firm was at the front of the Law Court.[93]

The erection of the monument in colonial Nairobi, however, indicates settler desire to found a home in the country and alludes to settler pride in the achievements of setting up a self-perceived self-reliant society.



Figure 4.15 The Hamilton Fountain as it stood in colonial Nairobi.
Source: KNA.

4.5 Conclusion

Although it became clear at a relatively early stage of colonial Kenya's life that the settlers' aspirations of the country becoming self-governing under a white settler government were not to be realised, Kenya's settler society continued to assume a position of dominance and create an identity for itself through Nairobi's monumental landscape. In the face of diverse origins and backgrounds, Kenya's settlers established a society for themselves, and the town's iconographic landscape reflected the values that the settlers deemed important in the foundation of their society. The Hamilton Fountain reflects the sense of success the settlers may have felt they had accomplished towards the establishment of their community.

[93] Fraser, *pers. comm.*, 8 September 2006.

The Galton-Fenzi Memorial similarly celebrates achievement. In addition, along with the Delamere Statue, this monument speaks of the identity Kenya's settlers were creating for themselves. In the establishment of a society, the settlers chose Lord Delamere as their ancestor. As well as his influential role in settler politics, Delamere had become a successful farmer, taming the African land. Nairobi's monumental landscape to a great extent indicates that a relationship with the land played an important part in the formation of settler identity. Ideals of controlling the land for European use, whether through farming or through a road network, are embraced in the symbolism of both the Galton-Fenzi Memorial and the Delamere Statue. Through a common connection and a familiarity with the land, the settlers were able to unite under a common identity, an identity that allowed them to feel they belonged to the country. However, despite the diverse origins of the colonists, this identity was, to a certain extent, rooted in Britain. Funds for the Delamere Statue were not only raised in Kenya, but also in England, and a British artist was chosen to sculpt the statue. Similarly, the design of the Galton-Fenzi Memorial was based on a milliary stone in London, while a Union Jack was used to cover the memorial plaque at the unveiling of the Galton-Fenzi monument. The British aristocrats, gentlemen and retired officers of Kenya's settler society formed a dominant social element within the community and thus British values helped shape a settler identity. However, the building blocks for this identity were quarried from the African land. The settlers bonded together in the sense of a common authority over and adaptation to the land.

In the examination of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia's white settler societies, Kennedy illustrates how the adjective 'white' was 'More than a descriptive characteristic, it became the defining principle around which these societies were organized.'[94] Although it never materialised, the initial plans for the Delamere memorial was to include a training farm or agricultural scholarship exclusively for Europeans, highlighting how Kenya's settlers identified themselves as a white community. They united in racial solidarity, defining themselves in relation to the African peoples of the country and assuming cultural and racial supremacy. Such has been found to be the case in other settler societies where, for example, in a comparative analysis on settler colonialism, Guelke describes how the settlers of Virginia and South Africa incorporated into their colonial ways of life traditional

[94] Kennedy, *Islands of White*, 6.

ideas based on European assumptions and values but defined themselves according to their views on colonial life that detached the colony from the homeland.[95]

Kenya's settlers had created a society, a home and an identity for themselves in the country. When Kenya became independent in 1963 the settlers were invited to stay and for those that did it became necessary to re-examine the values on which their society, home and identity were built. Silvester examines the memorial landscape of Namibia to illustrate the identity conflicts within the country's settler society, and demonstrates how this white settler society was shaped by those who drew on the rituals and symbols of a German heritage in order to assert their claim of belonging to the country.[96] While, before independence, frictions arose as to who could rightfully be considered a settler, with the achievement of independence the focus of this identity struggle shifted to consider who could be accepted as a legitimate Namibian.[97] As Kenya approached independence, its settlers were similarly forced to reassess their position in society as they accepted their fate and instigated the removal of the Lord Delamere statue from Nairobi. The Galton-Fenzi Memorial remains in the post-independence city but stands less dominant in the landscape. With the dismantling of the British Empire, not only were settlers made to re-evaluate their societies and futures, but the empire was also required to re-examine itself. The replica of the Delamere statue which had been given to the Imperial Institute is now stored in the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol, along with a collection of bronze statues of other 'Empire and Commonwealth personalities,' including Wolfe, Rhodes, Livingstone and Drake. As the assistant curator of the museum reflects,

> One of the most interesting things about them is the choices that were made of who to represent. At the time, these men (and they are all men, and white) were considered to be the most important figures in the history of the Empire. I wonder who would be chosen today if such a series of statues were to be commissioned again?[98]

[95] L. Guelke, Ideology and landscape of settler colonialism in Virginia and Dutch South Africa: a comparative analysis, in: A. R. H. Baker and G. Biger (Eds), *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: essays on meanings of some places in the past*, Cambridge, 1992, 137-147.

[96] J. Silvester, "Sleep with a Southwester": Monuments and Settler Identity in Namibia, in: Elkins and Pedersen (Eds), *Settler Colonialism*, 271-286.

[97] Silvester, "Sleep with a Southwester".

[98] Jon Ruffle (Assistant Curator, British Empire and Commonwealth Museum), *pers. comm.*, 24 August 2006.

CHAPTER 5

A MONUMENTAL LANDSCAPE IN TRANSITION

5.1 Kenyatta and the Achievement of Uhuru

Kenya achieved *uhuru* on 12 December 1963. '*Uhuru*' is the Kiswahili word for 'freedom' and is the name given to Kenya's independence, which was achieved through a combination of factors. Set in the broader international trend of decolonisation, the Mau Mau rebellion and the strengthening of African politics in Kenya in the decade coming up to independence were instrumental in the process. Before 1940, African political organisations were largely formed to voice discontent with local issues. These protest movements were diffuse and weak and had not developed any sense of nationalism. It was not until 1944, with the formation of the KAU, that African politics in Kenya attempted to take on a more nationalistic outlook, pulling all the major ethnic groups together to unite the voice of the Kenyan Africans.[1] In 1947, Kenyatta assumed leadership of the Nairobi-based KAU. Having 'emerged from the first batch of educated 'mission boys','[2] Kenyatta had become involved in politics in the early 1920s when he joined the East African Association, which became the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1924. In 1929, Kenyatta was sent to London to present the views and grievances of the KCA directly to the Colonial Office. Apart from a brief return to Kenya between September 1930 and April 1931, Kenyatta stayed in Europe until 1946. During this time away from Kenya, Kenyatta played only a minor role in the Kikuyu anti-colonial politics which were taking shape in the country. However, his return was keenly anticipated as he had continued to be regarded by the Kikuyu as a dependable and trusted political leader.[3] Thus, upon his return he quickly became re-immersed in politics and shortly after his arrival back in Kenya he assumed presidency of the KAU.

[1] Maloba, Nationalism and decolonization.
[2] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 11.
[3] Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.*

On the same day that the state of emergency was declared in October 1952, Kenyatta and other KAU leaders were arrested and charged with organising and managing Mau Mau. Kenyatta consistently denied this charge but was found guilty and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. The state of emergency was lifted in 1960 and during the same year, the first Kenyan constitutional conference held at Lancaster House in London agreed to an African majority in the Legco. In addition, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) were formed in 1960, marking, according to Maloba, 'the second attempt at territorial nationalism'[4] (the first being the formation of KAU). These parties were formed through the coalition of pre-existing political organisations, KANU consisting of an alliance of politicians from the majority Kikuyu and Luo tribes, while KADU drew its support from smaller tribes, including the Kalenjin and Masai, as well as from liberal Europeans and other minority political groupings who feared domination by a potential Kikuyu-Luo axis.

Kenyatta was released from detention in August 1961 and both KANU and KADU invited him to lead their parties. Kenyatta chose to join KANU and became president of the party in October 1961. In January 1962, Kenyatta attended the second Lancaster House conference, at which the date for independence was set. Kenya's first general elections took place in May 1963 and KANU obtained an absolute majority. On 1 June 1963, internal self-government was introduced with Kenyatta as Prime Minister, and in September of the same year, the third and final Kenyan constitutional conference was held in London. At the stroke of midnight as 12 December 1963 began, the Union Jack was lowered for the last time and the new Kenyan flag raised for the first, making Kenya the seventh African country of the Commonwealth to achieve independence from Britain after the end of the Second World War. This flag-raising ceremony took place in Nairobi.

5.2 The Fate of Colonial-Era Statues in Nairobi

In the transition from a colonial city to a post-independence city, Nairobi's iconography evolved in tandem with the changing political and cultural contexts of the capital. This evolving iconography was expressed with the removal of statues from Nairobi's landscape as well as the erection of new monuments in the city.

[4] Maloba, Nationalism and decolonization, 193.

As soon as internal self-government was introduced in June 1963, the colonial administration in Kenya began to express concerns over the fate of

> statues and other monuments to the great of the Colonial era, and the deep offence which would be caused, particularly among the European settlers, if, in the enthusiasm of self-government and then independence, there were to be any desecration, disfigurement or other manifestations of disrespect in relation to these monuments, etc. [5]

In order to tackle these concerns, the Governor's Office arranged for Robin Wainwright, a colonial administrator in the Ministry for African Affairs, to undertake a review of all statues, monuments and memorials in Nairobi.[6] In addition, the Permanent Secretary at the Governor's Office in Nairobi wrote to the Colonial Office in London enquiring what precedent other British ex-colonies had followed in relation to the possible defacement of colonial statues, and articulated anxiety in Kenya as to the future of these monuments:

> Obviously we must do everything we can to prevent such statues from becoming a target for political spite which we must assume will inevitably be the case sooner or later since in the eyes of an African nationalist they represent the era of the colonial oppressor.
>
> I am therefore writing to ask you what action was taken in other territories during the period of internal self-government to deal with this problem. Were any famous monuments transported back to Britain? And if so who paid? The only case that I can call to mind was the statue of General Gordon in Khartoum ... [7]

From the list compiled by Wainwright, the colonial administration intended to establish which of the colonial monuments should be removed. In identifying the types of memorials on the list, E. N. Griffith-Jones, the Deputy Governor, expressed his views to the Governor, Malcolm MacDonald,[8] writing,

> ... I see no need to remove plaques or inscriptions on "impersonal" lumps of stone – or fountains and the like. I am concerned really only with personal resemblances, the defacement of which could cause deep hurt and offence. The C.O. [Colonial Office] have replied wholly unhelpfully – and very dilatorily – and obviously couldn't care less.
>
> The indications are that the number of memorials to be removed is very small – the Delamere one in Nairobi is the chief one, and preliminary action in regard to that is already in hand (e.g. identifying the owners – City Council or Govt.?, etc).[9]

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[5] E. N. Griffith-Jones to Governor Malcolm MacDonald, Nairobi, 6 June 1963, KNA GH/4/2: 1.
[6] KNA GH/4/2: 1; KNA: GH/4/2 2.
[7] F. A. Lloyd (Permanent Secretary) Governor's Office, Nairobi, to P. J. Kitcatt, Colonial Office, London, 6 June 1963, KNA GH/4/2: 3.
[8] Malcolm MacDonald was Governor of Kenya between 4 January 1963 and 12 December 1963.
[9] Deputy Governor to Governor, Nairobi, 20 August 1963, KNA GH/4/2.

The Colonial Office had replied to the Governor's Office in Kenya indicating that no policy was in place as to the fate of statues and monuments erected in the colonial era. 'We have gone into this matter with our customary diligence,' wrote Kitcatt from London's Colonial Office,

> but we have failed completely to disinter any precedents that might be useful. Like you, we have heard about the statue of General Gordon ... but we cannot find any other similar examples, and we have concluded that in other colonial territories any statues or other monuments were left in place on independence. Perhaps we hear only of those which suffered an unpleasant fate!
>
> The only point that occurs to me is the obvious one, i.e. that presumably statues have owners who have the right to decide what should happen to them.[10]

Lack of guidance from the Colonial Office did not deter the colonial administration in Kenya from reviewing the country's colonial monuments and deciding which of these monuments should be removed. It was suggested that such removals should proceed 'quietly and unsensationally'[11] and as Prime Minister, Kenyatta was approached by MacDonald about this issue. Recounting their conversation, MacDonald wrote that Kenyatta

> warmly welcomed my suggestions, and was obviously very touched and grateful that we should understand the Africans' sensitivity on this sort of matter. He said it would be "deplorable" if some wild enthusiasts at the time of Uhuru defaced one of the statues or monuments that we have in mind. The sort of action we proposed would avoid this, and would maintain that very friendly goodwill between the different racial communities in Kenya which is so essential for Kenya's peace and progress.[12]

While the colonial administration was anxious that colonial statues should not become targets of vandalism in independent Kenya, they were also concerned that the possible removal of such monuments should not become an act that would be perceived as symbolic of animosity between Kenya and Britain. The review of colonial monuments in Kenya concluded that

> The majority of such statues and memorials have been found to be of an impersonal nature, or sufficiently modest in design to be unlikely to attract attention. The view has been taken that only statues of a specifically personal nature would be likely to cause provocation.[13]

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[10] P. J. Kitcatt, Colonial Office, London, to F. A. Lloyd, Governor's Office, Nairobi, 2 August 1963, KNA GH/4/2: 16.
[11] Governor to Deputy Governor, Nairobi, 19 August 1963, KNA GH/4/2: 22.
[12] Governor to Deputy Governor, Nairobi, 20 June 1963, KNA GH/4/2: 4; KNA GH/4/7: 2.
[13] KNA GH/4/2: 25.

In Nairobi it was determined that this category included the Queen Victoria and King George V statues, the bust of King George VI in bas relief at the King George VI Memorial fountain, and Lord Delamere's Statue. In an aide-memoire copied to Kenyatta, the Governor's Office felt that, 'Of these the first three, being representations of former monarchs, appear unlikely to give offence'[14] and that they should therefore be left standing in the capital. In a note to the Governor, however, Griffith-Jones expanded on this and claimed, 'there seems to be no alternative, in any case, for H.M.G. [Her Majesty's Government] are not interested and there are neither means nor money with which to remove them, nor any appropriate alternative resting place.'[15]

Of Nairobi's other monuments, it was decided that the Galton-Fenzi Memorial should not be removed as it was a 'mileage reckoning point for Kenya,'[16] while the African War Memorial and the Obelisk on Delamere Avenue should similarly be left standing as they were 'artistic works.'[17] These three monuments remain in position in Nairobi's post-independence iconographic landscape. In relation to the decolonisation of the British Empire, Christopher writes that,

> whereas the statues and monuments to the individual generals and field-marshals who commanded the armies have been removed in some states since independence, the general war memorials survive, providing a historic link with the landscapes of the Empire.[18]

In Nairobi such historic links remain provided by the East Africa Memorial, the Nairobi Memorial and the British and Indian Memorial.

Thus, in reviewing Nairobi's statues and memorials, the Governor's Office determined that the only monuments that needed to be considered for removal were the statues of Queen Victoria, King George V and Lord Delamere, and the plaque at the King George VI Memorial Fountain. As the Queen Victoria Statue had been donated to the then Municipal Council by Jeevanjee, the Governor's Office left the fate of the statue to the City Council and this monument still stands in Nairobi's Jeevanjee Gardens. The other three monuments, the Governor's Office resolved, were the responsibility of the Government. The future of the Delamere Statue, however, became placed in the hands of the settlers as

[14] KNA GH/4/2: 25.
[15] KNA GH/4/2: 26.
[16] KNA GH/4/2: 25.
[17] KNA GH/4/2: 25.
[18] A. J. Christopher, *The British Empire at its zenith*, London, 1988, 230.

Tom Cholmondeley, the pioneer's son and the then Lord Delamere, initiated talks with the Prime Minister and with the Mayor of Nairobi to discuss the statue's removal to Nairobi's Sorsbie Gallery. Of this situation, the Deputy Governor remarked to the Governor,

> I understand that Tom is satisfied with the arrangements which he has been able to make, and he has the whole matter in hand himself, and no action on our part is therefore required.[19]

5.2.1 Removal of the Lord Delamere Statue

On 4 November 1963, a joint statement by the then Lord Delamere and the Mayor of Nairobi, Charles Rubia, was issued by the Nairobi City Council on the removal of the Delamere Statue. Delamere was quoted in the statement as saying, 'I asked to see the Mayor about this because I felt that that in these changing times individuals must be prepared to make adjustments.'[20] The City Council made the arrangements for the removal of the statue, which took place early on 6 November 1963 (Figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). As the monument came down, there were 'cheers from a crowd which had gathered to watch,'[21] while shouts of '*Harambee*', 'Kenyatta juu' and 'Kimathi juu' could be heard.[22] The *Harambee* philosophy was launched by Kenyatta when he was invested as Prime Minister in June 1963. Meaning 'let us pull together', this philosophy of collective participation and self-help was adopted to motivate development in Kenya, and during the Kenyatta era the *Harambee* movement had a large impact on social policy and the provision of educational and health facilities in the country.[23] As well as making a call for the ideal of self-help in national development, Kenyatta's *Harambee* philosophy appealed for national unity and became a national motto in the building of post-independence Kenya. 'Kenyatta juu' translates from Kiswahili to mean 'Kenyatta up there' and similarly 'Kimathi juu' means 'Kimathi up there'. Hence these cries illustrated, in the run up to independence, the ancestry chosen by Kenya's Africans, and highlighted the figures who had become important to the Africans as they sought freedom from the colonial era and sought to create their own identity. Thus, these phrases which were called out as the Delamere Statue was taken down, further symbolised the removal of the monument as the

[19] Deputy Governor to Governor, Nairobi, 30 August 1964, KNA GH/4/2: 24.
[20] Delamere quoted in *EAS*, 5 November 1963.
[21] *EAS*, 7 November 1963.
[22] *EAS*, 7 November 1963.
[23] R. Maxon, Social and Cultural Changes, in: B. A. Ogot and W. R. Ochieng' (Eds), *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya, 1940-93*, London, 1995, 110-147.

onlookers claimed the symbolic space to project their ideals in the celebration of an emerging new Kenyan nation.



Figure 5.1 Workmen removing the plaque on the plinth as the statue is prepared for removal.
Source: *EAS*.

In addition, the *Daily Nation* reported how, 'Soon after the statue had been taken away into storage, sellers of wood carvings and curios had set up "pitch" at the foot of the empty plinth.'[24] Thus, the space in which the statue was erected to create a European settler identity was quickly appropriated by members of Kenya's African population and through their everyday activities, centred on the site, the space became absorbed into Nairobi's 'ordinary landscape'[25], while at the same time remaining part of its symbolic landscape through the symbolic change in the use of the space and in the meaning anchored in the site.

[24] *DN*, 7 November 1963.
[25] D. W. Meinig (Ed), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, 1979.



Figure 5.2 Removal of the Lord Delamere Statue.
Source: *DN*.



Figure 5.3 Lord Delamere Statue being lifted from the plinth on which it sat for seventeen years.
Source: *EAS*.

An article in the *East African Standard* speculated about the future of the site, writing,

> Let nobody be dismayed over the decision to remove Lord Delamere's statue from the centre of Nairobi, which just had to come. ... In the not too distant future, one of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta will most probably be substituted on the site ... vacated in the city centre, the name of Delamere Avenue changed accordingly. This will be a sign of the times, symbolic of the change in national outlook from a pioneer development under British administration to the personification of the character of the new African State under its first Prime Minister.[26]

Again this reflects the desire to use the space which had been symbolic in colonial Nairobi in creating a settler identity, to establish a post-independence Kenyan ancestry.



Figure 5.4 Nairobi, 2005. Looking west down Kenyatta Avenue, this is the junction at which Lord Delamere's statue sat in colonial Nairobi.

In early 1964, the Nairobi City Council began deliberations over the development of the traffic island on which the Delamere Statue had stood. These discussions did not consider the erection of a statue to Kenyatta but rather it was decided to install a fountain at the site. Architectural students from the University College of East Africa were invited to submit designs for the fountain. However, none of the designs put forward were judged suitable and it was resolved that the design for the fountain should be carried out by the

[26] *EAS*, 5 November 1963.

Architectural Section of the City Engineer's Department.[27] But in September 1966, it was concluded that, in view of the city's traffic system, the roundabout that once held the Delamere Statue would not be suitable for the construction of a fountain.[28] In October 1966 the statueless-plinth on which Lord Delamere once sat was still standing in Nairobi,[29] but rather than replace it with a new feature, as had been suggested in Nairobi City Council discussions, the traffic island was removed (Figures 5.4 and 5.5 show the junction at which the Delamere statue was once located).



Figure 5.5 Nairobi, 2005. The junction at which Lord Delamere's statue stood in colonial Nairobi. (See also Figure 4.6).

In August 1963, Kenyatta had requested a meeting with the white farmers and invited them to continue farming in the country:

> Our economy is based on the land. We must get the best from our land and to do so we must create confidence between ourselves. We want you to stay and to farm well in this country. ... White, brown and black can work together, harmoniously, and make this country great.[30]

[27] KNA JW/2/37: 1320; KNA JW/2/37; 1811; KNA JW/2/38: 120; KNA JW/2/38: 742; KNA JW/2/39: 789; KNA JW/2/39: 1136.
[28] KNA JW/2/40: 415.
[29] KNA JW/2/40: 677.
[30] Kenyatta quoted in M. Oludhe-Macgoye, *The story of Kenya: a Nation in the making*, Nairobi, 1986, 55.

Yet those settlers that chose to stay in Kenya were forced to re-examine their identity and their relationship with the country. As articulated by Trzebinski, Kenya's settlers 'became displaced by Independence. Kenya, they were told, was not their home – yet they had no other, nor any other loyalty or love for a country or its people and animals in the same way.'[31] Alfred Johansen was six when his family arrived to settle in Kenya in 1905, and on the eve of independence he wrote,

> Tonight the colonial era comes to an end and from tomorrow those of us who have elected to stay will be living in an African country under African rule. I shall be a foreigner in the land of my adoption and my son will be a foreigner in the land of his birth, a vital change in which neither of us has had any say.[32]



Figure 5.6 Elementaita, 2005. The present Lord Delamere with the statue of his grandfather, third Baron Lord Delamere.

Although, by the time the Lord Delamere Statue was erected in Nairobi, the settlers were aware that their ambitions that Kenya become self-governing under a white settler government were not to be attained, they had imagined their presence in the country as permanent. To the settlers the statue seemed to provide secure foundations upon which they could build a solid future for themselves and for their heirs. However, the removal of the statue illustrates how the identity the settlers created for themselves turned out to be a

[31] E. Trzebinski, *The Kenya Pioneers*, London, 1985, 202.
[32] Johansen quoted in Trzebinski, *The Kenya Pioneers*, 203.

temporary construct. The statue's removal, at the instigation of the then Lord Delamere, reflects how the settlers had to redefine their identity and their future in Kenya. In colonial Kenya the settlers created a society and an identity based on their relationship with the land and their leadership over the African majority in particular, but also over the country's Asian population. In independent Kenya, no longer would the settlers hold a position of authority. This fate was acknowledged as Kenya approached independence and the Delamere statue was removed from Nairobi's iconographic landscape.



Figure 5.7 The Lord Delamere Statue as it stands today, overlooking the Delamere Estate in Elementaita.

The removed monument was taken to Nairobi's Sorsbie Gallery to be preserved as a work of art and an object of historical interest. However, as the gallery was closed at the end of 1963, it only stood there for a brief period before it was taken to the Delamere Estate in Elementaita where it stands today, overlooking the farm (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). So the statue no longer stands in the urban landscape of Nairobi which, in colonial Kenya, was the centre through which the settlers exerted their authority. However, as Delamere, the settlers' ancestor looks out upon the African landscape, those settlers that remain in Kenya continue to claim a connection with the land in the country that became their home, this claim now asserted in private space rather than public space.

5.2.2 Removal of the King George V Statue and the King George VI Memorial Plaque

While, before independence, the removal of the Delamere Statue was instigated by Delamere's son and carried out by the Nairobi City Council, the futures of the King George V Statue and King George VI Memorial were contemplated by the colonial administration. Internal correspondence within the Governor's Office, dated 26 August 1963 described the King George V Statue to be in a

> dominating position between [the] Law Courts and Connaught Road. Unlikely to attract attention, but [it] is undoubtedly a direct reminder of the colonial era; perhaps best left where it is, with the request that if the Kenya Government would like it removed, it make its wish known now, and not left for the High Commissioner who will have less facilities for looking after it.[33]

Similarly, the Governor's Office decided that they would take no action regarding the King George VI memorial plaque and as with the Queen Victoria Statue, deemed that the decision regarding its removal was a City Council matter.

> The plaque is not obtrusive but it is placed opposite a seat in the general design of the ornamental fountain and it would naturally catch the eye of persons using the seat ... As ... [the memorial] is so sited as to be very obviously a matter of interest to the City Council it would appear that the future of [this memorial] is a matter for that Council's decision.[34]

In the period leading up to independence, much concern was voiced over the fate of colonial statues in Kenya. However, by 12 December 1963, the only monument in Nairobi that had been removed was the Delamere Statue. The city's other colonial monuments witnessed the achievement of independence. These monuments were left standing, as the colonial administration had determined, after carrying out a review of Nairobi's statues and memorials, that there was no risk of them being defaced after independence, and perhaps more pointedly, the colonial administration in Kenya did not have the funds to remove the statues, nor the facilities to store them once removed.

However, the fate envisaged for these monuments by the colonial administration in Kenya was not set in stone and after independence the King George V Statue and the King George

[33] KNA GH/4/2: 23.
[34] KNA GH/4/2: 18.

VI Memorial plaque were removed during this transition period in Nairobi's iconographic landscape. According to Stocker,

> The ultimate success of a public monument is indicated by the extent to which it becomes synonymous with the civilization that created it ... So powerful and effective is such symbolism that monuments are sometimes interpreted as instruments of oppression as well as salvation. They are also subject to counter-propaganda, iconoclastic vandalism and destruction. These reactions transcend ideology and are almost as old as the monuments themselves.[35]

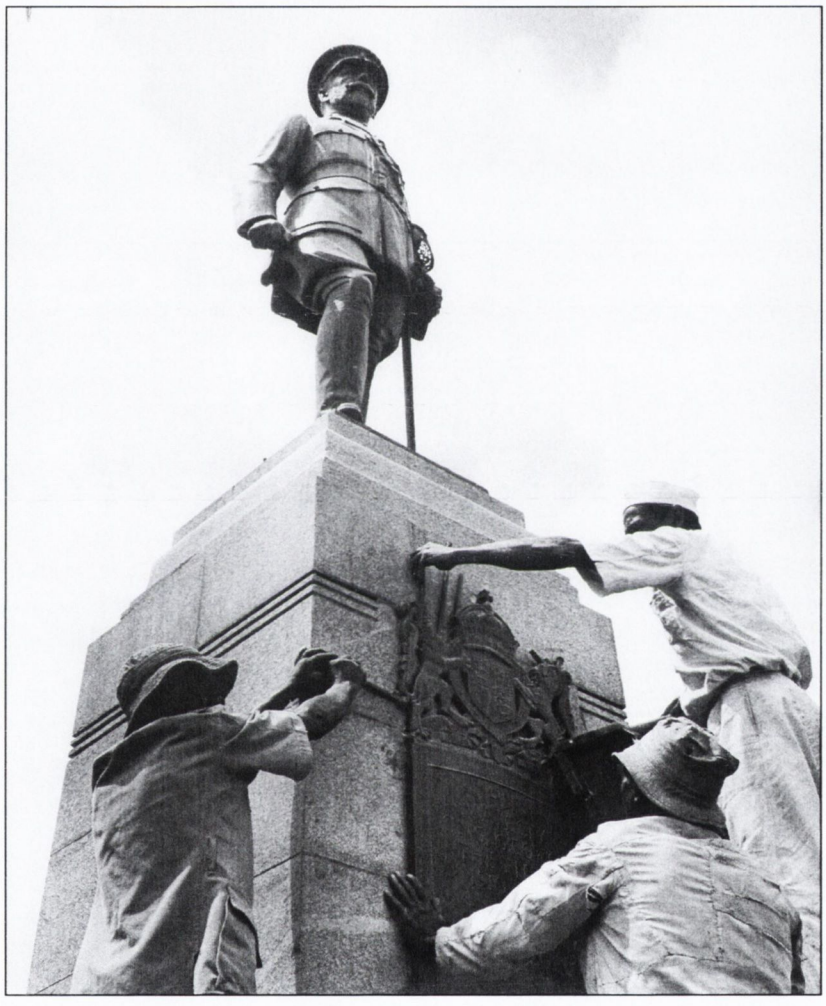


Figure 5.8 Nairobi City Council workmen remove the plaque from the plinth of King George V's statue in Nairobi.
Source: *EAS.*

So while the colonial administration had wanted to remove colonial statues to prevent them from being subject to vandalism in post-independence Kenya, the new Kenyan Government sought their removal in an effort to divest the city of these colonial reminders and symbols of oppression. As articulated by Le Goff, 'The power to destroy memory is a

[35] Stocker, Monument, public, 42.

counterweight to power achieved through the production of memory.'[36] Thus the removal of monuments is a trend evident in many postcolonial countries where this device has been used to create new identities through collective amnesia and where there is often a strong desire to rid the landscape of colonial connections. One such example is Ireland, where the official and unofficial removal of monuments, especially those in Dublin, closely reflected a general antipathy towards what was seen as an imperial history.[37]



Figure 5.9 Removal of the King George V Statue.
Source: *EAS.*

Hence, shortly after Kenya's independence, a Cabinet Committee was set up by the Ministry of Local Government to consider the general policy on statues in Nairobi[38] and on 30 May 1964 the King George V Statue was removed by the Nairobi City Council (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). The Nairobi City Council Highways Superintendent, Mr. Belshaw, who was in charge of the removal, was quoted in the *Sunday Nation* as saying, 'The statue will be stored away in my department for the time being.'[39] However, no trace of the statue can be found and what became of it is unknown. In addition, during the course of this research

[36] Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 68.
[37] Whelan, Written in Space and Stone; Whelan, Symbolising the State; Johnson, Sculpting heroic histories.
[38] KNA JW/2/38.
[39] *Sunday Nation*, 31 May 1964.

and attempts to locate the monument, most people spoken to could not recall there being a statue of King George V in Nairobi. On the other hand, the Lord Delamere Statue was a well-remembered feature of the city's colonial landscape.

While the King George VI Memorial Fountain remains standing at the junction of Parliament Road and City Hall Way, the bas relief memorial plaque was, like the King George V Statue, removed after independence.[40]

5.2.3 The Fate of Colonial-Era Statues: Comparative Studies

Removal of the Lord Kitchener and General Gordon statues from Khartoum

In examining the decolonisation of Nairobi's monumental landscape, it is useful to consider the removal of statues elsewhere in order to compare Nairobi's experience with the experience of some other countries and in order to place what was happening in Nairobi in the wider context of international trends. Sudan achieved independence on 1 January 1956 and while there were suggestions later that year that the Gordon and Kitchener statues be removed from the country's capital, the monuments were not taken down until December 1958. General Ibrahim Abboud had seized power in Sudan in November 1958, establishing military rule and pursuing a policy of Arabisation. Thus Khartoum was to be rid of symbols of British colonialism such as the statues of General Gordon and Lord Kitchener. On the decision to remove the monuments, Sir Edwin Arthur Chapman-Andrews, who was the British Ambassador in Sudan at the time, wrote,

> [British colonialism] represented the best, most benevolent and most just system of Government these territories have ever seen or perhaps are ever likely to see: but "colonialism" has become a catchword of hostile propaganda. The rising generation of Sudanese ... regard these statues as the symbols of "colonialism" of government by foreigners, of government imposed originally by force of arms, of an inferior status from which their country has now emerged.[41]

So on 11 December 1958, these symbols of colonialism were taken down at night, after a symbolic 'ceremony of shrouding'[42] which had taken place at dusk. This organised military ceremony, attended by the British Ambassador, appeased the Foreign Office in

[40] The exact date of removal could not be established during the course of research.
[41] E. A. Chapman-Andrews, British Embassy, to B. J. Okey, Khartoum, 4 December 1958, TNA FO371/131754: JS1851/2.
[42] TNA FO371/131754: JS1851/4.

London who concluded, 'It is far better that the statues should be removed decently ... than that they should continue to be exposed to the risk of degradation and destruction.'[43]

At the ceremony, at which the Sudanese Army formed the Guard of Honour, the shrouding of the General Gordon and Lord Kitchener statues took place after the *Lament* was piped, *God Save the Queen* was played and the *Last Post* was sounded. Following the shrouding, the *Reveille* was sounded and the ceremony was concluded with the playing of the Sudanese National Anthem. In a letter to the Foreign Office, Chapman-Andrews described the ceremony, outlining how,

> Very large crowds of Sudanese gathered and, on the whole, conducted themselves well. There were a few cheers and hand claps from small groups and individuals in the crowd as my car ... drove up. The shrill ululations of the women, of whom there were many present, were drowned in loud cheers as the shrouds remained lowered and as the Sudanese played the Sudanese National Anthem. ... There was something resembling an ugly rush by the crowd between the two statues but the situation was swiftly brought under control by mounted police and foot reinforcements.[44]

The ceremony was recorded by the Information Section of the British Embassy for both British and Arab newsreel, and by the Sudan Government Photographic Section. In addition, the local B.B.C. correspondent, as well as local correspondents of the main British newspapers were present to report on the ceremony.[45]

The statues were removed from Khartoum's iconographic landscape as part of a controlled ceremony and as these British colonial vestiges were removed, the ordered ceremony symbolically visualised to the crowd that British colonialism had been brought to an end in favour of a Sudanese identity, as expressed through the Sudanese National Anthem. In addition, to the British government, who were represented at the event by the British Ambassador, this ceremony provided a dignified solution to an inevitable outcome.

The monuments were offered as a gift to the United Kingdom and after numerous discussions on where they should be erected, the statue of General Gordon was put up at

[43] TNA FO371/131754: JS1851/3.
[44] E. A. Chapman-Andrews, British Embassy, Khartoum, to Foreign Office, London, 11 December 1958, TNA FO371/131754: JS1851/4.
[45] TNA FO371/131754: JS1851/2.

the Gordon Boys' School at Woking while that of Lord Kitchener was sent to the School of Military Engineering at Chatham.[46]

Meanwhile the City Council of Nairobi had expressed interest in receiving the Gordon and Kitchener statues.

> The prevailing tendency to erase, in various ways, the visual evidence of the part which Britain has played in the history of Africa prompts the City Council to make an offer in reverse of that tendency. That offer is to provide suitable sites in the centre of this City for the re-erection of these statues and to undertake the future maintenance of the statues. ... I may add that I have recently seen a report in the "Times" newspaper that these statues are now en route for Britain in the Ministry of Transport ship Evan Gibb. If my Council's offer is favourably received it may be possible to divert the statues back to Kenya.[47]

So, as the British Empire had begun dismantling elsewhere in Africa, Nairobi continued to assert itself as an African city still strongly connected to the empire. Through requesting that the Kitchener and Gordon statues be erected in Nairobi, the European-dominated Nairobi City Council, which had received support from the Kenya colonial government in this matter,[48] expressed desires to position the city as an important city within the empire and to visually display the role Nairobi had played as part of the empire in Africa. Kenya was in the midst of Mau Mau and the offer to situate Sudan's Gordon and Kitchener statues in Nairobi was an attempt to demonstrate to the imperial government that, despite other indications, Kenya remained loyal to the empire. In addition, the erection of the statues in the city would have acted to stress, within Kenya, that the country remained part of the British Empire and was under British rule, regardless of challenges to this rule. However, the statues were not to be erected in Nairobi and they continued on their journey to Britain.

Removal of statues in India and Pakistan

While the Lord Kitchener and General Gordon statues were symbolically removed from Khartoum's iconographic landscape in a formal and organised ceremony, British colonial monuments were more usually removed in post-independence countries 'without making

[46] TNA FO371/138710: JS1851/15.
[47] Harold Ayrey (Town Clerk), Nairobi, to Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, 16 February 1959, TNA FO371/138710: JS1851/17.
[48] KNA JW/2/32.

too much fuss.'[49] In relation to the fate of colonial-era monuments in Kenya, the Colonial Office had written, to reiterate, to the Kenyan colonial administration in 1963 claiming, 'We have gone into this matter with our customary diligence, but we have failed completely to disinter any precedents that might be useful'[50] (section 5.2). However, the Dominions Office in London had been dealing with the issue of colonial statues and monuments in India and Pakistan since India had gained its independence from Britain on 15 August 1947, with the formation of the state of Pakistan the same year. By 1951, for example, a statue of Lord Lawrence and one of Queen Victoria had been removed from Lahore,[51] while by 1958, fifty-six statues of British royals, statesmen, generals and civil servants had been taken down all over India, with more awaiting removal.[52] The decision to remove British colonial statues in India was largely left to the various state governments. So, for example, by July 1951, the state of Bihar had resolved not to remove any of its forty-eight colonial statues while all of Uttar Pradesh's thirty-seven statues of British rulers, soldiers and statesmen had been taken down, including sixteen statues of Queen Victoria, three statues of King Edward VII, three of King George V and one each of the Earl of Mayo, Lord Reading (former Viceroys of India) and Lord Roberts (who fought in the Indian rebellion of 1857 and was later Commander-in-Chief of India).[53]

On 13 May 1957, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru,[54] had made a statement in the Lok Sabha, the lower house in the Parliament of India, distinguishing monuments erected in India during the British colonial period as belonging to three categories: those 'offensive to India's national dignity,' those 'possessing historic significance,' and those 'merely artistic.'[55] Those statues considered offensive to Indian national sentiment were the first to be removed. However, some British colonial monuments that were left standing still became targets of vandalism, particularly around the anniversary of India's independence. For instance, on 15 August 1959 police arrested a vandal who had been

[49] In relation to the Indian Government's policy on British monuments in India, the Prime Minister of India told the Indian Parliament 'Our general attitude has been first of all, to remove such [statues] as might be considered offensive, and that too, gradually, without making too much fuss and without doing anything to raise illwill between our countries.' Extract of proceedings of the Lok Sabha, 13 May 1957. TNA DO133/150: 334.

[50] P. J. Kitcatt, Colonial Office, London, to F. A. Loyd, Governor's Office, Nairobi, 2 August 1963, KNA GH/4/2: 16.

[51] Extract from *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 27 July 1951, TNA DO35/2137.

[52] Correspondent, New Delhi, 15 December 1958, TNA DO133/150: 334.

[53] Correspondent, New Delhi, 15 December 1958, TNA DO133/150: 334.

[54] Nehru was Prime Minister of India between 15 August 1947 and 27 May 1964.

[55] *Report of the State Committee appointed to Examine the Question of the Retention in Public Places of Statues of the British Period and other Relics*, 1961, TNA DO133/150.

caught damaging the King George V Statue at India Gate in Delhi and 'The accused told the police that he had disfigured the statue out of patriotic sentiment.'[56] Similarly, on 10 August 1965, Bombay's statues of Lords Wellesley and Cornwallis (both former Governor-Generals of India) were decapitated and the city's Queen Victoria and Sir Patrick Aloysius Kelly (a former Bombay police commissioner) were defaced.[57] On 13 August of the same year, Delhi's King George V Statue was again damaged, its head and nose broken and the monument smeared with tar.[58] That day a statue of King Edward VII was removed from Bombay 'in case it might be mutilated on ... India's Independence Day.'[59] In the meantime, the Lord Irwin Statue (a former Viceroy of India) in Delhi had been damaged during a Socialist Party demonstration in March 1964,[60] on which the British High Commissioner in New Delhi remarked, 'Press comment tended to regret the damage to the statue but to suggest it was time British statues were removed to museums.'[61]

In May 1964, the Union Government resolved that all British statues in the Indian capital would be removed and that the statue of Lord Irwin would be the first to go[62] as its position in front of the Parliament Buildings conveyed 'an impression of British prefectorial concern over current parliament proceedings.'[63] By August 1964, three colonial statues[64] were still standing in Delhi, those of King George V, Queen Victoria and King Edward VII.[65] According to the *Times of India*, the Indian Government decided that these statues would not be removed at that time and that 'The decision to keep the statues of the three monarchs seems to have been actuated by the desire not to offend British sentiments.'[66] However, in 1968, the King George V Statue was taken down.[67] This statue, described as 'perhaps the most majestic in Delhi,'[68] was situated at a commanding location in the city, occupying a site at the India Gate in Raj Path, the central ceremonial axis in New Delhi.

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[56] *Times of India*, 17 August 1959, TNA DO133/150: 375.
[57] *The Times*, 11 August 1965, TNA DO170/54.
[58] *The Times*, 14 August 1965, TNA DO170/54.
[59] *The Times*, 14 August 1965, TNA DO170/54.
[60] TNA DO170/54.
[61] British High Commission, New Delhi to South Asia Department, Commonwealth Relations Office, London, 31 March 1964, TNA DO170/54.
[62] *Statesman*, 10 May 1964, TNA DO170/54.
[63] TNA DO170/54: 27.
[64] In colonial India, thirteen statues of British monarchs, viceroys and generals stood in the Indian capital.
[65] *Times of India*, 22 August 1964, TNA DO170/54.
[66] *Times of India*, 22 August 1964, TNA DO170/54.
[67] For subsequent debates on symbolically re-inscribing the site vacated by Delhi's King George V Statue with a statue of Gandhi, see K. D. Alley, Gandhiji on the Central Vista: A Postcolonial Refiguring, *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997) 967-994.
[68] *Statesman*, 17 July 1964, TNA DO170/54: 6.

There was particular concern over the fate of the King George V Statue, which the South Asian Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London felt 'deserve[d] special attention'[69] and thus suggested it be brought back to the United Kingdom. However, the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in London did not support this suggestion.

> If this statue were to be brought back to the U.K., I feel sure that there would be the greatest difficulty in finding a suitable site on which to re-erect it. We would certainly be reluctant to accept it for any of the open spaces in London for which we are responsible. These areas have more than enough statues as it is and we would not wish to add to that number.[70]

The statue now stands in Delhi's neglected Coronation Park, along with other British colonial statues that were taken down from the city. As Britain's colonies achieved independence and began removing colonial statues and memorials, the issue of what should become of these monuments often became problematic. As with Delhi's King George V Statue, the British government was reluctant to receive such statues for erection in London. This reluctance arose both out of cost considerations and out of problems in finding appropriate sites for the monuments, especially in relation to the abundance of statues which already stood in London. Such hesitation had also been evident when it was suggested that Khartoum's Gordon and Kitchener statues be erected in London as, before they were taken down, the Foreign Office became concerned that

> A removal of the statues to London would be a cumbersome and not very dignified operation which would cost (according to a very rough Ministry of Works estimate) close on £10,000. A greater deterrent than the cost may well be the difficulty of finding suitable sites for two large statues in London which is already over-burdened with equestrian statues.[71]

King Leopold II, Kinshasa

As with Delhi's removed colonial statues, colonial monuments which once dotted the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) capital are now amassed together in one area, these colonial reminders now symbolically confined. However, while Coronation Park in Delhi is open to the public, even if it receives few visitors, the 'graveyard of Belgian

[69] TNA FCO37/442; TNA FCO37/441.
[70] R. W. Barrow, Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, London, to R. R. Best, South Asia Department, Commonwealth Office, London, 22 October 1968, TNA FCO37/441: 1.
[71] Minutes of meeting in the African Department of the Foreign Office, London, 23 January 1957, TNA FO371/126017: JS1851/2.

colonial-era statuary'[72] in Kinshasa at present lies locked away in the heavily guarded compound of a former DRC dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, who died in 1997. Among these colonial monuments is a statue of the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, as well as an equestrian statue of King Leopold II. DRC gained its independence from Belgium in 1960, which saw the name of its capital change from Leopoldville to Kinshasa. In 1967, Mobutu, president at the time, removed King Leopold II's statue from Kinshasa. For decades the statue of the Belgian colonial ruler, who 'left arguably the largest and most horrid legacy of all,'[73] lay with the capital's other removed colonial monuments until it was re-erected in the centre of Kinshasa in February 2005. A plaque was to be added to the statue, detailing Leopold's colonial legacy and as way of explanation of the statue's re-erection, the country's Culture Minister, Christophe Muzungu stated, 'We are restoring the history of our country because a people without history is a people without a soul.'[74] The statue could not be re-erected on the spot at which it stood in Leopoldville as the site has been occupied, since 2001, by the tomb of former president, Laurent Kabila. Instead the statue was put up near Kinshasa's central train station, on a roundabout on June 30 Boulevard, a street commemorating DRC's date of independence, and reportedly erected on a plinth formerly occupied by another colonial statue. However, only hours after the statue was re-erected, it was taken down once again.

Confusion surrounded the re-erection of the statue. 'It was strange, observed one passerby, when statues of tyrants were being toppled elsewhere, to see the unannounced return – in now tarnished bronze – of the lugubrious monarch who is still remembered as the cruellest face of European colonialism in Africa.'[75] Although the statue is part of DRC's history, its re-erection 'nearly triggered a riot.'[76] Yet its immediate removal was never officially accounted for and was similarly shrouded in confusion as the media speculated as to the reasons why it was taken down for a second time. Some reports suggested that President Joseph Kabila (son of former President Laurent Kabila) had ordered its removal, while some related that the re-erection of the statue was a trial to determine whether the plinth could support the weight of the monument, and that the statue was to be re-erected at a

[72] *Mail and Guardian Online*, 4 August 2006, http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=279845&area=/breaking_news/breaking_news__africa/, accessed 1 September 2006.
[73] BBC News, 24 February 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3516965.stm, accessed 4 February 2005.
[74] See, for example, BBC News, 4 February 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4232065.stm, accessed 2 March 2005.
[75] *The Guardian*, 7 February 2005, http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1407207,00.html, accessed 7 February 2005.
[76] namibian.com, 13 September 2006, http://www.namibian.com.na/2006/September/africa/0647F841AA.html, accessed 3 October 2006.

later stage in an official ceremony. However, the statue's brief stay was to be the only reappearance of the colonial monument in Kinshasa's post-independence iconographic landscape. The Leopold II Statue rejoined Leopoldville's other removed colonial monuments, where it remains today.[77]

As was the case in Nairobi and Khartoum, colonial monuments were removed from DRC's capital when the country gained its independence. Although part of a different empire, this African city's iconographic landscape was similarly decolonised after the achievement of independence. Casting aside the confusions surrounding the reasons behind the King Leopold II Statue's recent re-erection and re-removal, it is evident that the act of removing a monument adds a further layer of meaning onto the monument, which becomes apparent when the monument is replaced into the iconographic landscape from which it was taken down. The reasons for its initial removal become more powerfully highlighted with its re-erection. Also illustrated is the transient nature of a city's symbolic landscape and the way in which different groups attach different meanings to elements of the symbolic landscape. Yet it is most often the version of the group with the most power that is ultimately expressed.

5.2.4 The Removal of Monuments

As countries experience periods of political transition, the removal or destruction of public monuments can portray as potent a symbolic message as can the erection of such monuments, 'For the very qualities that make public statues so valuable in building popular support for one regime also make them a target for destruction when that regime falls.'[78] This is particularly exemplified in former colonies which have achieved independence and where public monuments and statues erected during the colonial era represent symbols of imperial rule and oppression. Within these ex-colonies, such symbolic messages are

[77] See, for example, *The Guardian*, 4 February 2005, http://www.guardian.co.uk/congo/story/0,,1405595,00.html, accessed 4 February 2005; *Chicago SunTimes*, 4 February 2005, http://www.suntimes.com/output/news/cst-nws-congo04.html, accessed 4 February 2005; news24.com, 4 February 2005, http://www.news24.com/News24/Africa/news/0,,2-11-1447_1657506,00.html, accessed 4 February 2005 ; *The Guardian*, 7 February 2005, http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1407207,00.html, accessed 7 February 2005; *Times Online*, 4 February 2005, http://timesonline.co.uk/printFriendly/0,,1-3-1469599-3,00.html, accessed 14 February; BBC News, 4 February 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4235237.stm, accessed 14 February 2005; BBC News, 4 February 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4232065.stm, accessed 2 March 2005.

[78] Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*, 213.

especially expressed in the capital city where the seat of government is located and where political authority is centred. Thus, for example, after Ireland became a Free State in 1922, Dublin's urban landscape witnessed the gradual removal of public monuments symbolic of the British Empire.[79] While many of Dublin's colonial statues were removed illegally, however, the Indian government introduced, in 1964, a policy to remove all British statues in Delhi. The same year, the King George V Statue and the bas relief on the King George VI Memorial Fountain were removed from Nairobi's iconographic landscape. Yet, whereas in Nairobi these monumental symbols of the British Empire were removed shortly after Kenya became independent, in Delhi the policy to remove such monuments was not implemented until seventeen years after India had achieved independence, and it was not until 1968 that the King George V Statue was removed from Delhi. The last statues to remain in India's capital were those of Queen Victoria and Kings Edward VII and George V. It was reported that these statues were left standing so as 'not to create international illwill'[80] through offending British sentiments.[81] This reflects the regard with which the British held their monarchy.

Concern over the fate of royal portraits at Government House and in Government offices in Kenya prompted one of Kenya's British settlers to write in 1963, 'At my age it is not very easy to alter the way we were brought up – To Fear God and to Honour the Queen – despite how hard we try and I do not think I could bear it if anything happened to such portraits of past and present members of the Royal Family.'[82] Such regard is also reflected in the consideration of Nairobi's monumental landscape where, before independence, the colonial administration deemed it unnecessary to remove statues of members of the Royal family as they felt 'it is not very likely that they would be targets of unpleasant attention,'[83] the esteem they held for the British royal family assumed to be the common-held sentiment in Kenya. As outlined previously, the British used the concept of a British imperial monarchy to assert and justify British power in colonial Africa and to unite each country's diverse population under a shared ideology of Empire.[84] It is difficult to assess the extent to which Kenya's Africans absorbed this monarchical doctrine. However, the fact that today the Queen Victoria Statue in Jeevanjee Gardens is often mistaken for the Virgin

[79] See, for example, Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*.
[80] Quoted by Nehru in 1957 in relation to Indian policy on British statues in India, Extract of proceedings of the Lok Sabha on 13th May 1957. TNA DO133/150: 334.
[81] *Times of India*, 22 August 1964, TNA DO170/54.
[82] B. A. Peatling, Ruiru, Kenya, to Foreign Secretary, 20 May 1963, KNA GH/14/3: 12.
[83] GH/4/2 23.
[84] See also Ranger, The Invention of Tradition.

Mary while, as discovered during the course of this research, many people could not recollect the existence of a King George V Statue in colonial Nairobi, suggests that Kenya's Africans did not become as engrossed in the monarchical ideology as intended by the British.

Yet despite the reverence held by the British for their monarchs, public monuments to British royalty, as well as other colonial statues, which were removed from cities in Britain's former colonies, were, in general, not wanted by the British Government for erection in London. The practical reasons for not erecting such monuments in London outweighed the sentimental reasons for putting them up in the imperial capital, a city already teeming with its own statues and memorials. British statues were erected in British colonies, dominions and protectorates to link the empire together in common loyalty to Britain and to assert imperial authority in these countries. The removal of such monuments was a symbolic act in these countries. If re-erected in London, such a monument would have taken on a different symbolic meaning. While the re-erection of the King Leopold II Statue in the city from which it was removed stressed the symbolic reasons behind the monument's initial removal, the re-erection of a removed colonial monument in the imperial capital would be to erect it in memory of itself such that it would stand as a monument to the monument. Describing the removal of communist statues in Budapest to the city's Statue Park Museum, James relates how the

> value and meaning [of monuments] largely derive from their surroundings. They are profoundly altered when they are moved away from their place of origin and robbed of their context. The relocation of the monuments to communism has had the effect of radically destabilizing whatever meanings they had come to embody to the various publics that encountered them in their original settings.[85]

Yet perhaps the reluctance to re-erect, in London, statues removed from countries formerly under British rule also stemmed from unwillingness to visualise the dissolution of the British Empire. While the General Gordon and Lord Kitchener statues were re-erected in England, they were done so at locations at which there already existed connections with the personalities of the statues. Thus, new symbolic meanings were given to the statues as they were put up in a different iconographic landscape while, at the same time, the statues brought new meanings to their new locations.

[85] B. James, Fencing in the past: Budapest's Statue Park Museum, *Media, Culture & Society* 21 (1999) 291-311, 294.

5.3 A Country in Transition

During the transition period surrounding independence, Nairobi's symbolic landscape changed not only with the removal of colonial monuments, but also with the erection of new monuments. At *uhuru*, the consolidation of Kenya into a united nation became important as 'independence doesn't make a distinct nation – only a political unit.'[86] Similarly, as 'the nation that is ... being forged has been defined in its boundaries and character, by the colonial state,'[87] the construction of a new Kenyan national identity was required. At independence, Kenya's population was racially, ethnically, culturally, religiously and linguistically heterogeneous, and public monuments have served as one device through which such a diverse population can be united in a national identity. However, such an identity, cultivated through the erection of monuments, is an identity created by the political elite, those with the political privilege to inscribe the symbolic landscape with their ideals of the emerging nation. Attempts to create a Kenyan national identity were attempts to unite the country's heterogeneous population through a common identity that distinguished independent Kenya from colonial Kenya. Yet in efforts to cultivate such an identity, the educated elites who came to assume political power used the iconographic language of the coloniser. As already discussed in relation to colonial Nairobi's Lord Delamere Statue, the creation of an identity requires ancestors or heroes which allow the 'imagined community'[88] to connect with one another and with a particular place. Thus, in newly independent Kenya, Kenyatta became the 'Father of the Nation' and two statues of Kenyatta were the first public monuments to be erected in post-independence Nairobi.

5.3.1 Kenyatta Statue, Parliament Buildings

While attending the third and final Kenyan constitutional conference at Lancaster House in London in September 1963, Kenyatta visited the British sculptor Macdonald Reid to sit for him so that the artist could begin work on the statue of the Kenyan Prime Minister commissioned by the Kenyan Government. Kenyatta chose the pose he was to be depicted in, wearing a leather jacket, an African hat and a ring on the little finger of his left hand. This hand rests on a wooden walking stick, carved to form an elephant's head as its handle,

[86] Osborne, Interpreting a nation's identity, 250.
[87] Smith, *National Identity*, 106.
[88] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London, 1991.

while his right arm is lifted high, holding a fly whisk (Figure 5.10). This symbolic pose embodies all the characteristics that became associated with Kenyatta and his leadership. During political gatherings Kenyatta would wave his flywhisk, a symbol of a Kikuyu elder, while he rallied the crowds through calls of *Harambee*. The *Daily Nation* described Kenyatta's leather jacket as 'a symbol of the struggle for freedom'[89] and it was reported that work on the statue was delayed until the Prime Minister's jacket was sent over from Kenya.[90]



Figure 5.10 Kenyatta Statue, Parliament Buildings.
Source: *EAS*.

After the statue had been commissioned, the Kenya Government invited public contributions towards the monument, which cost around £3000, as Oginga Odinga, the Vice-President, felt that 'the people of Kenya should have the chance to express their

[89] *DN*, 15 December 1964.
[90] *EAS*, 14 March 1964.

appreciation of the services of the Prime Minister by making gifts rather than leaving Government to bear the cost.'[91] The Kenya Government, however, did bear the cost. Once completed, the Kenyatta Statue was shipped to Kenya by the Crown Agents, arriving in Nairobi in early May 1964. By this stage, although it had been decided that the statue would be erected outside Nairobi's Parliament Buildings, the exact site on which the statue was to stand remained unresolved. With the Independence Constitution of 1963, the legislature in Kenya became bicameral and in order to accommodate another Chamber, extensions to the colonial Parliament Buildings were required. Amyas Connell was the architect of this extension work which began in 1964. Humphrey Slade, Speaker of the House of Representatives, advised by Connell, suggested that the best site for the statue would be in the open area in front of the public entrance to the Parliament Buildings, near the Clock Tower.[92] However, after consultation with members of the Committee responsible for the Kenyatta Statue, the Ministry of Home Affairs wrote to Slade expressing sentiments that the proposed site was unsuitable. It was felt that, in view of the new extensions to be made to the buildings, the site suggested by Slade was not central enough.[93] In addition, it was determined that the statue should be erected in front of the House of Representatives, which were to be housed in the new building, rather than in front of the Senate. In many legislatures, the House of Representatives has come to wield more power and thus the desire to place Kenyatta's statue in front of the new building reflected the desire to enhance Kenyatta's leadership and exert his authority.

However, Slade continued to argue that, with the extensions, the site he had proposed would, in fact, become the central focus of the buildings and that the site suggested by the Ministry of Home Affairs would not be open to the public.

> ... I think that the most serious objection to that site is that it would be within an area to which only Members have access, whereas I am sure that you wish this Statue to be accessible to the general public.[94]

However, the Ministry of Works, Communications and Power stressed that

> ... the Prime Minister himself has indicated his wishes on the siting of the statue [and] it is stated that the Prime Minister does not wish the statue to be sited in front

[91] *EAS*, 19 March 1964.
[92] Humphrey Slade (Speaker), House of Representatives, to Oginga Odinga (Minister for Home Affairs) and D. Mwanyuma (Minister for Works, Communications and Power, Nairobi, 1 April 1964, KNA AVQ/1/49: 3.
[93] KNA AVQ/1/49: 8.
[94] Humphrey Slade to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Nairobi, 6 May 1964, KNA AVQ/1/49: 9.

> of the present clock tower, but wishes it to be sited in front of the new entrance to the extension.[95]

Thus the statue was erected in front of the entrance to the new House of Representatives (Figure 5.11 shows the location of the statue in Nairobi).

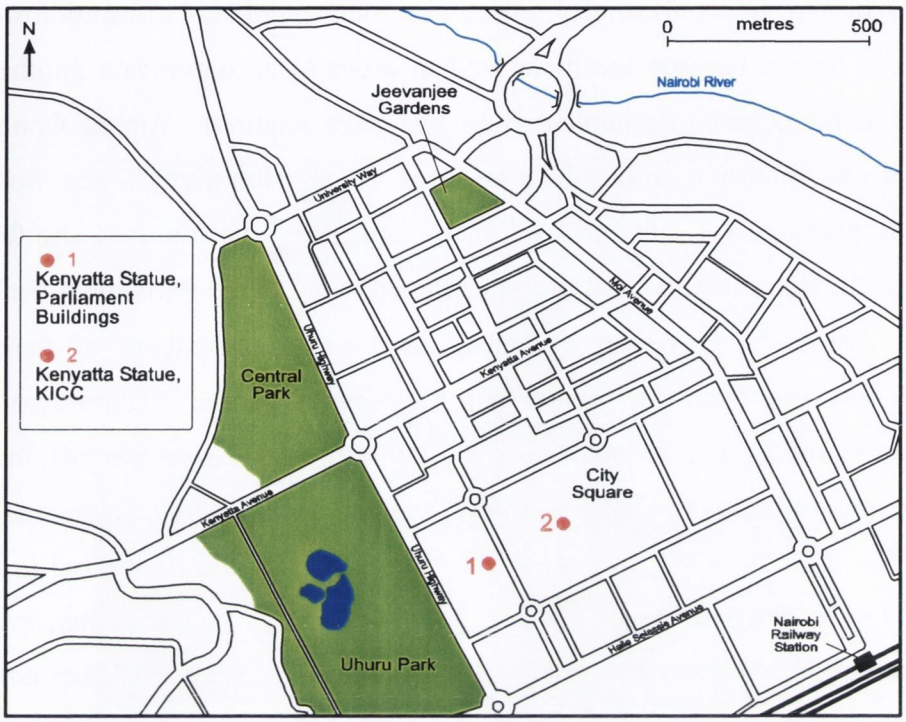


Figure 5.11 Map showing the location of Nairobi's two Kenyatta statues.

In November 1964, discussions between the Government and the opposition members of parliament resolved that KANU absorb KADU and the African People's Party, making Kenya a one-party state. This took effect on 12 December 1964, the day that Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta was sworn in as the country's first president as Kenya became a Sovereign Republic within the Commonwealth.

On 14 December 1964, the new session of Parliament was opened by the president. After this State opening of Parliament, the Kenyatta Statue was unveiled by Odinga in the presence of Kenyatta. In his address, Odinga asserted,

> ... No occasion would have been more appropriate to confer this very high honour on the Father of the Nation than now when Kenya had witnessed the termination of the last vestiges of colonial association, and when the headship of state and of Government had been vested in Mr. Kenyatta.

[95] KNA AVQ/1/49: 12.

> Who is this man on whom the Republic is bestowing this the highest honour? He is the man who for a lifetime had endured the onslaughts, with all its concomitant crudities, administered with excruciating virulence by a colonist-intentioned power, and has lived to lead the nation to victory.
>
> He is the man who delivered the nation from a life that was poor, nasty, brutish and short. He is God's masterpiece.[96]

Throughout this unveiling speech, Kenyatta is portrayed as being single-handedly responsible for Kenya's freedom from colonial rule and is elevated to an almost 'super-human' status, depicted as someone who stands out from the ordinary masses. Odinga describes how, 'Unlike most of us born of flesh and blood [Kenyatta] has always led a life of dedication and re-dedication to the service of mankind in general and his country in particular.'[97] Similarly, in addressing Kenyatta, Odinga asserts, 'By this statue the nation is saying to you 'You are the incarnation of all the best that is good in man.''[98] As the Vice-President unveiled the statue he referred to it as 'the most worthy statue that ever stood in Kenya.'[99]

From its inception, African politics in Kenya was marked by ideological disagreements. Ochieng' distinguishes between the 'conservatives', 'who believed in constitutionalism and dialogue with the imperialists,' and 'radicals', 'who stood for fundamental changes in the social, economic and political fields' and 'who, as early as 1947, were calling for independence 'now' and advocating violence to hasten the departure of the British.'[100] Even before the achievement of independence, rifts appeared within KANU. The radical group, which included Odinga, supported ideas of socialism and advocated rapid Africanisation, the nationalisation of foreign industries and businesses, and the free redistribution of land. The conservative group, which included Kenyatta, adopted a reformist approach and maintained close cooperation with Britain and the United States.[101] The strong anti-colonial sentiments of his radical politics are evident in Odinga's unveiling speech. The erection of the Kenyatta Statue provided the Kenyan population with a hero and an ancestor for the creation of a national identity and asserted Kenyatta's leadership in the newly independent country. In addition, the statue acted to affirm Kenyatta's leadership, power and politics within KANU.

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[96] *EAS*, 15 December 1964; *DN*, 15 December 1964.
[97] *EAS*, 15 December 1964.
[98] *EAS*, 15 December 1964.
[99] *EAS*, 15 December 1964.
[100] Ochieng', Independent Kenya, 205.
[101] Ochieng', Independent Kenya.

In March 1966, Kenyatta was reappointed President of KANU and the same month, radical members of KANU, including Odinga, broke away from the ruling party and formed an opposition party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU). In January 1969, Odinga was due to give a public lecture at the University of Nairobi, but the Kenya government intervened and the lecture was banned. In protest, the students boycotted lectures and the university was closed for a brief period.[102] According to Ogot, this marked the beginning of political dissidence at the university.[103]

The lifespan of the KPU was short, however, and the party was banned in October 1969 following riots at a political rally in Kisumu at which stones were thrown at Kenyatta and at which ten people were killed by police fire.[104] On 29 January 1970, Kenyatta was sworn in as President of Kenya for the second time. By 1973, Kenya was still a one-party state under KANU and in celebration of the tenth anniversary of independence another statue of Kenyatta was erected.

5.3.2 Kenyatta Statue, KICC

As with Nairobi's first statue of Kenyatta, the tenth Anniversary Kenyatta Statue was sculpted in England and shipped to Kenya.[105] It had arrived in the country by July 1973 and was stored in Nairobi until it was erected in City Square in November 1973.[106] As part of the celebrations of ten years of independence, the commemorative plaque[107] on the monument was officially unveiled by Vice President Moi on 10 December 1973 'to wild

[102] B. A. Ogot, The Politics of Populism, in: Ogot and Ochieng' (Eds), *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya*, 187-213.
[103] Ogot, The Politics of Populism.
[104] G. Hyden and C. Leys, Elections and Politics in Single-Party Systems: the Case of Kenya and Tanzania, *British Journal of Political Science*, 2 (1972) 389-420.
[105] Sculpted by James Butler of London's Royal Academy of Arts, this Kenyatta Statue was the artist's first major commission. Butler's work consists primarily of commissions and includes many sculptures in Singapore and in England, particularly in London. In addition, sculptures by Butler stand in Pennsylvania in the USA, Normandy in France and Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. The monument to Freedom Fighters in Zambia which stands in Lusaka is also sculpted by Butler.
[106] KNA KA/4/32: 91.
[107] This plaque consists of two inscriptions, both of them appearing in English and Kiswahili on the bronze plaque. The first inscription reads: *This statue is dedicated to His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, CGH MP, Father of the Nation, First President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya.* The second inscription reads: *This commemorative plaque was unveiled by the Vice-President of Kenya, the Hon. DT Arap Moi, EGH EBS MP, on behalf of the people of Kenya on Monday 10th December 1973 during the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations of our National Independence.*

cheers from the thousands of people at the ceremony.'[108] Kenyatta was present at the unveiling.



Figure 5.12 The Kenyatta statue in front of the Law Courts.

This statue was erected where colonial Nairobi's Hamilton Fountain once stood, in front of the Law Courts in City Square (Figures 5.11 and 5.12). After independence there were plans to develop the site on which Lord Delamere's statue had sat in colonial Nairobi, such that it would remain a symbolic site. However, with increased traffic in the city centre, the roundabout was removed and the site is now just part of Kenyatta Avenue's road surface. A space that was symbolically important in the colonial city has changed to become part of the chaos of Nairobi traffic and nothing remains to hint that the site was a focal point in colonial Nairobi's iconographic landscape. While the site which hosted colonial Nairobi's Delamere statue became erased from the city's monumental landscape, the site on which the Hamilton Fountain stood was symbolically re-inscribed.

Adding further symbolic meaning to the site is the nearby Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) (Figure 5.13 depicts the Kenyatta Statue with the distinctive KICC building behind it). Officially opened by Kenyatta on 11 September 1973, it was

[108] *DN*, 11 December 1973.

'designed as a crown to the administrative core.'[109] Hosting international conferences, including meetings held in the past by UNESCO, UNEP, IMF and the World Bank, the KICC has contributed to elevating the international profile of Nairobi, especially as an important city in East Africa. Thus, as well as becoming a distinctive feature of the city's skyline, the KICC has become a symbol of the city of Nairobi. With the KICC building towering over it, City Square's Kenyatta Statue has also become part of the international image of Nairobi. As well as a statue of the president, this monument to Kenyatta consists of a fountain. Ordinarily the fountain is left dry and is only switched on during special occasions and when the KICC hosts a large conference (such as the Fifth Conference of African Ministers of Culture, held in KICC, Nairobi, 13-14 December 2005 as depicted in Figures 5.14 and 5.15). During major conferences, the fountains that line the City Square entrance to the KICC are also switched on, thereby visually linking the Kenyatta monument to the conference centre.



Figure 5.13 The Kenyatta Statue in front of the KICC.

[109] Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi*, 245.

As with the statue at the Parliament Buildings, Kenyatta is depicted carrying his flywhisk and elephant walking stick, and wearing a ring on the little finger of his left hand. But in place of the leather jacket and African hat, he wears the regalia of his presidency. Thus, while both statues consist of the objects that came to symbolise Kenyatta, the statue erected when Kenya became a republic asserted Kenyatta's leadership through the celebration of his role in the achievement of independence, while the statue erected at Kenya's tenth anniversary of independence confirmed Kenyatta's rule and power. In addition, in the latter statue Kenyatta assumes an almost regal position, sitting on his 'throne', which is raised high on a pedestal, ruling over the masses below and drawing an inadvertent symbolic link with the site's monumental history where there stood nearby, a little less than ten years previously, a statue of King George V.

Playing on Kenyatta's authority as Father of the Nation, this statue reaffirms the president's leadership after threats to KANU domination had emerged during the ten years of the party's rule. Through his assigned role as the father of the nation, Kenyatta was not only afforded incontestable authority, but he provided the Kenyan peoples with a hero to look up to, a figure to revere. When Kenyatta became prime minister he became known as Mzee Kenyatta. 'Mzee' is a Kiswahili word meaning 'ancestor', 'parent' or 'old person'. It is a term used to address a respected elder and thereby highlights the esteem held for Kenyatta and his role as a father-figure. Today, the Kenyatta Statue in City Square attracts photographers hoping to make business from visitors wanting their picture taken with the statue of the personality that has come to symbolise independent Kenya and with a monument that has become symbolic of the city of Nairobi. Kenya's first statue of Kenyatta, on the other hand, is not accessible to the public. After debates surrounding the most suitable location to host this monument, it was decided to erect the statue, upon Kenyatta's wishes, in front of the Parliament Buildings' House of Representatives, on a site chosen because of its symbolic association with power. However, as the statue stands on a site which is not open to the general public, the ability of the monument to project ideas of power and identity is limited and the City Square Kenyatta Statue stands in Nairobi's iconographic landscape charged with more symbolic meaning.



Figure 5.14 The fountains of the Kenyatta Statue switched on during the Fifth Conference of African Ministers of Culture, held in KICC, Nairobi, 13-14 December 2005.

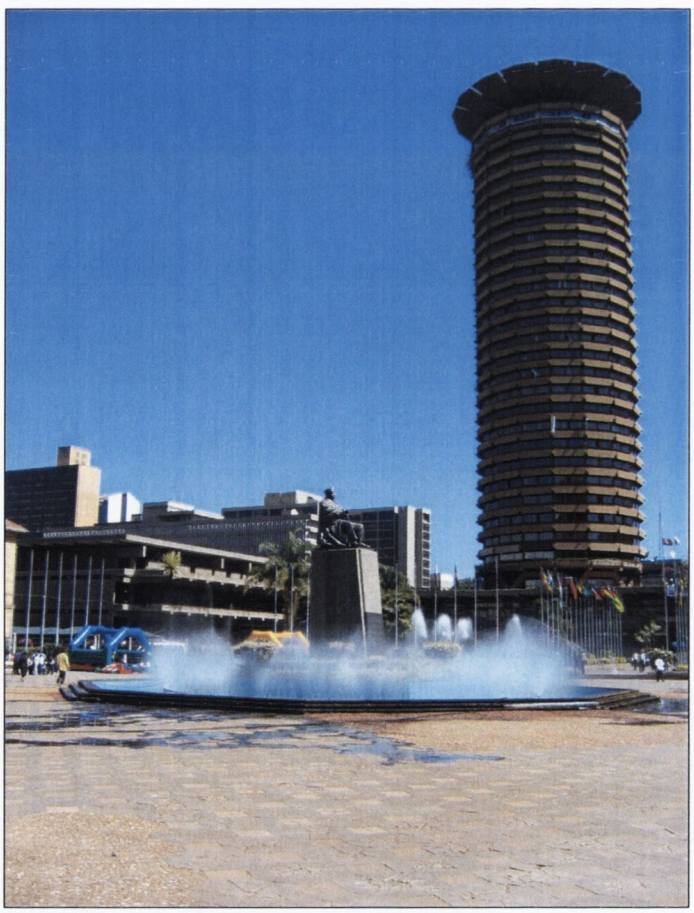


Figure 5.15 The fountains of the Kenyatta Statue switched on during the Fifth Conference of African Ministers of Culture, held in KICC, Nairobi, 13-14 December 2005.

5.3.3 Continuity in the Inscription of the Landscape

After these two Kenyatta statues, Nairobi's post-independence monuments take on a different structure, more abstract in their physical form and more dominating in the landscape. Along with the removal of colonial monuments, the two Kenyatta statues form a transition period in Nairobi's changing iconographic landscape. The post-independence monuments to Kenyatta take on a figurative form, echoing the statuary common in colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape. And although the Kenyatta statues were erected to highlight Kenya's independence and to create a nation and an identity unconnected to colonial rule, the very act of erecting the statues linked the independent country to colonial traditions. The tendency to adopt such traditions is common in many postcolonial societies, for, 'As the coloniser used statues to parade his heroes, the postcolonial subject parades his own heroes also by using statues, in a deliberate or subconscious act of appropriating the coloniser's own visual and commemorative 'language'.'[110]

In addition, Nairobi's Kenyatta statues were both sculpted in England by British artists, thereby creating further continuity between the writing of the city's colonial and post-independence iconographic landscapes. In relation to the statue of Kenyatta erected in 1964, Elimo Njau[111] wrote a letter to the Editor of the *East African Standard* lamenting the fact that a Kenyan artist was not chosen and stressed the importance of using local artists in such national projects:

> As an artist, and as one who has strong national pride in the cultural achievement of Kenya, I feel compelled to comment on the statue for the benefit of the Government and members of the public who may not all be well versed in the principles and ideals underlying the creation of a work of art which will remain for ever in our midst as a national monument and a living symbol of unity, power, love and hope in Kenya.
>
> There are two major points involved in the whole issue. First, the question whether the statue is truly a symbol of hope and pride in national culture and life in Kenya as a whole. This first point is of great emotional significance and satisfies the masses in their long-term relationship with the statue as a national symbol.
>
> In Nigeria, the well-known African sculptor Ben Enwonwu was commissioned by the Federal Government to do a statue of Her Majesty the Queen. The finished statue may not be a tremendous work of art but it is of great emotional

[110] S. Marschall, Commemorating 'Struggle Heroes': Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2 (2006), 176-193, 183.

[111] Born in Tanzania, Elimo Njau attended the Makerere School of Fine Arts in Uganda before moving to Kenya. The painter, carver, sculptor and poet was the Assistant Director of Nairobi's Sorsbie Gallery before it closed. In 1965 Njau co-founded the Paa ya Paa Gallery in Nairobi which has become an important centre of modern art in Kenya and an important centre for the support of East African art and artists.

> satisfaction to the people, simply because it was done by someone among themselves, an African or local person who shares the same love of the Queen.
>
> Can the politicians really dismiss the importance of such a strong emotional value? Many of our local artists know and love the Prime Minister, sharing his aspirations for freedom, peace and political independence.
>
> This brings me to my second point. It is the question of whether the statue is a work of art representing the peak of the artistic ambition of the people of Kenya today. This second point is important because it satisfies the intellectuals, artists, and all those involved in the cultural progress of this country. For the nation to import an artist from abroad to do a piece of work of such national and lasting importance to Kenya is to admit that this country has neither artists nor culture worthy of recognition.
>
> ...
>
> A public monument of any great personality in this country at this stage should not only serve as a historical document by the people but should also mark the culmination of both the spirit of freedom or independence as well as portray the high ambition of the present culture and art of Kenya or East Africa. It must also be of lasting emotional value to the people of Kenya.[112]

In his essay on the 'Social and Cultural Changes' of the Kenyatta era, Maxon writes that 'With the achievement of *uhuru* came the recognition that, as an independent nation, Kenya needed to develop a national culture as a means of promoting and enhancing national unity, pride and patriotism.'[113] Using the examples of the only partially successful attempts to introduce a national dress and to make Kiswahili Kenya's national language,[114] he argues that 'the first decade and a half of independence were marked by the search for, and attempt to attain, rather than the emergence of, a true Kenyan national culture.'[115] Looking at Nairobi's iconographic landscape, the same can be said of post-independence efforts to create a national identity. While the Kenyatta statues united the Kenyan peoples through common reverence of the country's first president, they were used to create an identity determined by the Western-educated elite who came to power at *uhuru*. And in the creation of this identity, the powerful elite, influenced by the Western-oriented culture to which they had been exposed, used the iconographic vocabulary of the coloniser. It was not until Daniel arap Moi's presidency that the capital's public monuments took on their own distinctive form.

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[112] *EAS*, 24 March 1964.

[113] Maxon, Social and Cultural Changes, 138.

[114] After independence, changes did occur towards the adoption of Kiswahili as the national language. For example, political leaders used Kiswahili in their public speeches while public signs and notices now placed Kiswahili before English. However, parliamentary debates continued to use only English for some time after independence and when Kiswahili was introduced in the legislature, it was used alongside English rather than instead of English. In addition, education continued to operate through English, as did commerce and banking, while the language also persisted in official government communications. Thus, Maxon argues that during the Kenyatta era 'It could ... not be contended that Swahili became a true national language' [Maxon, Social and Cultural Changes, 139].

[115] Maxon, Social and Cultural Changes, 139.

5.4 Conclusion

In the stretch leading to independence and for a while after *uhuru*, Nairobi's symbolic landscape went through a transition period which witnessed the removal of colonial monuments and the erection of new statues. The removal of the General Gordon and Lord Kitchener statues from Khartoum was very different to the removal of colonial monuments from Nairobi, which were taken down unceremoniously. Hearing about the removal of the Khartoum statues, the Nairobi City Council, with the support from the Kenya Government, wished to confirm, through Nairobi's iconographic landscape, Kenya's position in the British Empire. Four years later the fate of the Khartoum statues prompted the colonial administration in Kenya to review colonial statues and memorials in Kenya as the date for the country's independence was set. Nairobi's Governor's Office determined that only monuments consisting of figurative statuary would be subject to vandalism if left standing in the city after independence. However, concern for such monuments was not shared by the Colonial Office in London and the only statue to be removed from Nairobi before Kenya achieved independence was that of Lord Delamere. Kenya's post-independence government removed the King George V Statue and bas relief of King George VI on the memorial fountain. By comparing the removal of such colonial monuments with those removed from Khartoum and Kinshasa, Nairobi's changing symbolic landscape with the achievement of independence can be situated in an African context, while a brief examination of the removal of colonial statues from Delhi allows comparison in an international context and within broader trends of decolonisation of the iconographic landscape.

The removal of monuments is a trend evident in many postcolonial cities where efforts to symbolically decolonise the city can also be seen in the renaming of streets. Thus, after independence, Nairobi's street names were Africanised where, for example, Delamere Avenue became Kenyatta Avenue when the Lord Delamere Statue was removed. While the symbolic spaces in which Lord Delamere's and King George V's statues stood have been erased from Nairobi's monumental landscape, that in which the Hamilton Fountain was situated was rewritten to become part of the post-independence city's iconographic landscape. Yet both the Kenyatta Statue which now stands in this symbolic space, and the Kenyatta Statue which stands in front of Nairobi's Parliament Buildings, take on a figurative form similar to many of Nairobi's colonial-era statues. In addition, these two

statues, erected during the city's transition period, were sculpted in England by English artists, thereby forming continuity between colonial and post-independence Nairobi's iconographic landscapes. While the act of erecting monuments remains a commemorative tradition adopted from the British colonisers, later monuments erected in post-independence Nairobi take on a different structure to the city's colonial monuments and its two Kenyatta statues and, in addition, Kenya-based artists were commissioned to design these post-independence monuments as they form their own distinctive symbolic landscape.

CHAPTER 6

NYAYO ERA MONUMENTS

6.1 Sites of Memory in Post-Independence Nairobi

In his seminal work on memory and history, Pierre Nora argues the need, in today's society, for *lieux de mémoire*, sites where memory is deposited and where it converges. These *lieux de mémoire* are formed where there is a conscious break with the past and originate from a consciously perceived need to preserve memory.[1] Anniversaries are one example of such a *lieu de mémoire* and in Kenya the anniversary of the country's break from colonial rule has played a primary role in the writing of Nairobi's post-independence monumental landscape, where public monuments also form *lieux de mémoire*. The achievement of *uhuru* provided an event and a date with which the independent country could create and maintain a new memory and thus attempt to forge a new Kenyan identity as part of the nation-building process. However, as well as providing a foundation for the construction of a Kenyan identity, these sites of memory were mobilised by the country's political elite in order to pursue political objectives.

Connerton asserts that 'it is now abundantly clear that in the modern period national elites have invented rituals that claim continuity with an appropriate historic past, organising ceremonies, parades and mass gatherings, and constructing new ritual spaces.'[2] In newly independent Kenya, those with the cultural and political privilege claimed the moment of *uhuru* as an appropriate past for the independent country whose colonial borders have not allowed a common pre-colonial history. And through the celebration of the achievement of independence, Kenya's ruling elite established themselves in a position of authority and power and attempted to make their rule synonymous with the independent country. Thus, the anniversary of Kenya's independence has been maintained and celebrated annually, with larger celebrations occurring at milestone years, such as at ten, twenty and twenty-

[1] Nora, *Between Memory and History*.
[2] P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, 1989, 51.

five years of independence. While such commemorations took place throughout the country, the focus of the public celebrations was in the country's capital, Nairobi.

The 12 December 1973 marked ten years of independence in Kenya and this anniversary, as outlined previously, saw the addition of a Kenyatta statue to Nairobi's monumental landscape. The statue was unveiled as part of the city's public celebrations which took place between Saturday 8 December and Friday 14 December. The week-long celebrations included, among other things, sports competitions, parades and a reception at Parliament Buildings. On the evening of 11 December, a ceremonial flag-raising ceremony took place in the Uhuru Gardens, commemorating the moment Kenya became independent. This was followed by a fireworks display, which included depictions of the portraits of the President and his wife, Mama Ngina Kenyatta. The celebrations of Kenya's ten years of independence were also a celebration of Kenyatta.

Kenyatta died on 22 August 1978 and was succeeded by Daniel Toroitich arap Moi. Kenya's constitution provided that, upon the president's death, the country's vice-president would become acting president for a ninety-day period during which time a new president would be elected. Born in 1924 in the Baringo District of Kenya's Rift Valley Province, Moi belongs to the Kalenjin ethnic minority. He was educated at an American mission school and worked as a teacher before his entry into politics in 1955, when he was elected member of the Legco for Rift Valley. In 1957 he was re-elected member of the Legco for Baringo North. In 1960 Moi helped found and lead KADU, rejoining KANU in 1964 when KADU was dissolved. He held the positions of Minister for Education in 1962 and Minister for Local Government between 1962 and 1964, after which he was appointed Minister for Home Affairs. In 1966 Moi became vice-president of Kenya, a position he retained until Kenyatta's death in 1978. During his time as acting president, Moi was elected unopposed as head of KANU and was officially installed as Kenya's second president on 10 October 1978. As Kenyatta had adopted the *Harambee* philosophy, so Moi developed the *Nyayo* philosophy.

6.2 Nyayo

Meaning 'footsteps', the *Nyayo* slogan emphasised the continuity that marked Moi's presidency as he declared his intention to follow in the footsteps of the Father of the

Nation. As Moi assumed leadership of Kenya, little was changed in the development strategies and economic planning that had been implemented during Kenyatta's presidency.[3] Yet not only was the slogan used to indicate continuity in policies between Kenya's first and second heads of state, but *Nyayoism* was developed as an ideological philosophy. Moi emphasised that this philosophy was built on the foundational tenets of love, peace and unity, arguing that 'I know no other trio: from them stem all else, justice, equity, comradeship, parity of treatment, etc.'[4] Rooted in 'traditional Africa,' *Nyayoism* set out to unite the country's heterogeneous population as part of the nation-building philosophy. Moi wrote,

> The fact that the Kenyan socio-cultural mosaic is so complex has been stressed, understood, and incorporated into the nation-building and development process. Such a complex mosaic of socio-cultural fabrics must be guided by a common and realistic philosophy, especially an adjusted and indigenous philosophy which crosses tribal, philosophic and socio-cultural boundaries. That is the *Nyayo* appeal – summarised in peace, love and unity. Every individual and tribe needs it. That is to say, *Nyayoism* incorporates, articulates and revitalises what is traditional and endemic to the African thought patterns and ways of life. It can form a fruitful foundation for nation-building, for socio-economic transformation and for cultural regeneration.[5]

Through 'propounding and advocating peace, love and unity,' '*Nyayoism*,' Moi wrote, 'singularly embeds the kernel of the principles of Christian life into the national philosophy.'[6] So despite declared ambitions to unite the country's heterogeneous peoples, the *Nyayo* philosophy did not consider Kenya's large Muslim population, as has been pointed out by Mazrui and Shariff who argue that the identity of the Islamic Swahili people has been largely dismissed by the *Nyayoist* approach in nation-building.[7]

As well as promoting *Nyayoism* as a nation-building ideology, Moi employed the philosophy as a means to assert, advertise and legitimise KANU's authority and his own power as leader of KANU. Thus, also fundamental to *Nyayoism* was the role of KANU where, according to Moi,

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[3] R. Maxon and P. Ndege, The Economics of Structural Adjustment, in: Ogot and Ochieng' (Eds), *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya*, 151-186.
[4] D. T. arap Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism: Nyayo Philosophy and Principles*, London, 1986, 22.
[5] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 7.
[6] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 36.
[7] A. M. Mazrui and I. N. Shariff, *The Swahili: Idiom and Identity of an African People*, New Jersey, 1993.

> ... there are three important factors in the Kenyan style of nation-building: the vehicle, the force and the philosophy. KANU is the vehicle, *Nyayo* is the moving spirit or force, and *Nyayoism* is the philosophy.[8]

Hence, Moi demanded that in order to achieve 'the Kenya we want, in peace, love and unity ... all *Wananchi*[9] must pledge undivided loyalty and commitment to the nation, the Head of State, the ruling party and the Government.'[10]

As Kenyatta had drawn on the undisputed authority of his role as Father of the Nation (section 5.3.2), Moi too used Kenyatta's popularity to assert his own authority. His succession was depicted as a perpetuation of the Father of the Nation's regime. As well as the continuity in policies, there was continuity in the use of symbolism between Kenyatta's and Moi's presidencies. While Kenyatta's flywhisk became symbolic of his leadership, Moi adopted the rungu as his symbol of power. A rungu is a wooden club that, like a flywhisk, has an inherent symbolic value in African society. A handheld object of similar size to a flywhisk, a rungu is used among different Kenyan tribes as a defensive weapon, but is also used to denote an African elder or leader. In addition, as Kenyatta's government used *lieux de mémoire* to assert his leadership and authority, so too did Moi's. Thus, during Moi's presidency, Kenya's anniversary of independence was similarly used to inscribe the monumental landscape, where Nairobi's Nyayo Fountain and National Monument were both inaugurated as part of they city's twentieth anniversary of independence celebrations.

6.3 Twenty Years of Uhuru

Shortly after assuming presidency, opposition to Moi's government began to grow among both political activists and intellectuals (primarily based at the University of Nairobi) and by June 1982, Ogot describes how 'the political temperature in Kenya had risen to a high degree.'[11] Kenya had been a *de facto* one-party state since 1969 but in June 1982 the constitution was amended by the National Assembly such that KANU officially became the only legal political party in the country. During the same year, preparations for the celebration of Kenya's twentieth anniversary of independence were initiated when, in July

[8] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 18.
[9] '*Wananchi*' means 'people of the country' and is a term used to refer to the Kenyan people.
[10] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 78.
[11] Ogot, The Politics of Populism, 199.

1982, a Permanent Secretaries meeting was held in order to discuss how the anniversary should be celebrated. The Secretary of the meeting recorded how

> In opening the meeting the chairman briefly explained the purpose of the meeting. He stressed that the celebrations of the 20th Anniversary should be carried out in such a way as to portray this country's genuine image of Kenya and the achievements she has so far achieved. Songs for celebrations should be composed so as to give relevance to such achievements. Kanu in particular, should play a leading role in contributing towards the composition of these songs. Such songs should also give some relevance to the future objectives of the Ruling Party and the Government.[12]

In addition it was noted that

> The Chairman further emphasized that the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of our independence should be made to appear as a typical Kenyan undertaking. He said that we should see to it that we use local materials in our decorations.[13]

A few days after this meeting, on 1 August 1982, members of the Kenya Air Force (KAF) attempted to overthrow Moi's government. James Diangá, who claims to be responsible for instigating the coup, outlines how he approached several colleagues in the KAF about his proposal, and explains their reasons for wanting to topple the KANU government.

> Our desire to overthrow President Daniel arap Moi and the Kanu regime was motivated by the fact that Kenyans, ourselves included, had lost faith in the regime. Those in the Moi government were corrupt, oppressive, incompetent and ignorant of their responsibilities as leaders of a country. The government had a bad human rights record. It had denied Kenyans freedom of speech, and the freedom to associate with each other freely as people of one society. ...
>
> Left without any alternative to bring about change, since Kanu had decided to make Kenya a *de facto* one-party state, we from the military would step in to restore the sovereignty of both the Kenyan state and the individual citizen. This we planned to achieve through military force. I, personally, was convinced that the sooner we dislodged Moi and Kanu from power the better – for both the Kenyan citizen and the entire region of Africa South of the Sahara.[14]

The coup was quickly suppressed and its leaders arrested. Found guilty of treason, twelve KAF servicemen were hanged in July 1985. Although the attempt failed, it highlighted the instability of Moi's government. However, this was not the first time dissatisfaction with the KANU regime had been exposed. Opposition to Moi's government was quick to

[12] Minutes of Permanent Secretaries meeting to discuss celebrations programme for 20th Anniversary of Independence, Nairobi, 28 July 1982, KNA AHC/4/1.
[13] KNA AHC/4/1.
[14] J. W. Diangá, *Kenya, 1982, The Attempted Coup – the consequences of a one-party dictatorship*, London, 2002, 149. Diangá was arrested in January 1981 and charged with treason. The treason charges were dropped but he was found guilty of sedition and sentenced to three years imprisonment. Diangá was in prison at the time of the attempted coup, which was carried out by his fellow KAF plotters and colleagues.

express itself, particularly in Kenya's universities. Between 1981 and 1982 this opposition became more vocally and violently expressed in the University of Nairobi. During this period a number of staff members were arrested and accused by the government of lecturing dissident literature intended to create disorder in the country.[15]

After the stability of Moi's government was threatened, the celebration of twenty years of *uhuru* in Kenya provided an opportunity for the government to reassert their power and praise the self-proclaimed success of KANU's rule and of President Moi's leadership in the post-independence country. Thus, in December 1982,

> His Excellency the President ... directed that the 20th Anniversary of Kenya's Independence falling due on 12th December, 1983 be celebrated in a manner comparable to the 10th Anniversary Celebrations in 1973, in spite of the current financial constraints. The celebrations should truly reflect the country's twenty years of nationhood.[16]

In order to facilitate and manage the preparations for these celebrations, a ministerial committee under the Chairmanship of Vice-President Mwai Kibaki was established and this committee resolved that a Directorate of the 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations be set up within the Office of the President to organise, coordinate and implement the arrangements.[17] Celebrations took place countrywide and included sports competitions, prayers and parades, and the Provincial Commissioner of Kenya's Western Province urged that 'Those charged with the responsibility of organising the 20th anniversary of Kenya's independence celebrations in western province should take the exercise more seriously as the celebrations were of paramount significance to Kenyans.'[18] In Nairobi the celebrations took place between 3 and 12 December 1983. The University of Nairobi's graduation ceremony was incorporated into these celebrations when Moi awarded the graduating students with their degrees on Wednesday 7 December. This graduation ceremony was the first in two years and the *Standard* reported how

> The last graduation ceremony was held on December 18, 1981, when President Moi assured the nation that the Government protected the freedom of the university. ... However, the President said that freedom did not mean "wholesale

[15] Ogot, The Politics of Populism.
[16] *Draft Cabinet Paper on the 20th Anniversary of Kenya's Independence Celebrations 1983*, Nairobi, 3 December 1982, KNA AHC/4/1.
[17] KNA AHC/4/1. The Ministerial Committee included the Ministers of State, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Tourism and Wildlife, Commerce, Culture and Social Services, Information and Broadcasting.
[18] *Kenya Times*, 6 December 1983. See also *DN*, 6 December 1983.

> protection of persons who engage in activities that deviate from the true scholarship."
>
> He warned that whenever such deviation occurred, it should be dealt with firmly, and asked students, lecturers and administration to respect the freedom accorded them, and consider it a major responsibility.
>
> He said such awareness was necessary in avoiding the danger of ivory-tower mentality and ensured the needs and aspirations of the nation were kept in mind all the time.
>
> Despite that caution, university students participated in the disturbances of August 1, 1982, together with former servicemen of the defunct Kenya Air Force.[19]

As a result of these 'disturbances', the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University were closed on 1 August 1982 and remained closed for fourteen months and therefore no graduation ceremony was held in 1982.

On Sunday 11 December 1983 a symbolic national flag-raising ceremony, followed by a fireworks display, took place at the Nyayo Stadium in Nairobi.[20] 'The ceremony, which was one of the highlights of the 20th anniversary of independence celebrations, was graced by several heads of state, distinguished representatives of several friendly governments and diplomats.'[21] Moi opened the ceremony, stating that,

> The ceremony we are going to witness tonight brings to mind a practical and vivid remembrance of that momentous day, December 12, 1963 when Kenya, at the end of a long and bitter struggle, proudly assumed the status of an independent nation.
>
> At midnight that day, the instruments of independence and power were handed over to the founding father of the nation, the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. The re-enactment of that ceremony here, exactly 20 years later, is a manifestation of the magnitude with which we cherish our independence.[22]

The re-enactment of the raising of the Kenyan flag highlights the importance the moment of independence has attained in constructing post-independence ideologies in Kenya. The importance placed on this raising of the Kenyan flag has also been highlighted in the National Monument which contains a sculpture depicting the event, and in the choice of location for the National Monument and, later, the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain. As mentioned previously, the moment of independence provided the independent country with a memory with which to try and forge an independent Kenyan identity in the nation-building process.

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[19] *Standard*, 7 December 1983.
[20] The Nyayo Stadium was a *Nyayo* era project and was completed in 1983.
[21] *Kenya Times*, 12 December 1983.
[22] As reported in the *Kenya Times*, 12 December 1983.

In his book *Kenya African Nationalism*, Moi claims that, in Kenya,

> Nation-building is the slow but essential process of creating an organic entity out of the different tribes and races so that, by various activities and programmes, by the infusion of a national philosophy and by the promotion of a convergent psychology, the people are given a sense of oneness: they become a community, a nation, with a common interest and broad general goals.
>
> Within this community, there must exist a demonstrable presence of the ubiquitous authority of the protective and dependable Government and leadership.[23]

Through their physical properties, public monuments in the landscape can act to visually assert this presence.

6.4 Twentieth Anniversary of Independence Monuments

As with Nairobi's tenth anniversary of independence celebrations, which saw Kenyatta's statue added to the city's landscape, Kenya's twentieth anniversary of independence was similarly marked by the inscription of Nairobi's monumental landscape. The idea to erect a Nyayo Fountain and a National Monument was first mooted in December 1982 during discussions on Nairobi's public celebrations. At this time the ministerial committee also considered the sites on which the public monuments should be built. The Directorate of the 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations consisted of various sub-committees and the Buildings, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee was initially responsible for producing the design and plans for both monuments.[24] However, at the first Ministers Sub-Committee meeting on the twentieth anniversary of Kenya's independence, held in January 1983, 'The Ministers directed that invitations should be extended to various local architects to submit proposals and designs for the fountain instead of relying solely on the Ministry of Works and Housing.'[25] Thus the Directorate of the 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations compiled a brief for the open design competition in which it stipulated that the Nyayo Fountain

> should be a fountain whose theme should depict the Nyayo Philosophy of Peace, Love and Unity. The main features being water and light. The water jets should

[23] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 141.
[24] KNA AHC/4/1.
[25] KNA AHC/4/1.

> rise to an approximate height of 20 feet above ground level. The fountain shall be located within Uhuru Park ...[26]

Similarly the specifications for the National Monument were detailed and it was specified that,

> The National Monument shall be a fitting tribute to our national heroes (past, present and future) and symbolising the Harambee Spirit and Nyayo Philosophy. The National Monument shall be ... located ... within the Uhuru Gardens ...[27]

In addition, the brief emphasised that

> Given the exceptional importance of the ... two projects, the Government of Kenya invites the participation of all eligible competitors.
>
> The chosen sites symbolise the struggle for independence. The Nyayo Fountain and National Monument will not only constitute a place of Historical significance but also a place for our future aspirations. These will make a significant contribution to the expression of continuous progress throughout the past, present and future history of the people of Kenya.[28]

In order to organise the competition and assess the designs, a multi-disciplinary technical committee was set up under the chairmanship of the Chief Architect in the Ministry of Works and Housing (MoW).[29] The competition was advertised in the media at the beginning of April 1983, and specified that the entries for both monuments should be received by the Chief Architect no later than 3 May.[30] The entries were submitted in such a way that they could be assessed anonymously by a panel of judges appointed by the Buildings, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee. 'This panel of judges comprised of a cross-section of various professional disciplines to ensure satisfactory assessment of the various criteria contained in the marking scheme which was designed to cover the totality of any given competition submission.'[31]

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[26] Directorate of the 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations, Office of the President, *Brief of the open design competition*, KNA KA/11/8; Directorate of the 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations, *Report of Building, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee*, MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.

[27] KNA KA/11/8; MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.

[28] KNA KA/11/8; MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.

[29] The committee consisted of architects from the Ministry of Works and Housing, the Heads of the Design and Architecture Departments at the University of Nairobi, the Assistant Director of the Nairobi City Council, the Assistant Director of the Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Physical Plan, the Head of Fine Arts in Kenyatta University, an employee from the Kenya National Archives and the Director of the Director of the 20th Anniversary of Kenya's Independence.

[30] See, for example, *DN*, 7 April 1983; KNA KA/11/8; MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.

[31] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III: 11. On the judging panel were architects from the Ministry of Works and Housing, the Assistant Director of the Nairobi City Council, an architect from the Nairobi City Council, the Director of the 20th Anniversary Celebrations, a member of staff from the Fine Arts Department of Kenyatta University, and the Head of the Design Department in the University of Nairobi.

Cash prizes were awarded to the first three winning entries for each monument, with fourth and fifth positions receiving honourable mentions. First, second and third prizes for the Nyayo Fountain were 20,000 Kenya Shillings (Shs), 15,000 Shs and 10,000 Shs respectively, while those awarded for the National Monument were twice as much at 40,000 Shs, 30,000 Shs and 20,000 Shs respectively.

Meanwhile, as the competition for the twentieth anniversary of independence monuments was being held, Kenya was faced with what was termed the 'traitor affair'. At a public rally in May 1983, Moi alleged that one of the politicians in his Cabinet was conspiring to overthrow his government. Charles Njonjo, who was at the time Minister for Constitutional Affairs, was identified as the alleged traitor and a Judicial Commission of Inquiry was established to investigate accusations made against Njonjo. Moi also decided to call an impromptu election in 1983 in which most of Njonjo's associates were removed from government.[32] The Nyayo Fountain and National Monument were inscribed into Nairobi's symbolic landscape in a highly charged political context and were devices used to visualise the claim that Moi and his KANU government were firmly in control.

6.4.1 Nyayo Fountain

> After careful scrutiny by the jury it was found that design serial No. 056A and design serial No. 106 for the Nyayo Fountain were very close both in their interpretation of the brief and presentation and that either of them if implemented would fulfil the requirements as set out in the brief. In fact it is the jury's considered opinion that both schemes should, funds permitting, be implemented at different places.[33]

'However, on closer scrutiny,'[34] first prize was awarded to Serial No. 056A, an entry by Vamos & Partners, who were also the architects of colonial Nairobi's King George VI Memorial Fountain. Serial No. 106, designed by Intergroup Architects, Planners and Design Consultants Kenya (henceforth Intergroup), won second prize. Although this design was not executed during the twentieth anniversary celebrations, it formed the basis

[32] Ogot, The Politics of Populism.
[33] Directorate of the 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations, *Report of Building, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee*, MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.
[34] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.

for Intergroup's winning design for the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain (section 6.5.1).[35]



Figure 6.1 The Nyayo Fountain, Uhuru Park, Nairobi, 2005.

The Nyayo Fountain was designed by George Vamos of Vamos and Partners, and Henry Lustman, a former partner of the architectural firm, recalled, '... we were probably the most prominent firm of architects in Nairobi at the time and quite active in whatever competitions where George Vamos wanted to be part of it ...'[36] In the competition entry, George Vamos explained,

> This fountain design is a purely sculptural-architectural conception. If however a symbolic interpretation is sought, one can say that water, being the boon to the nation, represents the Nyayo philosophy and as such, it is rising to the highest point, surpassing all solid and earthly matters.
>
> The layout is based on an equilateral triangle of 30' sides. The result of this is that the structure is fully 3 dimensional, equally enjoyable from every corner of Uhuru Park. ... Near the pool's edge there is a circular concrete bench for the public to sit and enjoy the fountain.
>
> ...

[35] Interview, Mr. Naul (partner of Intergroup), Nairobi, 8 September 2005. An individual artist was placed third in the design competition for the Nyayo Fountain.
[36] Interview, Henry Lustman, Nairobi, 1 July 2005.

> It is envisaged that all these continuous flowing curves, beams, arches, pool features, will give the fountain an artistic, sculptural character, not overpowering in its effect – but rather in harmony with the surrounding park. ...[37]



Figure 6.2 'Peace'

The fountain consists of three arches, one inscribed with 'peace', one with 'love' and one with 'unity', as according to the *Nyayo* philosophy (Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4). Moi continuously stressed this three-dimensional concept, arguing that

> Peace, love and unity are not vague philosophies! They are the practical foundations of country-wide development. Where there is peace, then there is stability, and only in the arena of stability will you find investments, enterprise and progress. Where there is love then there is trust, and readiness to work with us, learn from others, and contribute to others in the cause of nationhood. Where there is unity, there is strength rooted in understanding of our common purpose, common loyalties, and mutual dependence.[38]

The three arches surround a circular pool out of the centre of which was, at the time of its construction, an electrically-powered, twenty-five foot-tall water jet, lit up at night with different colours[39] (Figure 6.5 depicts the water jet of Nyayo Fountain). As part of the ten-

[37] MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II: 1.
[38] Quotation from one of Moi's speeches, quoted in Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 13.
[39] *DN*, 7 December 1983; *DN*, 14 October 1983.

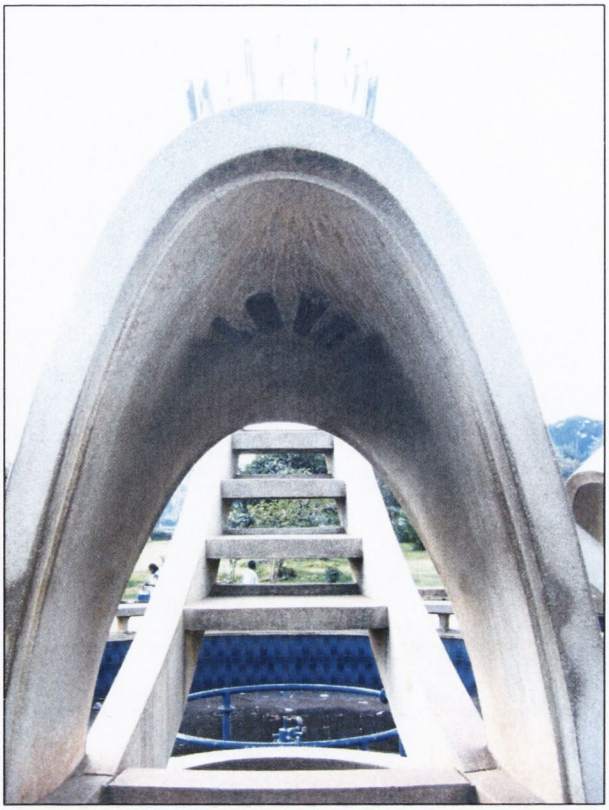


Figure 6.3 'Love'

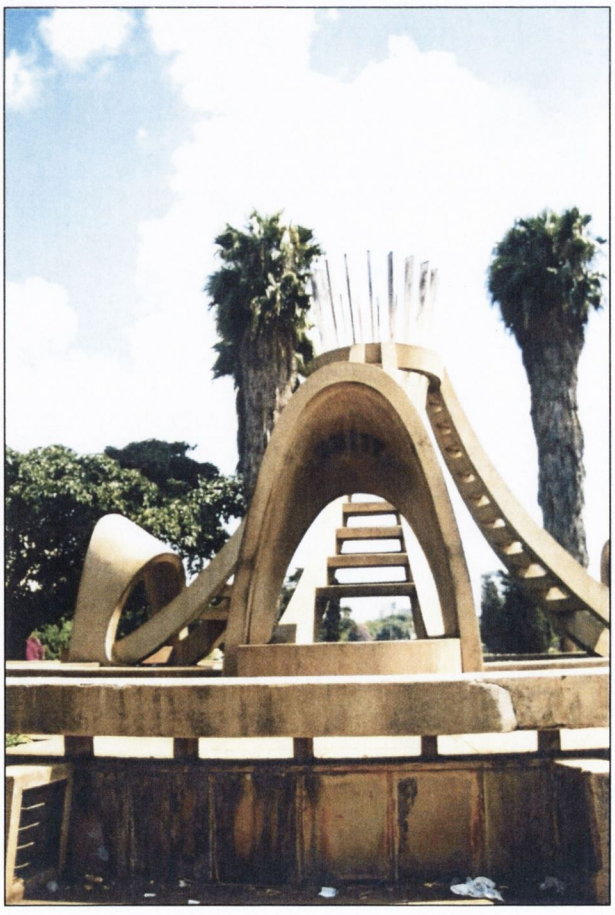


Figure 6.4 'Unity'



Figure 6.5 The Nyayo Fountain, 7 December 1983.
Source: *EAS.*

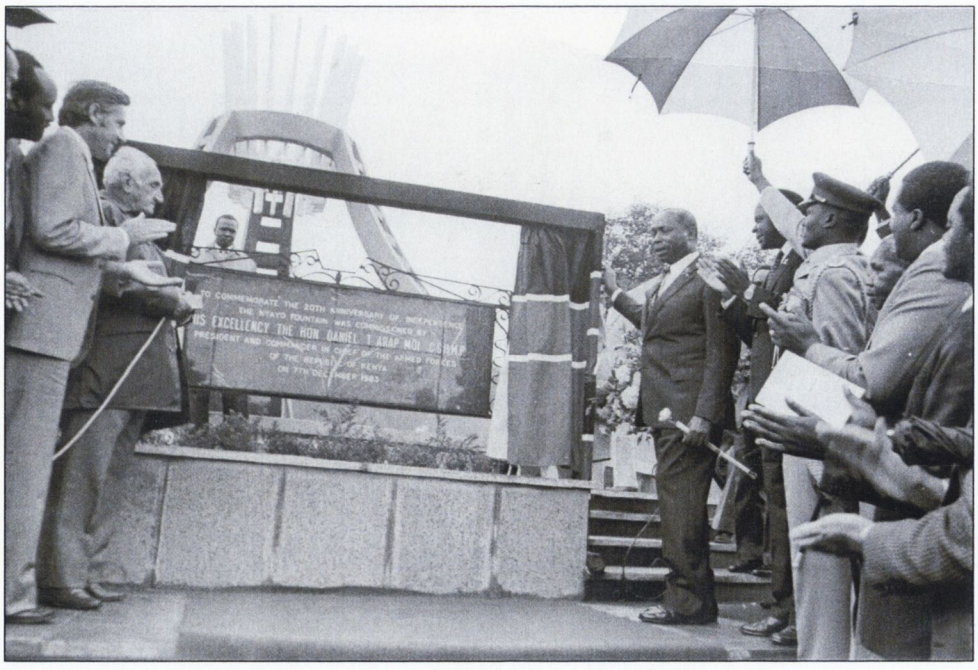


Figure 6.6 The inauguration of the Nyayo Fountain, 7 December 1983.
Source: *EAS.*

day celebrations of twenty years of *uhuru*, the Nyayo Fountain was inaugurated by President Moi on Wednesday 7 December 1983 (Figure 6.6).



Figure 6.7 Map showing the location of the Nyayo Fountain and Pope Monument in Uhuru Park, and the Nyayo Fountain in Uhuru Park.

The fountain is situated in Uhuru Park (Figure 6.7). This recreational park is an important space in Nairobi, often used as a site for political rallies and religious gatherings. On 7 May 1980 and 18 August 1985 Pope John Paul II celebrated open-air Masses in the park, attended, on both occasions, by thousands of Kenyans. These occasions are marked in Nairobi's iconographic landscape by a monument which is situated in Uhuru Park on the site where the pope said the Masses[40] (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). The Uhuru Park has acquired symbolic meaning through its function as an open space in the city centre where large crowds can gather. This symbolic meaning has provided a site for the inscription of Nairobi's monumental landscape, as evidenced by both the monument celebrating Pope John Paul II's visits to Kenya and the Nyayo Fountain (Figure 6.9 shows the Nyayo Fountain in Uhuru Park).

[40] The monument is three-sided and is inscribed with a plaque bearing the words: 'On this spot the Holy Father Pope John Paul II celebrated Holy Mass on his first pastoral visit to Kenya on 7 May 1980. Here again the Pontiff offered the Mass of "statio orbis" of the 43rd Eucharist Congress Nairobi – 18 August 1985.' This inscription is in English on one side of the monument, Latin on another, and Kiswahili on the third. Little information was found about this monument and it is unclear who commissioned and funded the monument.

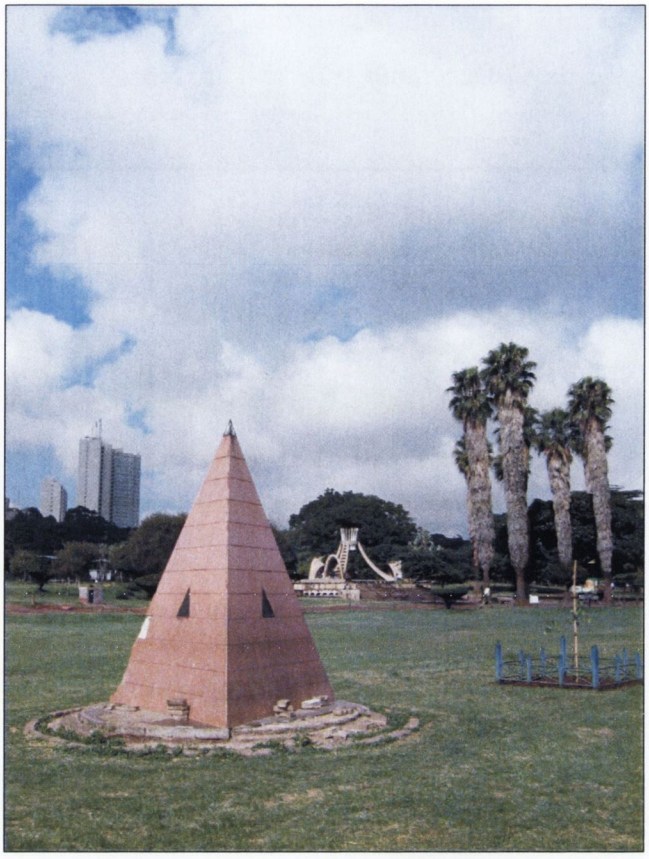


Figure 6.8 The Pope Monument with the Nyayo Fountain behind it, Uhuru Park, Nairobi, 2006.



Figure 6.9 The Nyayo Fountain in Uhuru Park, Nairobi, 2004.

6.4.2 National Monument

Before the design competition had been advertised in the press, it had been decided that Nairobi's National Monument would stand in the city's Uhuru Gardens (Figure 6.10). The Uhuru Gardens was the site where, at the moment of independence, the British flag was lowered and replaced by the new Kenya flag. Prior to the independence ceremony, the Colonial Office in London had expressed concern over the symbolic lowering of the British flag and requested that the Kenyan independence ceremony consist only of the raising of the Kenya flag. In July 1963, F. D. Webber of the Colonial Office wrote, in a letter to the Governor of Kenya, Malcolm MacDonald, that

> The Secretary of State wishes to ensure that at future Independence Celebrations there will not be the ceremonial hauling down of the British flag at mid-night which has typified previous ceremonies. Mr. Sandys feels that this is an undignified proceeding which can cause unnecessary offence, particularly in countries where there is still a large British stake. ...[41]

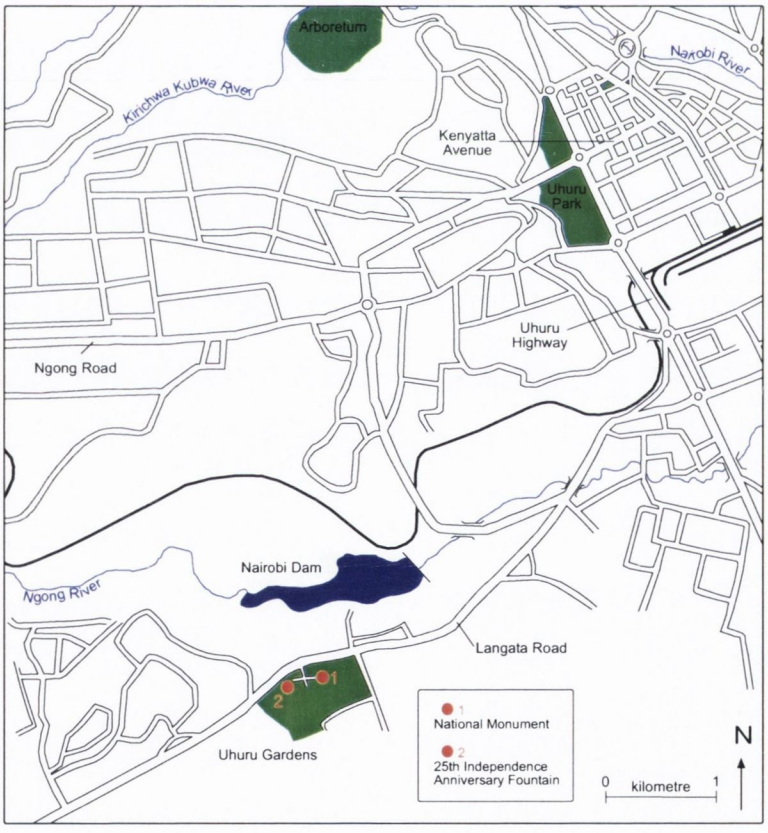


Figure 6.10 Map showing the location of the National Monument and the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain in the Uhuru Gardens.

[41] F. D. Webber, Colonial Office, London, to Governor Malcolm MacDonald, Nairobi, 9 July 1963, KNA GH/4/24: 19.

Consequently, MacDonald approached Prime Minister Kenyatta on the topic, and subsequently wrote to him.

> You will remember our informal talk concerning the flag ceremony at midnight on December 11th/12th during the Uhuru Celebrations. ... I mentioned that many members of the British European community would be present at the ceremony rejoicing with all the Africans and others there on the great occasion of the dawn of Uhuru and the raising of the free Kenya flag; and that it would be a pity if their glad sentiments received a momentary jolt by the deliberate hauling down of the Union Jack. ... I fully recognise and respect the feelings which would prompt many people to wish to see the formal symbolic lowering of the Union Jack as part of the ceremony; but I hope they might feel this unnecessary on this particular occasion, in the spirit of the policy of encouraging harmony and friendship between all communities and races in Kenya. ... As you know, Ministers in London have spoken to me about this, expressing informally Her Majesty's Government's view as expressed above. But this is, of course, a matter for free decision by you and your colleagues.[42]

Yet despite British pleas, the Kenyan government resolved that the visual symbolism of the lowering of the Union Jack should be included in Kenya's independence ceremony, but stressed that the 'gesture would be one not of defiance, but of symbolism.'[43] This highlights the significance attached to the flag ceremony, where it was important to the new Kenyan government that the end of British rule be symbolically visualised. The lowering of the British flag would visually signify the end of Kenya's life as a British colony while the raising of the new Kenyan flag would make visible the start of Kenya's life as an independent nation.

In addition, as the site where the Union Jack was lowered and the Kenyan flag raised for the first time, the gardens themselves acquired symbolic meaning. Thus, in post-independence Nairobi, they have become important, for example, in hosting public parades and cultural displays during independence anniversary celebrations. So while the siting of monuments in public space inscribes the landscape with meaning, place can equally project meaning onto a monument. Hence, through its location, the National Monument takes on symbolic value additional to its symbolic form.

The National Monument in Uhuru Gardens was designed by Hameed Moghul,[44] a Nairobi artist who had previously designed stamps for Kenya Posts and Telecommunications and

[42] MacDonald to Jomo Kenyatta (Prime Minister), Nairobi, 6 November 1963, KNA GH/4/24: 68.
[43] As related in correspondence from MacDonald, Nairobi, to Duncan Sandys (Secretary of State for the Commonwealth and Colonies), 9 November 1963, London, KNA GH/4/24: 74.
[44] Second and third positions in the design competition were won by individual artists, while fourth position was won by Vamos and Partners.

had completed a number of commissions for paintings for government ministries and corporations.[45] The thirty-three metre-tall monument stands dominating in the landscape, its imposing size a common feature of public monuments erected in Nairobi during Moi's presidency. After construction on the monument had begun in the Uhuru Gardens, objections were raised by the Ministry of Transport and Communications (MoT) as to the height of the intended monument. The gardens are situated beside Wilson Airport and the MoT claimed that no building or structure exceeding fifteen metres in height was permitted in the area in which the monument was being built as it was in the approach zone to one of the airport runways.[46] With the height of the National Monument planned at over thirty metres, S. J. Gulavi from the MoT argued that,

> A tower of this height will definitely impede safe operations of aircrafts at Wilson Airport, and we regret to inform you that the present proposed site for the monument is not suitable. We hope you will look for an alternative site.[47]

To this, D. M. Kabugua from the MoW replied,

> As the construction of the Monument is far advanced, it is not possible at this late stage to resite the Monument.
>
> The only way out of this situation is to resite the taking-off and landing strips in Wilson Airport.[48]

In order to discuss this height issue, a meeting was held in the MoW. Present at the meeting were members of the MoW, including the acting Chief Architect, a structural engineer, a land surveyor and a representative from the electrical department. Also present was a representative from the aerodromes department of the MoT and two members of the Directorate of Civil Aviation, a department within the MoT. At this meeting an aerodromes representative reported that, using Survey of Kenya Contour Maps, they had determined that the height of the monument must be reduced by five metres, to twenty-eight metres.[49] The completed monument stands thirty-three metres tall. While it was not ascertained how the situation was eventually resolved, this highlights how the monument's height was an important aspect of the monument's design. It was important that the monument dominate the landscape.

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[45] *DN*, 14 October 1983.
[46] MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[47] S. J. Gulavi, Ministry of Transport and Communications, to Chief Structural Engineer, Ministry of Works and Housing, Nairobi, 23 August 1983, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[48] D. M. Kabugua, Ministry of Works and Housing, to Gulavi, Nairobi, 1 September 1983, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[49] Special meeting on the National Monument, Nairobi, 9 September 1983, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.



Figure 6.11 The National Monument, Uhuru Gardens, Nairobi, 2006.

Early discussions on the National Monument stressed that, '... the real meaning of the Monument [should be] the heroic of Nyayo Philosophy.'[50] Thus, the tall monument 'resembles an obelisk, and like the three-faceted love, peace and unity philosophy, the monument is broadly three-sided'[51] (Figure 6.11). In addition, it consists of three sculptures, one depicting the *Nyayo* philosophy, one symbolising the ideal of heroism and one representing the *Harambee* spirit of pulling together. The '*Nyayo* sculpture', between the three feet of the obelisk, depicts a dove with an olive branch in its beak, resting on clasped hands that enclose a heart (Figure 6.12). Symbolising the concepts of peace, love and unity as preached by the *Nyayo* philosophy, it is painted white which, according to Moghul, 'interprets the Nyayo Philosophy as one of purity. Like the United Nations, it's a philosophy of neutrality irrespective of politics, religion, colour, sex or creed.'[52] White is internationally accepted as the colour of peace and similarly the dove carrying a leaved twig is a universal symbol of peace and tranquillity. Thus the image of the dove with the branch is an image used in other monuments worldwide, and in Africa this international

[50] Works and Decorations Sub-Committee meeting, Nairobi, 11 March 1983, MoW BD01/1017 Vol. II.
[51] *DN*, 14 December 1986.
[52] Quoted in *DN*, 10 December 1986.

symbol of peace has been incorporated, for example, into monuments in the Nigerian cities of Lagos and Uyo.[53]



Figure 6.12 The Nyayo sculpture of the National Monument.

The other two sculptures on the National Monument are painted black and are located on either side of this central structure. The 'Heroes sculpture' consists of a man standing in front of Kenya's coat of arms (Figure 6.13). This coat of arms includes a shield emblazoned with a cockerel, the symbol of KANU, and rests against a bulk of 'solid rock to symbolise national stability.'[54] 'My hero in this monument,' Moghul explained, 'is a very strong, determined person. He is a simple man who has devoted all his life to the nation. He is not corrupt, needs no personal gain and has no ambition. That is why you see him in torn clothes and no shoes.'[55]

To the other side of the central '*Nyayo* sculpture' stands the '*Harambee* sculpture' depicting three men and one woman collectively raising the Kenyan national flag (Figure

[53] O. Oha, Signs, cities, and designs of capacities: the semiotics of road monuments in some Nigerian cities, *The African Anthropologist* 7 (2000) 33-47.
[54] Moghul, quoted in *DN*, 10 December 1983.
[55] Quoted in *DN*, 14 October 1983.



Figure 6.13 The Heroes sculpture of the National Monument



Figure 6.14 The Harambee sculpture of the National Monument.

6.14). 'Their varying attires show they are people from all walks of life.'[56] As most figures commemorated are male, the role of the female form in monuments and statuary has traditionally been principally allegorical, where, for example, the female figure represents Liberty or Virtue.[57] The inclusion of a woman in the raising of the Kenyan flag is significant, highlighting the ideal that all Kenyans, men and women, have a role to play in the nation-building process.

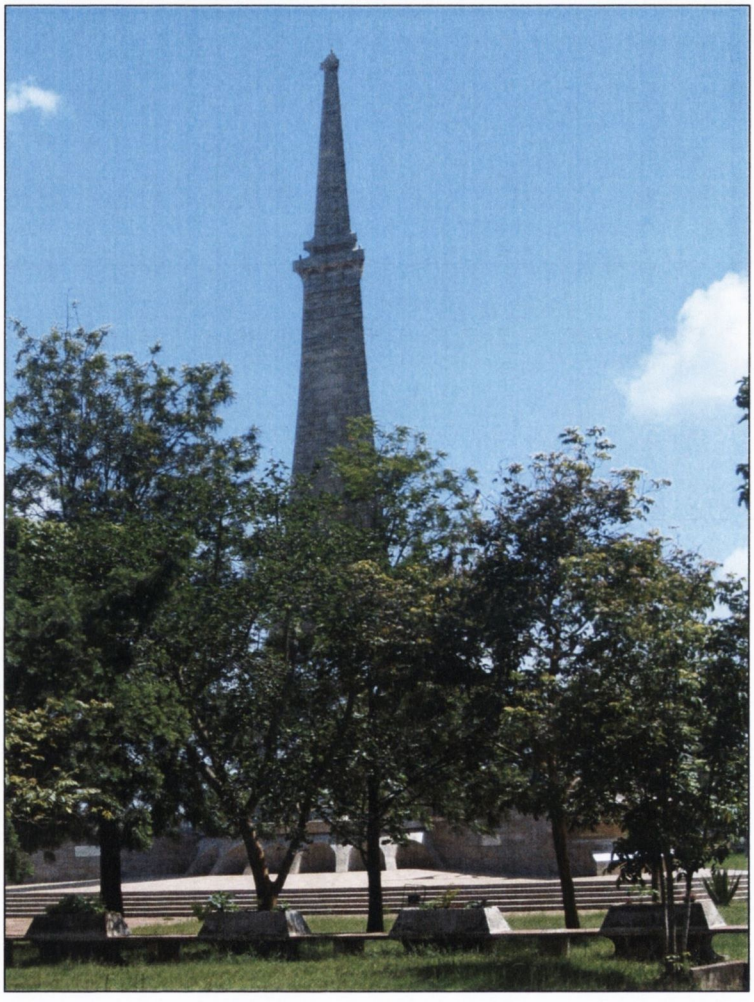


Figure 6.15 Seating around the National Monument.

This sculpture closely resembles the famous photograph of the raising of the American flag at Iwo Jima. This resemblance incorporates an element of 'Westernisation' in the monument, reflecting Ogot's claim that 'In the minds of many Kenyan leaders,

[56] *DN*, 10 December 1986.
[57] Johnson, Cast in stone; C. W. J. Withers, Monuments, in: R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, M. Watts (Eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4th ed, Oxford, 2000, 521-522; P. Shurmer-Smith and K. Hannam, *Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power: A cultural geography*, London, 1994.

modernization was also equated with Westernization.'[58] Ansari describes the difference between the two, defining modernisation to be 'a stage in socio-economic advancement which transforms age-old patterns of social interaction and economic structure into new forms,' while westernisation 'is a cultural trend in which people of the East look admiringly towards nations of the West as their ideals in all areas of life.'[59] Also incorporated into the National Monument is a seating arrangement in the form of a low wall surrounding the whole structure, which can reportedly seat over five hundred people[60] (Figure 6.15). In addition, when newly built, the monument was floodlit.

Taken as a whole, the form of the National Monument bears a striking resemblance to that of the Heroes' Acre memorial in Harare, Zimbabwe, described by Werbner. In his chapter 'Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun,'[61] Werbner examines how the memorialisation of those who those who sacrificed their lives in the cause of the nation-state has been revised and reshaped in postcolonial Africa, taking Heroes' Acre as an example. Although the monument in Harare's Heroes' Acre is situated in a cemetery as part of a wider memorial complex, unlike Nairobi's National Monument, both monuments were erected in the same period and both consist of similar features. A tall obelisk, for example, comprises a dominating feature in both monuments. In addition, while the '*Harambee* sculpture' of Nairobi's National Monument depicts three men and one woman collectively raising the Kenyan flag, part of Harare's Heroes' Acre Monument consists of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier which shows two men and one woman standing under the Zimbabwean flag. Also within the Heroes' Acre complex are wall murals depicting the freedom struggle against the white settler state. Atop both ends of these high walls sits a representation of the 'Great Zimbabwe Bird', creating a symbolic connection with Great Zimbabwe, the site of an ancient African civilisation and the country's most famous heritage site. Werbner details the different symbolic and artistic elements of the monument and describes them as forming a 'postcolonial pastiche'. Harare's Heroes' Acre monument is, he contends, 'a pastiche of Eastern social realism, precolonial symbolism, colonial stereotyping both cultural and racial, and national imagery which is at once divisive and

[58] B. A. Ogot, The Construction of a National Culture, in: Ogot and Ochieng' (Eds), *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya*, 214-236, 215.
[59] Ansari quoted in A. Erdentuğ and B. Burçak, Political Tuning in Ankara, a Capital, as Reflected in its Urban Symbols and Images, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22 (1998) 589-601, 599.
[60] *DN*, 10 December 1986.
[61] Werbner, Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun.

also unifying.'[62] Nairobi's National Monument can be similarly described as an amalgamation of different images and messages, where an obelisk and three variously themed sculptures draw on different ideas and symbolisms, and have been assembled into one monument layered and laden with a number of intended meanings.

Although initiated in order to mark twenty years of *uhuru* in Kenya and originally intended to be completed by and inaugurated as part of the independence anniversary celebrations, the National Monument was not officially opened until 1986. However, despite the fact that the monument had not been completed in time for Nairobi's 20th Anniversary of Independence Celebrations, it was still incorporated into the celebrations when President Moi officially commissioned the monument on 10 December 1983 when he unveiled the commemorative plaque.[63] Prior to these celebrations Moghul had stressed to the MoW

> ... that this project is a creative art which requires at least one year and cannot be completed in just three months. ... It is not a construction of a mere building, it is a creative art, which takes many changes during the work ... This piece of art is not to show the public how fast we can work. It shall reflect the national prestige representing art culture, philosophy, determination and spirit of the people of this country.
>
> This monument will be created to be there for ever, to let the future generation be proud of it. Therefore we have to show the best of our craftsmanship. ... I shall do my best to make it presentable for the day of the anniversary, but it will not be fully completed for another nine months to be called a National Monument.[64]

Yet the construction of the National Monument had still not been finished by February 1985 when Z. M. Bukania from the MoW described it to be 'at a standstill partly due to non-availability of Marble.'[65] Marble for the National Monument was initially to be imported from Italy. This order was cancelled, however, in favour of local marble when good quality marble was discovered in Kenya's Coast Province. Tests had to be carried on the local marble which further delayed the project and, although Bukania had stressed that 'All the work on the Monument must be completed and paid for by 30th June, 1985,'[66] such delays meant that the National Monument was not completed until the end of 1986. Thus, although the National Monument came to stand in Nairobi in order to mark twenty years of

[62] Werbner, Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun, 86.
[63] The plaque reads: *This Foundation Stone was laid by His Excellency The Hon. Daniel T. Arap Moi, CGH, M.P., President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya on 10th December, 1983 on the occasion marking the 20th Anniversary of Independence.*
[64] Hameed Moghul to Z. M. Bukania, Ministry of Works, Nairobi, 31 August 1983, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II: 44.
[65] Bukania, Ministry of Works, Nairobi, 1 February 1985, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II: 141.
[66] MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II: 141.

uhuru, the completed structure was not officially inscribed into they city's monumental landscape until 1986, when President Moi officially opened the public monument on 12 December, the date of the anniversary of Kenya's independence (Figure 6.16).



Figure 6.16 Inauguration of the National Monument, 12 December 1986.
Source: *EAS*.

6.5 Tenth Anniversary of Nyayo and Twenty-Fifth Independence Anniversary Monuments

On 12 December 1984, President Moi made public the findings of the Commission appointed to investigate the allegations made against Njonjo. All accusations against Njonjo had been proven, except the critical one of treason. Moi publicly pardoned Njonjo, but by this stage 'The destruction of Charles Njonjo's power base and his subsequent removal from the centre stage of Kenya politics left President Moi unchallenged.'[67] However, dissident groups continued to express their dissatisfaction with Moi's regime and between 1982 and 1988 there was a concentrated effort by the KANU government to eradicate such groups. The *Mwakenya* movement in particular made headlines and there was concerted crackdown on this militant underground movement between 1986 and 1988. The years 1982 to 1988 represent the peak of Moi's power. As with the 1983 general

[67] Ogot, The Politics of Populism, 201.

elections, in the March 1988 elections, Moi was re-elected unopposed by the National Assembly.

As with the tenth and twentieth anniversaries of independence, days of public celebrations were staged in Nairobi for Kenya's twenty-fifth anniversary of *uhuru*. 1988, however, not only marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of independence in Kenya, but also the tenth anniversary of the *Nyayo* Era. Kenya's silver jubilee of independence provided Moi's KANU regime with an occasion to restate and re-assert its authority. Thus, as well as the independence anniversary celebrations which took place in December, seven days of public celebrations in October 1988 marked the 'First *Nyayo* Decade.'[68] In addition, at the beginning of December 1988, it was announced that as part of the Silver Jubilee of independence celebrations, 10 December would be known as 'KANU Day'. The *Kenya Times* reported how 'The announcement is in fulfilment of the Presidential directive that the ruling party set aside a special day which would be observed during the celebrations'[69] and that 'This is the first time in the history of Kenya that a day has been designated to highlight the authority of the ruling party.'[70]

A National Celebrations Committee was established in order to organise and coordinate both sets of public celebrations, which included public rallies, parades, sports competitions, exhibitions, cultural activities, plays and music shows. Also, these public celebrations saw the inscription of Nairobi's landscape with new public monuments. The Nyayo Monument was inaugurated during the 'First Decade of *Nyayo*' celebrations while the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain was officially written into the city's monumental landscape during the twenty-fifth independence anniversary celebrations. A 'Directorate of 10th Anniversary of Nyayo and 25th Independence Anniversary Celebrations' was set up and local artists and architects were invited to submit designs for the two monuments intended to mark ten years of *Nyayo* and twenty-five years of *uhuru*. Each invited competitor was given a confidential serial number in a sealed envelope, a brief of the design competition and a set of rules and conditions for participation in the design competition. Designs were to be submitted to Maurice Odongo Ayugi, the Chief Architect in the MoW by 20 April 1988 and a multi-disciplinary technical committee was

[68] Minutes of meeting of 'Information and Publicity' ad hoc committee, Nairobi, 21 April 1988, KNA AHC/14/3.
[69] *Kenya Times*, 2 December 1988.
[70] *Kenya Times*, 10 December 1988.

established in order to assess the entries. The entries were assessed anonymously and cash prizes were offered for the best three designs for each monument.[71]

6.5.1 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain

> The monument embodies the struggle and tribulations for freedom into the motive force of Nyayo to a greater destiny.[72]



Figure 6.17 The 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain (far left) and the National Monument (far right) in the Uhuru Gardens, Nairobi, 2006.

The site chosen to erect the monument celebrating twenty-five years of *uhuru* in Kenya was a site in the Uhuru Gardens, directly opposite the National Monument (Figures 6.10 and 6.17). Although cars can be driven into the gardens, it is necessary to walk to the monuments because, 'As you are well aware monuments are sacred places and no cars are allowed to drive up to the monuments.'[73] The symbolic importance of this site has been highlighted in the discussion of the National Monument (section 6.4.2). It was also highlighted at the official inauguration of the 25th Independence Anniversary Monument

[71] APDC File No. 31; Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.
[72] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV.
[73] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. II.

when, 'Welcoming the President, Vice-President Karanja said the Uhuru Gardens was the shrine where colonialism had been shed and independence born.'[74]



Figure 6.18 The 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, Uhuru Gardens, Nairobi, 2006.

The design competition for the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain was won by Intergroup, who had been awarded second prize for their design of the Nyayo Fountain erected during the celebrations of Kenya's twentieth anniversary of independence. As already mentioned, Intergroup's design for the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain was based on their second-place design for the Nyayo Fountain. The original design essentially consisted of the three figures pushing the prism and this core idea was expanded on for the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain.[75] Intergroup's winning entry for the monument commemorating twenty-five years of *uhuru* consisted of the fountain design and the 'philosophical concept' behind the design which Mr. Naul, a partner of Intergroup,

[74] *Kenya Times*, 7 December 1988.
[75] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.

claims was '...a lot of gumph ... all Moi's political philosophy really mouthed off and I suppose that probably paid off.'[76] Thus the 'philosophical concept' outlined how

> The Anniversary Monument to mark this auspicious occasion of our Silver Jubilee celebrations must honour the Patriarchs of the propagators of the Nyayo Philosophy and Harambee Spirit who motivate our people towards peaceful Living, Self reliance, continued prosperity and love for one another.[77]

Part of the monument consists of three abstract human figures pushing up a prism symbolising the *Harambee* spirit of working together in harmony to achieve Kenya's aspirations (Figure 6.18). 'While the inversion [of the prism] shows the struggle to over come difficulties, the upper part of the prism, pointing to the flag tower depicts success in having achieved freedom and guiding us towards higher goals still.'[78] Intergroup explained how, 'To set our National aspirations to the highest, is symbolised by a nicely fashioned flag tower,'[79] from which the Kenyan flag was flown.

These structures were centred in a

> water body which has cascades, sprays and fountains. Although inherently different in forms this is still the same element – water. This depicts the transient nature of our nation ever on going, ever changing yet the same basic whole. ... The water body also depicts the flowing of prosperity to all corners of the republic.[80]

At the completion of the fountain, the water jets were synchronised to recorded music projected from the speakers incorporated into the monument. The mechanical and musical equipment for the fountain were imported from Germany and two technicians from the German firm, Machauer, were flown to Kenya in order to install the equipment.[81] The music supplied by Machauer was initially 'European type' music. However, the MoW decided that 'suitable Kenyan music'[82] should be programmed into the equipment and so arranged for local music played by the Army brass band to be recorded and sent to Germany.[83] 'And you know,' claims Naul, 'it worked beautifully when it was working.

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[76] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.
[77] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV; Intergroup.
[78] MoW BD01/0932d Vol. IV. For full text see Appendix XIII, Version 2.
[79] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV; Intergroup.
[80] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV. For full text see Appendix XIII, Version 1. The fountain part of the monument is no longer functional and the body of water has dried up.
[81] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. II; MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.
[82] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.
[83] E. O. Nyamunga, Ministry of Public Works, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Political Affairs and National Guidance, Nairobi, 21 September 1988, MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.

Especially during the evenings because they used to, I think, play 'til about ten o'clock at night.'[84]



Figure 6.19 The back wall of the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain.

Intergroup had originally intended that the back wall of the 25th Independence Anniversary describe the meaning of peace and harmony in all the country's tribal languages. Instead the Kenya Government determined that this wall be inscribed with an image of a dove encircling the flywhisk symbolic of Kenyatta's leadership and the rungu representative of Moi's presidency, depicting the smooth and peaceful transition of power from Mzee Jomo Kenyatta to President Moi[85] (Figure 6.19). This back wall forms part of a 'functional amphi-theatre for performance of drama and Theatrics'[86] and was constructed to seat over

[84] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.
[85] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV; MoW BD01/0932D Vol. II; Intergroup; Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.
[86] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV; Intergroup.

five hundred people.[87] Thus taken as a whole, the monument not only acted as a spectacle itself, but also provided a site for the performance of spectacle.



Figure 6.20 Inauguration of the 25th Independence Anniversary Monument by President Moi, 6 December 1988.
Source: *EAS*.

The 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain was officially unveiled by President Moi on the morning of 6 December 1988, which Naul described as '... a disappointment for [Intergroup] because we really wanted to show the musical part and the lights. ... during the daytime ... you lose the whole effect of the thing'[88] (Figures 6.20 and 6.21). As Moi inaugurated the monument he stressed how, 'Today we commission the monument not only as a landmark for the 25 years of peace and prosperity, but also to preserve the ideals of our nationhood for future generations.'[89] He further described how 'Water, light and sound have been merged in harmony to portray our country's success in uniting people of different ethnic, religious and historical origins' and added that 'although the monument recorded the 25th anniversary celebrations, it would also serve as an outdoor theatre to promote Kenya's rich cultural heritage.'[90]

[87] *Kenya Times*, 7 December 1988; *Standard*, 7 December 1988.
[88] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.
[89] Quoted in *DN*, 7 December 1988 and *Standard*, 7 December 1988.
[90] Quoted in *DN*, 7 December 1988 and *Standard*, 7 December 1988.

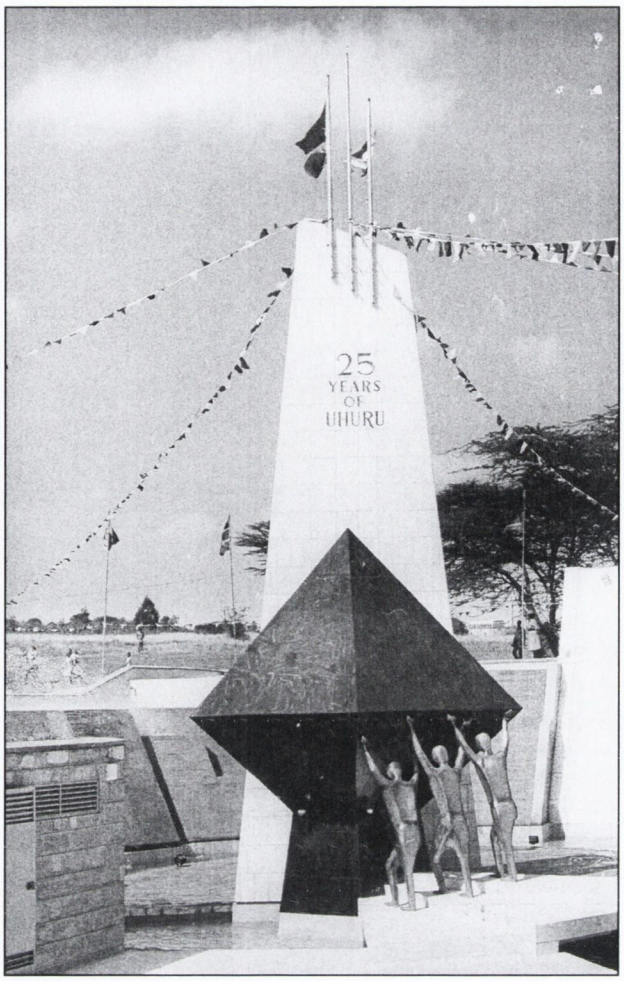


Figure 6.21 The 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain unveiled.
Source: *EAS.*

Today, however, the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain stands dilapidated in the landscape. For a while after it was inaugurated, the fountain remained functional and in December 1989 the MoW described how,

> Our staff have been operating the ... monument on all Saturdays, Sundays and Public Holidays from 2.00 p.m. to 8.00 p.m. (6 hrs.) on each day as per the instruction issued last year.[91]

The Ministry noted, however, that,

> The experience of our staff has been that members of the public come later than earlier, the peaks being from 6.00 p.m. to 7.00 p.m. The exceptions are Kenya National Public Holidays during which some upcountry groups visit the monument earlier, perhaps after attending the national meetings on those days.

[91] Chief Electrical Engineer to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Public Works, Nairobi, 20 December 1989, MoW BD01/0932D Vol. II.

> We propose that the operating hours be reviewed with a view to shortening them in light of this experience. This will also reduce operation costs and will reduce the rate of plant wear and tear.[92]

The operating hours of the monument were changed accordingly but the monument did not remain operational for long and like most of Nairobi's monuments, fell into a state of disrepair. In 2005 Naul described how,

> Oh it's in an awful state of disrepair at the moment. And they'd never really used it ... they could have let people in, you could still use it for entertainment ... - they never did. And from that point, you know, the interactivity that we thought would get over the years just simply didn't materialise. That's how it went.[93]

6.5.2 Nyayo Monument

> The prosperity, achievements and advancements of any Nation in the world depends on a firm and solid base which is built on sound principles and philosophies. (These principles and philosophies have to be down to earth, practical and feasible).
>
> This monument tells it all – it tells the story of the great achievements of the 1st DECADE of President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi's leadership.[94]

On 12 October 1988, Nairobi's Nyayo Monument was officially unveiled by President Moi as part of the public celebrations commemorating the tenth anniversary of the *Nyayo* era (Figures 6.22, 6.23 and 6.24).

After 1989, national and international circumstances ignited the transition to multi-partyism in Kenya. Before this, Moi had firmly defended Kenya's one-party status, claiming that 'Many people, even in Kenya, do not realise how much we owe to the one-party system. It is within the multi-party democracies in this continent that anarchy has re-emerged most frequently.'[95] In addition, Moi had consistently justified the country's one-party status by rooting it back in African tradition. 'The decision of KANU to make Kenya a one-party state was in conformity to African traditions,' Moi explained in one of

[92] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. II.
[93] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.
[94] Text prepared by the Building, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee of the National Celebrations Committee, *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[95] Quotation from one of Moi's speeches, quoted in Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 173.

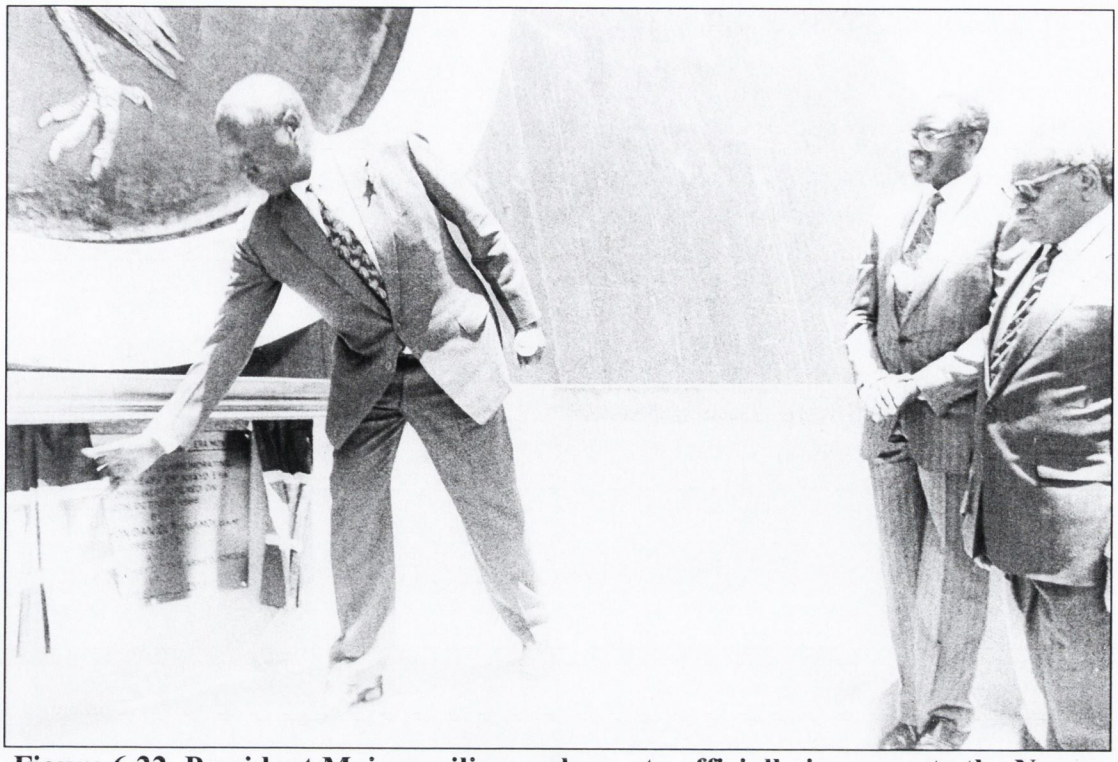


Figure 6.22 President Moi unveiling a plaque to officially inaugurate the Nyayo Monument at Central Park, 12 December 1988.
Source: *EAS.*

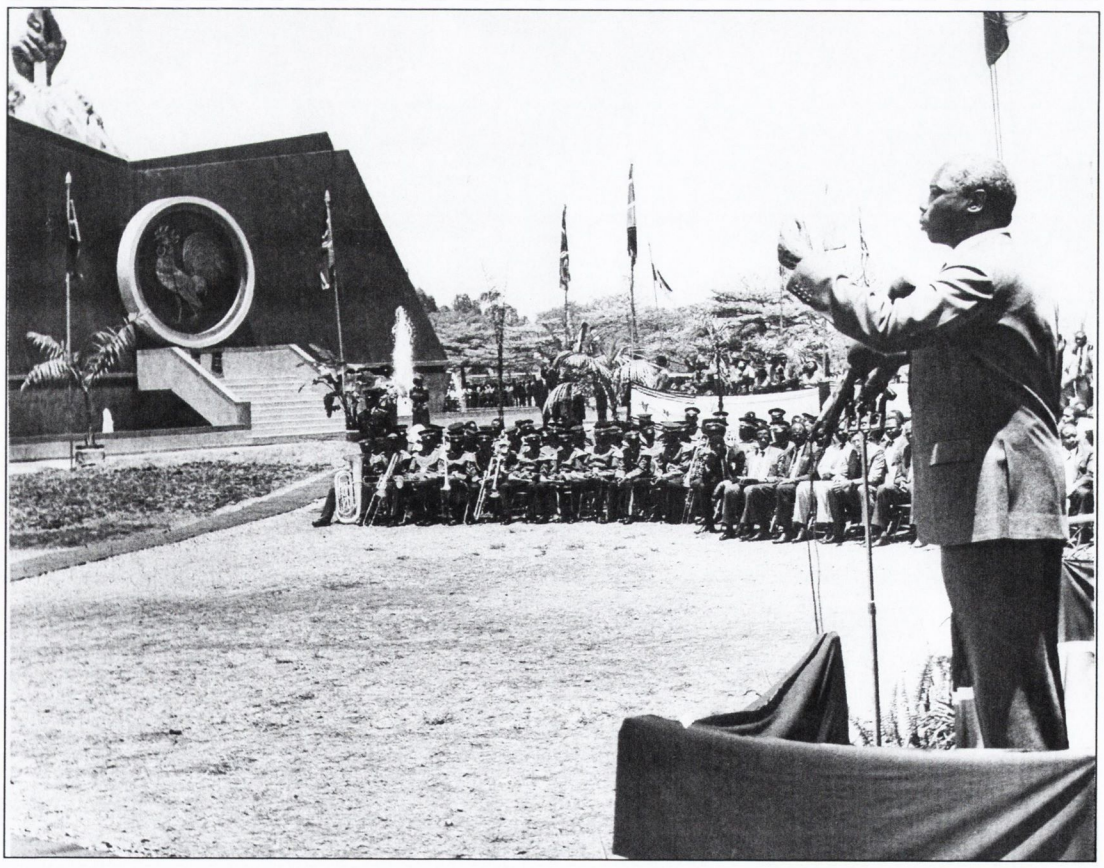


Figure 6.23 President Moi addresses wananchi during the official commissioning of the Nyayo Monument, 12 December 1988.
Source: *EAS.*

his speeches, 'for even in the old days people were ruled by a consensus of the majority.'[96] To this one party, and to his *Nyayo* philosophy, Moi demanded absolute loyalty:

> ...nation-building and modernisation are genuinely a collective effort in which the political leadership, the civil service and the whole people are integrated into a potent national force centred on a focus, guided by a common philosophy and grounded upon a common set of principles for a common destiny. Such a situation is only possible when both politicians and public servants pledge and practise undivided loyalty and commitment to the nation, Head of State and Government. In a one-party state, this undivided loyalty is of paramount importance: for, within it, conditions and circumstances more nearly approach what they were in traditional Africa, where leadership was by consensus, and all pledged and *lived* their undivided allegiance to the form and spirit of their national polity. Thus, with its echoing of traditional polities, the one-party Kenya enjoins us all to channel our efforts through the guiding leadership of KANU – which is the vanguard and motive force of our independence, freedom and progress.[97]



Figure 6.24 Inauguration of the Nyayo Monument, 12 December 1988.
Source: APDC.

Loyalty to the nation was also called for at the Nyayo Monument's inauguration, when President Moi addressed the *wananchi*, stating that 'under Kanu's expanded role unpatriotic people will be dismissed from the civil service, parastatals and private

[96] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 135.
[97] Moi, *Kenya African Nationalism*, 97.

companies.'[98] The erection of the Nyayo Monument in Nairobi presented a visual representation of the party Kenyans were to devote their loyalty to. It celebrated the self-proclaimed success of KANU in an independent Kenya. And it publicly denied any instability in Moi's regime, assuring that opposition to Moi's government did not pose any threat to the power of KANU.



Figure 6.25 The Nyayo Monument and fountains.
Source: Postcard.

The Nyayo Monument is afforded a commanding position in Nairobi, in the city's Central Park and as with the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, was designed to be a fountain (Figure 6.7). At the time of its completion, the Buildings, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee of the National Celebrations Committee described how,

> The fountains are fitted with multi colour light fittings which give a rainbow effect during the night. Four water cascades jetting out of the four corners of the star-shaped monument in a sheet like manner gives the monument a very lively appearance.[99]

[98] *Standard*, 13 October 1988.
[99] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.

The Nyayo Monument, as with the two Uhuru Gardens monuments, stands dominating in the landscape (Figure 6.25 illustrates the monument soon after its completion). Also similar to these monuments, the Nyayo Monument is symbolically encoded with meaning.



Figure 6.26 Jogoo medallion of the Nyayo Monument.

The 'thing you note with the monument,' observed S. Maina, a member on the committee which judged the design entries for the Nyayo Monument, '...[is that] it's very bulky ... That was meant to show strength, ... the strength of the nation. A nation is supposed to be strong, stable ... That was the idea, to show the strength and the stability.'[100] This main bulk of the monument is clad in black granite tiles, 'depicting a true glittering black African nation.'[101] On the most visible side of the four-sided structure, the side from which the monument is approached, is the 'Jogoo' medallion (Figure 6.26). 'Jogoo' being the Kiswahili word for 'cockerel', this medallion bears the symbol of KANU. Another side of the monument bears the 'Industry' medallion, which depicts the 'great strides achieved in various sectors of communications and industries'[102] (Figure 6.27). The 'Education and Agriculture' medallion (Figure 6.28)

[100] Interview, S. Maina (lecturer, Department of Design, University of Nairobi), Nairobi, 6 July 2005.
[101] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[102] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.

> expresses symbolically a forward looking nation, a healthy nation that puts education of its population as the top most priority and through improved agriculture, a commitment to feed itself. The blazing torch symbolizes an enlightened society.[103]



Figure 6.27 Industry medallion of the Nyayo Monument.

The final side of the monument depicts a happy family (Figure 6.29). Smith argues that

> The metaphor of the family is indispensable to nationalism. The nation is depicted as one great family, the members are brothers and sisters of the motherland or fatherland, speaking their mother tongue. In this way the family of the nation overrides and replaces the individual's family but evokes similarly strong loyalties and vivid attachments.[104]

Thus, the 'Happy Family' medallion draws on this international imagery, reinforcing the idea of national identity whereby the members of the nation are all united as a family is united. '... [T]he happy healthy family,' explains the Buildings, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee of the National Celebrations Committee,

> ... symbolizes unity, prosperity of Kenyans and also carries the message of planned parenthood, as a healthy ingredient of a planned future. Here, H.E. President Moi's love of children and the stability of the family is made crystal clear.[105]

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[103] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[104] Smith, *National Identity*, 79.
[105] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.



Figure 6.28 Education and Agriculture medallion of the Nyayo Monument.



Figure 6.29 Happy Family medallion of the Nyayo Monument.

The Industry, Education and Happy Family medallions highlight the main concepts in the KANU approach to nation-building while the Buildings, Works and Decorations sub-committee described how, 'All this beehive of positive activities and overwhelming achievements have taken place during the first decade of President Moi's leadership.'[106]

Ten steps lead up to each medallion, representing the ten years of Moi's presidency. Above all these panels and atop the marble-clad structure, 'President Moi's arm of sovereignty'[107] holding the *Nyayo* baton, emerges from the highest point of Mount Kenya. The country's name is said to have come from the Kikuyu name for this mountain, Kere-Nyaga, which means 'That which possesses brightness, or mountain of brightness.'[108] According to Kikuyu tribal legend, Kere-Nyaga is the official resting place of Ngai, the 'Supreme Being' or God.[109] Thus, Mount Kenya is the holy mountain of the Kikuyu who offer sacrifices to Kere-Nyaga and turn towards it in their prayers.[110] Bearing the name of the country, and as the highest mountain in Kenya and the second highest in Africa after Mount Kilimanjaro, Mount Kenya has been adopted as a symbol of the nation. However, it is still largely associated with the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu regard the mountain as a sacred place and its use in the Nyayo Monument was reported by the press to cause discontent. Moi belongs to the Kalenjin ethnic group and with his arm depicted as emerging from the top of the mountain in the monument, 'the Kikuyus were arguing that it was thrusting above Mt Kenya to show them that "I have conquered you".'[111] The Nyayo Monument, it was argued, depicted Moi placing himself higher than the place of God, placing himself to rule as God over the people.[112] However, others have denied that such controversy existed over the symbolic use of Mount Kenya in the Nyayo Monument. 'About that controversy I don't think so,' commented Ayugi, who was Chief Architect at the time of the 25th anniversary of independence celebrations and who chaired the technical committee responsible for judging the competition entries.[113] Similarly, Maina felt that 'as to the

[106] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[107] *The People*, 2 March 2001.
[108] Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya: The Traditional Life of the Gikuyu*, Nairobi, 1938, 234.
[109] 'Ngai' is the term used to refer to the supreme god of the Maasai, Kikuyu and Wakamba neighbouring tribes, although Ngai's resting place differs according to each tribal legend.
[110] Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya*.
[111] John Kamau (*EAS* journalist), *pers. comm.*, 17 January 2006.
[112] Discussion resulting from seminar given, the British Institute in Eastern Africa and the French Institute for Research in Africa seminar series, *Symbolism in the Urban Landscape: the geographer's view of statues and monuments in Nairobi*, Nairobi, 5 January 2006.
[113] Interview, Maurice Odongo Ayugi (Chief Architect at time of 25th Independence Anniversary Celebrations), Nairobi, 14 July 2005.

controversy about the representation of the mountain I think that must have come from maybe journalists who are writing the interpretation.'[114]

However, where controversy was widely agreed to have existed was over the design of the monument. The design competition for the Nyayo Monument was won by Ali Bashir of Africa Planning and Design Consultants (APDC) and after winning the competition, APDC was commissioned by the MoW to carry out the architectural work for the monument. However, after the Nyayo Monument had been built and unveiled, Hameed Moghul, designer of the National Monument, claimed that the winning entry was his design. Moghul waited until after the monument was built to make such a claim because, it was asserted, '... as the completion of the monument by the targeted time was a matter of great national importance he decided not to delay its completion by disputing the authorship of the design.'[115]

One of the MoW architects who was involved in the two 1988 monument projects was Adila Bashir, Ali Bashir's daughter.[116] Moghul claimed that instead of going through the formal submission channels, Adila Bashir had persuaded him to give her his entry and that she would submit it to the design competition on his behalf. As with the design competitions for the twenty years of *uhuru* monuments and the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, entries for the Nyayo Monument design competition were judged anonymously. However, Moghul asserted that Adila Bashir submitted his entry under a serial number that had been given to APDC. Moghul sued Bashir and the trial was brought to court in 1989. Ali Bashir maintained that his firm had come up with the design and concept for the Nyayo Monument and that as APDC was an architectural firm he had employed Moghul, as an artist, to visually render the monument that APDC had designed. He claimed that he had submitted this artist's impression but that it was the property of APDC as he had paid Moghul for the work. However, on 17 January 1997, Judge G. S. Pall found in favour of Moghul who was awarded 2,780,000 Shs, at an interest of twelve per cent per annum from the date of institution of the suit until payment in full, plus an extra one hundred thousand Shs for general damages with interest of twelve per cent per

[114] Interview, Maina, Nairobi, 6 July 2005.
[115] *Judgement of civil case 1212 of 1989, Hameed Moghul versus A. M. Ali Bashir trading as African Planning and Design Consultants*, Nairobi, 17 January 1997, APDC File No. 31.
[116] Adila Bashir was project architect for the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain.

annum from the date of judgement until payment in full. Bashir contested this judgement, arguing that

> It is obvious from the judgement that the Honourable Judge confused the design drawings with the artist's impression and failed to distinguish the fact that the artist's impression can only be drawn after the architectural design drawings have been prepared and not otherwise.[117]

In 2001 Bashir was still trying to appeal the case but could take it no further after Moghul's death. From the beginning the Nyayo Monument was laden with controversy, from a dispute over the authorship of the design of the monument, to issues concerning Moi's hand rising out of Mt. Kenya. In addition, although it is difficult to gauge public support for, or against, the erection of public monuments, several informal interviews with members of the ordinary public revealed that many felt that money could have been better spent funding hospitals or schools than it was on the self-glorifying monument celebrating KANU and Moi. In the meantime, the Nyayo Monument had fallen into a complete state of disrepair, such physical deterioration common to many of Nairobi's public monuments.

6.5.3 'Monument of Shame'

Although, at the time of construction of the Nyayo Monument, the Building, Works and Decorations Sub-Committee of the National Celebrations Committee claimed that 'The monument is heavily reinforced to take care of any natural forces such as earthquakes,'[118] fifty-six marble slabs had fallen off the Nyayo Monument just a year after its official inauguration into Nairobi's landscape.[119] 'Under different circumstances,' the *Sunday Nation* wrote,

> this may not have been considered an issue worth a raised eyebrow. After all, how often do building blocks come tumbling down a building, or water washes away portions of bridges under construction?
>
> But this is not just another structure in town. Over Sh 18 million went into the project to construct the monument which is intended to be a permanent reminder of the achievements the country scored during the first 10 years of President Moi's rule. The fanfare which accompanied the commissioning of the monument was justified when the majesty of the structure's architecture was unveiled.

[117] A. M. Ali Bashir to the Chief Justice, Law Court Chambers, Nairobi, 4 September 1998, APDC File No. 31: APDC/014/418.
[118] *The Philosophy behind the monument*, MoW BD01/1017C Vol. II.
[119] *DN*, 15 December 1989; *Sunday Nation*, 17 December 1989.

> But it is barely a year since the occasion and enthusiastic Kenyans have been flocking to the park to get away from the hurly-burly of daily living but with an added attraction. Many people have availed themselves the advantage offered by the monument as an ideal background for picture-taking sessions. But they may have to suspend it now for a while.
>
> Which brings us back to the shameful state of the monument. What happened to it?[120]

The paper went on to question,

> Is it possible that after spending Sh 18 million on the project, the finishing could not be made firmer than it was? Indeed, was the amount stated really spent on the project? Was there any independent attempt made to inspect the completed work and affirm that it met the stipulated rigours? ... Either money was spent on something other than the intended materials, or that material was "lost" on the way to Central Park.[121]

Efforts were made by the MoW to determine the cause of the Nyayo Monument's dilapidation and in 1990 the monument was repaired and the tiles replaced.

1993 marked thirty years of *uhuru* in Kenya. Unlike the celebration of the country's tenth, twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversaries of independence, no new public monuments were inscribed into Nairobi's iconographic landscape during this anniversary. In celebration of thirty years of independence, however, all of the capital's monuments were rehabilitated, 'including the Nyayo Monument wherein Kshs. 2.2 Million was expended on this monument with the bulk of the money, Kshs. 2 Million going into the rehabilitation of Electrical and Mechanical installation which are prone to vandalism.'[122] However, by the beginning of 1996 the monument had once again fallen into a state of disrepair and in April of that year the Office of the President wrote to the MoW, outlining how

> This office would like to bring to your attention the deterioration of the Nyayo Monument and Fountain which is situated at the Central Park. The marbles on the monument have been falling off and there is therefore urgent need for repair works to be undertaken to save this very important national heritage ...
>
> We request you to address this issue as a matter of priority and have the necessary repairs carried out to stop further damage to the monument.[123]

[120] *Sunday Nation*, 17 December 1989.
[121] *Sunday Nation*, 17 December 1989.
[122] MoW BD18/7346B: 168.
[123] W. K. K. Kimalat (Permanent Secretary), Provincial Administration and Internal Security, Office of the President, to Eng. H. Sharwe (Permanent Secretary), Ministry of Public Works, Nairobi, 18 April 1996, MoW BD18/7346B: 179.

The MoW had already sent a team of consultants to the Nyayo Monument on 26 February 1996 in order to report on the condition of the monument. As well as identifying physical problems related to the construction of the structure, the MoW report observed that 'The issue of security and the maintenance has contributed to the deteriorating state of the monument. ...without round the clock security the monument installation and fittings are prone to vandalism.'[124] 'The issue of maintenance,' the report added, 'is further inhibited by lack of as-built drawings from the Consultants which several attempts to get them have been made without success.'[125] Financial reasons had also previously been stated as contributing to the monument's dilapidation when, in a letter to the Office of the President, the MoW stressed that

> ... concerted efforts have to be made to keep the Monument functional, now that it has been gazetted by the Ministry of Home Affairs. We have already made recommendations on how the Monument can be kept functional but it would appear lack of funds has been a constraint.[126]

However, the MoW report concluded that 'the Nyayo Monument is gazetted as a 'Protected National Monument' by the National Museums and its maintenance and security should be by the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage.'[127]

The Nyayo Monument's decay continued, and continued to draw attention. In 1999 the *Daily Nation* described the monument to be 'a show case not of achievement, but of neglect, dereliction and slovenliness that casts Kenyans as a people consumed with wasteful fantasies'[128] while in 2001 *The People* reported how 'the ravages of time, carelessness and disregard have transformed this masterpiece into a spectacle of shame and turpitude.'[129] To some, the physical dilapidation of the Nyayo Monument also represented a symbolic dilapidation. '... If you note this monument it is been rather neglected,' reflected Maina of the Department of Design in the University of Nairobi,

> and maybe now people don't even remember what is was there for and others would say maybe everything that was supposed to be represented is not represented. ... It doesn't really stand to symbolise what it was meant for. If it was

[124] MoW BD18/7346B: 168.
[125] MoW BD18/7346B: 168.
[126] Sharwe to Permanent Secretary, Office of the President, Nairobi, 29 February 1996, MoW BD18/7346B: 167. In 1995 the Nyayo Monument was gazetted as a protected monument by the National Museums of Kenya, which falls under the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage [MoW BD18/7346B: 165; MoW BD18/7346B: 162].
[127] MoW BD18/7346B: 168.
[128] *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[129] *The People*, 2 March 2001.

> meant to show the progress of the nation, the celebration of ten years of administration of the then President, then I would have hoped it would have been a bit more, a bit more strong in terms of preservation. But it's wearing off very very fast, very fast.[130]

Similarly, Ayugi wondered whether, with time, the monument has any meaning to the general public,

> I don't know whether the way they look at it ... but normally people go there and they just take photographs against the background of those monuments. Whether it has any meaning to them or whether it is just something there you want to take a photo.[131]

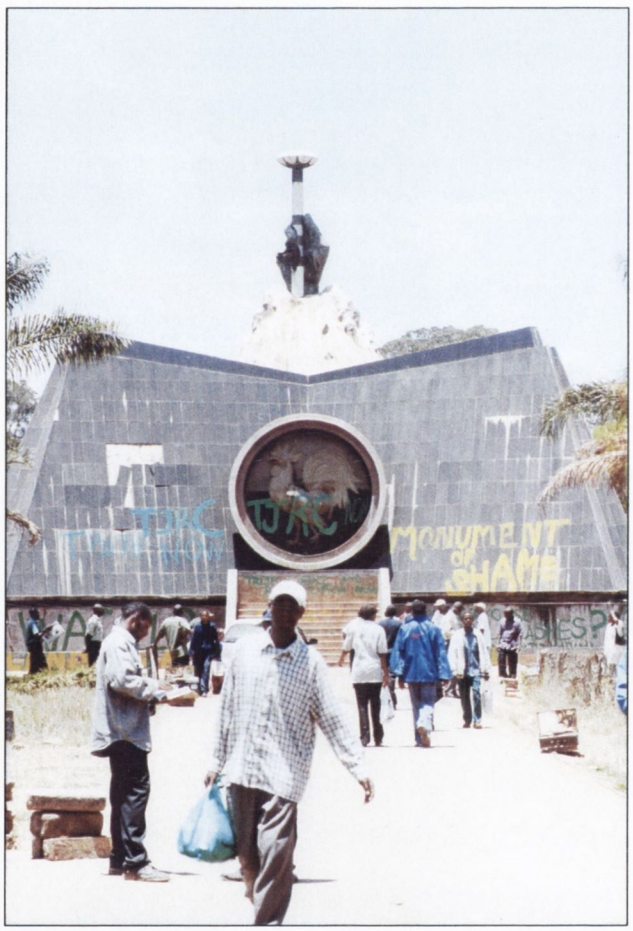


Figure 6.30 The Nyayo Monument defaced.
Source: *EAS.*

Yet this monument has not only received attention, since its entry into Nairobi's symbolic landscape, because of its state of disrepair. Since its inauguration it has also been a target in demonstrations, illustrating that despite the monument's decay, to some it still holds

[130] Interview, Maina, Nairobi, 6 July 2005.
[131] Interview, Ayugi, Nairobi, 14 July 2005.

meaning. For example in February 1990 'student demonstrators passed at the monument. They hurled dustbins, stones at the monuments walls and the medallions.'[132] Moi's political monopoly, his 'political discourse of self-aggrandizement and power'[133] did not go unchallenged and the Nyayo Monument provided a means to physically and visually express opposition to Moi's regime.



Figure 6.31 The Nyayo Monument stands dilapidated in Nairobi, marble slabs having peeled off the structure and fingers on the hand holding the Nyayo baton having fallen off.
Source: *EAS.*

More recently, on 10 October 2004, members of the Release Political Prisoners Pressure Group (RPP) issued a statement in front of the Nyayo Monument. In the statement they demanded that a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission be established in Kenya. In addition, the nine men and one woman had defaced the monument and had painted phrases such as 'We need a Truth and Justice Commission', 'Tribal Clashes', 'Truth Now' and 'Monument of Shame' on the structure (Figure 6.30). Across the KANU cockerel was scribbled 'TJRC' while the '*Nyayo* Era' inscription had been painted over with the words

[132] Internal memo, Ministry of Public Works, Nairobi, 21 February 1990, MoW BD18/7346B: 87
[133] B. A. Ogot, Transition from Single-Party to Multiparty Political System 1989-93, in: Ogot and Ochieng' (Eds), *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya*, 239-261, 239.

'*Nyayo* Error'. The ten people were arrested and charged with causing malicious damage to property and incitement. The police, according to the *Daily Nation*,

> seized the demonstrators and took away tins of paint and brushes as well as some documents. Meanwhile, the Seventh Day Adventists church gave food and drugs worth more than Sh10,000 to patients at Kapsabet to mark the day.[134]

The day was Moi Day. In October 1989 it was declared that 10 October would, from then on, become a public holiday in Kenya, known as 'Moi Day' in order to commemorate the day Moi became the country's second president in 1978. Although, in 2002, Mwai Kibaki succeeded Moi as president of Kenya after winning the general election, Moi Day is still observed in the country. Thus the Nyayo Monument provided a symbolic space for the members of the RPP movement to stage their protest while the chosen date heightened the symbolism of the protestors' statement of displeasure with the legacies of Moi's KANU regime.

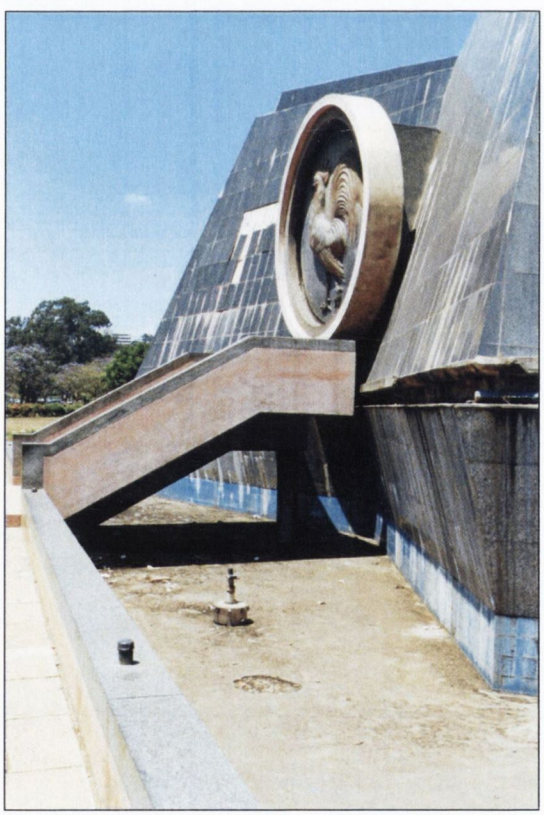


Figure 6.32 The dried-up fountain of the Nyayo Monument, 2005.

Muzaini and Yeoh assert that 'what is manifested as national memory – through the manipulation of the past via space – is profoundly unstable and may not always be

[134] *DN*, 11 October 2004.

accepted by those in a position to 'read' and decipher it.'[135] The memory of KANU's achievements as presented by the Nyayo Monument was challenged by those who held different memories of the KANU regime.



Figure 6.33 The Nyayo Monument refurbished, December 2006.

For most of its life, Nairobi's Nyayo Monument has stood in the city dilapidated and neglected. Occasionally some repair work has been carried out on the monument, as for example that done in 1993. Moi was constitutionally prohibited from running in the presidential elections of 2002 and after these elections the monument was left to decay in the landscape (Figures 6.31 and 6.32). In 2006, however, the Nyayo Monument was refurbished, although for no political reason but as part of the 'Beautification of Nairobi City Project'[136] (Figure 6.33). The Nairobi City Council (NCC) outlines how,

> Provision of an ideal urban environment as "a new beginning for a working nation" is a multifaceted undertaking involving urban planning, engineering and landscaping just to mention but a few. ...

[135] H. Muzaini and B. S. Yeoh, War landscapes as 'battlefields' of collective memories: reading the *Reflections at Bukit Chandu*, Singapore, *Cultural Geographies* 12 (2005) 345-365, 345-346.
[136] Personal communication with Nairobi City Council employee, 28 January 2007.

> Enhancement and maintenance of floral aesthetic appeal has for long been perceived as a preserve of NCC for long, a duty that we were luckily able to achieve propelling the City to the re-known status as "The Green City in the Sun". Population explosion, rapid physical developments and associated complexities, however, have over the years constrained the ability of the Council to maintain the standards.
>
> However, the Department of Environment has initiated a comprehensive beautification programme in collaboration with the private sector. The programmed includes landscaping of road reserves, roundabouts and open spaces, urban afforestation, maintenance of recreational facilities, e.g. City Park, Uhuru Park and Jeevanjee Gardens among others. ...[137]

The Nyayo Monument has become a means of commodifying the city. As Nairobi attempts to establish itself an internationally recognised city and an important city in East Africa, the monument now stands in Nairobi in order to enhance the image of the city.

6.6 The Decay of Nairobi's Monuments

Dilapidation and neglect was not particular to the Nyayo Monument, but has been common in the life of almost all of Nairobi's monuments. Particular attention was drawn to the condition of the city's monuments in the late 1990s and early 2000s when the Kenyan press highlighted how they were 'falling apart.'[138] The two war memorials on Kenyatta Avenue were reported as being 'but repositories for putrescent debris and faeces deposited by street families and urchins.'[139] The 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain was described as having 'expensive water squirts that ceased functioning long ago, leaving but shells of rusting pipes, dried up sludge, greenish, stinking puddles, bobbing with dead and living reptiles, amphibians, insects, refuse ... All sort of sleaze where clean water once ran'[140] (Figures 6.34 and 6.35). Such dilapidation led the newspapers to question who was responsible for the upkeep of Nairobi's public monuments. 'Who is responsible for maintaining the monuments? How diligently has this maintenance duty been carried out?'[141] asked the *Sunday Nation*. Likewise, the *East African Standard* enquired, 'Whose responsibility is to ensure that these statues remain attractive?'[142] In searching for the

[137] Nairobi City Council, *The Beautification of Nairobi City Council Project*, http://www.nairobicity.org/projects_full_story.asp?search=beautif, accessed 29 January 2007.
[138] *Kenya Times*, 22 March 2000.
[139] *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[140] *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[141] *Sunday Nation*, 17 December 1989.
[142] *EAS*, 18 April 2001.

answer to that question, the *East African Standard* highlighted the uncertainty over who was responsible for the preservation of the city's statues and monuments,

> A City Council official said the civic body had nothing to do with monuments. He re-directed the enquiry to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports where another official said this was the first time he was receiving a call on the issue. He also referred us to the National Museums of Kenya.
>
> The answer from the latter, though helpful, was a shocker: "The National Museums of Kenya deals only with the gazetted monuments and this only in offering protection from desecration or discretion," said Mr. Dennis Milewa, a senior employee of the National Museums.
>
> Milewa said that Nyayo monument at Uhuru Park and many others – though fully gazetted – are taken care of by both the Ministry of Public Works and the City Council.[143]



Figure 6.34 The fountains of the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain dried up long ago.

Towards the end of 1988, a decision had been made to place the maintenance of all 'National Monuments' under the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage and a meeting had been set up in the MoW for 16 November 1988 in order to discuss 'a number

[143] *EAS*, 18 April 2001.

of issues, among them the maintenance structure for the monuments.'[144] Despite this, after this date the upkeep of the monuments appears not to have fallen under the remit of any single Ministry and it seems that various bodies shared the responsibility.



Figure 6.35 The Nyayo Fountain no longer has a fountain.

In February 1992, the Buildings Department in the MoW undertook an inspection of Nairobi's public monuments and concluded that it was 'evident that the monuments have fallen into utter disrepair and will need substantial amounts of funds to rehabilitate them.'[145] In addition to general wear and tear, the MoW determined that, in the case of the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, 'Nearly all the pool lighting fittings are stolen.' Similarly, when they inspected the National Monument in the Uhuru Gardens they discovered that 'The marble plaque for the official inauguration of the monument by His Excellency the President has been stolen.'[146] The inspection report resolved that the MoW should proceed with the rehabilitation of the monuments in two phases. 'Phase One', the report described, should 'Identify and replace the minor items needed to reinstate the

[144] Z. M. Bukania, Buildings Department, Ministry of Public Works, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage, Nairobi, 10 November 1988, MoW BD01/0932D Vol. III.
[145] Bukania to Provincial Works Officer, Ministry of Public Works, Nairobi, 13 February 1992, MoW BD18/7346B: 175.
[146] MoW BD18/7346B: 175.

functioning of the monuments.' 'Phase Two', on the other hand, would 'Identify and cost the remaining items for the client ministry, the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage, to include in their 1992/93 Annual Budget.'[147]

As a result of discussions in the MoW, it was resolved, in June 1992, that 'Regular checking and cleaning of the Nyayo and Uhuru Monuments' would start taking place. The manager of the project was W. C. O. Aywak, the Provincial Works Officer in the MoW, whose duties were to include visiting the monuments every Wednesday 'to ensure that the standard of cleanliness, general tidiness and overall state of Monuments and grounds are presentable,'[148] and arranging that regular cleaning and repairs of the monuments take place. In addition it was resolved to organise 'Operating the system for public viewing on week-ends and public holidays from 2.00 pm to 6.00 pm' and that the cleaning of paper waste around the Nyayo Monument would take place on Fridays and around the Uhuru Gardens Monuments on Tuesdays. The 'Wiping of Granite/Marble' was to take place weekly, or when necessary and the 'pool water' of the monuments was to be emptied monthly, or, again, when necessary.[149]

Although Nairobi's monuments had been rehabilitated in 1993 in celebration of Kenya's thirtieth anniversary of independence, many soon fell into a state of disrepair once again, and as with the Nyayo Monument, uncertainty surrounded who was responsible for the upkeep of the Nyayo Fountain in Uhuru Park. The MoW felt that the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage was responsible for maintaining and rehabilitating the monument. The Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage, however, stressed to the MoW that 'the Nyayo fountain has never been handed over to this Ministry by your Ministry.'[150] It continued,

> ... our Ministry has no funds within the voted provision to carry out the anticipated rehabilitation since no estimates were factored into the 1996/1997 Draft Estimates as the maintenance of the monument was and still is your responsibility. ... your Ministry has both the resources in terms of personnel and materials to rehabilitate the same. ... Would you then carry out the rehabilitation of the fountain in

[147] MoW BD18/7346B: 175.
[148] W. C. O. Aywak (Provincial Works Officer), Ministry of Public Works, to W. Wambura (Permanent Secretary), Ministry of Public Works, Nairobi, 26 June 1992, MoW BD18/7346B: 154.
[149] MoW BD18/7346B: 154.
[150] Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage, to Bukania, Nairobi, 28 May 1997, MoW BD18/7346B.

> readiness for Madaraka Day Celebrations after which arrangements for the official hand-over to our Ministry would be made.[151]

However, as highlighted in the Kenyan press, by the end of the decade and the beginning of the following decade, Nairobi's public monuments remained noticeably dilapidated. In 1999, the Office of the President wrote to the Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services[152] about the state of disrepair of the National Monument in the Uhuru Gardens,

> One of the Statues forming the Monument in the Uhuru Gardens off Langata road has broken from its base and is leaning at an angle.
>
> Given that Langata Road is a very busy road that also carries traffic to the Nairobi National park, the statue is depicting badly on the image and reputation of the country.
>
> Granted, good efforts have been made to maintain the gardens by the Prisons Department. Never the less, the efforts are not enough, and the place does not reflect a National Monument with potential to attract the tourist trade. It is suggested that with proper maintenance, this facility can generate some income if properly marketed.
>
> The purpose of this letter therefore is to request you to do the following:
>
> 1. Find ways and means of repairing the statue and the other structures which have fallen in disrepair.
> 2. Give adequate working tools to the Prisons personnel on the site who may continue to utilise the inmates in the maintenance of the cleanliness of the area.
> 3. Find ways and means of marketing the facility.[153]

In assessing the repairs needed to be done to the National Monument, the National Museums of Kenya, under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sport, enlisted the help of the MoW in a joint inspection of the monument. An initial assessment of the Uhuru Gardens site was carried out on 15 June 2000.[154] Following this, the Structural Department in the MoW compiled a Structural Engineering report on both monuments in the gardens, highlighting how,

> After the two monuments were commissioned no single body was given the responsibility and mandate of preserving and maintaining them. Various bodies that shared the responsibility included Ministry of Culture and Social Services, Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage and the Provincial

[151] MoW BD18/7346B. Madaraka Day, 1 June, commemorates the day Kenya achieved self-rule.
[152] The Ministry became the Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services and then the Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage and Sport. The Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services was established in 2003 and the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Heritage still falls under the Office of the Vice-President.
[153] R. A. Alegana, Office of the President, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage, Culture and Social Services, Nairobi, 5 August 1999, MoW BD18/7346B: 66.
[154] MoW BD18/7346B: 187.

> Works Officer – Nairobi. Neglect led to vandalism and breakdown of plants and equipment.
>
> The responsibility of preserving, maintaining and improving the two monuments and the surrounding Uhuru Gardens has now been given to the National Museums of Kenya (N.M.K.). The Prisons Department provides security and general maintenance of the grounds.[155]

Undoubtedly there was uncertainty over who was ultimately responsible for maintaining Nairobi's public monuments. However, the newspapers speculated other possible reasons behind the neglect of the city's monuments. *The People* felt that,

> Unfortunately, ... most Kenyans don't seem to be bothered by the dismaying decay and neglect that suffers most of our monuments, many of which are battered and tumbling down.[156]

The *Daily Nation* similarly wondered, 'Is it that Kenyans have no appreciation for beauty and their historical heritage or are we so concerned about putting food on the table that aesthetics become secondary?'[157] In a survey carried out by the *Daily Nation*, one member of the public reflected that 'Even in the village, people decorate their homes with flowers, however crude they may be. That is an indication that they do appreciate beauty.'[158] Others felt, on the other hand, that 'A hungry person has no time nor the presence of mind for aesthetics.'[159] 'When you have to worry day and night where you will get your next meal, beauty becomes secondary,' noted one interviewee, while another reflected that

> Poverty takes the blame. At a time when majority of the country's work force go for "air burgers" over lunch hour because they cannot afford even a bottle of soda, it would be laughable to expect them to derive pleasure from cultivating flower gardens.[160]

In addition to wondering whether the monuments were dilapidated because there was no public appreciation for them, to wondering 'What of aesthetic value, do [public monuments] hold any for us and are the citizenry ready and prepared to ensure their beauty is preserved?,'[161] the papers emphasised how

> The historical importance of these monuments cannot be gainsaid. Our achievements, our leaders and the nation's history is hereby stored for future

[155] Internal memo, Structural Department, Ministry of Roads and Public Works, Nairobi, 3 August 2001, MoW BD18/73346B: 207.
[156] *The People*, 2 March 2001.
[157] *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[158] Quoted in *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[159] *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[160] Quoted in *DN*, 30 July 1999.
[161] *Sunday Nation*, 17 December 1989.

> historians and generations to explore and analyse. However, these pillars of our history have been left bare and neglected or left to decay. ...
>
> The significance and importance of these symbols of our growth must not be allowed to rot. Our struggles, our gains and our sorrows are imprinted in these monuments. Their sustenance and maintenance should be the responsibility of us all.
>
> A national policy should be put in place to ensure all national monuments are rehabilitated to ensure their preservation. The history of our nation lies in these vital works and we must awake to this reality without further delay.[162]

Similarly, in relation to Nairobi's monuments, *The People* stressed how 'This is our heritage, and unless we seek to protect it, unless we cherish these symbols that define us, and unless we recognize their political, social and cultural significance, then we are lost in a dark and complicated tunnel struggling to find our way to light.'[163] Nairobi's monuments were seen by some to embody history and were seen as cultural artefacts.

6.7 Conclusion

Ogot argues that

> Culture contributes to an individual's or nation's sense of identity by providing bases of social integration and offering guidelines to action during periods of uncertainty. So, during the first decade of the *nyayo* era ..., we find that there was a general realization in society that culture has to move to the centre stage to influence the process of economic growth and the distribution of its benefits.[164]

Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, entitled *African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*, contained a brief outline of cultural policy in Kenya while the second development plan (1970-74) included a cultural programme stating the need for the 'realization of national unity and cohesion and the creation of a national pride and sense of identity among Kenyans.'[165] However it was not until 1981 that the Ministry of Culture and Social Services was established, highlighting the more central role culture was to play in government planning.[166] Culture was seen as a vital building block in creating a Kenyan identity, which in turn was seen as crucial in creating national unity in order to aid the process of nation-building. Yet within Kenya's borders lies a multiplicity of tribes,

[162] *Kenya Times*, 22 March 2000.
[163] *The People*, 22 March 2000.
[164] Ogot, The Construction of a National Culture, 217.
[165] Quoted in K. Ndeti, Cultural Policy in Kenya, in: The Unesco Press (Ed), *Studies and documents on Cultural Policies*, Paris, 1975, 35.
[166] Ogot, The Construction of a National Culture.

ethnicities and identities and the task was to establish internal homogeneity, to create a common culture and a common identity. Leitner and Kang have highlighted how

> In order to construct a populace of citizens loyal to and identifying with the state, state-builders have created a homogenous national culture through the invention of a common history; the introduction of official languages; the creation of national symbols, such as currencies, stamps, flags and anthems; the staging of ceremonies and rituals; and the deployment of a wide variety of other cultural forms such as monuments, music and paintings.[167]

Though an examination of National Day parades in Singapore, Kong and Yeoh demonstrated how the powerful and dominant group used ritual and spectacle to advertise and maintain its ideologies.[168] Similarly the national elite in Kenya used anniversary celebrations to perpetuate their ideologies. These celebrations included parades, but also saw the inscription of Nairobi's monumental landscape. During the *Nyayo* era, monuments were erected in Nairobi in an effort to unite the heterogeneous Kenyan population under a common identity as determined by the political elite. Dr. Osaga Odak of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Nairobi, said of Nairobi's monuments,

> ...when one sees ... the monuments depicting the progress of the independent Kenya like the Nyayo monument, the Uhuru monument, the bust of the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta among others, then a kind of national unity and identity is enhanced.[169]

As has been already illustrated, memory is central in the forging of an identity. Gillis writes how '"memory work" is, like any other kind of physical or mental labor, embedded in complex class, gender and power relations that determine what is remembered (or forgotten), by whom, and for what end.'[170] The political elite of Moi's Kenya determined that the memory to be celebrated in the *Nyayo* era monuments was the post-independence memory of the achievement of independence. Unlike in Nigeria where some monuments erected after independence draw on the pre-colonial past,[171] Nairobi's post-independence monuments do not incorporate any collective pre-colonial Kenyan memories. The creation of a common post-independence Kenyan identity required a common memory, thus the shared memory of the gain of freedom from colonial rule was more suitable, perhaps, than reclaiming heterogeneous memories of a pre-colonial heterogeneous population. However,

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[167] Leitner and Kang, Contested urban landscapes of nationalism, 216.
[168] L. Kong and B. S. A. Yeoh, The construction of national identity through the production of ritual and spectacle: An analysis of National Day parades in Singapore, *Political Geography* 16 (1997) 213-239.
[169] *Kenya Times*, 27 June 1989.
[170] Gillis, Memory and Identity, 3.
[171] For example, the "Heritage" monument in Benin and the Ikenga monument in Owerri. See Oha, Signs, cities, and designs of capacities.

as Duncan claims, '... memory, the representation of the past, is an important political resource.'[172] Similarly, '... if one controls people's memories, one controls their dynamism ... It is vital to have possession of this memory, to control it, to administer it, tell it what it must contain.'[173] In choosing the memory celebrated in the independence anniversary monuments, Kenya's political elite associated themselves with Kenya's independence and with the independent country, placing themselves in a position of power.

The shared memory celebrated in the independence anniversary monuments seeks to forge an identity through a break with colonialism. The monuments speak of 'then' and 'now'. Yet the monuments themselves create a continuity with colonialism. In rewriting the landscape in order to create a post-independence identity, Kenya's political elite have used the symbolic language of the coloniser, for permanent commemorative monuments in the landscape have no tradition in East Africa.[174] In addition, the symbolism in some of the monuments draws on western symbolism, such as the dove carrying the olive branch and the image of a family used to depict national unity. Although local artists were chosen to design the monuments, no elements of traditional African art were incorporated into the monuments. According to Naul, Intergroup had initially intended that the human figures pushing the prism in the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain take the form of traditional African figurative carvings. However, the Ministry of Public Works instructed that the figures be abstract so that they could not be distinguished as being either male or female.[175]

Although the *Nyayo* era monuments may not be described as traditionally African works of art, they are loaded with symbolism and similarly, African art is largely symbolic. The

[172] Duncan, *The city as text*, 22.
[173] Foucault, quoted in Duncan, *The city as text*, 22.
[174] Although sculpture, in various materials, and particularly figurative sculpture, is probably the most common form of visual art in Africa, sculpture among the East African tribes was traditionally ephemeral. Traditional African sculpture was not constructed as a permanent marker in the landscape. A possible exception are the 20th century memorial posts known as *vigango*, which were erected in Kenya's coastal region by the Mijikenda-speaking peoples of the country. *Vigango* are constructed and erected as memorial markers but are not tombstones as they are not placed at the grave but in or around the dwelling of the deceased's family. These African sculptures are minimalist in design, only suggesting the human form, and are sculpted out of durable hardwoods [J. Coote and J. Mack, Africa, §VII, 7(vi): East Africa: Figure sculpture, in: Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 1, 410; C. M. Geary, Africa, §III, 4(iii): Contexts of production and use: Funerary rituals, in: Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 1, 240-260; D. H. Ross, African§VI,2(v): Cement sculpture, in: Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 1, 331-333; S. Vogel, Africa, §VI,2(i)(b): Wood sculpture: Formal analysis, in: Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 1, 322-325; E. Court, Kenya, in: Turner (Ed), *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 17, 906-909; J. N. Paden and E. W. Soja (Eds), *The African Experience*, Vol. II, London, 1970].
[175] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005.

subject matter portrayed, the position and gesture of a figure or the type of animal depicted, for example, are all symbolically encoded with meaning and, in addition, symbols play a significant role in rituals.[176] Similarly, Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments are highly symbolic, both in size and form. These monuments were erected in a highly charged political context and common to most of them is their large, imposing size and their dominating presence in the landscape, claiming solidity and stability. The assertion of stability is also symbolised in the solid rock as part of the Heroes' sculpture of the National Monument (section 6.4.2) and the large solid mass of the Nyayo Monument. This statement of stability was reiterated at the inauguration of the Nyayo Monument when President Moi 'explained ... that just as the monument cannot be shaken by an earthquake, the country could equally not be shaken by any form of instability.'[177] At this inauguration ceremony, Joseph Leting, who was Chairman of the National Celebrations Committee, publicly translated the symbolism of the Nyayo Monument.[178] Similarly, addressing the crowd at the inauguration ceremony of the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, the President asked the National Celebrations Committee to document the philosophy behind Nairobi's monuments so that *wananchi* could interpret and understand them, and in order to explain the meaning of the monuments to future generations and to visitors to the city.[179]

Bourdieu argues that works of art are socially constructed and encoded and therefore

> Consumption is ... a stage in a process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code. ... A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded. ... A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason.[180]

Similarly, Wales asserts that 'signs have no significance, ..., unless users recognize them as signs. The meaning of signs has to be learned by the community ...'[181] Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments were encoded with a symbolic vocabulary inaccessible to the general public. The monuments took on a symbolic form designed by the artists and an explanation of the meaning behind this symbolism was required in order to enter the design competition. However, in producing designs for the monuments, the artists were fulfilling

[176] Africa, §IV, 1(ii): Symbolic imagery and iconography, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 1, 260-284.
[177] *DN*, 13 October 1988.
[178] *DN*, 13 October 1988.
[179] *Kenya Times*, 7 December 1988; *Standard*, 7 December 1988.
[180] P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice, London, 1984, 2.
[181] Wales quoted in Oha, Signs, cities and designs of capacities, 34.

criteria defined by the Kenyan government. The artists' designs reflected what the Kenyan government expected from them and through the competition, the government chose the design they felt best suited the message they intended to be inscribed into Nairobi's monumental landscape.

In the case of London's Cenotaph, for example, people are culturally educated to read the symbolism of the monument, they know it is a memorial for the unknown soldier and can therefore create an attachment with the monument. Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments, on the other hand, created new symbolisms and messages which required explanation, by the designers of the monuments, at the inauguration of the monuments, by the President, by the National Celebrations Committee, by the newspapers. If the meaning of a monument is not understood, it is difficult to create an attachment to the monument, which has perhaps contributed to the dilapidation of Nairobi's monuments. Such dilapidation illustrates the way in which the public and authorities view the monuments, the way they relate to them and reflect on them.

Sert, Léger and Giedion have written how

> ... Monuments are the expression of a man's highest cultural needs. They have to satisfy the eternal demand of the people for translation of their collective force into symbols. The most vital monuments are those which express the feeling and thinking of this collective force – the people. ... Monuments are, therefore, only possible in periods in which a unifying consciousness and unifying culture exists. Periods which exist for the moment have been unable to create lasting monuments.[182]

From this perspective, Nairobi's post-independence monumental landscape indicates a lack of collective consciousness, it indicates that a Kenyan national identity has yet to be formed.

In addition, dilapidation has become such a huge part of Nairobi's monumental landscape that it has layered further meaning onto the city's monuments. In addition to existing in the landscape as a device in the cultivation of a national identity, or as statements of power, a monument's meaning in the landscape can change, or monuments can become sites of resistance. Subsequent to their unveiling, Nairobi's monuments have continuously evolved, falling into disrepair, being repaired, being the at the centre of debates over who

[182] J. L. Sert, F. Léger and S. Giedion, Nine points on monumentality, in: Giedion (Ed), *Architecture, you and me: The diary of a development*, 48-51, 48.

is responsible for their repair and over the reasons behind their neglect. In addition, the Nyayo Monument has, during its life cycle, taken on meaning additional to its intended symbolism, becoming a target by protestors. Similarly, the Nyayo Monument's assertion of KANU's power and demand of loyalty now stands incongruous in the symbolic landscape with the advent of multi-partyism in Kenya in 1992 and the removal of KANU from power in 2002 when NARC was voted in. However, although the meaning of the monument may have changed with time, it still stands in Nairobi as a 'part of Kenya's history.'[183]

[183] Interview, Ayugi, Nairobi, 14 July 2005.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Iconographic Interpretation in an East African Context

Landscape is a cultural product, layered with meanings and symbolisms. It is, according to Osborne, 'the dominant depository of symbolic space and time.'[1] Landscape is a medium through which memories, identities and claims to power can be asserted and challenged. Thus the interpretation of the human landscape can disclose the wider cultural, social and political currents involved both in shaping, and in being shaped by, the landscape. An iconographic approach in such interpretation highlights the visual qualities of landscape and sees images in the landscape, and of the landscape, as reservoirs of cultural meanings. Through detailing and analysing such images, iconographic interpretation aims to reveal these meanings, and addresses them by uncovering the social and historical contexts of the landscape.[2]

By their very nature and their ability to visualise ideologies, public monuments and statues support the iconographic approach in discovering the layered meanings of landscape. In addition, they are deliberately inserted into the landscape as messages to be read, they demand interpretation. Using iconography as an interpretative technique, the hidden meanings and symbolisms deposited in a city's monuments can help the geographer to unravel the broader processes at work in the city.

The use of iconographic interpretation in geography developed in Western scholarship and its subsequent application in the discipline has similarly focused on the West. This thesis has sought to employ iconographic theory outside the West through the postcolonial examination of public monuments and statues in Nairobi. The study of Nairobi's iconographic landscape is 'postcolonial' in the sense that it has been carried out post-, and

[1] Osborne, Constructing landscapes of power, 433.
[2] Cosgrove, Iconography.

in the knowledge of colonialism, and it has explored the political, social and cultural experiences of a society living under, and in the aftermath of, colonialism. In addition, it is 'postcolonial' as it has absorbed ideas from postcolonial theory and has used them in the iconographic interpretation of Nairobi's statues and monuments. Drawing particularly on Ngũgĩ's writings, this thesis considered the role of monuments as cultural artefacts in colonial Nairobi, used by the coloniser to dominate and subjugate the colonised. With the achievement of independence in Kenya, Ngũgĩ describes how the transfer of power from the coloniser to a small African political elite groomed by the coloniser ensured the continued domination of the *wananchi*, the ordinary Kenyans. He argues that independence was not necessarily accompanied by cultural decolonisation and that a form of neo-colonial domination persists in Kenya. Ngũgĩ argues that there exists, in independent Kenya, two traditions in African culture. The first is related to this neo-colonial form of domination, in which the state 'identifies with the imperialist heritage, colonial and neo-colonial, and it sees in imperialism the motive force of Kenya's development.'[3] The second is the tradition of resistance in an ongoing anti-colonial struggle. This tradition, reflects Ngũgĩ, is evident in the 'patriotic resistance arts' of ordinary Kenyans, including song, dance and poetry. These patriotic resistance arts celebrate the resistance which resulted in independence, a tradition of resistance 'carried to new heights by Dedan Kimathi and the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (Mau Mau).'[4] This is in contrast to the first tradition in which the state claims that 'collaboration with British imperialism is what brought about independence.'[5] The examination of Nairobi's monumental landscape reflects the first tradition in African culture described by Ngũgĩ. This thesis has illustrated how the erection of monuments by the new ruling elite in post-independence Kenya continued to be used as a tool in the assertion of power. The postcolonial state used the Western tradition of erecting monuments to write their version of history into the landscape. The examination of Nairobi's monumental landscape until 1992 shows the extent to which the state controlled what was inscribed into and what was omitted from Nairobi's symbolic landscape.

Postcolonial studies in geography have stressed the need to decentre the West. Crush argues for the 'de-linking of local geographical enterprise from metropolitan theory and its

[3] *Decolonising the Mind*, 102., *Decolonising the Mind*, 102.
[4] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 102. The Kenya Land Freedom Army is more commonly referred to as Mau Mau.
[5] Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 102.

totalizing systems of representation.'[6] Thus the use of iconographic interpretation in a postcolonial East African context may seem to be a contradiction in itself. However, in the case of postcolonial geographies in southern Africa, Lester sees

> the necessary task as that of reconceiving modern southern African spaces, places and identities as always, already interconnected, both with 'metropolitan' and with other 'peripheral' spaces, places and people. If we see 'metropolitan' places, peoples, practices, and indeed theories, as similarly interconnected, this in itself is to decentre the West. The West becomes a specific intersection within a bundle of networks through which discourses, practices and materials flow, just as does any other region.[7]

The decentring of the West should not simply involve a shift in emphasis from the 'core' to the 'periphery', but rather it should challenge the very concepts of 'core' and 'periphery', 'centre' and 'margin', and see the relationship between places as interconnected and fluid. Through the examination of Nairobi's monumental landscape this study has shown how iconographic interpretation as a 'metropolitan theory' can be successfully applied outside the 'metropole'.

The use of 'metropolitan theory' in the African context may raise other issues and Myers describes how 'Many central subjects of inquiry within Anglo-American cultural geography can readily appear as 'side issues' to African scholars or activists faced with real and present crises of violence, disease, poverty, or injustice.'[8] However, through his study on late colonial and postcolonial Lusaka, he concludes that 'the politics of place can be so intertwined with those real and present points of crises as to demand an understanding of cultural and historical geographical experience.'[9] Similarly, while the investigation of public monuments and statues in Nairobi may be targeted as being removed from the everyday realities in Africa, such as the 'violence, disease, poverty, or injustice,' described by Myers, this thesis has disclosed historic and present-day social, cultural and political relationships, concepts and ideologies, which provide an important contribution to understanding everyday life in Kenya.

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[6] J. Crush, Post-colonialism, de-colonization, and geography, in: N. Smith and A. Godlewska (Eds), *Geography and Empire*, Oxford, 1994, 333-350, 336.
[7] Lester, Introduction, 605.
[8] G. A. Myers, The unauthorized city: Late colonial Lusaka and postcolonial geography, *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 27 (2006) 289-308, 305.
[9] Myers, The unauthorized city, 305.

This thesis has examined Nairobi's monumental landscape from the birth of the settlement in 1899 to the re-introduction of multi-partyism in Kenya in 1992.[10] While each monument tells its own tale, the overall story of Nairobi's monumental landscape, when Nairobi was a colonial capital, through the achievement of independence and during its first thirty years as a postcolonial city, relates how wider processes at work in the city, in the country, and globally, are expressed in space, as well as occurring in time. The life-cycles of Nairobi's public monuments, the 'whys', 'hows', 'whats', 'whens', 'wheres' and 'what thens' of each monument contain narratives of memory, identity and power.

7.2 Colonial Nairobi's Monumental Landscape: A Visual Link with Empire and Competing Memories and Identities

The Queen Victoria Statue in Jeevanjee Gardens came first in the making of an imperial iconographic landscape in colonial Nairobi, a landscape which would also include the King George V Statue and the King George VI Memorial. From a postcolonial perspective, the inscription of these monuments into the landscape can be seen as a cultural tool in the project of imperialism. These monuments to British monarchs contributed to the construction of a landscape of colonial power, a device used by the coloniser to dominate the colonised. The monuments were to remind Nairobi's population of the link with Britain and with the British Empire. The empire was symbolised through these monarchical figures where the persons of the Queen-Empress and King-Emperors formed an imperial aesthetic. The head of the British monarchy was chosen to embody the empire. Yet not only were these monuments used to assert colonial authority in Nairobi, but they were also used to assert Kenya's place in the empire, they were used to prove to the imperial power the country's position as a loyal member of the British Empire. This is particularly evident in the unveiling ceremony of the Queen Victoria Statue and in Governor Brooke-Popham's urgent insistence that Kenya have a memorial to King George V. The desire to affirm Kenya's place in the empire can also be seen in Nairobi's request for the two colonial statues removed from Khartoum.

The offer made by the Nairobi City Council to host Khartoum's removed General Gordon and Lord Kitchener statues was made in 1959, only four years before the Kenya Colony

[10] After the dissolution of KADU in 1964, Kenya was a single-party state until 1992, except for the period 1966 to 1969 which saw the formation and subsequent banning of the KPU.

was granted independence. Even late in the day of the British Empire, Nairobi illustrates a desire to express loyalty to this dissolving empire. This was also highlighted in the reading of colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape which saw the unveiling of the East Africa Memorial at the beginning of 1956, and of the King George VI Memorial at the end of 1957. Both these monuments were erected and unveiled during Kenya's Mau Mau rebellion. Similarly, the request for the Khartoum statues was made during the state of emergency in Kenya. Mau Mau challenged colonial rule and during this period of instability, the erection of the King George VI Memorial and the East Africa Memorial asserted and visualised colonial power. In addition, Governor Baring used the unveiling ceremony of the East Africa Memorial to stress loyalty to the emerging idea of the commonwealth.

The East Africa Memorial primarily commemorates the Africans who died fighting for the British in World War II. Yet while the African section of Kenya's population has been written into Nairobi's monumental landscape through this memorial, the memory of the African war dead is a memory created by Europeans. The unveiling ceremony of the memorial revealed the extent to which this memory was controlled. The African representation required at the ceremony was largely to be provided by the colonial government, to be made up of those Africans deemed 'suitable' by the colonial government. In addition, the whole unveiling ceremony was formally controlled, following a strict format as determined by the Imperial War Graves Commission. Essentially, a British ceremony was transplanted onto East African soil.

However, this memorial reflects a shift in attitude towards the memory provided for the African war dead. Through the East Africa Memorial in the Nairobi War Cemetery, the commemoration of the African war dead of the Second World War was incorporated into the wider imperial commemoration of those who lost their lives in the name of the British Empire. The African war dead of the First World War, however, had been remembered separately in a specifically East African landscape of remembrance created by the Imperial War Graves Commission. In Nairobi this took the form of the African War Memorial. The figurative form of this monument contrasts the form of the screen wall memorial to the British and Indian war dead. Through the British and Indian Memorial in the Nairobi South Cemetery, the British and Indian officers and men who sacrificed their lives in World War I were afforded a place in the wider imperial landscape of remembrance. The

memory provided for the African war dead of World War I was segregated from that provided for the British and Indian war dead of the same war. The segregation of the two memories is highlighted not only through their different locations in Nairobi, but also through their different physical forms. Similarly, the contrasting forms of the African War Memorial and the Obelisk opposite it reflect the contested memories embodied by these two memorials. However, common to all Nairobi's First and Second World War memorials is their link back to Britain, whether through, for example, the physical form of the memorial, the use of the Union Jack in their unveiling ceremony or through subsequent remembrance day ceremonies hosted at the site of the monument.

This link back to Britain is not only evident with Nairobi's war memorials, but is common to all of its colonial monuments, including its settler monuments. In the creation of an identity for themselves, as read from Nairobi's monumental landscape, Kenya's settlers retained a connection with Britain as well as drawing on the African land. Yet not only did the African land provide inspiration in the establishment of settler identity, but Nairobi's urban landscape provided a medium through which to forge this identity. Although colonial Nairobi's settler monuments were diverse in their forms and ideas, they combined to form a settler iconography reflective of a society trying to establish itself in a new country, and this settler iconography reflects the values the settlers deemed important. In addition, uncovering the inscription of Nairobi with settler monuments uncovers the often uneasy relationship between the settlers and the colonial government. The power struggle between the settlers and the government was particularly illustrated through the inscription into the landscape of the Lord Delamere Statue versus the King George V Statue.

The interpretation of colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape thus not only reveals the relationships between Kenya's different races, but is also telling of relationships within races and between groups. An underlying theme in many of the statues and monuments erected in colonial Nairobi is an ironic emphasis on the apparent desire to unite and bond Kenya's different races, as, for example, reflected through Governors Grigg and Baring's speeches at the unveiling of the Africa War Memorial and the East Africa Memorial respectively. However, the examination of these monuments erected in colonial Nairobi underlines the unequal power distribution between the different races.

One of the most striking things about colonial Kenya is the organisation of its population in a hierarchy of different races. In the colony, racial distinctions transcended class divisions. The examination of Nairobi's monumental landscape reveals the power relationships between the different races and also illustrates the way each defined race viewed its own position in the hierarchy. By its very nature, the inscription of the colonial monumental landscape primarily elucidates the view of the dominant group, that of the European coloniser, on its own place in colonial Nairobi's society, as well as this group's perception of the position of the other races within that society. However, silences in the monumental landscape can be equally as telling, while, later in the life of the colonial city, less dominant groups expressed themselves in the symbolic landscape through other means, such as vandalism.

7.3 'Just black and white'?[11]

On the whole, colonial Nairobi's statues and monuments relate the power relationship between the Europeans and the Africans, and the contesting memories and identities of these two groups as written into the landscape. The Asians' place in Nairobi is, on the other hand, largely absent from the pre-independence monumental landscape. This silence highlights the ambiguous position of this group in colonial Nairobi and in Kenya, an ambiguity also underlined in the story of the Queen Victoria Statue. The statue was commissioned and funded by Jeevanjee, and subsequently donated to Nairobi by this influential member of colonial Nairobi's Indian community. However, while Jeevanjee had once admired the British Imperial ideal to the extent of erecting a statue of the Queen-Empress, he later came to play a large part in the Asians' anti-colonial struggle in Kenya. Although it was scripted into Nairobi's landscape by an Asian man, the statue stood in colonial Nairobi as a visual link with the British Empire and did nothing to visually articulate the Asian role in the country's history or of their place in colonial Nairobi's society.

The uncertain position of Asians and the unsettled nature of Asian identity in Kenya are also evident in the post-independence country. For example, Asian struggles with identity are played out in the pages of *Awaaz*, the self-declared 'Authoritative Journal of Kenyan

[11] Marziya, The Kensian – Not Kenyan Enough, *Awaaz* I (2005) 10-15, 14.

South Asian History.' The journal aims to recover, record and disseminate the Asian role in the politics, economy, culture and history of East Africa, and of Kenya in particular. But more than that, it speaks of the Asians' battle to find a place for themselves in Kenya. Thus the journal abounds with articles written by Asians such as 'The Asian Question: Will Kenya ever find an answer?'[12]; 'Kenya's stateless Indians'[13]; 'Pride and pain of being Kenyan'[14]; 'We're Kenya Damu'[15]; 'The Kensian – Not Kenyan Enough'[16]; and 'I'm a Kenyan South Asian,'[17] the title of this article highlighting the term with which this group now largely refers to itself.

The examination of the Asian role in Kenya and the contested identities of Kenyan South Asians would fill the pages of another thesis. This thesis has sought only to relate what is revealed by the interpretation of Nairobi's monumental landscape specifically. The interpretation of Nairobi's wider symbolic landscape, including its buildings and street-names, would further reveal the status of this group in Nairobi, and in Kenya, and offers much potential for additional research. Returning to Nairobi's monumental landscape, however, on 5 May 2001 a statue of Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee was unveiled in the Jeevanjee Gardens by the Mayor of Nairobi, John Ndirangu (this statue can be seen at the left of Figure 2.4). It was commissioned by the 'Friends of Jeevanjee Gardens', which was founded in 1997 by Zarina Patel, Jeevanjee's granddaughter, in order to look after the gardens and protect them from being demolished by developers.[18] Although figurative in form, the Jeevanjee Statue is unlike the life-like marble or bronze statues erected in colonial Nairobi, and the two of Kenyatta erected in the post-independence city. The statue has instead been moulded out of wire by the Kenyan African artist, Edward Buluma. The wire for the statue was donated by Khetshi Dharamshi & Co., a Kenyan South Asian-owned wire manufacturing company.[19] The erection of the Jeevanjee Statue suggests the desire of Kenya's Asians to assert themselves as validly belonging to the Kenyan nation, to advertise their often overlooked role in a country which has tended to be about the Africans and/or Europeans. Marziya sums up the prevailing Asian perception of their

[12] S. A. Jaffer, The Asian Question: Will Kenya ever find an answer?, *Awaaz* I (2003) 11-12.
[13] S. Lone, Kenya's stateless Indians, *Awaaz* II (2003) 10-11.
[14] S. Keshavjee, Pride and pain of being Kenyan, *Awaaz* I (2005) 5.
[15] S. Bindra, We're Kenya Damu, *Awaaz* I (2005) 6-9 ['Damu' is a Kiswahili word meaning 'blood'].
[16] Marziya, The Kensian – Not Kenyan Enough ['Kensian' being an amalgamation of 'Kenyan Asian'].
[17] Z. Patel, I'm a Kenyan South Asian, *Awaaz* II (2004) 40-42.
[18] In 1991, Patel successfully protested against a scheme to develop the Jeevanjee Gardens into an underground shopping mall and car park [see Patel, *Challenge to Colonialism*, for the account of this protest]. The intended development scheme ignited Patel's interest in the protection of the gardens and led to the formation of the 'Friends of Jeevanjee Gardens' lobby group.
[19] Patel, Interview, Nairobi, August 2005.

position in Kenyan society, writing 'In a place where everything's just black and white ... I'm not.'[20] Yet speaking as a Kenyan South Asian, Bindra writes how 'We live amongst ourselves, surround ourselves with things South Asian, and follow our own rituals and practices to the exclusion of outsiders.'[21] The Jeevanjee Statue reflects the community's need to be accepted as Kenyan, but also reflects recognition for the need to integrate and feel Kenyan. While the Queen Victoria Statue is located towards the east end of the Jeevanjee Gardens, close to the entrance at that side of the park, the Jeevanjee Statue was erected at the opposite end, both monuments located along the central axis of the gardens between the gardens' two entrances. 'So it kind of completes the thing,' reflects Patel, '... Jeevanjee put in Victoria, so it's part of the whole history now of the Jeevanjee Gardens. And it's seen as that.'[22]

Colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape was inscribed by those who had the power to do so and they controlled what was written into the landscape. Kenya's Asian community is not represented at all in the colonial monumental landscape. And while the Africans, the colonised, were represented through the African War Memorial and the East Africa Memorial, in both cases they were not involved in the scripting of the memories provided for them in the landscape. These memories were chosen and managed by the coloniser.

7.4 The Transition Period: Resistance and Reinvention

This suggests that, in terms of colonial Nairobi's monumental landscape, the subaltern could not speak.[23] However, resistance by the colonised can be made apparent in the monumental landscape through other means, as happened in Nairobi. For example, at the end of December 1958, 'Vandals wrecked the Queen Victoria statue in Jeevanjee Gardens.'[24] The *East African Standard* described how 'The statue ... was toppled from its pedestal on to a path. Its head broke off.'[25] And although no records of vandalism beyond this incident were found, the anxiety expressed by the colonial government over the threat of possible defacement and damage to colonial monuments indicates that they were aware

[20] Marziya, The Kensian, 14.
[21] Bindra, We're Kenya Damu, 7.
[22] Patel, Interview, Nairobi, August 2005.
[23] Spivak, Can the Subaltern Speak?
[24] *EAS*, 1 January 1959.
[25] *EAS*, 1 January 1959.

of an underlying resistance. In 1940, the colonial government had voiced concerns over the possible defacement of the King George V Statue (Section 2.3). More frantic concern, however, surfaced as Kenya approached independence. And the underlying resistance did express itself during this transition period when, as soon as the country became independent, the once-colonised removed monuments erected by the former coloniser. In India, research indicates that monuments to British monarchs were less readily removed than statues of governors or other colonial administrators, for example, in reflection of British sentiment regarding their monarchy. Similarly, in Nairobi the colonial government assumed that their monarchical statues would not be targets of unpleasant attention. During the first year of independence, however, it was the King George V Statue and King George VI bas-relief that were removed by the new Kenyan government.

In independent Kenya, the new Kenyan government, the African political leaders, became the dominant group, and the rest of the population, the subaltern. The examination of Nairobi's monumental landscape has shown how this dominant group had the power to control what was forgotten and what was remembered in the landscape. Thus the transition period in Nairobi's monumental landscape saw the beginning of the reinvention of the city's symbolic landscape when the colonial identities, memories and meanings inscribed into the landscape were overwritten with a new layer of postcolonial narratives. Countries emerging from colonialism are faced with the need to create a new national identity for themselves. As Delamere had provided colonial Kenya's settler society with an ancestor in the creation of a settler identity, so the African political elite appointed Kenyatta as an ancestor in the making of a postcolonial Kenyan national identity, Kenyatta became the 'Father of the Nation'. Thus a statue of Kenyatta was quick to be erected in the independent country, just days after Kenya became a republic with Kenyatta as its president. A second statue of Kenyatta was erected nine years later. Although both are figurative bronze statues, Kenyatta is depicted very differently in both monuments. While the earlier statue celebrates Kenyatta's role in the achievement of independence, the second statue confidently depicts him in his role as the established leader of Kenya. Although Kenyatta is symbolised differently in both statues, the erection of both monuments fulfilled the same purpose: as a celebration of Kenyatta and also as a political tool in the assertion of his power. The monuments were erected in the landscape in an attempt to symbolise independent Kenya. Yet through the artists chosen to sculpt them,

and through their figurative forms, the two Kenyatta statues show continuity with the colonial monumental landscape.

However, the examination of this long transition period in Nairobi's monumental landscape suggests that only a tentative attempt was made to create a Kenyan national identity. The above-mentioned monuments were the only two erected in Nairobi during Kenyatta's presidency. And these two monuments took the life-like figurative form similar to those erected in colonial Nairobi, and were designed and sculpted in England. In addition, both monuments erected were representations of Kenyatta. Kenyatta was made to be seen as synonymous with the independent country. However, no other ideals or ideologies were drawn upon in the creation of a Kenyan identity. Similarly, as assertions of power the statues relied on Kenyatta's authority as the Father of the Nation and the reputation of his person and name as a hero to the people.

7.5 A Postcolonial Aesthetic

It was not until Moi's presidency, the *Nyayo* era, that a more concerted effort to create a postcolonial identity can be seen through Nairobi's monumental landscape. These monuments illustrate how memory of the moment of independence was drawn upon in an attempt to unite Kenya's heterogeneous population through a Kenyan national identity. This memory was additionally mobilised through the use of independence anniversaries as *lieux de mémoire* in the inscription of these monuments into Nairobi's landscape.

But as with colonial Nairobi's monuments, the memory inscribed into the landscape was one chosen by the dominant group, those with the political power to do so. And while this group used its power to inscribe the landscape, it similarly used the inscription of the landscape to assert its power. The political elite claimed the memory of independence to validate their authority and to associate themselves with the independent country. The desire to assert power and authority is evident in the size of Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments which stand dominating in the landscape. Although the very act of erecting monuments is using the symbolic and commemorative language of the coloniser, Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments are very different in form to its colonial-era monuments and its two Kenyatta statues. While the form of the city's colonial-era monuments are to a great extent

figurative and literal, that of its *Nyayo* era monuments can be described as more abstract and metaphorical, they form a postcolonial aesthetic. In 'Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun', Werbner describes the postcolonial pastiche of Harare's Heroes' Acre, a monument composed of a varied collection of symbolisms.[26] Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments are similarly a melange of symbolic images and concepts, 'As befits the palimpsestual tension in postcolonialism.'[27] These *Nyayo* era monuments employ symbols that can be read as African, such as the sculpture of Mount Kenya, a symbol of the country, and the KANU cockerel, representative, in African culture, of a leader; symbols that are more universal, such as the dove and the colour white for peace, and the image of a family as a metaphor for the nation; and symbols that are more explicitly Western, such as the Iwo Jima flag-raising image. The different symbols and images of the *Nyayo* era monuments are strung together in a collection of abstract shapes and forms, curves and lines. In addition, these monuments were designed to be 'interactive'. By their very nature, the monuments erected in colonial Nairobi were, of course, intended to be viewed. But Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments incorporate 'viewing platforms'. Included as part of the monuments is the provision of structures and space for the leisurely viewing of these monuments, usually taking the form of surrounding benches or steps. This illustrates the grand ideals embodied by the monuments, and also the extent to which the writers of these grand ideals perceived that they would be received and accepted by the wider public. In addition, in the construction of such public space, the *wananchi* are being invited to participate in the celebration of the nation-state.

Although Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments were designed by different artists, these artists were selected through design competitions held by the Kenyan government. The competitions for the twentieth independence anniversary monuments were open to everyone, while only invited artists could enter the competition for the tenth anniversary of *Nyayo* and twenty-fifth anniversary of independence monuments. The designs submitted, for all of the monuments, had to follow a competition brief as determined by the government. For each monument the competition brief outlined the ideologies that had to be incorporated in the monument. The winning design was selected according to how well it fitted the criteria defined in the competition brief. Looking at the example of the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain, even after a winning design was chosen, its final form in the landscape was ultimately determined by the government. The extent to which

[26] Werbner, Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun.
[27] Werbner, Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun, 86.

the winning designs 'mouthed off'[28] what the government expected from them has been illustrated. In the case of the Nyayo Fountain it was particularly evident how the necessary symbolism and philosophical concept was invented for the monument and fitted to its design. Thus, although the *Nyayo* era monuments were physically designed by independent artists, the meanings the monuments were intended to portray were dictated by the state, while those designs that were selected for inscription into the landscape were all designs that were loaded with multiple symbolisms. The postcolonial aesthetic of Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments was created by the state. This aesthetic reflects Mbembe's account of the African postcolony, which he describes as

> chaotically pluralistic, yet it has nonetheless an internal coherence. It is a specific system of signs, a particular way of fabricating simulacra or re-forming stereotypes. It is not, however, just an economy of signs in which power is mirrored and *imagined* self-reflectively. The postcolony is characterised by a distinctive style of political improvisation, by a tendency to excess and a lack of proportion as well as by distinctive ways in which identities are multiplied, transformed and put into circulation. ... The signs, vocabulary and narratives that it produces are not meant merely to be symbols; they are officially invested with a surplus of meanings which are not negotiable and which one is officially forbidden to depart from or challenge. So as to ensure that no such challenge takes place, the champions of state power invent entire constellations of ideas; they adopt a distinct set of cultural repertoires and powerfully evocative concepts;...[29]

Ogola describes the 1980s as 'one of the most brutal epochs in Kenya's post-independence history'[30] in terms of state repression. A number of intellectuals, writers and politicians were exiled or jailed, for example, during this period, while political domination asserted itself in Nairobi's monumental landscape through the *Nyayo* era monuments. The constellation of ideas embodied in these monuments attempts to legitimise, as well as assert, KANU's authority. In addition they seek to demand loyalty to the ruling party and, through a national identity, to the nation-state. But with its plurality of races, ethnicities, cultures and identities, perhaps the idea of a Kenyan nation is an abstract idea, as the monuments too are abstract constructions.

Yet in representing the nation-state, the *Nyayo* era monuments do not recognise the diversity of the nation. In attempting to depict Kenya as a homogenous unit, the *Nyayo* era monuments inevitably include some groups and exclude others. McDowell describes how

[28] Interview, Naul, Nairobi, 8 September 2005
[29] A Mbembe, Provisional Notes on the Postcolony, *Africa* 62 (1992) 3-37, 3-4.
[30] G. Ogola, Popular Culture and Politics: *Whispers* and the 'Dramaturgy of Power' in Kenya, *Social Identities* 11 (2005) 147-160, 148.

the gendering of the nation-state generally discriminates against women,[31] and although it would seem that Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments make some effort to include the female role in the building of the nation and to avoid a gender dichotomy, on the whole, the monuments prioritise the male role in the nation-building project. For example, the state requested that the three figures pushing up the prism in Intergroup's design of the 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain be made genderless, while a woman was included in the *Harambee* sculpture of the National Monument. However, in this sculpture, only one woman is depicted while the other three figures are all men. Similarly, the nation's hero in the Heroes sculpture of the same monument is a man. In addition, for example, Moi's *Nyayo* philosophy, as made tangible through the *Nyayo* era monuments, is based on Christian principles and excludes other religions in the representation of the nation-state.

7.6 A New Transition Period

As the coloniser used monuments as tools of domination in colonial Nairobi, so too did the political elite in post-independence Nairobi, at least until 1992 when Kenya became a multi-party state once again. And the reading of both Nairobi's colonial and post-independence monumental landscapes illustrates the exclusion of voices. In colonial Kenya, the subaltern was composed of the colonised, the Africans. With the achievement of *uhuru*, a section of the former colonised became the dominant group and the stratification of Kenyan society shifted from being one divided along racial lines to one organised by class. Eagleton laments that the focus on culture and identity in postcolonial theory ignores issues of class.[32] The examination of Nairobi's *Nyayo* era monuments suggests that there is a need, in postcolonial studies, to address this notion of class. Up until 1992, Nairobi's postcolonial monumental landscape very much reflects political domination by Kenya's political elites. It was not until after this period and the end of Moi's presidency in 2002 that other voices slowly began to make themselves heard in Nairobi's monumental landscape. As the lifting of colonial rule created a space in the city's symbolic landscape for the expression of resistance and the inscription of new voices, so too did the lifting of Moi's authoritarian regime. This was illustrated, for example, through the political vandalism of the Nyayo Monument in 2004. More recently, in 2007, a statue of the Mau Mau freedom fighter, Dedan Kimathi, was erected in Nairobi.

[31] L. McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*, Cambridge, 1999.
[32] T. Eagleton, *After Theory*, London, 2003.

In 1993, Ngũgĩ wrote how

> British colonialism tried to cover up the true history of Kenya. They tried to rewrite Kenya's history to justify their invasion and subsequent occupation of the country. *Kenya Land Freedom Army*, the first of its kind in the post-Second World War period in Africa, became the focus of British propaganda, to prevent armed struggle becoming a model for resistance. The British even trained some Kenyans and brought them up to look at Kenya history with the eyes of the British bourgeoisie. The British propaganda history consisted of burying the real tradition of struggle and, in its place, the tradition of loyalist collaboration. ... This attempt to bury the living soul of Kenya's history of struggle and resistance, and the attempt to normalise the tradition of loyalism to imperialism has continued into neo-colonial Kenya. ... Those who run neo-colonialism are mortally afraid of any symbols or reminders of the Kenya peoples' history of struggle and resistance. And naturally, KLFA (Mau Mau) and Dedan Kimathi, as the highest symbols of that tradition, have received total official neglect or distortion.[33]

However, forty-four years after Kenya's independence, Nairobi's monumental landscape highlights the changing political situation in Kenya. In November 2006, the Ministry of State for National Heritage announced that a statue would be erected in Nairobi in honour of Kimathi. Like most of Nairobi's other post-independence monuments, it was originally going to be unveiled during the country's 2006 independence anniversary celebrations.[34] Instead it was unveiled by President Kibaki on 18 February 2007, the fiftieth anniversary of the day Kimathi was hanged by the British colonial government. The slightly larger than life-size statue of Kimathi was erected in the centre of Nairobi, on the street bearing his name. It was designed by a Kenyan artist, Kevin Oduor, with the assistance of Kenyatta University art students.[35] The life-like figurative statue is sculpted in bronze and returns to the form of the two Kenyatta statues. It depicts Kimathi in military fatigues, holding a rifle in one hand and a dagger in the other, 'the very symbols that were his last weapons in his struggle to liberate Kenyans from the yoke of colonialism.'[36]

In an article in the *East African Standard*, Godwin Siundu, a lecturer in the Department of Language and Literature at Kenya's Masinde Muliro University, describes the 'state-endorsed forgetfulness'[37] of Kenyatta's and Moi's governments in relation to the role Mau Mau played in Kenya's independence. 'Hence,' writes Siundu, 'the recent reversal of this earlier position was an apt reinsertion of the legendary nationalist in the country's public

[33] Ngũgĩ, *Moving the Centre*, 97-98.
[34] Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, http://www.kbc.co.ke/story.asp?ID=39546, accessed 7 March 2007.
[35] *EAS*, 18 February 2007; *DN*, 24 February 2007.
[36] *EAS*, 18 February 2007.
[37] G. Siundu, Reading the statue of Dedan Kimathi, *EAS*, 24 February 2007.

sphere, signifying new ways in which the Kenyan physical, historical and intellectual spaces have been semiotised.'[38] The significance of the erection of the Kimathi statue, he stresses, 'is not so much in honouring a single individual, but to guard against forgetting and acknowledging our collective role in the creation, writing and reading of our country's literature and history.'[39]

Unveiling the Kimathi Statue, Kibaki stressed that his government was committed to honouring Kenya's national heroes and heroines. 'My Government,' outlined Kibaki,

> will also form a taskforce to collect and collate views across the country on the criteria for identifying and honouring Kenya's heroes and heroines. In order to preserve the memories of their deeds for posterity, my Government has identified, demarcated, and registered the Heroes Square to be situated at the Uhuru Gardens grounds. The Heroes Square will honour our past, present and future heroes and heroines.
>
> Furthermore, my Government has over the last four years, made deliberate efforts to redress the historical injustices of the British colonial government. In September 2003, my Government lifted the colonial ban imposed on the Mau Mau in 1950, so that today the Mau Mau Veterans Association is a legally registered organization. We will continue to address the genuine historical grievances judiciously and prudently, by seeking measures of redress that will unite us and make us a stronger and more cohesive nation.[40]

Rather than the generic (male) hero commemorated in the National Monument, 'real' heroes, in the sense of named individuals given hero- or heroine-status by Kenyans, are to be identified as the creation of a Kenyan national identity takes a new turn and Nairobi's monumental landscape starts a new phase.

However, there are those doubtful of the real motives behind the recent erection of the Kimathi Statue. 'The timing, to start with, is suspect,' claims an article in the *Daily Nation*. 'This being an election year, Kenyans are likely to ask, why now?'[41] It is difficult to untangle some of the processes involved in inscribing a monumental landscape, but what is evident is the extent to which political, cultural and social relations and struggles are played out in the symbolic landscape. Michalski has described a general trend, since the mid-1990s, towards the creation of public monuments more as apolitical works of art than

[38] Siundu, Reading the statue of Dedan Kimathi.
[39] Siundu, Reading the statue of Dedan Kimathi.
[40] *State House*, Speech by His Excellency Hon. Mwai Kibaki, C.G.H., M.P., President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya on the occasion of unveiling the Dedan Kimathi Memorial Statue, Kimathi Street, Nairobi, 18th February, 2007, http://www.statehousekenya.go.ke/speeches/kibaki/feb07/2007180201.htm, accessed 7 March 2007.
[41] *DN*, 19 February 2007.

as messages and symbols inscribed into the landscape. He writes how 'The rise of ideologically neutral public sculpture has significantly eroded the functions of the public monument.'[42] Whelan has identified the tendency towards such a trend in Dublin, with the erection of the Dublin Spire in 2002.[43] However, Nairobi's monumental landscape indicates no such trend and continues to reflect the changing political, cultural and social processes in the country.

Yet not only are these changing processes and circumstances reflected through the erection of monuments, but they also affect the meaning of monuments in the landscape and how they are read. Savage describes how 'The world around a monument is never fixed. The movement of life causes monuments to be created, but then it changes how they are seen and understood.'[44] This has been illustrated, for example, in the cases of Nairobi's Queen Victoria Statue and its African War Memorial, where new meanings were projected onto these monuments with the passage of time. Such has also been the case with the colonial-era Galton-Fenzi and Obelisk monuments, where the use of the space around these monuments by the city's homeless reveals the extent to which the monuments have become anchors of place in the landscape, but not for the original intended reasons. The fluid meaning of a monument has also been demonstrated in relation to Nairobi's post-independence monuments, particularly with the Nyayo Monument, but also as reflected through the physical dilapidation of the city's other monuments. More recently Nairobi's public monuments and statues have been layered with another meaning as a move to rehabilitate these monuments has incorporated them into a wider project of commodifying Nairobi and marketing it as a tourist destination.

7.7 Further Research and Conclusion

This thesis has illustrated how the iconographic interpretation of the landscape can be validly applied in an East African context. Through the examination of public monuments and statues erected in Nairobi between 1899 to 1992, the thesis has shown how the concepts of memory, identity and power all play an important part both in shaping, and in being shaped by, the landscape. Postcolonial theory seeks to decentre the West and thus

[42] S. Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997*, London, 1998, 201.
[43] Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin*.
[44] K. Savage, The Past in the Present: The Life of Memorials, *Harvard Design Magazine* 9 (1999) 1-5, 3.

the term 'postcolonial' has been criticised for the very fact that it centres on the colonial and the event of colonialism.[45] However, the interpretation of Nairobi's landscape has illustrated how, in Kenya, it is not possible to 'divorce from the colonial times.'[46] The colonial experience shaped colonial Nairobi's landscape, while the achievement of independence from colonialism has shaped the landscape of the post-independence city. After independence Nairobi's iconographic landscape took on a very different form (see Figure 7.1), but public monuments continued to be erected in the city. And these monuments have largely focused on the fact of colonialism. They celebrate Kenya's independence from colonialism. The experience in Nairobi is very much colonial/postcolonial.

Colonial	**Postcolonial**
Figurative	Abstract
Literal	Metaphorical
Persons	Ideologies
Empire/Colony	Nation-state
Public subscription/private	State funded
Life-size	Large
Visual	Interactive
Foreign-produced	Locally-produced

Figure 7.1 Schematic differences between colonial and postcolonial monuments in Nairobi.

The interpretation of a city's monumental landscape provides geographers with an important lens with which to unravel the broader political, social and cultural processes at work in a city and country. Further research into monuments erected in other Kenyan cities and towns would be useful in determining the spatial patterning of such processes in the country, while similar such studies in other East African, or even just African, cities would help to identify East African/African trends in the monumental inscription of landscapes. Comparative studies with other ex-British colonies would enable a better appreciation of the wider colonial and postcolonial projects, and a comparative study with London, the imperial metropole, would be useful in order to expose and understand the interconnected relationship between Britain and Kenya. In addition, other avenues to

[45] Gregory, Postcolonialim; J. M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the city*, London, 1996.
[46] I Interview, Maina, Nairobi, 6 July 2005.

explore in future research could include comparisons with ex-colonies of a different empire in order to situate the experience of the British Empire.

Lewis writes that

> Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form. We rarely think of landscape that way, and so the cultural record we have "written" in the landscape is liable to be more truthful than most autobiographies because we are less self-conscious about how we describe ourselves.[47]

However, this thesis has illustrated how the process of what is written and represented in the landscape is a very selective one. The memories and identities written into, and left out of, both Nairobi's colonial and its postcolonial landscapes (until 1992) were highly controlled. In addition, this examination of Nairobi's statues and public monuments has highlighted how changing political and social contexts are very much reflected in the space of a city's iconographic landscape. This thesis has focused on the achievement of independence as a turning point in Nairobi's changing monumental landscape and the monuments erected in Nairobi before and after independence can be broadly schematised according to their differences (Figure 7.1). However, recent developments suggest a trend towards a new phase in Nairobi's symbolic landscape, a turning point linked to the introduction of a new political regime under the National Rainbow Coalition in 2002, marking the end of the post-independence political domination of KANU. The new phase in Nairobi's monumental landscape indicates a desire to create a Kenyan national identity through the identification and celebration of the country's heroes. However, the promise to recognise and commemorate Kenya's heroes has been criticised by some as a political ploy in anticipation of the presidential elections in December 2007. The results of these elections will undoubtedly determine what course the development of Nairobi's landscape will follow.

As this study of Nairobi has illustrated, monumental landscapes are in a continual state of flux, whether as a result of the addition or removal of monuments, or through the changing meanings of monuments in the landscape. An understanding of this process of change in the form and meaning of the monumental landscape is an essential component of any broader understanding of the evolving cultural geography of Nairobi and Kenya.

[47] P. F. Lewis, Axioms for Reading the Landscape, in: Meinig (Ed), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, 11-32, 12.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ADDRESSES MADE TO DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AT UNVEILING OF QUEEN VICTORIA STATUE, 17 MARCH 1906[1]

The Townspeople's Address:

Read by Sub-Commissioner for the province of Ukamba, John Ainsworth.

May it please your Royal Highness.

On behalf of the officials and residents of Nairobi and District I beg most humbly to ask your Royal Highness to accept from us the heartiest and best of welcomes, we feel and recognise that it is an unprecedented honour for a country as young as this to receive a visit from members of the Royal Family.

Nairobi and her institutions are but in their infancy and your gracious kindness in coming here to-day marks an epoch in the history of the town of which we are justly proud and which shall ever be remembered with feelings of loyalty and gratitude.

We are confident that in due course this, probably the youngest portion of His Majesty's dominions, will not be the least prized among his many possessions, and your Royal Highness' presence here to-day must add additional strength to our endeavour to place this country well into the front rank of the British Empire. Assembled here to honour you to-day are representatives of every community in British East Africa.

There is hardly one of His Majesty's dominions but has contributed sons or daughters to our present gathering, and although composed of many and varied races but one feeling that beats in every heart this day, that of loyalty and devotion to King Edward's throne.

I would ask your Royal Highness to be graciously pleased to permit me to present to you, Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee, a gentleman who has done much for the prosperity of his town, he has now very generously presented these garden walls and this statue of our late Queen Victoria of beloved memory, which on behalf of the residents of Nairobi, I ask your Royal Highness to be graciously pleased to unveil.

The Colonists' Association Address:

Read by Mr. McLellan Wilson, Secretary of the Colonists' Association.

To

H. R. H. Fieldmarshal Duke of Connaught and Strathearn Inspector General of the Forces, K. G., K. P., K. T.

May it please your Royal Highness.

The Colonists' Association which is the only body at present directly representing the Settlers of the Protectorate, desire to heartily welcome you, their Royal Highness's the Duchess of Connaught and the Princess Patricia on your arrival in British East Africa.

[1] *EAS*, 24 March 1906.

We believe that this is the first occasion on which a Prince of the Royal blood has visited this part of the King's dominions, and as the pioneers as one of the youngest members of the Empire, we feel deeply the honour you have done us. We sincerely hope your Royal Highness' visit, although unfortunately brief may be both interesting and enjoyable.

As the brother of our beloved King we wish your Royal Highness to convey to His Majesty and Her Majesty Queen Alexandra our sentiments of the most loyal and affectionate devotion.

British Indian's Address:

Read by Mr. Ghandy on behalf of the Indian Community.

To His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn K. G., K. P., K. T.

May it please your Royal Highness.

It is with the profoundest sentiments of joy and gratitude that we the Indian subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, now residing in Nairobi, offer You and their Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught and the Princess Patricia, our most sincere and hearty welcome on the occasion of this your first visit to Nairobi.

We pray Your Royal Highness to convey to His Majesty, the King-Emperor, the assurance of the devoted loyalty of his Indian subjects to his person and throne.

In conclusion, we wish you and their Royal Highness' the Duchess of Connaught and the Princess Patricia many years of health and happiness.

APPENDIX II

FUND APPEALS FOR KING GEORGE VI MEMORIAL

The Mayor's Appeal[2]

As Mayor of Nairobi and Chairman of the Committee formed to raise a Memorial to His late Majesty King George VI, I appeal to all citizens to give freely to the Memorial Fund which opens on the 6th February.

The Memorial Fountain to be constructed in City Square will be a permanent and worthy reminder of our late beloved King, whose wisdom, humanity and grace endeared him to all peoples of the Commonwealth and Empire. His memorial is to have an important place in the heart of Nairobi – the town which by his royal prerogative became a City four years ago.

Let us now give generously to honour the Sovereign who, throughout his reign, gave so unstintingly in service to us all.

From the President, Indian Chamber of Commerce[3]

It is my proud privilege and honour to join with the City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal Committee in their appeal for funds to erect a Fountain in memory of His late Majesty King George VI. I am confident that all those to whom this appeal is addressed will contribute generously.

His late Majesty King George VI has been an out-standing example of inspiration, courage and sacrifice throughout his reign but more so during the last war. He has been an ideal constitutional monarch.

By the erection of the Fountain we shall erect a memorial which will remind posterity how much we loved our KING.
M. K. Malde

Cable from His Highness the Aga Khan[4]

The Mayor, Nairobi:

I sincerely hope that the citizens of Nairobi irrespective of race and religion will unite to have a worthy King George VI Memorial established in the Capital of Kenya and one of the most important and beautiful cities in Africa. When the lists are open, I myself will have the honour of contributing, though unfortunately an absentee. With kindest regards,
AGA KHAN.

[2] KNA RN/4/108; KNA CS/2/1/412: 32; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[3] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[4] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.

Message from Councillor Kairu Ngure[5]

As the senior African member of the Nairobi City Council, it is my privilege to support the appeal for funds to build a memorial to His Majesty the late King George VI.

I believe that citizens of all races will have sympathy with this cause, but I appeal particularly to Africans in Nairobi to show, by making donations however small, that they honour the principles of godliness, brotherhood and tolerance by which King George's life and reign were moulded.

(signed) K. Ngure

From the President, Nairobi Chamber of Commerce[6]

I take this opportunity of commending the Memorial Fund Appeal to fellow business men of all races in the City of Nairobi. They will, I feel sure, esteem it a privilege to contribute handsomely in response to the personal appeal made by His Worship the Mayor, the Chairman of the Appeal Committee.

The Fountain to be erected on a well chosen site on the west side of City Square, will, I hope, be worthy of the memory of our beloved Monarch, the late King George VI, a Sovereign whose life was dedicated to the service of God and to his people.

(signed) J. J. Hughes,
President, Nairobi Chamber of Commerce.

Message from Sir Evelyn Baring[7]

As Patrons of the City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund Appeal which is being launched on 6th February, my wife and I are privileged to express the hope, which we have no doubt is shared by many, that people of all races, not only in Nairobi, but throughout the Colony, will subscribe generously towards the commemoration in our capital of His Late Majesty King George VI.

No city in the Commonwealth, and particularly Nairobi, where he was well-known as Duke of York, would be complete without its memorial to this great leader who devoted his life to our service and who during his reign was an inspiration to his subjects in all parts of the world.

Message from Sir Philip Mitchell and Lady Mitchell[8]

On the 6th February, 1952, we received in Nairobi the grievous news of the death of our King. It was a day of sorrow and mourning for us all in Kenya, the more poignant after the happy days of ceremony and rejoicing for our Princess and Prince Philip.

On this 6th February, 1954, the Mayor and Council of Nairobi, long resolved that the City should commemorate in fitting manner the great reign and noble life of His Majesty King George VI, appeal to the citizens especially but also to the country at large, for funds to carry their resolve into effect. There will surely be a very generous response.

[5] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[6] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[7] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.
[8] KNA RN/4/108; *EAS*, 5 February 1954.

Their plan is to build a fountain in the City Square, in the heart of State and Civic Authority, where stands the statue of the King's famous father; where, as the years pass and the pages of our history, so recently begun, are written in honest purpose and high endeavour, there will be other memorials to those who have earned honour by service. It is a very fitting plan, for the King is the fountain of honour, as Francis Bacon wrote long ago.

My wife and I, in our retirement, are very conscious of the privilege of being associated with this appeal. We commend it with all our hearts to the goodwill and generous support of all our fellow countrymen and women, the people of Kenya, be their origins what they may.

(signed) Philip Mitchell,
Margery Mitchell.

Mayor's Broadcast[9]

Good evening. Tomorrow, the 6th February is the second anniversary of a d ay few of us will ever forget, when our joy in the visit to Kenya of H. R. H. the Princess Elizabeth and her husband was suddenly shattered by the news of the passing of King George VI. It seemed, indeed, as it has since proved to be, the end of an era in which the wise and human personality of our beloved Sovereign had radiated goodness and hope, in a world beset by wars and shadows of wars. A committee of which I am Chairman was set up to consider the form of a visible memorial to the late King's memory. It was no easy decision to make, but we finally agreed that the memorial should be a fountain in our City Square, within a stone's throw of the new Legislative Council building. We made few stipulations as to its design, and decided to sponsor an open Competition for designers in East Africa and elsewhere, with a first prize of £100 for the most suitable and worth design. This competition has recently been advertised. We have set ourselves the target of £6,000 as the cost of the memorial. Our public appeal for funds opens, appropriately, tomorrow, the anniversary of the King's death, under the distinguished patronage of His Excellency the Governor and Lady Mary Baring, His Highness the Aga Khan and the Begum, and Sir Philip and Lady Mitchell, from whom I have received, during the past few days, encouraging messages of support for this Appeal.

I have great hopes that the money we need will be fully subscribed during my term of office as Mayor. For citizens of Nairobi, the memorial has a special significance because it was a Charter of King George VI that our town became a City. However, I am sure many up-country people listening tonight will wish to support the Appeal, in the knowledge that any money remaining after the memorial has been paid for will be held and paid into any Colony-wide memorial Fund which is inaugurated. I can disclose that the sum of £1,000 has been paid into the Fund by individuals and firms who have already heard of our Appeal. This is a grand start and demonstrates that the memorial fountain scheme is one which is close to the hearts of many of our citizens.

May I ask you therefore, for your personal support and a donation, now, before you forget. Any contributions, however small, will be welcomed, and in this connection I would like to mention that I am sure a number of schools will co-operate and make collections among their pupils. All gifts will be acknowledged. Cheques should be made payable to the City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund and sent to the Town Hall, P.O. Box 651 Nairobi. Let me repeat the name of the Fund. City of Nairobi King George VI Memorial Fund, and the address is the Town Hall, P.O. Box 651, Nairobi.

Goodnight, and thank you for listening.

[9] KNA RN/4/108.

APPENDIX III

ADDRESSES MADE AT UNVEILING OF OBELISK, OPENING OF MEMORIAL HALL AND PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT, 29 NOVEMBER 1924[10]

Governor's Address, Obelisk Unveiling:

I regard my duty to-day not as a pleasure or privilege but as a high honour. It is to unveil the column of stone which will stand as a memorial of those East African men and women who laid down their lives in the Great War.

We commemorate in this obelisk deed of great valour and sacrifice, acts of mercy and succour, and times of great leadership and privation willingly undergone for the spirit of justice and right.

In this Memorial to Our Glorious Dead, we all feel that we have a monument to friends who had shared the trials and difficulties of a great work in a young country, and who willingly sacrificed all they had in its defence.

We owe them an infinite debt of gratitude, and we cannot repay that debt better than providing their faith justified, so that the country may attain that position they had anticipate and worked for but were never destined to see. While, therefore, we pay homage to their memory, let us also read the less which they taught us in the way they would have had us read it. In no part of the Empire was the response to the call more nobly met. Death took a heavy toll of our numbers. But they did not die in vain if their memory leaves us with a nobler conception of duty to our King, to our Colony, and to ourselves.

Governor's Address, Memorial Hall Opening:

This Hall which I am now about to declare open stands upon land which has been reserved for the European Colonists of Kenya; it has been erected by the trustees of the Colonists Plot and the Committee of the East African War Memorial Fund with a dual purpose to commemorate those Europeans of the Colony who laid down their lives in the Great War and to provide a building which shall always be used by and be at the disposal of the European Colonists of Kenya.

I regard it as very appropriate that the satisfaction of this need should be so intimately associated with the memory of those Colonists who were pioneers in the development of this Colony, who led the way in proving its potentialities, and finally who sacrificed their lives for it in the time of great need. I trust that this Hall may long remain as a centre for good work in this Colony's service, and that there will always abide within and about it the memory of those whose spirit it enshrines.

[10] *EAS*, 1 December 1924.

Address by Mr. C. K. Archer, Portrait Presentation:

It has developed upon me, by reason of the office which I hold, to be the humble instrument of the Colony at this ceremony – the presentation to Lord Delamere of the portrait which you see before you. I can assure you that I regard it as a very great honour.

We were told last week by one of the departing Commissioners that should the people of this Colony be called upon to point out their monument they might fairly say "Look around you." I know of no one who could say so with just so claim as Lord Delamere who for the last 20 years has stamped his personality with increasing emphasis upon this country. We have had our governors of great ability, men who have in varying degree left their mark upon the land of their administration, and perhaps I may be permitted to say that none will have left a deeper or more enduring mark than our present governor when in the course of time he comes to relinquish his high office – but I feel that no single one of them would deny to Lord Delamere the credit for a large share in the successful development of Kenya. Whether as private citizen, as pioneer farmer, as Executive Councillor, as member of the War Council, or as leader of the Unofficial side of the Legislature he has worked – and worked without sparing himself - in the public interest and for the attainment of certain objects dear to his heart – the spread and consolidation of British influence in Eastern Africa, and the ultimate lifting of this part of the Empire on to the plane of the Self-Governing Dominions.

These aims are not the dreams of the idealist or the obsessions of the fanatic – on the contrary they are sane, tangible, concrete and attainable and have for their foundation honest common sense and that type of practical patriotism which reminds one inevitably of that great Empire builder in the South, Cecil Rhodes. The parallel goes even further; Lord Delamere has the rare faculty, so well exemplified in Rhodes, of keeping in light the ultimate goal of his endeavours and of never allowing the activities of the moment, no matter how exacting or how absorbing they may be, to divert his gaze from the far horizon.

Of the affection of those who have from time to time had the privilege of working with Lord Delamere, I need not speak he must be aware of it; of the esteem and regard of the Colony as a whole of its confidence in his leadership, his portrait, the gift of the Colony, is the outward and visible expression.

Of this we must feel sure; that when succeeding generations look upon the features which have been admirably portrayed by one of the leading artists of the day, they will be reminded of a great gentleman and a great Imperial statesman, and, I trust, of the Colony's first Prime Minister.

Lord Delamere, on behalf of this Colony, may I ask your acceptance of this portrait?

APPENDIX IV

ADDRESSES MADE AT UNVEILING OF AFRICAN WAR MEMORIAL, 20 MAY 1928,[11] AND INSCRIPTION ON MEMORIAL

Sir Edward Grigg's Speech:

The Monument which we have gathered to honour to-day is raised to the memory of the gallant men who fell in the service of the King in East African during the Great War. The ceremony of unveiling has been long delayed. The reason was a simple one. The Monument was originally placed some distance from the Cenotaph round which the Armistice Ceremony takes place on November 11th every year. In that position it could not have been included in the great annual commemoration of those who fell in the War. But no one wished that it should be forgotten on that day, and since a second ceremony would have been very difficult to hold, it was decided unanimously that the Monument should be moved to this spot opposite the Cenotaph where it stands to-day.

This delay has been fortunate in one way. It has enabled us to invite Her Highness Princess Marie Louise, Queen Victoria's grand-daughter, to perform the ceremony of unveiling this morning. His Majesty the King is Colonel-in-Chief of the King's African Rifles. That Regiment is one of his own Regiments and it is therefore fitting indeed that this unveiling should be performed by a member of His Majesty's own Family. In the name of the Regiment, and in the name of the whole Colony, I should like to express our gratitude to Her Highness for consenting to perform this duty to-day.

The Monument is raised to the memory of the gallant African Troops and Carriers who are depicted in the group of statuary which will shortly be unveiled. It is a thing of beauty, worthy of great devotion and signal sacrifice which it commemorates. The splendid service of those African troops to this Colony and to us who live after them must never die in our memories. I feel sure that this memorial to those gallant men will always be highly prized and greatly honoured by the people of Kenya.

The African Troops who served the king in the War were distinguished by two great military qualities, valour and endurance. There is no greater test of the character and discipline of troops. Valour has always been the distinguishing mark of the Officers and men of the King's African Rifles.

So splendid was their record in the War, when no fewer than 22 Battalions of the King's African Rifles were raised, that, as I have already said, His Majesty the King consented to become their Colonel-in-Chief just three years ago. It would take too long to follow the achievement of the Regiment through the East African Campaign. But those achievements, inscribed upon their Colours, were many and glorious. Suffice it here to say that no troops had harder conditions to face and that no troops of whatever race served the King more nobly in the often desperate ordeals which marked the East African Campaign.

Great valour was also displayed by many of the Africans who served as Carriers. Again and again they had to bring up ammunition under fire; again in emergency when the teams of the machine guns had been killed or wounded, they themselves served the guns, and served them well. But the most signal feature of their service was the splendid endurance which they showed. Without the long lines of communication, which depended

[11] *EAS*, 21 May 1928.

absolutely on them, the fighting troops could never have advanced or fought at all. Exacting times, their service became a fierce ordeal indeed, when in the midst of the Campaign in Tanganyika there came a year of unusually heavy rain. At one period on the Dodoma-Iringa road Carriers were bearing provisions for the troops waist deep in water for nine miles. I do not believe that greater endurance was shown in the War by any of those who served the King. To those two qualities of the African Troops, to that valour, to that endurance, and to their splendid record in all ways, we pay tribute with our hearts to-day.

There is one feature of the Memorial which is, I think an especially happy one. Dedicated in the first instance to the Native Africans who served the King, it is also dedicated to the memory of all men of whatever race who feel in the East African theatre. All those to whom this Monument is raised belonged to one great comradeship, whatever their race. In that comradeship at that time the whole Empire was bound. Without our help the Africans who fought for the King could not have held this, their own land. Without their help we should have had to weaken this already hard-pressed line in France and elsewhere in order to defend the King's possessions in East Africa. Throughout the Empire in those days we were united by the great struggle in one common purpose, and that common purpose, to the utmost of our strength we served.

The struggle, the enmities, are now passed, but there is a moral in that great comradeship of War which we, who live in these latter days, should not forget. In the War we fought for what we believed to be just, what we believed to be fair. Inscribed on our banners was fairness to all, so that all men might have their due share in the wealth of the land their due share in this government. That rule of fairness and justice for which these gallant men fought and died must still at all times rule our minds. No race in Kenya can prosper long, or surely by looking only to its own interests. We must strive to understand each other's needs, to respect each other's rights, to help each other's progress, if all races are to enjoy peace, plenty and happiness in this, our common land.

This Monument, raised after a common victory, stands a witness to what the races can accomplish by mutual service, mutual help. Let all who honour it to-day strive always to promote that spirit of goodwill between the races, upon which the welfare of each and all depends.

Men of the King's African Rifles, England will always remember your name with honour and gratitude.

I have great pleasure in asking Her Highness Princess Marie Louise to unveil the Memorial.

Princess Marie Louise's Address:

It is to me an honour and a privilege to have been asked by His Excellency the Governor to perform this great ceremony – namely, the unveiling of the Memorial to the Native African Troops and to the Carriers who laid down their lives in the fulfilment of their duty at the call of their King.

The War record of the King's African Rifles is one which will ever stand out as an example of bravery and heroic devotion to duty among the annals of the long and glorious history of the armies of the British Empire. Never let us forget that although their battlefield was thousands of miles away from that terrific struggle for right and freedom throughout the world the King's African Rifles were a vital part of that long line which stretched from the shore of the mother country across France, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, Egypt to Africa. Had these men, whose memory we honour to-day, failed in endurance and courage that line of resistance against the furious onslaught of the enemy overseas would have been weakened.

Let us pause for one moment and realise what it cost East Africa to hold that line. In the 22 Battalions of the King's African Rifles raised in the War, the native rank and file:

Killed and died of wounds was.....7,281
Wounded.....5,865
Missing or prisoners.....476
TOTAL.....13,622

These figures represent the fighting forces.

Now let us remember the Carriers without whom the Army would not have existed.

Killed and died of wounds.....42,318
Wounded.....1,322
Missing.....622
TOTAL.....44,262

These figures need no comment. They speak only too forcibly for the loyalty, the supreme sacrifice, that the African gave as his share in the Great War.

I return to England to-morrow. I carry with me many precious memories, but to-day's ceremony stands out as the most hallowed memory of this long and interesting tour in Africa the country I love so much.

To your Colonel-in-Chief, it will be a source of deep interest that I, the King's Cousin, should have unveiled the Memorial to His Regiment. His Army is to him his children. He is in close touch with all that concerns them and their welfare is ever near his heart.

I end these words by repeating the words inscribed on your Memorial.

"If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name."

Inscription on Memorial:

THIS IS TO THE NATIVE AFRICAN TROOPS WHO FOUGHT: TO THE CARRIERS WHO WERE THE FEET AND HANDS OF THE ARMY: AND TO ALL OTHER MEN WHO SERVED AND DIED FOR THEIR KING AND COUNTRY IN EASTERN AFRICA IN THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918. IF YOU FIGHT FOR YOUR COUNTRY EVEN IF YOU DIE, YOUR SONS WILL REMEMBER YOUR NAME.

APPENDIX V

GENERAL SIR ALAN CUNNINGHAM'S ADDRESS AT UNVEILING OF EAST AFRICA MEMORIAL, 21 JANUARY 1956[12]

This Memorial is one of a series built by the War Graves Commission to the memory of the men and of the land forces of the British Commonwealth who fell in the war of 1939/45, and who have no known grave. Here also are commemorated on individual headstones over the graves and on another memorial in this cemetery, the names of many of their comrades.

The Memorial covers the campaigns in Somaliland, in that part of Ethiopia occupied by East Africa Force, in Kenya and in Madagascar: in fact, those campaigns which, taken in conjunction with those launched from the Sudan, resulted in the final collapse of the Italian Empire in East Africa. It bears too the names of six hundred soldiers who were lost in the sinking of the Troopship Khedive Ismail in the Indian Ocean and whose only grave was the sea.

In these days the many years of long and bitter fighting which occurred later in North Africa, Burma and Europe, would naturally tend to obscure the first successes of British Arms in the war under Lord Wavell, initially in Libya, and immediately afterwards in Eritrea, Somaliland and Ethiopia. Yet many of us here can remember the time in 1940 when our numbers and equipment seemed puny considered against the vastly superior numbers of the Italian Forces opposing us, and when very little seemed to stand between Moyale and Nairobi.

We remember the shortage and deprivations which the men whom we are met here today to honour had to suffer.

We remember their experiences on land and sea, to many of them unexpected and unknown, and hence potentially vastly more dismaying.

We remember the great distances covered by them with little water and unvaried diet: the extremes of heat and cold, rain and dry: their cheerfulness and willingness in all conditions.

We remember their steadfastness in the face of the enemy, and their eagerness to prove themselves the better men.

From all these memories there will remain always with us our intense admiration for their courage, and for the spirit with which they endured hardships so severe to attain at last a final and complete success.

No Commander could have wished for better troops.

[12] KNA OP/1/387.

The 2,402 men and women whose names are recorded here came from the lands and territories of East, West, Central and South Africa, India, Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

It is almost exactly fifteen years ago that, on February 11th, 1941, the troops of East Africa Force, formed the units of all these different races, marched out on the first stage of their journey towards their goal. Thereafter side by side and shoulder to shoulder, with all thought of differences of creed or race submerged in a common object, they fought on, in close co-operation and with ever increasing mutual respect, to save Africa from the tyranny of the Dictators.

By these means only could success have been won, with the result that all Africa South of the Mediterranean shores was saved to work out its own destiny.

Now once again has Africa reached a critical stage. I am sure that all those of us who were associated so closely together in the comradeship of those distant days will pray that once again by the same methods of co-operation, good will and mutual trust the various peoples of this Continent will solve their problems and bring peace and prosperity to their lands. Then, those whom we are honouring here today, and those near to them whom they left behind, may feel that their sacrifice has not been in vain.

To the Glory of God and in memory of brave men, I have the honour to unveil this Memorial.

APPENDIX VI

FUND APPEAL FOR GALTON-FENZI MEMORIAL[13]

Appeal by Joseph Sheridan, President of the Royal East African Automobile Association, Nairobi, 29 January 1938.

Dear Sir/Madam,

A great many members of this Association having expressed a desire that some form of Memorial should be erected to the memory of the late Mr. L. D. Galton-Fenzi, as a permanent remembrance of his great work in the development of East Africa, the matter was considered at a meeting of the full committee held in the New Stanley Hotel when it was resolved to appoint a small sub-committee to arrange for the erection of a suitable Memorial.

Those who have lived for some years in this country know something of Mr. Galton-Fenzi's achievements and how, in 1919 he gathered together a small band of motoring enthusiasts and, with their help, founded the "R.E.A.A.A." and from that date until the time of his death, worked unceasingly for the good of the motoring public and built up the Association to a position of world-wide repute.

Those who have not been in East Africa so long, may perhaps not realise that it is to the energy of this one man that we owe the existence of some of our most important roads. At a time when funds for road survey work were scarce, Mr. Galton-Fenzi himself set out from Nairobi with one or two friends and blazed the trail where no car had ever been before, firstly northwards through Uganda to the Sudan Border, later southwards to Dar-es-Salaam and onwards through Southern Tanganyika to Lake Nyasa and afterwards to Mombasa.

When one considers the volume of tourist traffic these routes carry into East Africa and how more and more this volume is increasing, something of the debt of gratitude the country owes to such an intrepid spirit is realised and the need for some permanent and visible Memorial becomes apparent.

The sub-committee above referred to have recommended that the Memorial should take the form of an obeliscal mile stone of simple design facing north, south, east and west with plaques or inscriptions on the appropriate sides setting out the names of the chief towns in Africa from Cairo to the Cape and from Mombasa to the West Coast with the mileages thereto from Nairobi; on the Pedestal or base of the Mile Stone would be the inscription to the late Mr. Galton-Fenzi.

The Memorial, it is recommended, should be erected in Delamere Avenue, Nairobi, and the Municipal Council have agreed to a site.

[13] KNA GH/7/5: 118.

In asking your help to enable us to realise this project, I feel sure that we shall not ask in vain. If every member and sympathiser will come forward with even a few shillings, it will enable us to erect a fitting Memorial to the memory of one who gave so much to the country whose interests we all have so much at heart. For those who come after us, such a Memorial will be a perpetual reminder of what one man, by indomitable courage and enthusiasm, was able to achieve.

Will you kindly mark your donation "L. D. Galton-Fenzi Memorial Fund" and forward it to the Secretary, R.E.A.A.A., P. O. Box 87, Nairobi, by whom it will be acknowledged.

APPENDIX VII

ADDRESSES MADE AT UNVEILING OF GALTON-FENZI MEMORIAL, 17 MAY 1940

Address by A. C. Tannahill to Governor Moore at unveiling ceremony of Galton-Fenzi Memorial:[14]

Your Excellency, Lady Moore, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Three years and two days ago, on the 15th May 1937, Mr. L. D. Galton-Fenzi, an Officer of the most excellent order of the British Empire and an Officer of the order of Leopold II, died; the great community of motorists in East Africa in general and the Royal East African Automobile Association in particular lost a man who had done possible more than any one lese in East Africa, not only to open the way to motorists but thereafter to facilitate in every way possible the comings and goings of the motoring public on their lawful occasions.

It was the unanimous opinion of the Association, backed by the very many friends of the late Mr. Galton-Fenzi, that so splendid a record should be perpetuated by a lasting Memorial.

Mrs. Galton-Fenzi was consulted and consented, with a request that the form of the Memorial should be studiously plain, if possible in the nature of a great stone.

From this request was evolved the idea of a mile stone and, subsequently, a milliary stone – a stone which besides perpetuating a memory, would fulfil the function of the ancient "London Stone", now in the southern wall of St. Swithin's, the milliary from which, in Roman times, the miles were measured.

So it was decided and so it has been done.

The Worshipful Mayor and the Council of Nairobi offered this island at the crossing of four roads, which run approximately north, south, east and west, as the site for the Memorial.

Mr. Harold E. Henderson, F.R.I.B.A. made the design

Mr. G. J. Laing built the Memorial to the design

Mr. H. C. Long computed the latitude, longitude and altitude inscribed in Kenya Marble on the northern side of this memorial.

Many people have subscribed to the cost of the construction and I am able to assure those present that the entire cost has been subscribed and every item of the cost has been paid.

Lastly, today, the bronze table was fixed into its appointed place and Your Excellency has very kindly consented to unveil it, thus performing the concluding act in the perpetuation of the memory of that skilled and intrepid pioneer, Lionel Douglas Galton-Fenzi.

I am instructed by all concerned to request Your Excellency to perform this ceremony.

[14] KNA GH/7/5: 141.

Governor's speech at unveiling of Galton-Fenzi memorial:[15]

Mr. Tannahill, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As an old member of the Royal East African Automobile Association who had the privilege of working with Mr. Galton-Fenzi on the Committee of the Association, it gives me particular pleasure that it should have fallen to my lot to-day to unveil this tablet which will always remain as a lasting tribute to the memory of one who did so much for the development and improvement of our motor road communications in East Africa.

Apart from such personal pioneering work, the late Mr. Galton-Fenzi was for eighteen years the untiring Honorary Secretary of the Royal East African Automobile Association. All who worked with him recognised his untiring enthusiasm for the cause he had so much at heart. His work was a labour of love and as a result of the organisation he set up motorists in East Africa have been provided with many of the facilities provided by the Automobile Association at home, such as the supply of route and weather reports, of international triptyques, and the siting of danger and mileage signs. The activities of the Association have necessarily been curtailed by the war, but I have no doubt they will be resumed thereafter and will prove a no less lasting tribute to his energy and devotion than this memorial which I unveil to-day.

There could be no greater proof of the general esteem in which the late Mr. Galton-Fenzi was held than the fact that the entire cost of this Memorial has been raised by public subscription, and that the Worshipful Mayor and Council of Nairobi and the Municipality have given so desirable a site for its erection. I am sure Mrs. Galton-Fenzi would wish me to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have contributed to the memorial, and the Nairobi Municipality for making the site available, and also of congratulating Mr. Harold Henderson who was responsible for its design, Mr. Laing who built it to the design, and Mr. Long for computing latitude, longitude and altitude inscribed on the northern side of the Memorial.

[15] KNA GH/7/4: 147; *EAS*, 20 May 1940.

APPENDIX VIII

LORD FRANCIS SCOTT'S ADDRESS AT UNVEILING OF DELAMERE STATUE, 6 AUGUST 1946[16]

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are gathered here to-day to do honour to the greatest Englishman who ever came and lived in East Africa, and I feel it a very great honour that I have the privilege to-day to unveil this statue of the late Lord Delamere. H.E. the Governor is unfortunately away on duty and so unable to be present, but he has sent the following message:-

"My dear Lord Francis,

I very much regret that being absent at the Coast I have not the pleasure and privilege of taking part in person in today's ceremony of unveiling the memorial to Lord Delamere. I had not the good fortune ever to meet him but I am, of course, well aware of the great and constructive part he played in opening up and developing this Colony which owes so much to his genius and generosity. It is most fitting that a statue of this great man should stand in the centre of the fine Avenue which bears his name, to be a witness for all time to what high vision and tenacity of purpose can achieve.

Yours sincerely,

P. C. Mitchell."

The statue itself was subscribed for by the people of East Africa and is a very fine work of art sculptured by Lady Kennet, who unfortunately had never met Lord Delamere and so had to work entirely from photographs. The result however I hope you will consider to be a worthy memorial to this great man.

Hugh Cholmondeley, 3rd Lord Delamere, first came to East African to shoot big game, but fortunately the country held such a fascination for him that he decided to settle here and made his home near Njoro, where he took up a large acreage of land. After the First World War all this land was subdivided and is now fully developed by a large number of farmers. Lord Delamere by then had moved to Soysambu near Elementaita, and during his later years lived mostly at Loresho, near Kabete, where he died in 1931.

From the first Lord Delamere was convinced that this country was well suited to European colonisation, a belief from which he never wavered. Accordingly he set himself to prove it, so that others of his race could come out and fill up the empty spaces that then abounded. In that wonderfully interesting book "White Man's Country" you can read how he never spared himself or his money to prove that wheat could be grown, and European cattle and sheep and horses reared, and it was due to his selfless efforts that the foundations of White Settlement in Kenya were firmly laid. Kenya was in truth his child, a child he loved dearly. His only thought was how could he help on the development of this child, his own personal interests taking a very back place. Certainly to Lord D, as he was always affectionately known, the welfare of the country was all that mattered, his own personal position counted not at all.

Whilst he can truly be called the Father of White Settlement, he also held a higher position in the eyes of the Africans, and especially of the Masai, than any other European

[16] UoN FS/8/10: 87; *EAS*, 7 August 1946.

has ever held. He was always known to them affectionately as "Delamere" without any prefix, and many a Masai child has been named after him.

As a politician he was always far sighted and had the gift of seeing what really mattered and what did not. Again in politics he cared nothing for his own personal position but only for what he believed to be in the best interests of his beloved Kenya, and indeed of all East Africa, as he held broad views about the future of all the East African territories, and always had hoped for largely increased White Settlement in the Highlands of Tanganyika, a project in which he collaborated with Sir Donald Cameron, the then Governor. His belief in the need for the closest possible liaison between all the East African territories was put into practical effect by the Conferences which he organised at his own expense at Tukuyu and the Victoria Falls.

He never bothered to become a great orator, but his speeches were always full of good material and well worth careful study. On the other hand he was first class in debate, with a great gift of rapier-like repartee. The main objective of his politics was always to strengthen White Settlement in the hopes that in due course this country would develop to its own self government in the best traditions of the rest of our Empire.

Lord Delamere was twice married to two very remarkable and lovely ladies, both of whom gave their lives to this country at early ages. Though Florence Lady Delamere died in 1914, her beauty and charm still lives in the memories of those who knew her. Gladys Lady Delamere was still with us till a few years ago, and is well remembered and loved. She was actually Mayor of this town when the site of this statue was selected.

There is only one son by the first marriage, the present Lord Delamere, and I am sure we all hope he will come out to Kenya before long.

Ladies and Gentlemen it now falls to my lot to unveil this statue of this great East African, looking up the Avenue that bears his name, a name that will live for ever in the annals of East Africa, and especially in those of Kenya.

APPENDIX IX

PROGRAMME OF TENTH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS[17]

Friday 7th December 1973

- State race meeting.

Saturday 8th December 1973

- International football match – Kenya vs Egypt - at Nairobi City Stadium.
- Final of the National 'Miss Tenth Anniversary' Beauty Competition at Nairobi Hilton Hotel.

Sunday 9th December 1973

- National Day of Thanksgiving
- Annual Jamhuri race meeting at Ngong.

Monday 10th December 1973

- National Mural at Kenyatta Conference Centre unveiled by President Kenyatta.
- Kenyatta Statue at Kenyatta Conference Centre unveiled by Vice-President Moi.
- Civic luncheon hosted by the Mayor of Nairobi.
- Freedom of the City conferred on the Seventh Battalion Kenya Rifles.
- International football match – Nigeria vs Egypt – at Nairobi City Stadium.
- National reception at Parliament Buildings hosted by Vice-President Moi – 'the major public reception of the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations.'

Tuesday 11th December 1973

- National pageantry procession in city, leading to Uhuru Park. Mobile floats on display depicting Kenya's agricultural, commercial, industrial, social and cultural development over the past ten years.
- Cultural display in Uhuru Gardens incorporating national teams of traditional dancers, national school choirs, dancing displays by the Scandinavia fold dancing group, the Indian national dances and the Pipes, Drums and Sword dancers of the Royal Scots Regiment.
- 'Hymn of Freedom', specially composed to commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of Independence, sung by one hundred 'Uhuru Children', children born on 12 December 1963, selected from all districts of Kenya.
- Watering of the Tree of Independence.
- Military flag-raising ceremony in Uhuru Gardens.
- Fireworks display, which included depictions of the Kenya National coat of arms and the portraits of President Kenyatta and his wife, Mama Ngina.

[17] *Approved programme for Tenth Anniversary Celebrations*, KNA AHC/4/1: 21; *DN*, December 1973; *EAS*, December 1973.

Wednesday 12th December 1973

- National review of the Kenya Armed Forces by the President as Commander-in-Chief, at Jamhuri Park.
- Presidential address, Jamhuri Park.
- Anniversary State House luncheon, followed by State House garden party.
- International football match – Zambia vs Kenya – at Nairobi City Stadium.
- Tenth Anniversary Ball at Kenyatta Conference Centre.

Thursday 13th December 1973

- Preview of the Tenth Anniversary Film at the Nairobi Cinema.
- International boxing match – USSR vs Kenya – at Nairobi City Stadium.

Friday 14th December 1973

- Degree ceremony at the University of Nairobi. Honorary degree awarded to President Kenyatta.
- Second preview of the Tenth Anniversary Film at Nairobi City Stadium.

APPENDIX X

PROGRAMME OF TWENTIETH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS[18]

Monday 5th December 1983

- Nyayo House, the new Nairobi Provincial Headquarters building, officially opened by President Moi.
- Magereza House, the new prisons headquarters, officially opened by President Moi.

Tuesday 6th December 1983

- National Youth Service headquarters officially opened by President Moi.

Wednesday 7th December 1983

- President visited KANU Headquarters and signed visitor's book.
- Wreath laid at Kenyatta's Mausoleum by President Moi.
- Nyayo Fountain, Uhuru Park inaugurated by President Moi.
- Graduation ceremony held at the University of Nairobi at which President Moi awarded graduating students with their degrees/diplomas.

Thursday 8th December 1983

- Foundation stone laying ceremony of the National Sports Complex.
- Official opening of Utalii House by President Moi.
- Netball match – Kenya vs Tanzania – at Nairobi Stadium.

Friday 9th December 1983

- KANU party reception.
- Variety show including dancers from Guinea, Rwanda, Zaire, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda and Nigeria.

Saturday 10th December 1983

- Watering of the Uhuru Tree at Uhuru Gardens.
- National Monument plaque unveiled by President Moi at Uhuru Gardens.
- 20th Independence Anniversary Celebrations Dance at Kenyatta International Conference Centre. Dance organised by KANU

Sunday 11th December 1983

- Inter-denominational service at Uhuru Park attended by President Moi and State guests.
- Floats procession.
- Symbolic national flag-raising ceremony at Nairobi West Stadium.

[18] KNA AHC/4/2; *DN*, December 1983; *Standard*, December 1983; *Sunday Standard*, December 1983; *Kenya Times*, December 1983.

- Fireworks display at Nairobi West Stadium, including depictions of the portrait of President Moi, the Kenya flag, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre and the map of Kenya.

Monday 12th December 1983

- Trooping of the colour by the '82 Air Force at Uhuru Park.
- Procession by one thousand five hundred uhuru anniversary children.
- Presidential address to the nation.
- State luncheon followed by garden party at State House.

APPENDIX XI

PROGRAMME OF FIRST DECADE OF NYAYO CELEBRATIONS[19]

Saturday 8th October 1988

- Official launching by Islamic thanksgiving prayers at Jamia Mosque.
- Premier documentary film show '1st Great Nyayo Decade'.
- Arts and crafts exhibition depicting the Nyayo Decade.
- Premier documentary film show '1st Great Nyayo Decade'.
- Special thanksgiving prayers at Maxwell Church attended by Ministers.
- Cultural activities at Bomas of Kenya.
- Basketball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Netball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Rugby match at Ngong Road.
- Football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Tenth Anniversary Ball at KICC with several local bands organised by KANU.

Sunday 9th October 1988

- Inter-district cycling championship starts along Mombasa Road.
- Special thanksgiving prayers by Christian Churches with a live transmission by Voice of Kenya.
- Basketball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Volleyball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- International football match at Moi International Sports Centre.
- Premier documentary film show in cinema theatres, social halls and cinema mobile vans.

Monday 10th Oct 1988

- Inauguration of Nyayo Monument.
- Cultural groups performing in various parts of the city.
- International basketball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Drama at National Theatre organised by schools, colleges and universities.

Tuesday 11th October 1988

- Netball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Volleyball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Rugby match at Ngong Road.
- Basketball match at Nyayo Stadium.

Wednesday 12th October 1988

- Official launching of national institutions and buildings like KIE, Kenya Bureau of Standards, etc.
- Nyayo children luncheon at KICC.

[19] KNA AHC/4/3.

- Visits to Industrial and Commercial Exhibition on Nyayo Era.
- Hockey at City Park.
- Volleyball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Cultural activities in selected venues within the city.
- Civic reception for team leaders organised by the Provincial Commissioner and Chairman of Nairobi City Commission.
- Premier documentary film show.

Thursday 13th October 1988

- Arrival of State guests.
- Volleyball finals at Nyayo Stadium.
- Rugby finals at Ngong Road.
- Basketball finals at Nyayo Stadium.
- State banquet.

Friday 14th October 1988

- 9.00 am Guests to be seated at Nyayo Stadium.
- 9.25 am President Moi arrives at Nyayo Stadium.
- The President takes the salute.
- Guard of Honour inspection and fly pass.
- Internal denominational prayers.
- Mass choir composed of Muungano, Central Bank and Prisons.
- Display of Nyayo Children.
- Vice-President invites the President to address the nation.
- National anthem by Kenya Army.
- Athletics at Moi International Sports Centre, Kasarani.
- International football final at Moi International Sports Centre.
- Taekwondo demonstrations at Moi International Sports Centre.
- Cultural extravaganza at KICC.

APPENDIX XII

PROGRAMME OF TWENTY-FIFTH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS[20]

Monday 5th December 1988

- Schools arts and crafts exhibition at Charter Hall.
- Graphics design exhibition at Kenya Polytechnic.
- Industrial and commercial funfair at Kenya Railways Club.
- Launching of 25th anniversary of independence documentary film at Nairobi Cinema.
- Harambee Stars vs. Nigeria football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Drama and acrobatic displays by schools, colleges, universities and national acrobatics troupe at National Theatre.

Tuesday 6th December 1988

- 25th Independence Anniversary Fountain in Uhuru Gardens officially inaugurated by President Moi.
- Kenya vs. Zimbabwe hockey match at City Park.
- Nigeria vs. Ghana hockey match at City Park.
- Christening of Kenya Airways aircraft at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport.
- Kenya vs. Cameroon women's basketball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Zambia vs. Cameroon football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Documentary film show on 25th independence anniversary in cinema theatres, social halls and mobile cinema vans.
- Drama and acrobatics displays be schools, colleges, universities at the Kenya National Theatre and selected venues.

Wednesday 7th December 1988

- Launching of investors, industrialists and commercial entrepreneurs day launched at Kenyatta International Conference Centre.
- Procession of floats.
- Corporations choirs.
- Arts and crafts exhibition at Charter Hall.
- Launching of indigenous innovations and traditional technology at Kenyatta International Conference Centre.
- Graphic design exhibition at Kenya Polytechnic.
- Cultural activities and documentary film at Kariokor Social Hall, Dandora PCEA Hall, Kaloleni Social Hall, Anderson Hall.
- Kenya vs. Tunisia volleyball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Documentary film show on 25th independence anniversary in cinema theatres, social halls and mobile cinema vans.
- Drama and acrobatic displays by schools, colleges and national acrobatics troupe at National Theatre.

[20] *Standard*, December 1988; *DN*, December 1988; *Kenya Times*, 10 December 1988.

Thursday 8th December 1988

- Inauguration of National Youth Service Engineering Institute.
- Zimbabwe vs. Nigeria hockey match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Kenya vs Ghana hockey match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Kenya vs Cameroon basketball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Harambee Stars vs Zambia football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Documentary film show on the 25th independence anniversary in all cinema theatres, social halls and mobile cinema vans.
- Drama and acrobatic displays mounted by schools, colleges, universities and national acrobatics troupe at the Kenya National Theatre and selected venues in the city.

Friday 9th December 1988

- Special prayers by Muslims in mosques throughout Kenya, with the main service at Jamia Mosque in Nairobi.
- Kenya vs Tunisia volleyball match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Nigeria vs. Cameroon football match at Nyayo Stadium.
- Kenya vs. Ghana boxing match at City Hall.
- Drama and acrobatic display at Kenya National Theatre.
- Music variety show at Nyayo Stadium.

Saturday 10th December 1988: KANU Day

- Launching of KANU Day.
- Procession through Nairobi, from four vantage points to the city centre, led by KANU, Armed Forces Training College, Prisons Training College and National Youth Service bands, all converging at Uhuru Park.
- Public rally at Uhuru Park.
- Drama and acrobatics display by schools, colleges, universities and national acrobatics troupe at National Theatre.
- Documentary film show on 25th independence anniversary in Nairobi and Kenya cinema theatres, social halls and mobile cinema vans.
- Silver Jubilee Ball at Charter Hall organised by KANU.

Sunday 11th December 1988

- Visiting Heads of State and delegations arrive in Nairobi.
- State banquet for visiting Heads of State and delegations, hosted by President Moi.

Monday 12th December 1988

- Silver Jubilee of Independence ceremony at Moi International Sports Complex.
- Presidential address.
- Egypt vs Zambia football match at Nyayo Stadium.

APPENDIX XIII

25TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY FOUNTAIN, PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT OF DESIGN[21]

Version 1:

The design of the monument is centred around a water body which has cascades sprays and fountains although different in forms this is still the same element – water. This depicts the transient nature of our nation ever on going, every changing yet the same basic whole.

The monument proper comprises 3 human sculptures pushing a prism against a flag tower.

The prism and the figures depict the spirit of harambee, people unified and working together in harmony can attain their goals and aspirations. The prism indicates success in having attained freedom and the flag tower depicts the nations highest aspirations having won that freedom. Atop the tower is the national flag that heralds the nations independence.

Bridging the tower and the water area is the nyayo slab depicting again the onwardness of spirit from harambee to nyayo and a message that through peace love and unity all our other difficulties will be overcome.

The water body also depicts the flowing prosperity to all corners of the republic.

Version 2:

The monument to mark the occasion of the silver jubilee of our independence honours the propagators of the Harambee spirit and the Nyayo philosophy, who motivate our people toward peaceful living, self reliance and continued prosperity.

The scheme is an attempt at embodying the evolution of Harambee, into Nyayo guideline for a dynamic nation.

As President Moi describes – Nyayoism "stresses the fundamental value of rediscovering our past, of incorporating the best part of our collective national wisdom into the ongoing process of a forward march. Its application harnesses latent energies drawn from fundamental heritage for the building up of a new Kenya" (bibliography – Kenya African Nationalism by Daniel arap Moi) pg. 10.

In semblance with this philosophy, our scheme incorporates a fitting monument around moving water in spray, cascades and fountains, which although different in form still acts as a unified whole, in perfect harmony. Water depicts our nation ever changing, ever on going yet moving as a united whole.

[21] MoW BD01/0932D Vol. IV.

The monument proper comprises of human sculptures around an inverted prism against a flag tower. The 3 figures pushing at the prism represent the spirit of Harambee – people united and working together in harmony to attain their goals and aspirations. While the inversion shows the struggle to over come difficulties, the upper part of the prism, pointing to the flag tower depicts success in having achieved freedom and guiding us towards higher goals still.

The flag tower depicts the nations highest aspirations having won that freedom. On the tower are the words acclaiming the silver jubilee of uhuru.

Atop the tower is positioned the national flag which heralds our proud independent sovereign.

Bridging the tower and the water area is the 'Nyayo slab' set in marble with a message of peace, love and unity – the essence of Nyayo – engraved into it – carved as if in stone to remind our people of our purpose in working towards greater goals aspiration and greater consciousness through peace, love and unity.

The monument embodies the struggle and tribulations for freedom into the motive force of Nyayo to a greater destiny.

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S. Maina (Lecturer in the Department of Design, University of Nairobi; member of judging panel for Nyayo Monument design competition), 6 July 2005.

Maurice Odongo Ayugi (Architect, Ministry of Roads, Public Works and Housing, Nairobi; Chief Architect during twenty-fifth independence anniversary celebrations; Chairman on technical committee responsible for judging twenty-fifth independence anniversary monuments competition entries), 14 July 2005.

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