

A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF DR. TAAITTA ARAP TOWEETT, 1925–1999

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Master of Arts Degree in History of Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

MAY, 2023

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This Thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge, it has not been presented for any award in this or any other institution.

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Recommendation

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved Mother Edna Chepngetich Chuma for the love and care.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the political biography of Dr. Taaita Arap Toweett who was born in 1925 and exited politics in 1999. He attended Chepwagan Primary School in Kericho District and later Kabianga Mission School in 1943 for intermediate level. He studied at Alliance High School in Kikuyu from 1944 to 1949, and later proceeded to Makerere University and Jeans school for tertiary level from 1950 to 1956. He obtained a Bachelor's degree in Public and Social Administration at the University of South Africa, and later earned his masters and PhD on 'Kalenjin Noun and Their Classification' at the University of Nairobi. Toweett is categorized, as Kenyan leader whose education was relevant and bestowed in the achievement of Kenya's independence. He was one of first negotiators of the First Lancaster Constitutional Conference Round Table that gave independence to our country Kenya; nonetheless, his contributions have not been given merited recognition. Toweett was well known for his literary writings on the Kalenjin history, linguistic poems about colonialism and writings of his experiences in Lancaster House Conference. However, these books did not analyse his childhood background, education, leadership and his contributions to struggle for Kenya independence, therefore, it necessitated the study. The broad objective of this study was to examine the political biography of Dr. Taaita Toweett. The study applied the Great Man theory by Thomas Carlyle. The theory pointed out the features, which a leader should possess, and this included charisma, wisdom, intelligence and outstanding powers. These traits helped to demonstrate how Toweett propelled his leadership for many years and guided the study in examining the political career of Toweett particularly from 1958 to 1997 when he was a member of National Assembly and as minister in various ministries. The study also explored how he was elected to parliament in 1992-1997, and his exist of active politics in 2000. The study used primary and secondary sources; this involved carrying out oral interview, archival and secondary sources. Sampling of data was purposive thus led to snowballing. Data analysis was based on historical analysis to help decipher the political biography of Toweett. Interpretation and analysis was by transcription of data. The target of this study is to document the Political history of Toweett as well as enlighten historians, elites, scholars and Kenyans about Toweett who contributed immensely in the making of Kenya history and its development, moreso it will help develop the study of biographies in school and establish its importance.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AEMO	African Elected Members Organization
AHS	Alliance High School
AIC	Africa Inland Church
ANC	Alliance National Congress
CAPP	Costal Alliance Peoples Party
CDO	Community Development Officers
CEMO	Constituency Elected Members Organization
CPE	Certificate of Primary Education
CRVLP	Central Rift Valley Labour Party.
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAP	Kenya Association Party
KAU	Kenya African Union
KIM	Kenya Independent Movement
KNP	Kenya National Party
KPP	Kenya People's Party
KPU	Kalenjin Party Union
LEGCO	Legislative Council
MAPA	Mombasa African People Association
MMUF	Maasai Movement United Front
MP	Member of Parliament
MSK	Missionaries Society of Kenya
NCKK	National Church Council of Kenya
NCPB	Nation Cereal Produce Board
NP	National Party
TSC	Teachers Service Commission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Biography is a genre that examines a person's entire life. It tells the story by detailing various aspects of life¹. Biographies are major sources of history in the world. They provide and define the prominent people in the world and help to demonstrate the role they played in several events, which took place during their regimes. The writing of biographies can be traced back to time when history was written in scrolls, stones, walls and other various forms, which revealed the lives of great individuals like the Kings and warriors. Rowse asserts that, the world history can be learnt by reading the biographies. The thoughts of Rowse give the significance of studying the biographies when he stated that, it started at the beginning of history writing.² Rowse's statement gives a strong background to the study of Toweett's biography, because it sets to unearth Toweett as a prominent leader in Kenyan history. Lee in his book argued that, biographies capture the life of a person from childhood to time of his death or it can be categorized in topics and themes.³ He pointed out that biographies deal with great individuals, and hence, it must portray the real picture of an individual.⁴

In the period of classical and medieval, biographies were a way of putting in records the contributions and roles played by leaders in military, political and religious perspective.⁵ Biographies of most Kenyans were written after independence and details of those who participated in the struggle for independence were captured. This was a way of portraying their importance and role they played in the attainment of Kenya's independence. Lee's statement helps this study in that, it supports the analysis of individual life from childhood to his death. It also states that, biography is one way of documenting the legacies and contributions of an individual.⁶ Therefore, it is important in the study of Toweett's biography from his birth in 1925 to his retirement to politics in 1999. It also helped to bring comparison of Toweett's legacies to that of other great leaders in Kenya.

¹ P. G. Okoth UCLA: *A Journal of African stories: Autobiographies in Kenya history*, 1972, p .102.

² A. Rowse, *The Use of History*, (Nairobi: Nyange Press, 1990), p. 11

³ H. Lee, *A very short Introduction, and Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010 p 9.

⁴ Ibid, p 10

⁵ R. Ochieng, ' *A History of Kenya*, (1974), p 100.

⁶ H. Lee, *A very short Introduction, and Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010 p .10.

Writing of biographies is significant since it gives us awareness about ourselves though human nature is detailed and very complex. Most of the biographies which have been written by historians, majorly dealt with prominent individuals. Nonetheless, in the contemporary time, writing of history has changed from writing about kings and famous leaders to include the study of ordinary people in the society.⁷ Several discussions have been done to analyze if great individuals really contributed to the development of history.⁸

There have been controversies in the academic field that, analysing on an individual, the biographers may not capture the entire picture of history. The objectivity of the story is hardly witnessed as the biographer can have emotional connection with the person being analyzed, which should not be the case with the historian.⁹ Nevertheless, the writing of biographies is important in that it helps us understand history of our society, our culture and history of our country at large.

This study examines the life of Taaita arap Toweett from 1925 to 1999. It majored on the analysis of his political career and his role in the struggle, achievement of independence and development of our country Kenya.

Dr. Taaita arap Toweett was born in 1925 joined Chepwagan primary school in 1932¹⁰. He thereafter enrolled in Kabianga Mission School in 1939 for intermediate studies. He successfully completed his intermediate level at the Mission school in 1943.¹¹ He became the best student in Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) for intermediate countrywide, thereafter; he joined Alliance Mission School Kikuyuni for his secondary education from 1944 to 1949.¹²

He then joined Makerere University in Uganda for a diploma course in sociology, English literature and history. After Makerere, he joined Jeans School Kabete, where he trained as social welfare work.¹³ Toweett was appointed by the Europeans to run local administration duties in Kericho. He emerged a pioneer African after he was appointed the first African

⁷ Jacob Tarus, OI, 21 April 2019.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ David Arap Kirwa Oral Information, 22 April 2021.

¹¹ Rutoh OI, 18 April 2021.

¹² O. O, Omolo, Web. www.jaluo.com, *Obituary. Dr. Taaita Toweett* Accessed on 2019, 20 July.

¹³ Marco group who *is who in Kenya 1982-1983* Africa Book Service (E.A), p. 83.

Community Development Officer by the Europeans; he was attached at Kericho District in 1954 and thereafter deployed to Nandi District.¹⁴ He was awarded a scholarship in 1953 by Kipsigis County Council to further his studies in South Devon Technical College Torquary, where he pursued his degree in Public and social administration. He later obtained his Master's degree in Arts English and Literature, at the University of Nairobi in 1977, his PhD Thesis was a study of Kalenjin linguistics in University Of Nairobi.

Toweett as a nationalist was a very charismatic, captivating and independent minded leader.¹⁵ He was a nationalist in that; he participated in constitution making in the First Lancaster House in 1960, Second in 1962 and Third Lancaster House Round Table Talks of 1963 which finally earned Kenya her independence. His efforts in constitution making led him to be approved among the first ministers of the post-independence government of Kenya¹⁶. He was selected for the study because, he was one of the prominent leaders and among the early educated politicians who helped Kenya advance in all aspects of development and played a big and crucial role in the struggle for independence through constitutional means. He also served in the colonial and independent Kenya as Cabinet Minister and therefore contributed in evaluating history of the country.

In 1958 was the time Europeans started recognizing leadership of Africans, the same year he joined elective politics and was elected first Member of Parliament for Southern Electoral Area, which consisted of Kericho and Narok Districts in the Legislative Council and was appointed Assistant minister for Agriculture a position he maintained up to 1961.¹⁷ Other leaders elected the same year included Ronald Ngala who was elected to represent coastal region, and Daniel Torotich arap Moi, Rift Valley a.¹⁸ In 1962, constitutional amendments were done and Bureti constituency was created and he was elected the first Member of Parliament for Bureti constituency, and appointed minister for lands, survey and town planning.¹⁹

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 84

¹⁵ Stanley Mutai, OI 22 April, 2021.

¹⁶ Winnie Chepkemoi (OI) 23rd April 2021.

¹⁷ H. Ngweno and Nation media group, *Makers of the Nation: Taaita Toweett: Kenya history and biography* January 28, 1992

¹⁸ T. Toweett, *Unsung heroes of Lancaster*, "call a spade a spade, historical memoir" (Nairobi: EAEP Ltd, 2011), p. 14

¹⁹Marco Group, *Who is who in East Africa 1965-196*, (Marco Publishers ,1965), p.146

Toweett was a controversial leader as a Minister for Lands, Survey and Town Planning. At one time, the residents of Kericho asked him to give them free land, which settlers left, but he told them that if they need free land they could go to Sahara desert where they could get unoccupied land.²⁰ He later helped many residents from his area of representation to secure lands for settlement, he advised them to form companies instead and buy lands, his idea was embraced and it was successful.²¹ This resulted to Kipsigis community expanding their territories to Londiani, Lambwa, Kitale, Nandi, Molo, Njoro and Olenguruone regions.²²

Toweett stands to be the longest serving minister for education from 1969 to 1979.²³ He maintained the position due to his friendship with the first President Jomo Kenyatta, and his education background, which influenced his service, since he trained as a teacher of English. During his tenure as Minister for education, he was angered by rampant failure of students in the national examinations for both secondary and Universities and he shocked the country when he placed an advert in the press asking students to consult him for advice and not to give up at any point. During his tenure as minister for education, he advised the government to abolish the free primary education, claiming that it was draining all the government resources allocated to the ministry.²⁴ He once visited the University of Nairobi when University students were rioting and demonstrating in the streets, he advised them to make use of their freedom so long as they do not embarrass the government.

In 1963 when KADU dissolved and joined KANU, he made history and refused to cross the floor of the house, he instead opted to seek fresh mandates from the electorates but he eventually lost his seat, he stayed in political oblivion until 1969 when he recaptured the seat.²⁵ He was a fearless leader, at one point he described President Jomo Kenyatta as a ‘president without a stand, a kind of a person who kept silent when in bad company and did good when he is in good company’.²⁶ His strictness as a leader manifested when he convened a press and he said, that, ‘thieves should be arrested and shot in public to be a lesson to potential thieves’.²⁷ He astonished the world in 1971 when he declared in public that he was

²⁰ O. Leo, *Alangreen political feature, obituary*, Dr. Taaita Toweett, politics on March 2014, p. 47

²¹ Jonathan Kirwa, (OI), 22th April, 2021.

²² Ibid.

²³ The weekly Review, East Africa, 23rd Feb 1979

²⁴ M. Amin and M. Peter, *Vote is one man one vote*, (Nairobi: E. African Publishers, 1993), p. 3

²⁵ KNA DC/NN/04/3/04The Weekly Review, July 26, reshuffle in Kenya, 1976, East Africa, p. 3

²⁶ P. Alex; The Daily Nation Newspaper, 29 May, 2012, p. 16

²⁷ Weldon Koech (OI), 2 May, 2021.

a tribalist, but ten years later, in 1981, he described people who cherished their tribes as short sighted.²⁸ He was attributed to be a leader with a stand in that, he advocated for party's states in 1963. Nevertheless, despite his small height and failing eyesight, his conversations were always stimulating, speckled with rib stickling sense of humor. A part from involving himself in leadership and politics he was a Kenyan writer who wrote many books including ;Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems ,An Africans Year in England ,A Study of Kalenjin Linguistics (1979), English-Kiswahili-Kalenjin Dictionary (1979) ,English-Swahili-Kalenjin Nouns Dictionary, Oral Traditional History of The Kipsigis (1980) ,Tears Over A Dead Cow and Other Stories 100 Daily Essays, Unsung Heroes of Lancaster and Call a Spade a Spade Historical Memoir (2011). He succumbed to injuries in a road accident in 2007 in Free Area in Nakuru town.²⁹

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A number of different biographies have been written in Kenya .Nevertheless the attention has been given to prominent leaders. Even if some historians have focused colonial fighters too, Toweett's contribution is still understudied. However, from 1958 to 2000 Toweett was a known leader in Kenya. He plunged into elective politics in 1958 as a member of the Legislative Council (LegCo) representing Southern Electoral Area, which consisted of Narok and Kericho district. He became the first Member of Parliament for Bureti constituency in 1962. Despite of his efforts as one of the leaders who participated in drafting the constitution which earned Kenya her independence in Lancaster House Round Table, and as a long member of cabinet in colonial and post-colonial governments, little has been done to document and bring into limelight his contributions to making of Kenya. All these contributions of made him unique for this study.The study also provided answers to unanswered questions on how his early life and education background moulded him for future leadership, what made him be appointed to the cabinet in colonial and independent government? What was his contribution in the struggle for Kenya independence? All these and many other questions regarding him were researched and answered conclusively.

1.3 Objectives

The broad objective of this study is to explore the political biography of Dr. Taaita Toweett from 1925 to 1999. The specific objectives are:

²⁸ Johnstone Metet, OI, 21 April, 2021

²⁹ O. Leo; "*Alangreen political historical features*", obituary, Dr. Taaita Toweett, p. 10

- i) To examine early life and education background and how it moulded and influenced his future political life of Toweett 1925 to 1957.
- ii) To explore entry and political life of Toweett in colonial government and his contributions to struggle for independence of Kenya 1958 to 1964.
- iii) To analyse Toweett politics and his leadership after independence to his retirements in active politics 1964 to 1999.

1.4 Research Questions

- i) How early life and educational background of Toweett moulded him for future leadership 1925 to 1957.
- ii) How was his political life in colonial government and his contributions to the struggle for independence of Kenya 1958 to 1964?
- iii) How was the leadership of Toweett after independence and his life after retirement from active politics 1964 to 1999?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Toweett was one of the prominent leaders in colonial and independent Kenya. The time frame was from his birth to his retire in politics in 1999. He was born in 1925 in Tebesonik village Litein and died in a road accident in 2007 at Free Area Nakuru. His biography helps to explore history of the country and the contributions of the nationalists who fought for independence. Despite many biographies written about nationalist and prominent leaders in colonial and independent Kenya the focus has not been given to Toweett.

Toweett Served in LegCo from 1958 to 1963 as a member of Southern Electoral jurisdiction that consisted of Narok and Kericho Districts. He was first appointed to Cabinet in 1958 as assistant minister for Agriculture thereafter appointed Minister for Lands, Local Authorities, and Second Minister for Education in independent Kenya, a position which enabled him elected the president of the nineteenth general assembly of UNESCO in independent government from 1976 to 1978. The study explored on his political life to help examine his contributions in the struggle for independence. The research is guided by great man theory which alludes that a leader is moulded and impacted by the background environment.

The study therefore weaved the available pieces of information collected from primary and secondary sources to construct some logical coherence history of Toweett's early life and what made him rise to senior positions in Kenya. This work came up with ideas, which helped to unearth the leadership, and contributions he made in building of the country. Analysis of someone's history gives motivation, encouragement and inspiration to upcoming generations and political future leaders. Biographical studies and the findings of this research therefore, becomes very important in evaluating histories of our leaders and the development of the country.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study analysed the biography of Toweett, from 1925 to 1999. The period covered his life from birth to death. The study particularly dwell on his political career from 1958 to 1999. The study also highlights his undertaking in various ministries he served in, ministry of education, ministry of lands survey and town planning thus, the study did not concentrate only on constituency level but also in national and even beyond, because he served as president of UNESCO from 1976 to 1978.

The limitation of the study is that most of his colleagues in politics have died hence scarcity of first-hand information. This was overcome by collaborating both oral sources and archival sources. Secondly the interviewees were not willing to cooperate and interact freely in answering some questions because many of them could not understand the purpose and intentions of the study and also due to the state of the country with corona pandemic. To overcome these limitations, the researcher instilled confidence and created a good rapport with the informants for them to be free and open.

1.7 Operation Definition of Terms

Autocracy: Refers to a form of government in which unlimited power is held by single individual

Biography: Refers to a person's life story is genre that examines a person's entire life. It tells the story by detailing various aspects about life.

Charisma: Refers to the ability to influence without the use of logic

Democracy: Refers to rule by the people, especially as a form of government either directly or through elected representative

Jurisdictions: Refers to limit within which authority can exercise

Imperialism: Refers to the policy of forcefully extending a nation authority by territorial gain and developing economic and political dominance over other nation

Intelligence: Refers to capacity of mind to acquire knowledge and apply it to practice

Territory: Refers to geographic under control of single governing entity

Intermediate level: Refers to level of education that provided basic education

1.8.0 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Introduction

This section analyses literature that is related to the study of Toweett. A number of biographies, journals, books and theoretical reviews are used to examine factors, which influenced lives of prominent leaders and their contributions to their careers. In the world, some of these written works significantly contributed to writing of Toweett's political biography. It helped bring comparison of the world leaders with that of Toweett, hence guided in demonstrating his legacies. These literature reviews were organized from general to specific, starting from the world literatures narrowing down to literatures written in Africa and Kenya.

1.8.2 Literature Review

In the biography written by Moore, he portrayed Thatcher as a tough principled woman with a stand in her political perception. Margaret was the first female prime minister in Britain from 1979 to 1999. She was nick named the Iron lady because of her political stand. Moore argues that, Thatcher made a major change in United Kingdom; she instituted reforms and reduced the powers of powerful movements during times when trade unions were rampant.³⁰ She expanded the relationship of her country to stabilize peace and harmony with her neighbors. He noted that, Margaret was a bright student in academia before she joined politics.³¹ In secondary school level, she won a scholarship to Kasteren and Arantham Girls School where she was appointed the head girl.³² She proceeded to Somerville College Oxford University. At Oxford University, she was elected student leader. Moore explained that

³⁰ C. Moore, *Margaret Thatcher; Everything she want*, (Britain: Oxford Publishers, 2015), p. 13.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 14.

³² *Ibid*, p. 16.

Thatcher's leadership in all levels impressed many because of her strong ability of advocacy and good articulators of issues. After her academics, she was elected MP for Finchley, she gained popularity, and she was ranked the conservative party leader and finally appointed minister for education in Ed Heath's government in 1970.³³ The biography of Thatcher was of great importance in this study, it guided in elaborating the undertaking of Toweett in the Ministry of Education, his policies that he introduced to make education better in Kenya since he was the long serving minister for education in independent Kenya.

Isaacson looks at Henry Kissinger from his childhood as a persecuted Jew in Nazi Germany, through his family's migration to America, his education and his rise in public space to security advisor and secretary of state during the reign of Nixon. He also examines Kissinger's role as a globetrotting business consultant. Isaacson shows that Kissinger never embraced European liberalism, republicanism and idealism.³⁴ He shows that, instead, Kissinger was attracted to conservatism with its emphasis on national interest and balance of power.³⁵ He argues that Kissinger turned to Metternich, Castlereagh and Otto Von Bismarck, the prime practitioners of power politics, to whom he dedicated his doctoral dissertation, *A World Restored*. He avers that in his foreign policy Kissinger would always see any struggle in the world in the East-West context and therefore, the need for real politick (Realism).³⁶ According to Isaacson, the policy was reflected in Kissinger's dealing with Vietnam, Cambodia, China and the Soviet Union as well as Africa especially in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe³⁷. The review of Kissinger's biography was important as it helped in shedding light on the styles used in biographical writing, especially when Toweett was minister in various ministries in the republic of Kenya and president of the nineteenth general assembly of UNESCO, closely related Kissinger as the secretary of the government.

Mendell's book explains a political biography of Barack Obama, from his childhood to the time of announcement of his candidacy for the presidency of the United States America. The author focuses on Obama's fast rise to power from obscurity to the national stage. Starting as a student in Hawaii, he moved on to community activism in Chicago, to the president of the Harvard Law Magazine, to State Senate of Illinois, and finally to the National Senate.³⁸ The author attributes this meteoric rise to a carefully crafted and calculated plan by an ambitious

³³ Ibid, p. 18.

³⁴ W. Isaacson, *Kissinger, biography of prominent personnel*, Newyork publishers, 1990. P .6

³⁵ Ibid, p .17

³⁶ Ibid, p.17

³⁷ Ibid, p.19

³⁸ D. Mendell, *Obama, From Promise to Power*, (New York: Harber Publishers, 2007), P.9

man. The author, besides providing a critique of *Dreams of My father*, also examines Obama's work as a Senator of Illinois State Senate, as well as a Senator in the national government.³⁹ The author points out that Obama's greatest moment came when he was invited to deliver a keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention in 2004. The author also demonstrates that throughout his work, Obama came to represent the promise of unity among groups of all types – blacks and whites, Democrats, Republicans and Moderates, the young and the old, the upper middle class and the lower class.⁴⁰ The review of this book was important, as it was useful in providing the style used in biography writing. This was particularly so in areas of convergence of the two politicians Obama and Toweett.

Khapoya in his article, *Moi and beyond*, attempts to explain Kenya's successful transition experience after the death of the founding president, Jomo Kenyatta. He explores the factors underlying then uneasiness in the country, which had led to the detention of political activists, and to charges of human rights violations. He goes on to speculate on prospects of a peaceful transition after the incumbent presidency of Daniel arap Moi.⁴¹ Moi promised to follow in the footsteps of Kenyatta. Vincent asserted that, after Moi took leadership from Kenyatta, he promised change.⁴² In 1979, Moi did follow in the footsteps of Kenyatta by blocking the political members of KPU from contesting the parliamentary seats. In the same year, succession strife arose where Moi was to ascend to power after the death of Kenyatta in a period of 90 days. Candidates who were contesting for parliamentary seats and they were opposing the candidature of Moi for presidency were defeated. The explanation of Toweett's leadership was only in Kenyatta era but little is known about him in the Moi's government.

Throup, in his article traces the political developments during the Kenyatta and Moi regime. He argues that by the time President Jomo Kenyatta's death, in August 1978, Kenya had acquired the reputation of being one of the most open polities in Africa. He added that since the accession of President Daniel arap Moi, in August 1978, Kenyans' freedom diminished.⁴³

³⁹ Ibid, p.12

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.10

⁴¹ V. Khapoya, "Moi and beyond, succession in Kenya politics" *second quarterly*, vol. 12, No. iv, succession in the north (1988), p.66.

⁴² Ibid, 70.

⁴³ D. Throup, General elections and political legitimacy in Kenya, *Journal of International African*, Vol. 61 (1992), p .380.

The article mentions Toweett as a minister for education who remained in the same position from 1969 to 1979.⁴⁴ This work on Daniel illuminates Toweett's political life.

Hornsby seeks to explain what had happened in Kenya since independence and to align academic understanding of post-colonial development with the experiences and perception of Kenyans about their country. He also pays close attention to the political, social and economic history, and international affairs, as well as the political philosophy and shows that intrigue, ethnic patronage and corruption have characterized Kenyan politics.⁴⁵ Hornsby mentions Toweett in relation to various occurrences. These references were vital in providing building blocks in the construction of the biography of Toweett.

In a book written by Oginga, he tried to portray the efforts of the freedom fighters in the country. Oginga in some chapters of his book complained that, independence has not embraced comprehensive changes especially in the running of government and the management of the country. He noted that, the government still had close relationship with Europeans in almost all aspects of development economically, culturally and socially.⁴⁶ Oginga in his work never mentioned Toweett despite he was his contemporary in Alliance High School and they formed the first cabinet after Kenya gained independence.

Babafemi wrote a book on Odinga. He says his intention in this work was to tell as briefly as possible the story of politics in Kenya and Raila's role in them.⁴⁷ In effect, it was an attempt to write biography of Odinga. Andrew Morton wrote What Babafemi has referred to as a public relation account on Moi.⁴⁸ The book traces Moi from his humble background, through his Vice Presidency, to leadership of the nation as the second president of the republic of Kenya. David Goldsworthy's book on Tom Mboya, has established that Tom Mboya made a mark in Labour organization, party politics, constitution draftsmanship, international diplomacy, Pan-Africanism, economic planning and authorship.⁴⁹ Wandibba has contributed to a biography of J.M Kariuki, in the series of Makers of Kenya's history. This particular

⁴⁴Ibid, p.390.

⁴⁵C.Hornsby, *Government of Kenya before and after independence* (London: Taurus Publishers, 2010), p. 250.

⁴⁶ O. Odinga, *Not Yet Uhuru, Autobiography of Oginga Odinga*, (London: Heinemann Publishers, 1967), p. 19.

⁴⁷ B.A. Badejo, *Raila Odinga, An Enigma in Kenyan politics* (Lagos: Yitambi Books Ltd, 2006), p. 3

⁴⁸ A. Morton, *Moi, The making of an African Statesman*, (London, Michael Oluara Books Ltd, 1998), p. 12.

⁴⁹ D. Goldworthy, *Tom Mboya, The man Kenya wanted to forget*, (Nairobi: Heinemann Education books Ltd, 1992), p. 42.

volume focuses on the life of one of independent Kenya's most flamboyant politicians. He shows that Kariuki's was a life full of nationalist agitation, fight for the rights of the poor and landless and the determination to fight colonialism.⁵⁰ There are those like Raila, *An Enigma in Kenyan Politics* and Wandiba's biography of J. M. Kariuki that mention Toweett. Such references were important in the writing of Toweett's biography as they were sources of information. There were those like Moi, *The Making of an African Statesman* and Tom Mboya, *The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget*, that do not mention Toweett at all. Such books necessitated this study.

Wakinyathi examines the violent confrontation with the British invaders, their social and political struggle against the British imperialist occupier, the transformation of the constitution; Mau Mau armed resistance, the class struggle and revolutionary movement against Kenyatta, and Moi's neo-colonial regime and their imperialist backers.⁵¹ In his work, the author mentions such contemporaries' leaders and civil servants of President Daniel arap Moi such as Mwangale, Charles Njonjo, J.M Kariuki, Ben Gethi, Patrick Shaw, Pius Kibathi Thuo, Peter Giceru Njau, Peter Kimani and Kihika Kimani. Other leaders mentioned include Oginga Odinga, Ochieng' Oneko, Paul Nge, Robert Matano, Okiki Amayo, Nathan Munoko, Nyamweya, Kibaki, Kiano and Nyaga.⁵² The author never mentioned Taaita Toweett, even though Toweett was also a member of the select committee that Maina discussed. The book was important as it pointed to the gaps in existing literature that necessitated the study.

Wandiba analysed the early history of Masinde Muliro, his political activities, early life and education. He mentioned Muliro as one of the key politicians in Western Kenya who played crucial role in colonial and independent Kenya in independence struggle.⁵³ In chapter where Wandiba explained Muliro and politics of decolonization, he identifies the political journey of Muliro. Muliro was the founder of AEMO with other members from various regions of Kenya, this union fought for the extra twelve seats in LegCO and constitutional commission to work out new constitution and increase African's ministerial posts. After Odinga formed CEMO, he moved and formed KNP, nine other Africans, one European, supported him, and

⁵⁰ S. Wandibba, *J.M. Kariuki, makers of Kenya's history series*, (Nairobi: E. African Educational Publishers, 2004), p. 23.

⁵¹ M. Wakinyathi, *History of Resistance in Kenya 1884—2002*, Nairobi, Mau Mau Research centre, 2008, p 36.

⁵² *Ibid*, p 39.

⁵³ S, Wandiba. *Biography of Masinde Muliro, makers of Kenya's history* (Nairobi: East African publishers, 2001), p. 15

six Asians elected members. The main objective of Muliro for forming KNP was to gain factional government for Kenya in 1963 and 1967 and independent government in 1969.⁵⁴ Wandibba book did not mention Toweett yet he was also a member of southern region during the time of Muliro and one of the members of KNP and AEMO and among strong opponents of KANU. This triggered the idea of more research on the role of Taaita Toweett.

Gona observes that, Zarina, an Indian who moved to Kenya in early times refused to be guided by her parents pertaining marriage, she took independent step against her parents. According to him, Zarina was a woman with a stand.⁵⁵ The guidance of her parents turned her to resist since her childhood. She was born in a very rich family, her education was catered for, in her scholarship journey, she gained knowledge, which gave her critical skills to critic some aspects in her Hindu religion, and those aspects manipulated her against some doctrinal practices of Hindu. Gona in his writing concerning the marriage of Zarina, he portrayed Zarina as a leader with independent mind, who think of her own and a woman who denounce any kind of guidance, which is against her view.⁵⁶ The character of Zarina as captured by Gona, gives a key understanding to Toweett's stand when he opted to go against decisions of KADU members to dissolve and join KANU in 1963, Toweett instead resigned and asked for a fresh mandate from the election and he did not mind losing his seat as MP for Bureti constituency.

Waruhiu in his book seeks to give an analysis of government of Kenya between the granting of internal self-government in June 1963 and the multiparty general elections in December 1992, in order to reveal how the government, fell short of achieving the democratic ideals to which the people of Kenya aspired at independence.⁵⁷ While the book mentions many of Toweett's contemporaries, it fails to mention Toweett. The book was important as it pointed out a necessity of writing the biography on Toweett.

Wamwere was one of the politicians and a leader after Kenya gained her independence. For a long time, he stood to be as uncompromised activist and articulator of the poor in the society, especially landless particularly in Naivasha and Nakuru areas. In his autobiography, he

⁵⁴ Ibid, P. 18.

⁵⁵ G. George, *Story of Zarina Patel: An Indomitable Spirit*, (Nairobi: Mvule Publishers, 2013), p. 14

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 14

⁵⁷ S. M. Waruhui, *From Autocracy to Democracy in Kenya, past systems of government and reforms for the future*, Nairobi, Expert Printers, 1994, p 11.

portrayed how concern he was to the needy people in his area since the time when he was young. His advocacy started in the era of President Kenyatta to the regime of president Moi.⁵⁸ He tirelessly fought for democracy in political parties, social justice to prevail and multi-party. At no point Koigi was intimidated by imprisonment, he was detained by President Kenyatta and President Moi, for expressing his stand to advocate for the rights of the needy in the society, which both presidents saw as traitors and trying to topple their leadership.⁵⁹ He defied the way Kenyatta and Moi took the landless in the country. Koigi fought for the reforms in political arena, he dedicated his times and energies to bring those reforms.⁶⁰ In early 1990s, he advocated for multi-party and free fair elections in general elections in Kenya.⁶¹ In addition, it was accepted and accommodated in the constitution, unlike the past years, KANU was a monopoly party. This work of Koigi set a base to study Toweett on his unweavry stand in politics and the reforms, which were being undertaken by his party KANU. The courage which Koigi had to face and critic President Kenyatta and Moi is similar to that of Toweett when he stood against Moi in Rift Valley, he described Moi as a president who underdeveloped his region.⁶² Koigi's work helped in the comparison, since both Toweett and Koigi were independent minded individuals, and authors of political books.

In the history of J. M. Kariuki, written by Simiyu, shows that, Kariuki was brought up in a very humble background.⁶³ He struggled to attend school and even did casual work to pay his school fees. However, he was a person who could never give up in whatever activity he would like to accomplish. Simiyu portrayed the likes of Kariuki as a life of struggle and determination and finally, Kariuki became famous and prominent leader in Kenya. He was one of the leaders who fought tirelessly for Kenya's independence. After Kenya gained her independence, Kariuki became a leader, which championed development in the society.⁶⁴ He became advocate of the poor and landless people who were displaced by the whites. Simiyu portrayed Kariuki as courageous and a leader who spoke his mind. It was an idea of Kariuki that all the whites who already settled in Kenya's fertile lands be moved away and Kenyan squatters who were moved to be given back their lands. All his undertakings as a leader advantaged the poor ordinary people. At one point, Kariuki convinced the government

⁵⁸ W. Koigi, *I refuse to die: Journey to freedom* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 2005), p,16.

⁵⁹ Ibid, P,20

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 23.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 23.

⁶² Ibid, P,27.

⁶³ S. Wandiba, *J.M.S Kariuki, Makers of Kenya's History*, EAE publishers, 2004. P,46.

⁶⁴ Ibid, P. 50.

leaders to buy lands which the whites retained after independence for the landless to settle in.⁶⁵ His stand to fight for the poor and landless in the society earned him a good reputation.⁶⁶ Simiyu's writing shows that, his fearless advocacy for common mwananchi and his courage to stand for justice for the poor brought about his assassination by the government. Towett was one of the independent minded leaders who fought for resettlement of displaced people and to an extent, he helped many, for instance, he formed land buying companies like Kirobon and Sirikwa land buying which Rift Valley squatters used to buy land, which finally settled in.

In the work written by Nyambura about G. G. Kariuki, a leader from Laikipia, her research, she expounded on development and changes, which took place in Laikipia County, which she associated with leadership and politics of G.G. Kariuki. Nyambura analysed the whole life of Kariuki from his birth to the time he was second term senator of Laikipia County. She explains the early life of Kariuki; she equally shows that, his spiritual background molded him, built his academic journey. Kariuki associated himself to politics of early age of 22 years in 1959; she asserts that, Kariuki created interest in politics and leadership when he participated in formation of Central Rift Valley Labour Party (CRVLP).⁶⁷

Kariuki was elected the first Member of Parliament representing Laikipia constituency in 1963. As a member of parliament of Laikipia, Kariuki emerged as champion of education in his area, she posits that, Kariuki built many schools in the area and provided scholarship to many students in secondary schools. He developed the area in many aspects of development, Nyambura mentioned Kariuki as a pioneer of many technical institutions in Laikipia and a number of health facilities in the jurisdiction. Like Towett, Kariuki helped many of his electorates to buy land for settlement. Nyambura established that, Kariuki in 1970 helped his people to form land-buying companies in Laikipia, which assisted more than 10,000 landless families with land to settle in. According to Nyambura, Kariuki emerged to be one of the outspoken parliamentarian who was always making remarkable inputs to debates in parliament proceedings especially which was of help to people of Laikipia constituency.⁶⁸ The work of Nyambura on G.G. Kariuki has helped in making comparisons and set the base to study of Towett, particularly in analyzing his early life and in exploring his political

⁶⁵ Ibid, P. 52.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 67.

⁶⁷ R. Nyambura, G. G. Kariuki and development of Laikipia County in Kenya, 2013, pp. 456-459

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 462.

career and political contributions, he made to his electorates of Bureti constituency. In addition, the strong advocacy of Kariuki about settlement of landless helped in the study of Toweett especially in exploring developments he made in the ministry of land survey and town planning towards helping landless Kenyans acquire land and title deeds.

Keller, in his study, he explains the life of Nelson Mandela in totality. He alludes that, Mandela was a son of chief of Thembu in South Africa.⁶⁹ Mandela's father was against the whites' authorities in South Africa; he was always obedient and challenged the rules given by the whites to govern the South Africans. Mandela's father was once summoned by the magistrate to answer why he was not guiding his subjects to a bid by regulations of whites, but he failed to turn up.⁷⁰ This earned him to be sacked as a chief and his cattle and land were taken away, and he was left with nothing and Mandela as a young boy, was forced to settle in his relative's home in Qunu area. In his childhood and rich background and how it molded him.⁷¹ Mandela was a man who was respected throughout his life. He explains that, Mandela went through rite of passage when he was 15 years old and this rite molded and shaped him for future, tougher future times in his leadership. Nelson later worked in gold mines as a security officer.⁷² Kellers describes the career of Mandela as a lawyer and the way he teamed up with his fellow Oliver Tambo, in exercising their career as young lawyers. When Mandela associated himself in politics in 1945, he became a strong opponent of apartheid rule in South Africa. The government issued warrant of arrest to Mandela and ANC members; Mandela changed the strategies of using peaceful advocacy to armed fights. As a result of all these, Mandela was arrested and put in prison in 1953.⁷³ According to Keller, Mandela emerged as a fearless lawyer courageous freedom and mindful nationalist who at no point gave up in fighting for country.

He explored Mandela when he emerged as a winner in the first democratic elections, which was held in 1990, and he became the first black President of South Africa. After independence, Mandela shocked the world by allowing the whites to remain in the country, despite being a nationalist who fought against apartheid rule. He further asserts that, Mandela

⁶⁹ K. Bill, *The story of Nelson Mandela* (Oxford: Heinemann, 2009), p. 23

⁷⁰ Ibid, P. 26.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 40.

⁷² Ibid, P. 41.

⁷³ Ibid, P, 50.

handed over the leadership voluntarily after he served for a short period.⁷⁴ Thabo Mbeki took over from Mandela, this set an exemplary leadership to the world, his dedications charismatic nature and confidence to bring independence to South Africa, shows how committed he was to liberate his people from apartheid.⁷⁵ These characteristics and personalities of Mandela, which resembles those of Toweett helped in analyzing a biography of Toweett.

A book written by David, demonstrates the efforts of the Kenya nationalists who tirelessly fought for independence. He pointed out problems, which these nationalists went through as they fought for independence of the country.⁷⁶ The difference, which the early Africans became a problem with African unity. The work of Tom Mboya dwells on constitution making towards the achievement of independence of the country. Toweett was a close associate of Tom Mboya and a colleague but his description in political arena have not been captured and fully documented. However, this work of Mboya is very significant because it gives details of the 1957 constitution making up to 1962, and advancement of the constitution amendment, which Toweett was actively involved when he was a member of Legco representing southern electoral area Narok, and Kericho District.

Mazrui explores the life of Jomo Kenyatta from the time of his birth to the time he became the first president of the republic of Kenya. He demonstrated Kenyatta as one of the important figure in Kenya's leadership. Kenyatta united African leaders to fight for African countries' independence. His fellow African leaders joined and formed the African Union also known as Pan-Africanism. He was a very instrumental leader in Africa.⁷⁷ He rallied his country group of nationalist while he was in the country and even at his studies abroad. Kenyatta with his supporters from Pan-Africanist, Kenya achieved her independence in 1963.⁷⁸ Mazrui stated that, the efforts of Kenyatta, which earned this country independence, he was elected the first prime minister and thereafter the president until the time of his death in 1978. Kenyatta became the father of Kenya nation; he was also undisputed leader of the Kikuyu community. The work of Mazrui was of great importance in exploring the biography

⁷⁴ Ibid, P. 52

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 23

⁷⁶ G, David. *The man Kenya wanted to forget*, EAE publishers Nairobi Kenya.,1980, P 46.

⁷⁷ B. Mazrui, *Heroes and Uhuru worship Essays independence* (Nairobi: Kenya Literate of Bureau, 1969), p. 76

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 80.

of Toweett and especially his time in politics from 1958 to 1997. It helped in bringing the comparison of the rise of Kenyatta and Towett both fought for independence. It also portrays how Toweett was elected to legco and made to be the first member of Bureti in 1962. Toweett's leadership never stopped as a member of parliament, but he was appointed to senior positions in the government, he served in cabinet in both colonial and post-colonial governments and finally emerged as a long serving minister for education in Kenya, under Jomo Kenyatta's government.

In his study, Okoth analyses the life of Samweal Onyango Ayodo from birth to death. He portrayed Ayodo as one of the great leaders in Nyanza Province and among the first ministers in independent Kenya. Ayodo contributed in nation building in colonial and independent Kenya. When he was appointed as the first minister for local governments and Regional affairs, he discharged his duties with diligence and distinctions.⁷⁹ Okoth states that, Ayodo was a man of clean record of accomplishment educated and good personality, which earned him victory in the 1959 elections.⁸⁰ He served as KANU vice chairperson for South Nyanza branch. He also worked as a minister for tourism wildlife and natural resources. In his service as a minister in the two ministries, he coordinated the consolidation that promoted agricultural development in his constituency and facilitated the promotion of tourism and he laid down the establishment of game reserve in Lambwe valley.⁸¹ Ayodo was a peace loving leader and he always advise Luo community to ensure that peace and harmony dwells among them and their neighboring communities.⁸² This work about Ayodo was important to this study, because it established a comparative study of how Toweett was elected as the first Member of Parliament, representing Bureti constituency in 1962. In the analysis of his undertakings, his duties in various ministries, especially in the ministry of education where he served for many years and explore the reforms he brought to education sector during his tenure.

In yet another study, Ochieng illustrates the accomplishments of President Moi as a long serving President in Kenya. He argues that, Moi was once a teacher and simultaneously rose to be a member of Legco, afterwards he became the vice president and finally he became the

⁷⁹D. Okoth, Biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo, 1930-1993, September, 2018, p. 1-4

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 5.

⁸¹ Ibid, P. 6.

⁸² Ibid, P. 7.

second president of Kenya.⁸³ Ochieng asserts that, Moi was a champion of peace, love and unity, which later emerged to be his slogan during his leadership and after his tenure. Ochieng describes Moi as a hardworking leader, who always mentioned in development and conservation of environment.⁸⁴ This work of Moi helped in the study of Toweett in analysis of undertakings as a leader in cosmopolitan province of Rift Valley and his role in bringing together communities living in the region to live in peace and harmony, since he was a close associate of President Moi.

Ngala in his book, he explains the whole life of Agiriama person, putting in detail stages one undergoes from the time of his birth to death. He conclusively provided how Agiriama culture was being performed and activities which could be done publicly and that which could be done secretly. Ngala demonstrated how affectionate he was to his community's culture and traditions.⁸⁵ Despite his education, he showed interest to change to Christianity. This work of Ngala only gives a history of the Giriama community and a clear portrait on how Giriama culture was being conducted, but it does not give history of Ngala from childhood and how he rose from a teacher to a prominent person in the Coastal region and a famous politician in Kenya. This work of Ngala on the Giriama relates closely with the work done by Toweett, he wrote many books narrating stories of the Kipsigis community, culture and traditions.⁸⁶ Hence, it gives room for comparison on Ngala's work and current study of Towett. Information of history of Kipsigis by Toweett informed the study about Towett's intellectual writings.

Gimode analyses the life of Tom Mboya, from childhood to the time when he was a senior person in the government. He portrayed the early life of Mboya, which was faced with many difficulties. The whole life of Mboya reflected the picture of his background. Gimode did not dwell on biography of Mboya, but he brought out the entire picture of the environment of Mboya's place of birth. He explains how Mboya was molded into political career. According to Gimode, rise from being a casual servant to becoming a leader of trade union.⁸⁷ He alluded that, Mboya was a central figure and resourceful leader in a group of nationalists and a leader

⁸³ R. Ochieng, *Place of biography in Kenya history, 1904-2005* (Nairobi: Anyange Press Ltd, 1990), p. 54

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 65.

⁸⁵ R. Ngala, *Mila na desturi ya Wagiriama*, (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1950), p. 59

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 62

⁸⁷ E. Gimode, *Makers of History in Kenya, Tom Mboya, Biography*, (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1965), p. 48

of trade unions. Mboya gained good reputation from his fellow leaders and workers of the movement. Mboya fame rose higher and higher after Kenya gained its independence; his handwork in various ministries he served put him in prominent positions in Kenya politics.⁸⁸ This made his opponents in politics feel bitter and jealous that resulted to his assassination in 1969. Gimode demonstrated that, Mboya had distinguished characteristics, which made him loved by many. He argued that, to be charismatic, hardworking and intelligent leader, Gimode the writer of Mboya biography never mentioned Toweett despite he was the colleague in politics in colonial and after Kenya gained independence, but he mentioned very important traits of Mboya which was significant in the study of biography of Toweett.⁸⁹ Toweett was charismatic, intelligent and a leader with power that enabled him emerged very prominent and rise to senior positions in government.

Bannet explored the process of dividing and partitioning of lands for European settlements in Kenya from 1900 to 1905. The main objective of Bannet was to look for ways in which Kenya can stop depending on protectorate government and taxpayers of Europeans. The commissioner to Kenya then Sir Charles Elid encouraged the migration of settlers to Kenya as a way of making the Kenyan territory self-independent financially this resulted in large number of white settlers settled in Kenya and even the rich African people were given land to set up their farming especially areas of Eldoret and Tranzoia.⁹⁰ The idea of giving land to white and rich Africans were one way of collecting revenue to Government. The commissioner encouraged settlers even from other continent apart from Britain.⁹¹ This work of Bannet gives details how Europeans settled in Kenya and how they moved Africans from their lands to provide space for them. This work of Bannet provides comprehensive land problems in Kenya and Toweett is mentioned as a minister of land survey and town planning. Hence, Bannets work was helpful in exploring the undertakings and reforms brought by Toweett when he was in the ministry.

Kihoro on his part provides details on how Kenyans fought the Europeans in pre-independent period and even after the Independence. The book analyse the problems, which

⁸⁸ Ibid, P. 52.

⁸⁹ Ibid, P. 53.

⁹⁰ G. Bennett, *Kenya Political History since independence*, East African Publishers, 1964. P 93.

⁹¹ Ibid, P. 102

Kenya underwent during the struggle for independence.⁹² Kihoro showed that Kenyans suffered, their rights were abused and their economy was drained.⁹³ Africans were denied the right to do farming their land was grabbed and their movements restricted. Kihoro mentioned Toweett as leaders who were close associates of J.M Kariuki and a fighter of independence with other leaders. Hence, this work was of significant in building the life of Toweett in politics of Kenya.

Branch in his study, he demonstrates how Kenyan leaders tried to advocate for their position and supremacy instead of working on development advancement and steady growth of country's economy.⁹⁴ He also pointed that their tribes in every aspect of development have driven Kenyan politicians, they demanded share in national government only to distribute to tribes they hail from.⁹⁵ This book was helpful in demonstrating Toweett advocacy on development to his area of representation and development work he did.

Mabolo's work, *Biography of Wasike Mwangale*, analyzes the life of Mwangale from childhood to time he became prominent and famous in leadership. He pointed out social cultural aspects his contributions in public service before he joined politics and his achievements as cabinet member and his input in KANU party. Mabolo affirmed that Mwangale was shaped and molded by education provided by missionaries; he was educated in school sponsored by Christians. His father was one of the first converts to Christianity.⁹⁶ Mwangale trained as a teacher, he taught in Mary schools before he joined politics. Mabolo asserted that Mwangale was a leader of principles, very charismatic and visionary.⁹⁷ He added that his hardworking brought revolutions in Western Kenya leadership and development at large. Mwangale was elected to Parliament in 1969 and he served in various ministries where he left remarkable legacies. Mabolo elaborated more about his education and how schooling shaped him, he said that while he was at Chesamisi intermediate he was a great debater this was evidence in parliament he emerged a good debater.⁹⁸ While at Egerton

⁹² W. Kihoro, *The price of freedom and independence in Kenya Leadership*, EAE publishers Nairobi Kenya, 1995.p 203.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 230.

⁹⁴ D. Branch, *Kenya, Between Hope and Despair, 1963-1967*, Oxford University publishers, 1964. P 167.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 170.

⁹⁶ A.W. Mabolo, 'A political biography of Elijah Wasike Mwangale,' 1939-1992 (MA. Diss. University of Nairobi, 2016)

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.8

⁹⁸ Ibid, p .10

University, he was a good advocator for students' rights and finally was elected student leader. Mabolo added that this background molded him for future leader.⁹⁹ This work of Mabolo was resourceful, especially in analyzing the childhood of Toweett and his political legacies he made. Mwangale was Toweett's contemporary in colonial and colonial government.

Mungania's thesis explored biography of Jackson harvester Angaine. Kiambi analyzed his life history starting from childhood, education and how he climbs his political journey. He explained how powerful Angaine was in Meru region leadership. Murgaine described Angaine as a leading farmer and politicians. He added that he was a student of alliance school, a school well known for molding and producing great leaders.¹⁰⁰ Murgania affirmed that Angaine served in various ministries in colonial and independent government, he served as Minister of Land Settlement Survey and Town Planning.¹⁰¹ He pointed out that he was a leader with well-calculated strategies and elaborated how he plays his political and always wins. Toweett was a political strategist who always emerged a victorious, he was very close friend to Argaine in time at KANU and both participated in Lancaster house conference in first and second. In addition, they served in common ministry of Agriculture and ministry of lands and local authorities.¹⁰² This work of Mungania gave room for comparisons between Angaine and Toweett.

1.8.2 Theoretical Framework

In any study there must be guidance which gives the study path to reach its conclusion. A theory is an explanatory astratagem which helps to explain reality. A study cannot be fully researched on without preordained course that guide the entire process .In order to study the political Biography of Toweett the guiding pillar has to be established .Many theories have been proposed by different Elites and number of them were analysed to come up with appropriate one which will guide the study. Still and all, the Great Man Theory was found to be suitable and appropriate for the study.

The great man theory focuses on identifying various features that is linked to successful leadership. In so doing the researcher demonstrated the leadership characteristic that made a

⁹⁹Ibid, p.14

¹⁰⁰ J. K. Mungania, ' Biography of Jackson Harvester Angaine, A King without a Kingdom,' MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1903-1999. P13

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 12.

¹⁰²Ibid, P.15.

person great leader. The proponent of this theory was Thomas Carlyle, the approach is also known as hero interpretation.

The theory analysed and tried to understand the deeds and actions of great individuals. Great Man was significant to this study, especially in the subject of intelligence, wisdom and charisma and how it affected leadership of Toweett. The approach was helpful in scrutinizing the subject of charisma power and intelligence possessed by heroes and the impact they brought to human development.¹⁰³ It explained the functions of heroes in historical development. It gives the relationship of the heroes and the human development.

Charisma is a characteristic of an individual to convince other people to do something or to make some changes in an idea especially in leadership. Carlyle used this feature of charisma to analyse how heroes used to impact on the history. He explained that, human development depends entirely on the great individuals; he gives illustration of the prominent persons in various parts of the world, who made or came up with influence to change the history like the great poets.¹⁰⁴ He brings example of Martin Luther who opposed the bad deeds of Napoleon and how he steered his leadership. This aspect is relevant in many occasions especially when Toweett was conducting campaigns during times of election where this aspect manifested.

Intelligence and wisdom was of great importance in the analysis of Toweett, he skillfully applied good strategies guided by wisdom and intelligence during his time in various ministries. These aspects helped him throughout his leadership and especially during times when he was a minister of land, survey and town planning when his people were demanding free land to settle in. However, he made a decision and formed companies to enable them buy lands instead of giving them free. Carlyle's theory stands on a point that, leaders are born and not made; he adds that, heroes intervene on time of need and help the people.¹⁰⁵ This theory is as old as the writing of history; it was used in the writing of the Thucydides and Herodotus histories. The regimes of powerful empires boosted the writing of biographies. The theory received further boost in 1776 during the American Revolution, biographers considered the founding fathers as teachers of the new nation.

¹⁰³C. Thomas, *The hero as Divinity: Heroes and Hero worship* (California: Sage Publishers, 1840), p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ H. Katz, *Skills of effective leadership*, book cases of leadership (California: Sage Publications, 1970), p. 21.

One of the supporters of Carlyle's theory Katz asserts that leaders are born and not made. This stressed on the characteristics of leadership in a person and emphasized the trait of the world's heroes like Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther, Alexander the great among others. Katz stressed on the charisma that was used by Carlyle from the Greek language, which means a gift. Carlyle asserted that, a leader must portray traits like aggressiveness, intelligence courage commanding and persuasiveness to be accepted a leader. A leader is accepted for what he is. The importance of this approach was to bring impact in the development of history. It also considers unpredictable incidence in history, the approach dwell much on the deeds of a person as a resulting force in history development and progress. Nevertheless, Herbert Spencer pinpoint some of the weaknesses of this approach, he pointed that, the great individuals which Carlyle discussed were product of the social environment and said that it does not fit to explain history development and events but the approach have weight on the explanation of great men impact in the course of history without necessary checking on the social environment. The theory also tends to associate achievement in political perspective only while social cultural and political achievements are not given recognition they deserve.¹⁰⁶

The great man theory is relevant to this study despite the weaknesses pointed out by Herbert Spencer in that, it helps in the analysis of achievement of Toweett using the three characteristics of a leader mentioned by Carlyle in his theory. This enabled the evaluation of his undertakings in constituency and in national function as a minister, which required charisma, intelligence and wisdom. Between 1969 to 1979 Toweett served as minister for education, he came up with many policies, which influenced education sector and changed curriculum. Great man theory was important in analyzing the biography, leadership career and his roles he played in the development of the nation.

1.9 Methodology

1.9.1 Introduction

This section disperse on method employed by the study to explore the political life of Toweett and his contributions to achievement of independence of Kenya. It describe the research design, sampling procedures, data collection and data analysis.

¹⁰⁶ H. Katz, *Skills of effective leadership*, book cases of leadership (California: Sage Publications, 1970), p. 34

1.9.2 Research design

The study was based on historical research design. The design involved critical inquiry on the past event to produce an accurate description and interpretation of these events. According to William, historical research is the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusion about the past events.¹⁰⁷ The design has four steps :identification of research problem, collection and evaluation of sources material ,synthesis of information from source material and analysis, as well as interpretation and formulation of conclusion .This design was most appropriate for this study because it explored the study of political life of Toweett from 1925 to 2007.Qualitative research method specifically phenomenological method which is best suited generally for social sciences and especially in historical studies¹⁰⁸ .Therefore this study used qualitative method of research to unearth the political life of Toweett, the analysis of his childhood to the time he rose to senior positions in colonial and independent governments.

1.9.3 Sampling Procedure

The purposive sampling is the sampling technique applied in this study to identify informants. The informants identified were categorized according to, gender, age, area of residential, the leaders who lives outside Bureti, the occupation and length of stay in Bureti .All this categories comprised of sixty informants from the population of the research. The interviewees were selected in areas of Bureti and those who have settled in different areas outside Bureti depending on the information they have regarding Toweett. Snowballing was employed to make ease and quick to find those possessing vital and reliable information. This technique led the researcher to other interviewees that were viewed as possessing reliable information. Many of the valuable respondents were suggested to the researcher by those who knew them as having been close to the late minister. The data collected from both primary and secondary sources were analyzed qualitatively. The purposive sampling provided away of discerning, examining, comprising, contrasting and interpreting meaningful patterns on which conclusion was drawn.

¹⁰⁷N. Williman, *Your Research Project: Designing and planning your work, 3rd edition* (London: Sage Publications, 2011), p. 10.

¹⁰⁸J, W. Creswel, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among 5th editions* (London: Sage publication, 1998), P. 152.

1.9.4 Data Collection

The primary and secondary data was utilized; the data was collected from National Archives and from the oral informants. These two sources were used to research on political biography of Toweett. Any historical research always depend on written documents and oral informants. The National archives Nairobi, Kericho and Nakuru were the main sources of Parliamentary Reports, Annual Reports, newspapers and Magazines. The researcher visited the Kenya National archives for good serviceable management of oral interviews; the oral informant's interview timelines was also used. The oral informant's timelines was set to ease and give good management of collected data and also remind the researcher of important questions regarding the theme of the research. The interview questions and schedules were used in a way that serves ideas that arises out of given discussions. Camera was used to take photographs of projects which were built during his tenure and voices of the oral informants were taken using voice tape. The three languages were used, kalenjin, Kiswahili and English. The collected information was recorded using tape recorder with agreement of the informants, and it was followed by transcription of data collected.

Secondary sources were also useful sources, it alternated the primary data. The secondary sources are written sources that included books, journals, articles, reports, internet, theses and dissertation papers. The researcher widely researched in various libraries including Egerton University Library, Kenya National Archives, Kericho National Archives and Nakuru National Library. The data Collected touches on three objectives of the study; the early life and education of Toweett his life and contributions to struggle for independence and his political life after independence.

1.9.5 Data Analysis

Research data was analyzed based on three analytical frames these are the objectives, research premises and the theoretical framework to help decipher the political life of Toweett. The oral interviews and questions were based on the three objectives of the study. The documentary review involved analysis of documented data corroborated with primary data. The theoretical analysis involved using great man theory to analyse data collected from the research. Recorded data were transcribed then analysed. This helped to sieve out data to determine that which was relevant and useful to the study so as to obtain a sense of overall data. Interviews done were tape recorded and transcribed after day work and analyzed. The researcher then read the first draft of raw data and relevant materials recorded on cards under

various themes related to the objectives of the study.¹⁰⁹ This was followed by careful examination and thorough revision of these notes to come up with the thesis.

1.9.6 Ethical Considerations

The authority to conduct the study was sought from the ethics and research committee and documenting at the Faculty in the University. Permission to collect the required data was sought from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).

During data collection and fieldwork, the informants were informed about the research and that the study was majorly for academic purpose. It was made clear that the participation is voluntary and that the informants were free to decline or withdraw any time during the research period. Informants were not coerced into participating in the study. The participants were provided with clear and adequate information then asked to give their own informed consent. They were guaranteed that their privacy would be protected by strict standard of anonymity.

¹⁰⁹ J. W. Creswel, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions* (London: Sage Publication, 1998), p. 152.

CHAPTER TWO

TAAITTA ARAP TOWEETT'S EARLY LIFE, 1925 -1957

2.1 Overview

This chapter analyses the early life of Toweett from 1925 to 1957. This is from the time of his birth until he finished his college studies. The chapter analyses his childhood life, education and family and how his background influenced his future political career. He got a chance to study in mission schools both in primary and at the secondary level. He was one of the first Kenyan to study at Makerere University in Uganda. He was awarded a scholarship to study at Devon Technical College in Torquay Germany. It was evident that Toweett was one of the educated persons in Kipsigis land and in the Kalenjin community. He was appointed the first Africa CDO in Kericho District and Nandi before he joined politics in 1957. He emerged to be a prominent leader in the Rift valley and in Kenya from 1957.

2.2 Social, Economic and Political Environment of Bureti Constituency

The people of Bureti are the highland nilotes, they originate from Egypt. It was initially called *Bureti Netebes* covering part of Bomet County and Kericho, the area was ruled as one administrative. In the colonial epoch, the prominent chief Arap Tengecha collaborated with the missionaries of African Inland Church and the Roman Catholic, which helped to, established mission schools, which finally Toweett schooled in.

The missionaries built a number of schools in Litein Kapkatet Kaminjeiwet, among many others. The foundations of these schools greatly contributed and impacted on education during the era of Toweett. Bureti constituency where Toweett hailed, today consist of many locations; Chelilis, Cheborgei, Soliat, Chepkechei, Kaptebengwo, Chepwagan where Toweett came from.

In 1958, Bureti comprised of five locations and it had fifteen sub locations with Litein having almost half of the votes of entire locations. It was because of this reason that Toweett dominated and maintained his seat of Bureti for more that forty years. The whole constituency is covered by the kalenjin community. The common and prevalent economic activity in the area is farming and livestock keeping as there is enough and sufficient rainfall throughout the year. This area is suitable for maize, millets, sweet potatoes, banana, and pineapples. Tea and coffee are the main cash crops. The study noted that in the early 1900 most of the people were small scale farmers but after they realized the productivity of the

area, Toweett started introducing programmes to enlighten the resident and modernizing farming to improve the productions, the residents grew to be large scale farmers.

Christianity dominated the constituency and in 1918 AIC was wide spread in the area with leading followers.

2.3 Toweett's Childhood and Background

Toweett was born in 1925 to Christopher Chelogoi arap Abosiek and Tabsaba Temugo. Kipsigis community as the Kisii perceived the people of this clan and some argued that Kipsigis and Kisii communities shared clans. Maero originated from Kisii, South Mugirago in Makomoni. His father was known as Chelogoi (storyteller) he was a person who was respected by the society, a person with a good heart and always ready to intervene and help the villagers in time of difficulties.¹¹⁰ Chelogoi was a prominent farmer in the area of Litein planting maize, sorghum and millets.¹¹¹ His son Taaitta and his other two children Christine Targut and John Toweett also emulated the personality of Chelogoi of helping his villagers.¹¹²

His mother Temugo on the other hand was from Kipasisek clan. She was a very humble woman well known in the village for her hospitality and generosity¹¹³. Temugo got married in Tebesonik place where Toweett was born. Her neighbor remembered Temugo as a woman who could help the neighbours in times of happiness and in times of sorrows.¹¹⁴ She could welcome the children from the needy families for many years without mistreating them. Before she gave birth to Toweett, she hosted two children from her relative and one from her neighbor both were from a humble background. The family of Maeroo was welcoming and accommodated anyone who needed his or her help.¹¹⁵ Those characteristics of Chelogoi and Temugo were inculcated into their children especially Toweett.

He was born in Tebosonik village, Kapkisiara location Litein area Bureti constituency in Kericho County.¹¹⁶ He was brought up in that area since his father migrated from Kisii area. This was where his family settled in, Toweett and his siblings attended the nearby primary

¹¹⁰ Taplule Tapase, OI, 18 April, 2021.

¹¹¹ Ibid, OI, 18 April, 2021.

¹¹² Ibid 2021.

¹¹³ Rachel Chepkoech, OI, 19 April, 2021.

¹¹⁴ Taplule Agnes (OI), 28th April 2021.

¹¹⁵ Ibid 2021.

¹¹⁶ Kimulwo Arap, (OI) 21st April 2021.

school. TaaittaToweett was his preferred name but his original name given by his family was Elisha Kipyegon Toweett. The name Taaitta Toweett was his favorite name¹¹⁷. According to the Kipsigis community, the name Taaitta means the first-born and Toweett means the last-born¹¹⁸. He was given a controversial name because he was the eldest. According to Christopher; Toweett was born on 25th September 1925. As per the Kalenjins, the month of September was the harvesting month and as such, it was regarded as a month of blessings¹¹⁹. There was no raiding during the season and the people enjoyed peace with their neighbours. His father had a large herd of cattle, during that time there was plenty of milk in the family, and the children could feed well.¹²⁰

His mother Tomugo died in 1935, when he was only ten years old and left her children when they were very young in the hands of her husband and some of house duties were taken care of by Toweett because he was the eldest and responsible child. Chelogoi never remarried but he opted to look after his children on his own.¹²¹

Essentially, he grew up in the village of Tebesonik like any other ordinary boy with his siblings Christine and John. After the death of their mother, he spent his time helping his father to look after his younger siblings.¹²² It is evident that he was a hardworking, focused boy and self-directed.

Chelogoi was a hardworking farmer, his farm was doing well, and the sales from his farms produce were used to support his children.¹²³

When he was not in school, he could look after his father's cattle since his father had a large herd of cattle.¹²⁴ Christopher Arap Chepochok asserted that, Toweett was a hardworking boy. He helped his father in many things. His father loved him because of his obedience and determination in every activity he was assigned. He could wake up very early in the morning to milk the cows before he left to the grazing field during the holidays.¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ Ibid 2021.

¹¹⁸ R. T. Kipkorir, *A history of Colonial Education among the Kipsigis of Kenya*, circa (1895-1963.), p.123.

¹¹⁹ Christopher Kimulwo (OI), 25th April 2021.

¹²⁰ Ibid 2021.

¹²¹ Ruth Tapnyolei Temugo (IO) 20th April 2021.

¹²² Johnstone Arap Korir (OI) 20th April 2021.

¹²³ Ibid 2021.

¹²⁴ Christopher Arap Chepochok (OI) 20th April 2021

¹²⁵ Ibid 2021.

Toweett as the eldest child in their family, he could organize his siblings and assign them duties before going to help his father in the farm or helping him to look after the cows.¹²⁶ His early life showed that he was trustworthy, hardworking and determined. This was evident when he assisted his father to take care of his siblings after their mother.

2.4 Toweett's Early Education Background

In 1931, he started school at the age of six when his mother was still alive. He joined Chepwagan primary a school sponsored by the missionaries. The school was near Litein town where missionaries had built another mission school called Kaminjeiwet. He was the youngest pupil amongst his classmates and many would look down on him. Despite his young age and small body size, he was aggressive in school activities undertaken by his fellows like playing football and performing classwork.¹²⁷ His father asserted that Toweett used to go to school together with his siblings. Despite his parents being non-Christians, he always took with him his siblings to Sunday school in the mission centre at Litein African Inland Church where they could get spiritual nourishment. He was young but he never missed church together with his siblings. He was not baptized in 1934 since he was young for baptizing.¹²⁸ Moreso, according to the laws of the church, children had to be accompanied by their parents in church for them to be baptized. He did not have an option but to be a persistent member of the mission school for him to access education. Due to his hard work both in church and in school, neighbours who were Christians liked him. He made himself known to members and church leaders.

Toweett's main aim of attending the church was to be allowed to attend school and enjoy the privileges provided by the missionaries like being allowed to school in mission and even access to health facilities equal to missionaries' children's. Despite his willingness in getting education, at times he was sent back home because his parents were not Christians, this nearly made him drop out of school.¹²⁹ Church leaders in AIC Litein and Chepwagan noted his determination and hard work both in church and in the mission school. Teachers in school liked his aggressiveness and seriousness in academics. He was always the best in every activity he did in school regardless of his young age. Back at church, he was always punctual, ready and willing to undertake any assignments assigned by the AIC Litein priest and the

¹²⁶ Koech(OI), 21st April 2021

¹²⁷ Taplule Jane Talam (OI) 21st April 2021.

¹²⁸ Samwel Arap Tabotug (OI) 2nd May 2021.

¹²⁹ Christopher Chelilim Arap Mursoi (OI) 21st April 2021.

church members. He used to like cleaning the church and arranging the benches. This made him earn a good reputation amongst the church members as a committed young boy. Finally, the church supported him in his primary school education. He continued with his education upto class seven where he wrote his CPE exams at Chepwagan primary school.¹³⁰

His close relationship with his father, church leaders and missionaries helped him become disciplined and knowledgeable child throughout his studies in Chepwagan primary school. He also familiarized himself with the Kipsigis community, practices which helped him to understand his community culture.

When his father accepted mission's education, it helped him access the Whiteman education. His father knew the importance of education to his child's life. He was motivated because his son was bright, sharp and committed pupil. Christopher argued that Chelogoi could at times create time over the weekend to discuss with his son what had transpired in school over the week. At some point, his villagers who were against the white man's education that he was spoiling his child told Chelogoi. He never listened to them but instead encouraged his son to work hard and proceed to the next level.¹³¹

By the time, he was in grade four in the year 1933; it became evident that he was a bright student. He used to wake up very early in the morning so that he could reach to school by eight. He had to walk for three and a half kilometers and he never got to school late. His punctuality made him appointed class prefect, a position that he maintained until he was through with his class seven.¹³²

Simon recalled that Toweett was very attentive in school and courageous when he was raising his concerns to the teachers. He participated in every activity the teacher gave to the students and was always appointed a group leader in every task given by the teacher.¹³³ This is where he built his leadership skills.

Turgut affirms that he was alert and always contributed to any task or question, which the teacher gave to his pupils in class. He added that Toweett was good in storytelling, writing

¹³⁰ Ibid 2021.

¹³¹ Ibid 2021.

¹³² Ibid 2021.

¹³³ Simon Turgut (OI) 21st April 2020.

history, English and religion.¹³⁴ In 1938, when he was in class seven, he wrote his national exams CPE and he passed well. He was declared the best student countrywide. He was recognized in church and in the entire society of Litein. Later, well-wishers to join secondary school sponsored him¹³⁵.

2.5 Toweett's Secondary Education

He joined Kabianga mission school in February 1939 during the Second World War.¹³⁶ The AIC missionaries who were already spreading in the area from 1918 started Kabianga in 1935. The school emerged the best in the region. The school was set up mainly to convert many people who were still deeply embedded in their traditional practices to Christianity.¹³⁷

He was one of the Pioneering students of the school. At this stage, most of his colleagues in primary school had dropped out of school. At Kabianga, he represented his village Tebesonik and was very proud since that was the school he had worked hard to join.¹³⁸ It was an achievement for him to be there. He was not only lucky to be in Mission School because of his good performance but also was the only student from non-Christian parents to be allowed to study in a mission school since missionaries did not want pupils from Pagans, children of converts were given priority. His brightness in academics did not end after primary school but he maintained in Kabianga secondary. While in Kabianga, his teacher identified him as a bright student and was appointed the class prefect. He exercised his leadership in good style, it was evident that he was a good leader from the way he was discharging his duties. At school, he was passionate in playing football and debating.¹³⁹

Toweett was tenacious, social and very resourceful. He befriended his classmates, guide them on classwork and on various assignments assigned to them. Toweett passed well in his O level exams (form two exams) at Kabianga Secondary.

After he had sat for his exams at Kabianga mission school, he was admitted to join Alliance High School in 1944.¹⁴⁰ The Alliance of protestant churches, which included The Church of Scotland Mission (later Presbyterian Church of East Africa), Church of the Province of

¹³⁴ Ibid 2021.

¹³⁵ Ibid 2021.

¹³⁶ KNA/DC/KER/1/18: Kericho District Report, 1931.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Marco Group, *Who is who in East Africa* 1965-196, (Marco Publishers ,1965), p.146

Kenya (CPK), African Inland Church (AIC) and the Methodist Church founded Alliance High School in 1926. Alliance was one of the prestigious schools in Kenya, which every student wished to join. Alliance was perceived by Kenyans as one of the schools that produce great leaders and was seen as a school that was moving, shaping and influencing African students with leadership traits. Francis Edward Carey, the second school principal of Alliance who led the school from 1941 was a man with good leadership principles. Francis was a graduate of Edinburg University in Britain. He valued discipline among the students. He was a source of motivation to the school as he used his successful life and experience he had gotten in life to motivate his students.¹⁴¹ His students embraced the advices of Francis, Toweett being one of them. Toweett was molded with the principles of Francis and they guided him in his entire leadership journey. This was an addition to his numerous virtues and the rich religious background that had built his character. Benard Kipkorir who wrote the history of Alliance argued that the school was great deal and meant a lot to students who got chance during those years. He resembled the chances of joining Alliance those years to getting a chance in university nowadays.¹⁴² Toweett was the only student who hailed from the Kipsigis community then to join Alliance High School. He was one of the pioneering students of Alliance alongside other students who finally emerged very famous in Kenya leadership like Elijah Wasike Mwangale and Jackson Angaine Harvester. Toweett did not experience many challenges while at Alliance high school. Missionaries back in Litein were catering for his school fee. Francis Edward Carey took over the leadership of AHS in 1941 after Mr. Griaves who was the first principal of the school.

2.6 Toweett's Tertiary Education

In 1947, he completed his studies at Alliance High School and qualified to continue with his studies. He was awarded with a certificate for secondary studies as evidence that he had passed the examination and could join the next level of his studies. In 1948, he received a letter to join Makerere University for further studies. Makerere University was the only university in East Africa.¹⁴³ Toweett was one of the few students from Kenya to join the university. Students were very few particularly from the Kalenjin community. At Makerere University, he mingled with other Kenyans students like Ayodo Samuel Anyango and Mwai Kibaki all who finally

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 24

¹⁴² B, Kipkorir *the History of the Alliance High School*, Nairobi: Heinemann, 1998, p 23.

¹⁴³ Who is who in Kenya 1982-1983, *Africa Book Services*, (Youth Magazine Publication of AfricaBook Service 1983.) p. 83?

became prominent leaders in Kenya.¹⁴⁴ He maintained his friendship with Mwai Kibaki and Ayodo Samwel at the university, cherished them as they encouraged themselves in their future leadership¹⁴⁵. He specialized in English, literature and Sociology. He graduated and obtained a diploma certificate.

After his studies at Makerere University, he decided to become a social worker and joined Kabete School of Administration, where he trained as a social welfare worker. After finishing his course in Kabete Jeans School and seeking a job for a short time, in 1955 he was awarded a scholarship by the Kipsigis county council. He earned this scholarship due to the hard work portrayed and the fact that he was the first student in the South Rift valley region to join Makerere University. He joined South Devon Technical College in Torquay Germany. He pursued a diploma in public and social administration. After completing his studies at Devon Technical College, he proceeded and obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Heratun University of South Africa. His brilliance and hard work earned him success in all his level of studies within schools in the country and abroad.¹⁴⁶

After he joined politics in early 1957, he never left his education. In 1969 he enrolled for a master's program in linguistics and graduated in 1973, at the University of Nairobi and in the same year he enrolled for his PhD in the same university and graduated in 1977, with the title of his thesis being "*A study of Kalenjin's linguistic*".¹⁴⁷ In his entire academic journey, he intermingled with people from different regions. During that process of interaction, he learned and acquired good leadership skills that shaped his future leadership. It is evident that in almost all levels of his studies, he was appointed to leadership positions as class representative in primary school secondary and the college. He respected his villagers and people around him that earned him a good reputation in the society. His neighbour's on education matters always consulted him. He was always in the forefront in motivating the youths to study. He showed a lot of interest in helping students in his area to advance their studies. He was always willing to have discussions concerning education in his locality and even beyond.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Raphael Tanui (OI), 5th May 2021.

¹⁴⁵ D. Okoth, Biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo, 1930-1993, September, 2018, p. 41

¹⁴⁶ Obituary - DR. Taaita Araap Toweett" by Leo Odero Omolo, www.jaluo.com

¹⁴⁷ T. Toweett, Thesis of Taaita Toweett *Kalenjin Nouns and their classification with notes on phonology. PhD Dissertation the University of Nairobi 1975.*

¹⁴⁸ Jonathan Arap Ngechoch (OI), 23rd April 2021.

2.7 Toweett's Work Experience

In 1950 after he completed his studies in Makerere University and Kabete Jeans School, he preferred his private work but after he faced financial constraints in undertaking his talent of book writing in 1952, he opted to look for a job. The Europeans appointed the skills he had acquired at Jean school Kabete of social welfare administration and at Devon Technical College, which shares closely with welfare works made him, in 1952 to the position of a Welfare Officer.¹⁴⁹ The welfare position was a position that was rarely held by the Africans. He shortly held the position in Kericho district. Due to the close supervision and lack of freedom from the whites, he left the job in 1953 and started working as a broadcaster with the VOK in Kisumu African service until 1955 when he was awarded a scholarship to Devon Technical College in Torquay by the Kipsigis county council to advance his studies in public and social administration. After he graduated from Devon South Technical College, he was appointed to the post of a CDO in Nandi district. He became the first African Community Development officer to be employed in Kenya by the Europeans.¹⁵⁰ He carried out his duties as the CDO with diligence and total commitment and he was promoted. Toweett demonstrated that he was a person with commendable leadership skills. His workmates noted that he was a hardworking person. He was consulted on various issues in his capacity. He was always willing to solve and provide amicable solutions to problems facing his workmates and the community.

He did not depend on one job, as a CDO in Nandi he was also an editor of monthly magazine of Kipsigis community called *Ngalekap Kipsigis*. The magazine majorly dealt with the developments amongst the Kipsigis community. The magazine had articles on agriculture and on how to undertake farming in the region. It also emphasized on matters of education while encouraging young people to study.

The positions that Toweett held such as CDO made him to interact with Europeans and his fellow Africans elites, this largely exposed his social and leadership skills. He learnt various strategies used by the Europeans to control and run the government of Kenya from the grassroots administration to national levels. Working as an employee of the Europeans helped in building himself more politically and impacted his leadership skills. After realizing how Africans were being enslaved in the Europeans farms, especially the tea plantations in

¹⁴⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Taaitta_Toweett "Dr. Taaitta Araap Toweett (May 1925 – 8 October 2007) Accessed October 2020.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Kericho, his interest to contest for elective position was triggered to enable him advocate for Africans who were being persecuted by the Europeans.

2.8 Toweett's Marriage and Family Life

In 1950, Toweett was allowed by his relatives to marry, as he was considered mature according to the Kipsigis's traditions. Apart from him being considered mature by his relatives, there were also demands from his father Chelogoi that he wanted grandchildren because he was growing old.¹⁵¹ In 1952, he married Mama Rachel Chemibei from Kericho, Belgut district, Chebwon village as his first wife, Chemibei was uneducated but she participated in community work at Sotik area. He married her in accordance with the Kipsigis traditions and customs. Toweett's father paid 12 cows to the family of Chemibei as dowry.

In later years from 1960, Toweett decided to become a polygamous man, he married three other wives. He married Rachel Chebet Tapsabei (Kipsigis) from Konoin in 1961 and in 1965; he married Margaret Taplile from Nandi as his third wife, and the last wife Anna Kamaya from Marakwet in 1969.¹⁵² He picked his wives from all the sub communities of the Kalenjin communities and this was regarded as a political strategy to win and maintain his prominence for future politics.

Despite having four wives, he treated them with respect.¹⁵³ He had a very close relationship with them and he could make sure that he reached out to them on the weekends when he was free from his busy schedules.¹⁵⁴ He had thirty-two children. Toweett was close to his family. He could not miss on any meeting planned by his clan mates to settle issues or to strengthen the unity of his clan. He was a man who cherished unity and peace in his family.¹⁵⁵ When any kind of difficulty arose in either his family or clan that seemed to be difficult to settle, he was a kind of a person who always wanted issues to be settled amicably. He had a tradition of assembling his wives and children at one point during the weekends and advising them accordingly.¹⁵⁶ It was also time to advise his children on the importance of education.

¹⁵¹ Chelugui Arap Ngerechi (OI) 20th April, 2021.

¹⁵² Zakayo Ngetich, OI, 3 May, 2021.

¹⁵³ Jennifer Chepkwony, OI, 26 April, 2021.

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Mibei, OI, 24 April, 2021.

¹⁵⁵ Edinah Tembur, OI, 24 April, 2021

¹⁵⁶ Johnstone Ngetich, OI, 25 April, 2021.

Apart from his family and clan members, friends, electorates and neighbours talked of him as being a good person, a jovial leader, friendly and very social.¹⁵⁷ He was very close to the people he represented. Despite serving in prestigious positions and capacities, he maintained a close relationship with his family and electorates. He was often found interacting with his family.¹⁵⁸ Toweett trained his wives and children to be welcoming and indeed, they could welcome all the people regardless of their status, conditions and their situations in life. They could treat them with hospitality and generosity and this is evident with his children. He paid attention to education of his children and that of the larger society.

2.9 Summary

The chapter has analyzed Toweett's early life, his childhood, education background, work experience, his marriage and his family. When closely examined, one would notice that his early life and education impacted on his leadership. Exploring his early life and his education journey, it is evident that his experiences contributed in building up his political career. His traits as discussed in this chapter molded him for future leadership and maintained him to be a good and valuable person in the society.

It is established that he was brought up in a humble family and lived like any other village boy. He emerged to be an obedient and a hardworking boy. He helped his parents when he was young especially when his mother died; he helped his father in taking care of his siblings. He went through all his education stages smoothly and his performance was remarkable.

Some of his appointments and position he holds while schooling molded him for leadership. Toweett was noted as being a leader and good in debates at Kabianga mission school and Alliance high school. His abilities and talents were evident in Parliament how he responded to questions concerning the ministry he served and how he responded to questions posed to him during debates. The close interaction of Toweett and the society gave him a better understanding of the culture in which he was brought up.

When he was appointed to the welfare position in Kericho and as CDO in Nandi he showed how committed he was in helping the society, responsible in handling issues arising from his work environment and caring to his larger family.

The next section examines Toweett in colonial government and struggle for independence.

¹⁵⁷ Joseph Tekutwo, OI, 23 April, 2021.

¹⁵⁸ Barngetuny Joshua, OI, 26 April, 2021.

CHAPTER THREE

TOWEETT IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE 1957 TO 1963

3.1 Overview

This chapter analyse Toweett's entry into elective politics, starting from the time he decided to contest for Legco position in 1956, his participation in the 1957 general election, the introduction of Boyd Lennox constitution in 1957, the differences in AEMO and the wrangles in Africans leaders Originations. The section explored the association of Toweett in political formations in 1959 and the rise of National Political parties, Toweett representation in Lancaster House in 1960 and 1962. The chapter analysed the struggle for independence and how the 1963 General elections was conducted. This part also examines the roles Toweett played in various ministries that he served in the colonial government. In addition, this section discusses the independent Kenya and Amalgamations of political parties.

3.2 Toweett in Elective Position 1957 to 1958

Toweett got endorsement from the Elders to contest for elective position to Legco in 1957 general election. Apart from the endorsement he got from the society, he had developed an interest in leadership since his childhood and it was not by surprise that he joined politics.¹⁵⁹ He had prepared himself financially for competitive race when he served as a CDO in Kericho and Nandi Districts. He knew his election to Legco could enable him articulate for enslaved Africans by the Europeans without any restrictions.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, Toweett gained popularity in his home area because he was educated and very dedicated young person whose ambition was to liberate the society from slavery. Africans were being used by the Europeans to pluck tea with little payments; others were being displaced from their lands to provide space for Whites settlements.¹⁶¹

During the whole process of his education, he mingled and interacted with the Europeans. Working as a CDO in Kericho and Nandi exposed him to the Europeans who were in control of the government. This exposure made him gain Europeans strategies, moreso the time he was elected to Legco in 1958 to represent Kericho and Narok districts.¹⁶² He was humble and respectful and the whites saw him as the best leader who could cooperate. The Europeans

¹⁵⁹ Margret Tapletkoi, OI, 7 May, 2021.

¹⁶⁰ Jane Arusei, OI, 7 May, 2021.

¹⁶¹ Barchok Daniel OI, 21 May, 2021.

¹⁶² Obituary - DR. Taaita Araap Toweett" by Leo Odero Omolo, www.jaluo.com.

took an opportunity to select Africans who could cooperate to exploit Africans. The criteria of appointing leaders by whites was not taken well by Africans. Those who were appointed were seen by African leaders as white men's instrument to undermine the Africans people.¹⁶³ In 1956, there was an introduction of Lyttleton constitutional plan which increased African representation to eight and one of them (Ohanga) was appointed Minister and secretary of Legco. The changes that were made by Lyttleton plan of 1956 were seen as advancement of Kenya politics because of increased representation. The main considerations that were made by proponents of the plan were the introduction of cabinet with collective responsibilities and the nomination of the Legco members from all the races in Kenya, Europeans, Africans and Asians. Some additional proposals of Lyttleton plans were that the cabinet was to include the governor of Kenyan territory and council of ministers whose main agenda was to come up with government policies and amendments.¹⁶⁴ The condition was that appointed Ministers from all the three races were to avoid politics and restrain themselves from advocating for the rights of their tribes like land issues that was important and a good reason for any African leader to do while representing Africans in any position in the government.

In 1956, Lyttleton endorsed the election of the African representatives in Legco by direct vote and winner to have majority votes. William G. Coutts championed this plan.¹⁶⁵ These recommendations of Lyttleton proposed by William Coult were being used by Europeans to undermine the leadership of Africans. The governor of Kenya Evelyne Baring had power to nominate African representatives in Legco.¹⁶⁶ All the recommendations made by Lyttleton plan group was approved by the government but it only benefitted those who had embraced western way of life and had acquired western education. Election of six African representatives was to be done in February 1956 but it was postponed because of improper prior organization to handle the elections. Additionally, the disorganizations and cold wars that existed among the tribes in central province affected the plans for election. Therefore, the election was rescheduled to February 1957.¹⁶⁷ At this time Kenya government under governor, Baring incorporated ideas of the whites from Europe and even those who were in the country on how to undertake the election. After the Europeans colonized Kenya in 1920,

¹⁶³ Jacob Turgut, OI, 12 April, 2021.

¹⁶⁴ G. Gona, A political biography of Ronald Gideon Ngala; MA Thesis University; 1990. P 121.

¹⁶⁵ KNA DC/6/7/8/04 Legislative Council of Debates *Official Report 11th October Inaugurated*, 1956 (Volume LXXX) P.1263

¹⁶⁶ Ibid P.1230

¹⁶⁷ KNA DC/23/07, Opposition of Lyttleton Constitution plan, *weekly Review 15 October 1956*, p. 21

they neglected the African leader's contributions in the government running and their advocacy of Africans grievances. The political and economic aspects of Africans were ignored. Lyttleton plan of 1952 was to end all these and Europeans were to cooperate the ideas and views of Africans in governing Kenya.¹⁶⁸ The 1957 general election was to open door for Africans to advocate for their people on political and economic aspects.

3.3 The General Elections of 1957

In 1956, December Toweett declared his interest openly to the society that he was going to contest for Legco position. He received overwhelming support from Kipsigis Council; this was the same group that sponsored his education abroad. He not only received support from the council but also from the leaders, villagers and everyone from Tebesonik.¹⁶⁹ He was qualified in all requirements that were stipulated by William Coutt.¹⁷⁰ It was a requirement of board of election that an individual should have gained from two levels in academics, salary of 130 pounds in the last one year or owns property worth half a million. Age was another factor to be considered; only a person above 45 years could contest.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, diploma from recognized school or higher level was mandatory requirement. Also, if an individual had an experience in Legco or one had initially participated in the local government was an added advantage.¹⁷²

By 1956, Toweett was only 30 years old, meaning he was under age from the required 45 years by Lyttleton constitution. However, he had a diploma and a bachelor certificate in public and social administration from the University of South Africa. In the same level, he had worked for government in Kericho District as welfare officer and Nandi as Community Development Officer where he was earning more than 500 pounds an amount that was stipulated in the requirements. The positions that he held as CDO in Kericho and Nandi District and his advanced level of his education made him competent and qualified as per the recommendations of William Coutt.¹⁷³

In 1957, he contested for the Southern Nyanza seat. This area was introduced due to increased number of Africans representatives in Legco. He was contesting against four

¹⁶⁸ KNA/NN/E/12/01 Lyttleton Plan *The weekly Review*, 1958.

¹⁶⁹ KNA NB/2/6/04 Toweett Endorsed, *Kericho Times*, 1957

¹⁷⁰ Raphael Koech, OI, 12 April, 2021.

¹⁷¹ KNA OB/IP/309. Interview of Philip Mazon and Lennox-Boyd on Candidates Contesting.

¹⁷² Taaita Arap Toweett, *Oral Tradition History Of Kipsigis* (Nairobi, 1979), pp.33-42

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 15

aspirants: Orinala Sibuur, Lawrence Gerald Oguda, George Joseph Bonga and John Kabaso.¹⁷⁴ All of these candidates were longest serving leaders in this region; others were senior employees of the national government. Lawrence Oguda was a long serving member of KAU in Nyanza region. South Nyanza high population was the Luo ethnic group and even the candidates all of them were from the same community except Toweett who was from the Kalenjin community, though he could communicate effectively in Kisii and Luo languages. He only relied on the votes from his community and some of his Luo friends.¹⁷⁵ They were all educated and no one amongst them could get credit over the other because of education.

These candidates of 1957 general elections were promising the proper articulation of Africans in Legco. Africans wanted change of people who had initially served in the Legco from 1944 to 1957.¹⁷⁶ Among the five candidates, none had served in various leadership positions. Toweett's main point while campaigning was about improvement in education sector and increased number of African representations in the area.¹⁷⁷

He also raised the issue of land in the areas that he promised to agitate for and retrieve all grabbed land by the rich Africans and the colonizers.¹⁷⁸ He also emphasized on the advocacy for the pay rise in African workers in tea plantation in Nyanza province and Kericho, he added and elaborated on how to improve on the condition of the workers housing and their environment.¹⁷⁹ His opponents opted to campaign on politics in national level and to strengthen the relationship between local and national politics and the unity of the communities in the history of Southern Nyanza.

Oguda who had long experience in leadership of KAU that was formed in 1944 to gain mass following and unite African used KAU objectives to articulate on his manifesto. Oguda before joining politics; he was serving as a teacher in Nyanza region.¹⁸⁰ He constituted on

¹⁷⁴KNA NN/TO/12/02, Kenya Times, *Voice of Rift Valley*, 12 Feb 1997.

¹⁷⁵Unsung Heroes of Lancaster: *Call a Spade a Spade Historical Memoir* (2011),

¹⁷⁶KNA CV/09/7/06, Politics of South Nyanza, *Weekly Review* 13 April, 1957.

¹⁷⁷ Maruu Stephene, OI, 21st April, 2020.

¹⁷⁸ Joshua Sang OI, 3rd May, 2021.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid 2021.

¹⁸⁰ KNA PC /NZA/3/6/83 *Confidential Report of 26 May, 1957.*

health issues, education which was only provided by the whites then and racially administered and poor housing which was a big problem affecting people in that region.¹⁸¹

Despite Toweett aggressiveness and a good way of campaigning in the region, he lost to Oguda. Mwalimu Lawrence Oguda emerged the winner with 2,924 votes. Oguda was a former primary school teacher, he got the victory because of numeracy of the Luo votes, followed by Kabaso John who obtained 2,302 votes, Bonga George Joseph emerged in third position with 1,564 votes followed by Toweett in fourth position with 1,346 votes, and Orinda Sibuur got 526 votes.¹⁸² The election of 1957 oriented and familiarized Toweett to politics and made him create interest to contest in future despite losing the seat to Lawrence Oguda. Moreso it exposed him to technical political strategies.¹⁸³

In 1957 elections, only two leaders who were initially serving in the Legco as nominated members recaptured the position out of the six members. Among the two was Daniel Arap Moi who was representing Rift Valley and Muimi James who was representing Eastern Province. In these elections, Africa people demonstrated that they were no longer interested with the European way of governance.¹⁸⁴ Africans had for a long time yearned to elect their own leader who could advocate for their issues comprehensively.

The group of African members who were elected during the 1957 elections was Odinga Oginga (Central Nyanza) Henry Masinde Muliro (North Nyanza), Daniel Moi (Rift Valley), Benard Mate (Central Province), James Nzau Muimi (Ukambani), Ronald Ngala (Coast Province) and Oguda Lawrence (Southern Nyanza).¹⁸⁵ All of them were educated individuals and they were seen as the best representatives of Africans in the Legco. Their education could help them know the way to negotiate on African grievances. Immediately after their election, they held a meeting in Nairobi Pumwani and formed the African Elected Members Organization (AEMO).¹⁸⁶ Elections were held for AEMO leadership; Oginga Odinga and

¹⁸¹ KNA VB/BND/4/6/7/143The weekly Review, 24th 1957.

¹⁸² www.jaluo.com/Obituary Of Dr. Taaita Toweett unpublished Document, by Leo Odera Omolo. Accessed 20 July 2019

¹⁸³ Daniel Kipkoros (OI), 27th April 2021,

¹⁸⁴ KNA SI/U/02/1/02, 'Death has robbed Kenya of selfless, dedicated and principled leader'. *Weekly Review* 24 Feb 1957.

¹⁸⁵ G. Gona, 'Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala,' MA Thesis of Egerton University 1990.p 79.

¹⁸⁶ KNA MV/21/MB 4/3/7123, AEMO Formed, *the Weekly Review*, 27th July 1957.

Tom Mboya were elected chairperson and secretary respectively.¹⁸⁷ The organization was strongly against the recommendations that were made by the Coult in Lyttleton constitution in 1956. The AEMO members planned to reject any ministerial position given to them and secretary of parliament as proposed by Lyttleton plan.¹⁸⁸ The point of African representative was to have unity among themselves.

3.4 Lennox Boyd Constitution of 1957

After restless advocacy of African elected members to the Legco in 1957 February, Evelyne Baring governor of Kenya responded by bringing the proposal of Lennox Boyd.¹⁸⁹ This proposal faced a lot of reaction and different views from African leaders. Some felt that Africans demands were solved through the proposal while some said Europeans were blackmailing Africans.¹⁹⁰ Leaders from Mombasa region led by Ronald Ngala said that African needs and demands have been met while those from Nairobi viewed as just but another Lyttleton plan which marginalized them.¹⁹¹ Other leaders like Oginga Odinga said that it was just improvement and initial stages of a very long fight for Africans.¹⁹² The main recommendation of this constitution was the increase in the number of Africans representation in the Legco from 8 to 14 members.¹⁹³ The increment of African members was good recommendation to Africans but it maintained the ministerial form of governance, this made some of the elected leaders to be against the proposal because it just resembled Lyttleton constitution.

AEMO rejected the proposal because it recommended the nomination of selective positions and increase of six positions for whites in Legco.¹⁹⁴ These positions enabled the whites to be the majority on Legco, an idea that Africans were against. Another principle of this constitution was the creation of council of state; this was the body, which could implement the proposals of the Legco. African leaders saw this as a barrier to implementation of the demands they made in parliament. Europeans wanted to use this body to destruct

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, pp. 81-83

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 86

¹⁸⁹ ZK Cheruiyot, OI, 13 May, 2021.

¹⁹⁰ KNA OP/1B/203, Statement of African Elected Members Organization about Lennox-Boyd Plan, August 21, 1959.

¹⁹¹ Lukas Koech, OI, 14 April, 2021.

¹⁹² KNA DC/04/3/011, Legislative Council Debates, *Official Report Volume XXXVII* August 1958.

¹⁹³ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala* ‘, MA Thesis Univesity of Nairobi 1990.p 82

¹⁹⁴ KNA DC/88/5/01, Legislative Council Debates, *Official Report Volume LXXX* November, 1958.

constitutional progress that could favor Africans. Six constituencies were created despite the African elected leaders opposing the proposal.¹⁹⁵ The Bill on the increase of members was passed in the Legco with the absence of the African elected representatives and one hour the proposal maneuvered through all stages of legislation in the house. The house set date and month of nomination and day for election to be done.¹⁹⁶ These legislations allowed the Lennox constitution recommendations to be implemented. The government made sure that the candidates who were elected in the six created positions were type of Africans who are flexible and ready to cooperate with Europeans as they help them fix their objective.¹⁹⁷

Lennox-Boyd constitution proposal of special seats and increase of African representation opened the way to Toweett into the Legco. Most of those who were defeated in 1957 general elections were elected.¹⁹⁸ Those who were elected along with Toweett in 1958 February were David Ngatia, Mumon (Ukambani) Justus Kondit Ole Tipis (Central Rift), J.J Nyagah (Embu) Trance Joseph Khamis (Mombasa) and Dr. Julius Gikonye Kiano (Central).¹⁹⁹ Elections of six members intensified the unity of Africans representatives.²⁰⁰ The Legco African members were evidently from different ethnics of Kenya, this triggered the differences in the organization of AEMO, and hence it became difficult to distribute the seats in the organization. After he was elected in 1958, he was appointed Assistant Minister for Agriculture. This became the first ministerial post during the colonial era that Toweett ever operated.²⁰¹ As an assistant minister for agriculture, he advocated for some changes in agriculture including the improvement of the operations of Kenya Farmers Association (KFA).²⁰²

3.5 Division in African Elected Members Organization (AEMO)

In 1958 February, the division in (AEMO) manifested. Ronald Ngala, Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya who wanted to prove their superiority in the organization brought in the issue. The Luo community membership in the organization, Kalenjin and Kamba were very few.²⁰³

¹⁹⁵ KNA DC/ET/02/4/04, Eastern African Standard Newspaper, 28th August, 1958.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 2020.

¹⁹⁷ Hendry Chelimo, OI, 10 May, 2021.

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²⁰³ KNA KA/WC/HT 9/5/743 Activist cited in *Kericho Times*, November 7, 1958.

When Toweett and Mboya travelled to Europe, Oginga Odinga got an opportunity to exert his influence in AEMO. He used the position to conduct an election in the union. Odinga was elected chairperson, Mboya secretary, Toweett appointed coordinator and Ngala the vice chair. Toweett secured the position simply because he was quiet and new member of the organization and to represent Rift Valley.²⁰⁴ Due to differences in the organization, Toweett as the coordinator of the meeting created friendly relationship of the members, tried to bring neutral environment in the AEMO, on this, Toweett gained good reputation and respect from the members.²⁰⁵ He had a perception that leadership was not very important in the organization but good leadership skills that African leadership need to portray in their leadership.²⁰⁶

According to the recommendation of Lennox Boyd proposal, the council was to elect four African members who represented multi-racial Electoral College. The council elected Ngome Gibson, Emalamba Moses, Waweru Wangangi and Macharia Joseph. AEMO members were against the nomination of the four appointed leaders and they stood against the shortlisted names.²⁰⁷ The European government charged some of the AEMO members who conveyed press conference; the government took this to be lack of respect to the government. Toweett was among the eight members who were charged by the government others were Odinga, Mboya, Muliro, Oguda and Muimi.²⁰⁸ They were found guilty and got penalized each 75 British pounds for disrespecting the elected members of the council. Toweett and his colleagues thought that they were advocating for what was right for the Africans. The articulation of African leaders to air their grievances got support from Africans and they never compromised their advocacy. African leaders conveyed a meeting in 1958 June with one objective: to get attention from the government on constitutional change.²⁰⁹

Toweett hailed from Rift Valley, a region where only few political leaders (Koitalel arap Samoei) were imprisoned in colonial time but his contributions in Legco debates showed how determined he was for the imprisoned leaders like Jomo Kenyatta to be freed.²¹⁰ He always

²⁰⁴ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, 1990.p 78.

²⁰⁵ KNA DC/3/5/1/04'Division in the AEMO', *Kenya Times*, November 6, 1958.

²⁰⁶ Jonathan Kiptanui, OI, 12 May, 2021.

²⁰⁷ KNA DC/02/2/09, Legislative Council Debates October 14 ,1958, volume XXI Section 42-45

²⁰⁸ KNA WJ/TY 9/5/342'Appointment of Toweett,' *Kericho Times*, October 16, 1958.

²⁰⁹ KNA OP/1B/203, Statement of African Elected Members Organization About Lennox-Boyd Plan, August 21, 1959.p.65

²¹⁰ Johnstone Kitilit, OI, 2 May, 2021.

demanded for the release of the statement by the government on their health.²¹¹ Some of the AEMO members saw the questions of Toweett as a waste of time debating about people in their absence. He wanted leaders in police custody to be freed; he claimed that they were real fighters for Africans.²¹² He saw the differences in the AEMO could not be solved without the likes of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta who was in Kapenguria prison.

3.6 AEMO Dissatisfaction with the Constitution

Since Lennox Boyd Constitution proposal was forcefully amended, they felt intimidated. In June 1958, Toweett and AEMO members requested to meet the governor of Kenya, Evelyne Baring but it was rejected.²¹³ The same year they made another request and they were told to wait for communication from Evelyne Baring the governor to Kenya in London.²¹⁴ It was the expectations of the AEMO members that when the governor came to address the Legco, he would respond to the recommendations they had made regarding the constitution and thereafter give time to AEMO leaders to ask questions on Africans concerning their representations and demands of Kenyans.²¹⁵ The request by Africa leaders to hold a meeting with the governor failed.

In October 1958 when Evelyne Baring made his opening speech at the Legco, all the fourteen Africans moved out of the Legco meeting.²¹⁶ They saw this as a way of demonstrating to show that they were unsatisfied with how the governor responded to their proposals and recommendations. Moving out in the middle of the governor's speech earned them a four days discontinuation from the Legco meetings. Toweett and his fellow members realized this was the best way of channeling their dissatisfaction in governance of the country.²¹⁷

On 10th November 1958, Evelyn Baring the governor to Kenya conveyed a meeting. He explained to AEMO that his speech was not to dictate about their proposal, but this was seen as a hidden way of the governor trying to bring back the African leaders to attend the Legco meetings. The African leaders opted to continue with their protest by abstaining the Legco

²¹¹'The National Assembly Official Report', Volume XX, Second Parliament Inaugurated 6th Feb 1959.

²¹² Rachael Maritim, (OI), 24th April 2021.

²¹³ Legislative Council Debates Official Report 11TH Council Inaugurated October ,1959/1960 Fourth Session, Volume LXXXII, 10TH November ,1959 To 7th January ,1960.

²¹⁴ Frankline Bett, (OI), 12th May 2021.

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶ KNA AS/23/43/564, African Leaders Demands *Weekly Review*, 26 October 1958, p. 2

²¹⁷ Ibid

meetings until the time when their requests and demands were listened by the government. Some of the AEMO members suggested resigning from the Legco but to some it was not the best option. They encouraged themselves to boycott the Legco meetings until when Richard Turnbull the colonial secretary in Britain would respond. On 27th November 1958 the requests of the AEMO for the government to increase the number of Africans representatives in the Legco was communicated.²¹⁸ The year ended without any achievement of African members especially on constitutional matters but they never gave up, they worked in unity and in one voice.²¹⁹

3.7 Wrangles among the African Elected Members

After Africans and Asians were persistently barred from Legco meetings, the government started feeling the impacts of their absence, since the quorum was not adequate to conduct meetings.²²⁰ African members and Asians got support from some of the whites in the government. The whites saw the need for the Africans to be granted their demands. Toweett and his colleagues got motivated and they pressed on with their boycott.²²¹ It was the aim of African leaders to bring self-governance and development to the country. White's mission was to exhaust the country and the raw materials from the country. Whites were the minority and Africans were the majority. After Europeans realized that Africans were teaming up and came up with strong unity of leaders, they instructed and organize their citizens on how to conquer them. They introduced new rules to the laborers with main aim to undermine the unity and support of African leaders from ordinary citizens.²²²

African nationalism began to gain momentum and the whole continent began the struggle for independence.²²³ The only option that the whites remained with was to allow the demands of Africans for them to safeguard their interests in the country.

In 1959, African elected members conveyed a meeting with the Arabs, Asians and whites who were supporting the Africans in the government. Mr Cooke S.R quit the government and blamed the Europeans on the way they treated Africans demands. They formed Constituency

²¹⁸ Ibid

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ KNA JI/4/9/4/567, *the Weekly Review*, 2nd Feb 1958.

²²¹ KNA KL/4/7/456 'African Leaders Boycott Meetings' *Kericho Times*, November 21, 1960.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Victor Rotich, OI, 22nd April, 2021.

Elected Members Association (CEMO).²²⁴ This organization comprised of all the communities in Kenya unlike AEMO that neglected Muslims, Arabs and Asians. This was formed with the aim of gaining more unity among the Kenyans as they fought for their rights in the colonial government. In addition, they wanted to avoid wrangles witnessed in AEMO due to leadership position.²²⁵ Members of CEMO wanted to move forward with united leadership agitating for common interest. It was the agreement of the organization to have prior discussions and deliberations about the constitution reforms and elect their representatives to represent them in any sitting with the government. Kiano was elected to be the chairperson of the CEMO.²²⁶

In March 1959, liberal group of European led by Isaac Blandell and Mr. S.R. Cooke together with the African elected leaders addressed the nation emphasizing on the need to get rid of racial segregation and bring people together in the country. Toweett gave support to the formation of CEMO and European liberals.²²⁷ The conservative Europeans who were against the move of Cooke and Blandell for supporting Africans in their demands distanced themselves.

CEMO was one of the crucial organizations formed in the country, which comprised all the ethnic groups and races in Kenya. CEMO formed a team of representatives of the conference in the Europe. The chairman was Kiano with a team lead by Toweett, Muliro, Blandell, two Asians and one Arab as officials.²²⁸ During this time, the secretary of the Kenya colonial territory Richard Tumbrel issued statement about the demands of the African leaders. He assured the African leaders before they left for the conference in Europe that the government was discussing their needs. This statement gave the leaders hope on their demands. It was the intention of secretary statement to impair the conference conveyed by Africans in Europe. African leaders were very cautious of their plan to go to Europe. They sought for advice and opinion from different leaders in the country. Toweett was one of the educated and conversant with the constitution. He advised his colleagues to seek clarity before they took any step.²²⁹ Despite this promising statement by secretary, some of the African leaders

²²⁴ D, Goldworthy, *Biography of Tom Mboya*, MA Thesis Univesirty of Nairobi, p.73

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 78

²²⁶ Ibid, P.79

²²⁷ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1990. p 80.

²²⁸ A, Morton, *Biography of Daniel Torotich Arap Moi*, P.46.

²²⁹ T. Toweett, *Unsung Heros of Lancaster House*, p. 24

questioned the move taken by the secretary. They believed that it was a way of enticing African leaders to attend the Legco meeting.

CEMO members move on with their intention to have a meeting in Europe to bargain for the demands of the Africans. Their main concern was about the recommendation of the Lenox Boyd constitution. CEMO at one voice was against the recommendation of Lenox Boyd.²³⁰ The demands of Kenyans team of representatives were listened in the deliberation and the colonial government finally made changes in Lenox Boyd proposal. The Legco members from the African side was instructed to forego their protest and get back to Legco meetings. After comprehensive delegation of CEMO in Europe, the government respected their grievances and agitations.²³¹

3.8 Toweett and Parties Formation in Kenya 1959

By 1959, the division reemerged among the African leaders. This division arose due to different opinions from the Kenyan nationalist and African elected leaders. The elected leaders wanted to use negotiation method to air their demands, while Toweett and a section of Kenya Nationalist on the other side wanted to use peaceful means to reach into an agreement with the government. These leaders wanted to increase in their representation simultaneously in the government and finally to control all the undertakings in the government.²³² Many Kenyans wanted to use forceful means to gain control of the government. Toweett, Ronald Ngala, Tom Mboya who were the Moderates wanted constitutional means while the radicles wanted to use forceful means for independence to be gained. The Europeans never realized the strategies of moderates until 1960.²³³ These differences among African leaders and nationalist resulted in the formation of regional and tribal political parties. The first parties to be formed after differences emerged among the Africans elected leaders were Kenya National Party (KNP) and Kenya Independent Movement (KIM).²³⁴ It was the idea of the moderate leaders and the radicles to come up with parties to bring unity. The government allowed the formation of non-tribal parties in 1957 hence (KIM) and (KNP) were formed by leaders from different regions.

²³⁰ Ibid, p 27

²³¹ Ibid, p.31

²³² E. Gimode *Makers of Kenya's history*, Joseph Tom Mboya.

²³³ KNA SI/3/6/434, 'Division among African leaders', *the weekly Review*, 19 July, 1959.

²³⁴ Fredrick Omwoyo, OI, 24 April, 2021.

The members of CEMO formed the National parties (NP) in 1959. It was the aim of Kenyan leaders to form a national party but some had a different opinion of maintaining CEMO.²³⁵ The key leaders of CEMO Oguda, Kiano, Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya opposed the formation of political parties as they claimed it was a strategy of the whites to split the unity of African leaders. Toweett and Ronald Ngala dissociated themselves with the differences that were being witnessed among the African elected leaders.²³⁶ Both never boycotted any meeting of AEMO and CEMO. Toweett as coordinator of AEMO meetings never showed any interest of resigning like the other members.²³⁷ He kept on convincing members to attend the meetings to discuss matters affecting Africans and how to negotiate with Europeans. He knew that the only platform where Africans would be listen was through CEMO and unity of Africans would be strong through an organization.

Toweett and Ngala knew the importance of the African unity but their efforts were not of any significance if they could not get support from the entire body of AEMO.²³⁸ In the meeting conveyed by AEMO on 5th September 1959, Oginga Odinga was suspended in the middle of the meeting. It emerged that Odinga had been involved in the mismanagement of AEMO resources and undermining the dignity of some of the members. The pioneers of the KNP engineered this suspension. Odinga and the other members who moved out of the AEMO following his suspension formed Kenya Independent Movement Party (KIM). The AEMO had split into two. Those who remained in KNP were Mumoi, Ngala, Khamisi, Tipis, Moi, Toweett and Muliro as the chairman of the party.²³⁹ Oginga Odinga, Oguda, Bendard Martin, Nyaga, Kiamba and Tom Mboya led another grouping. KIM consisted of the kikuyu and the Luo while the majority of the KNP were the kalenjin, Luhya and Kamba communities.²⁴⁰ Each of the formation started advocating for the interest of Africans using different means.²⁴¹

KNP members Toweett included opted to maintain the membership of the party. They declared that the party strongly advocates for the demands of Africans in white's government.

²³⁵ D, Okoth, *Abiography of samwel onyango ayodo*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 2018 p .5

²³⁶ Jackson Obure Nyabuto, OI, 3rd May, 2021.

²³⁷ A, M. Wafula, *Apolitical biography of Elijah Wasike Mwangale*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 2013 p. 63

²³⁸ T. Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation*, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers), 2010, P. 40.

²³⁹ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1990. p.

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²⁴⁰ Ibid

²⁴¹ Omwoyo Job, OI, 8 May, 2021.

Toweett defended KNP that it was not associating itself with the colonialists but it was a channel to articulate for the betterment of African Education, retrieval of African land grabbed and come up with new constitution, which will govern the country.²⁴²

Toweett was one of the liberal African leaders he explained that the difference between KIM and KNP was opinions and leadership aspects. KIM members were not clear on their objectives compared to KNP that had comprehensive objectives²⁴³. The two groups could not have common discussions on African issues. They lacked unity and how to present demands of Africans and support a common idea to the government even in the constitution of Lenox Boyd, which was marginalizing Africans.²⁴⁴ This disintegration of Africans hindered their efforts in advocacy. This further led to dissolution of CEMO and AEMO that were very helpful in strengthening of African unity.²⁴⁵

3.9 Toweett in the First Lancaster House Conference 1960

This meeting was a constitutional discussion conference. African elected leaders led by Taaita Toweett and CEMO members were now susceptible to discussions with the colonial government. It was the only option for them to work in one direction of advocacy.²⁴⁶ It was the aim of freedom movement formation of East and Central Africa to unite African leaders. East Africa leaders advised Kenyan leaders to restore AEMO to its state for them to use to channel their issues comprehensively and with one voice.²⁴⁷

October 1960, Kenyan leaders scheduled a meeting for unity as a way of respecting the advice of East Africa leaders. They deliberated on issues that brought the unity of CEMO members. They agreed to be together as they organized themselves to attend the Lancaster meeting.²⁴⁸ They elected among themselves members who would represent them in the Lancaster conference. AEMO members rejected Muliro because he was not eloquent enough to represent African grievances comprehensively. Oginga Odinga and Joseph Mboya were both rejected because of their differences in AEMO. Mboya was proud and arrogant, a

²⁴²KNA DC/04/5/704 'Party formations', *weekly Review*, 9 October 1960.

²⁴³ T. Toweett, *Epitah on colonialism*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.26.

²⁴⁴ Ngotho Njuguna Daniel, OI, 3rd May, 2021.

²⁴⁵KNA SI/3/6/435, African leaders Decided', *the weekly Review*, 12 January 1960.

²⁴⁶Jackson Mwaura, OI, 4th May, 2021.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Frankline Bett, OI, 12 May, 2021.

behaviour which members were not happy with.²⁴⁹ Toweett was very humble educated and very eloquent in expressing his ideas and very conversant with grievances and demands of the Africans, he was respected among CEMO leaders.²⁵⁰ He was well organized and a good moderator of AEMO meetings. His objectiveness in African organization earned him a good reputation among his colleagues; therefore, he qualified for election in the Lancaster Conference in 1960 because of his prudence, objectivity, good organization and sound judgment to issues and his good academic background. The conference was the platform that gave Kenyan leaders an opportunity to agitate for Africa people demands.²⁵¹ Despite earlier rejection of Tom Mboya to conference by African members, they saw the need of inclusion of KIM members in the conference. Toweett and Ngala were both members of KNP.²⁵² Mboya was lucky to be part of the delegation after long debate with the leaders. In the same year changes were made, Everlyn Baring the Governor of Kenya was replaced with Patric Renison and Lennox was substituted with Ian Macleod as the Secretary of the colonial territory of Kenya.²⁵³ Renison and Leod were now the leaders of the conference. All African elected leaders to Legco were present; this included the appointed white representatives led by Brigg and group led by Blandell that was representing different races in the country.²⁵⁴

The main objective of the conference was to deliberate on the way forward on issues regarding elections. African leaders wanted change in the voting system.²⁵⁵ They wanted one man one vote and government to get rid of communal system of voting. At the end of the conference in London, African interests were taken into consideration by the colonial government.²⁵⁶ They were allowed to have majority in the Legco unlike initially where Europeans were the majority. This meant that, decision-making in Legco and Africans could make any implementations of constitution.²⁵⁷ The special positions of minority communities recommended by the Ian Macleod were decision of Africans to appoint. Toweett asserted that, the influential positions in the government would depend on the elected African leaders.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes Of Lancaster House*; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers,2010) P. 21

²⁵¹ Ibid, p. 60.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ KNA EA 3/5/7/123 Legislative council Dabates, *official Report*, October 1958, volume LXXX.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Poul Rotich, OI, 24 April, 2021.

²⁵⁶ Sammy Koech, OI, 25 April, 2021

²⁵⁷ Ibid

It was shocking that the Secretary of colony of Kenya finally allowed the Africans to have majority seats in the Legco after a long deliberation. Africans had yearned for this great change. This allowed Africans to use their numbers to make changes in the constitution, which was put in place by the Europeans. Europeans were afraid of their powers in Kenya; this was shown in the speech of Brigg when he said that Europeans in Kenya were now weakened by the proposals of the London conference.²⁵⁸ Toweett proved his capability to unite African leaders in the conference. He organized Africans on how to negotiate for the constitutional changes. ²⁵⁹Ngala and Masinde Muliro were also honoured for their contributions in the speech to convince the secretary of the territory of Kenya. These three leaders hold together African leaders who were on great division throughout the conference for them to be of common objectives.²⁶⁰ Toweett and his colleagues returned to the country winners, this made them to be proved capable leaders.²⁶¹

3.10 Toweett's First Ministerial Position

After a breakthrough in the Lancaster House Conference, it was not with doubt that Toweett had proven to be a great and capable leader.²⁶² Despite the unity which African leaders portrayed in the London conference, their differences in the AEMO and CEMO re-emerged.²⁶³ Toweett strongly believed in the recommendations which were reached in the conference and proposals of Macleod, but some group led by Tom Mboya took the proposals of that conference as a half way journey to accomplish the demands of Africans.²⁶⁴

In 1961, temporary Secretary of Kenya Colony Eliash Jones G, came up with proposals to appoint the Africans ministers. ²⁶⁵African members who were the leaders in Lancaster conference questioned the intent of Jones because it was not stated in Macleod proposals. Macleod proposal specified that council of African ministers would be formed after 1961 elections.²⁶⁶ In the meeting held by African leaders, Jones was warned against appointing the minister but Toweett and his team said that they were ready to take the ministerial seat as

²⁵⁸KNA CA/01/3/10/123 'Unity of Africans Leaders', *weekly Review*, 9 February, 1960.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation*, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers ,2010) P. 36

²⁶¹ Walter Ruttoh, OI, 23 April, 2021.

²⁶² Raphael Kitur, OI, 22 April, 2021.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Wesley Barchok, OI, 23 April, 2021.

²⁶⁵ KNA DE/3/6/756, The National Assembly, *Official Report*, Volume XX (part 1), First Session, Tue, 28th 1960.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, Section 19.

agreed in the Lancaster house round table talks.²⁶⁷ However, the difference between KIM and KNP re-emerged; the members of KIM allowed the discussion with the Kenyan governor sir Patrick Renison.²⁶⁸ This group was ready to assume the ministerial offices. KNP members were not left aside; they accepted the three ministers to represent Africans in council of ministers. Ngala was appointed minister for social welfare and Kiano minister of commerce and industrialization.²⁶⁹ Toweett was appointed Assistant Minister for agriculture and was chosen to be part of the council of ministers.²⁷⁰

Governor Sir Patrick declined the persistent request of the African elected leaders to the release of Jomo Kenyatta who was imprisoned in Lodwar. Kenyatta was key leader who was seen as a liberator of Kenyans. Toweett and elected ministers promised to fight for the release of Jomo Kenyatta as they were appointed to Cabinet.²⁷¹

The appointment of African Ministers was not taken well with citizens and the leaders who were against the move by the members of the Legco to accept the Ministerial appointments done by Europeans; Kenyans saw this move as betrayal because they perceived the appointed leaders would be deceived by the Europeans and they would cooperate to marginalize African and leave them in slavery.²⁷² They wanted Jomo Kenyatta to be released before they could accept the request of Europeans to join the Council of Ministers. They accepted the appointment after a long discussion. They were to serve for a short period in the appointed positions.²⁷³ The appointed ministers finally agreed to serve as they awaited for the implementation of the Lancaster house conference recommendations but not as per the proposals of Lennox Boyd, which Africans were against.²⁷⁴

These ministerial positions given to African acted as a training ground for them as they were trained on how to conduct ministerial positions with the help of Asians and Europeans.²⁷⁵ The

²⁶⁷ Ibid, Section, 53.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, Section 20.

²⁶⁹ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi 1990.p. 81

²⁷⁰ Ibid P, 281.

²⁷¹ KNA WE/5/7/832, Legislative Council Debates Official Report 7 *Council Inaugurated October*, 1959/1960 Fourth Session, Volume LXXXII, 7 November, 1959 To 7 January, 1960. P.228.

²⁷² Poul Sang, OI, 23 April, 2021.

²⁷³ KNA DC /NN/07/07/4The first African leader to executive' *weekly Review*, 19 October 1960. p.38.

²⁷⁴ KNA CU/2/4/432, *Legislative council Dabates, Official Report*, 12th council inaugurated May, 1961, Volume LXXXVIL (Part ii).

²⁷⁵ Sam Mburu OI, 24th April, 2021.

council of ministers knew that their appointments were a milestone towards the achievements of the independence of Kenya and comprehensive channel to articulate for African's demands²⁷⁶.

3.11 Toweett and the Rise of National Political Parties

The formation of KANU party involved a series of deliberations from different leaders on how to form and build a strong national party.²⁷⁷ In 1960 the nationalists from various parts of the country who were not elected came together led by Oginga Odinga and Daniel Arap Moi. They came up with a party called Kenya Uhuru (KU).²⁷⁸ Membership to this party was free to all Kenyan citizens. The need of the Africans to have a national party was a great demand. The unity of Moi and Odinga to form a national party got support from leaders from all parts of the country.

In 1960, the African leader held conference in Kiambu and they agreed to form national party (KANU). Toweett was appointed part of the transitional body for them to come up with objectives and policies of the party. The steering leaders were Gichuru James chairman and Mungai Njoroge as the secretary general of the party. Toweett was against the idea of proposing Jomo Kenyatta as KANU chairman. Toweett claimed that because he was still in detention, the government would not register the party with him as the chair.²⁷⁹ The differences started emerging in the new national party.

In 1961 March, leadership of KANU was changed, Njoroge James remained the chairman, Oginga Odinga the vice chair and Tom Mboya became the secretary general of the party.²⁸⁰ Sharp division was witnessed among African leaders. Some members wanted African members of the LegCo to resign for them to contest using the new party KANU, by then KANU had no elected members in LegCo and had not been registered by the government thus it became difficult for elected members to resign from the LegCO.²⁸¹ Differences, which emerged among African leaders in KANU formation was the proposal of members that all other African political formations to join KANU. This was not taken well by the members

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Chebelion kirui, OI, 5 May, 2021.

²⁷⁸ Legislative Council Debate, Official Report, Vol.Lxxiv July 1959 p.1191

²⁷⁹ Ibid, P, 50.

²⁸⁰ KNA TV/4/5/345, Rise of political parties' *weekly Review*, 19 July 1960. P 4

²⁸¹ KNA SA6/5/6/567, *Kericho District Annual Report, 1961*, With the Complement of the District Commissioner Kericho.

who had already formed political parties, which had different objectives and policies.²⁸² Some accepted the association with KANU but gave the conditions that provided their views and ideas to be respected. Lack of proper leadership in KANU led to the division in party. Some members perceived that it was Mboya's plan, Gichuru and Odinga to control the party. Gichuru had come up with idea to launch offices of the party in various parts of the country, a move that was not taken well by the elected leaders.²⁸³ From appointment of KANU interim leaders, it was evidence that the major communities that formed leadership were Luo and kikuyu. The small communities feared the unity making them to split and form their own party. In 1961, the larger community in Rift valley formed Kalenjin Party Alliance (KPA) led by Daniel Moi and Taaita Toweett.²⁸⁴ They initiated the party with an objective of retrieving their land grabbed by the whites and to protect themselves from extension of Kikuyu in Nyahururu and Laikipia. On the other side, the Maasai community elites came up with Maasai Movement United Front (MMUF). Their main objective was also to protect their land. These two parties of Kalenjin and Maasai later formed Kenya Alliance Democratic Unity KADU²⁸⁵.

In western Kenya, Masinde Muliro came up with another different party called Kenya Association Party (KAP). All these parties were formed due to fear and suspicion that the major tribes of Kikuyu, Luo and Kamba would take job opportunities. In Mombasa region, Ronald Ngala and his colleagues from coastal region formed a party called Mombasa African People Association (MAPA).²⁸⁶ Ngala by 1960 dominated coastal region politics and he was a recognized leader in the region.

All the leaders from the minority group of western Kenya, coast and Rift Valley were afraid that the moment Kenya gained independence, Kikuyu would rule over all aspects of development in the country.²⁸⁷ In 1960 July, the six minority tribes held a meeting in Ngong and formed one major party (KADU).²⁸⁸ The representatives of the newly formed party came together and elected officials. Ronald Ngala became the party chairman, Masinde Muliro vice

²⁸² Ibid,

²⁸³ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi 1990.p. 47.

²⁸⁴ KNA CA/4/6/964 'Formation of parties' *Weekly Review*, 20 July 1960.p 11.

²⁸⁵ Ibid P, 15.

²⁸⁶ Ibid

²⁸⁷ Sarah Indizi, OI, 23 April, 2021.

²⁸⁸ KNA BN/3/4/983, Birth of a Political Party, *the Weekly Review*, 3rd July 1960.

chairman, Ole Tipis the treasurer, Daniel Moi secretary general and Taaita Toweett the organizing secretary of the party.²⁸⁹

Toweett was a strong supporter of KADU in Rift Valley;²⁹⁰ in 1961 when the general elections were approaching and KADU and KANU were seeking popularity and acceptance from the citizens, Toweett campaigned for it. The formation of the two popular parties KANU and KADU agitated for the release of Kenyatta. The advocacy of the release of Kenyatta was the main agenda; he was seen as the hope of Kenyans. Toweett was part of the government that detained Kenyatta since he was sworn to the council of ministers the same year. This was the argument of KANU founders Mboya and Gichuri. Mboya and Oginga said that the appointed ministers to council of ministers Toweett and Ngala who were leaders of KADU were against the release of the Kenyatta.²⁹¹ Toweett came out boldly and declared that KADU members were advocating for the release of Kenyatta despite being in the government. He assured Kenyans that council of ministers was supporting Africans in making sure that Kenyatta is freed from custody in Lodwar. Toweett and KADU members promised to try their best and if the government would not listen to their demands, they would resign from the ministerial position.²⁹²

The main objective of KADU was to agitate for the demands of Africans and continuous fight for Independence of the country.²⁹³ Toweett argued that he had no problem with the Europeans in the country but he was against their political control in the country.²⁹⁴ Toweett fought for multiparty state. KADU as a party stated that the Kenyans must be given freedom to contribute to the running of the government²⁹⁵. He said that multiparty state will give everyone equal chance to support or critique the undertakings of the government. Toweett as loyal member of KADU was happy that the party was carrying and getting support of almost all tribes in the country.²⁹⁶ KADU accommodated all the ethnic groups and races.²⁹⁷ Toweett

²⁸⁹ KNA/WC/NV/677 'Formation of political parties' *Weekly Review*, 20 July 1960.p 11.

²⁹⁰ Elijah Koech, OI, 24 April, 2021.

²⁹¹ "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Taaita_Toweett&oldid=788808568"

²⁹² T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation*, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers ,2010) P. 58

²⁹³ Ibid, P. 67.

²⁹⁴ Christopher Selim, OI, 24 April, 2021.

²⁹⁵ KNA DC/5/6/432, Kericho District Annual Report, 1960.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Wilfred Tanguis, OI, 6 May, 2021.

said that Asians and Europeans would help boost the economy of the country. He added that they had advanced in technology thus, they needed them most.²⁹⁸

3.12 African Leaders and the Struggle for Independence

In 1961, the self-rule of Africans was yet to be achieved; Colonial government had given up as per the recommendations made in Lancaster of 1960.²⁹⁹ Most of these leaders saw that without Kenyatta the needed unity would not be achieved.³⁰⁰ Kenyatta was perceived as a symbol of unity among African leaders and his detention was taken as a barrier to the fight for independence.³⁰¹

Toweett enjoyed his fame and popularity in southern electorate area, he was certain of his victory in 1961 general election.³⁰² He won the seat where he was competing with two candidates Mr. Arap Korir KANU and Barmalel Tarmason who was an independent candidate. Toweett was declared a winner with 58,491 votes and he represented the kipsigis in the Legco.³⁰³ After the main election in 1961, there were common grievances among the African leaders in the Legco, the release of Kenyatta from custody and how these leaders would unite to come up with a structure of government that would protect the Africans.³⁰⁴ The colonial government issued a condition to African leader, that the government must be formed first before Jomo Kenyatta was freed.³⁰⁵ The KANU leaders were against the idea of colonialist, they wanted the release of Kenyatta first before they accept to form the government. KANU were the majority in the legco and by the law, they were the one to form the government.³⁰⁶ They declined to take any position in the government provided by the European and most of them perceived that as a way of enticing them to continue to govern them.

In March 1961, Toweett and his team of KADU made a visit to Kenyatta in Lodwar. They consulted him on the way forward in the formation of government, and Toweett reported that

²⁹⁸ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.31.

²⁹⁹ KNA DC/NV/5/733, Finally Gained Independence, the Weekly Interview, 1961.

³⁰⁰ Colony And protectorate of Kenya Legislative *council Debates official report 12th council inaugurated* 1961 vol Lxxviii ,17th October ,1961

³⁰¹ Waithaka Jonah, OI, 13 May, 2021.

³⁰² KNA DC/1/5/213, Toweett Fame, *Kericho Times*, 1961.

³⁰³ "Obituary - DR. Taaita Araap Toweett" by Leo Odero Omolo, www.jaluo.com

³⁰⁴ KNA DC/1/5/370, Toweett Fame, *Kericho Times*, 1961.

³⁰⁵ KNA DV/E/4/5/667, Legislative Council Debates, Official Report, 1961, Fourth Session. Volume Lxxiv.

³⁰⁶ Francline Bett, OI, 12 May, 2021,

Kenyatta was of an idea that a leader could be resourceful to his electorates and his society even without being elected in the Legco.³⁰⁷ The leader of KADU Ngala said that Kenyatta was not interested in any top position or any position after his release. Toweett in many times perceived Kenyatta as a leader with sound mind, wisdom and knowledge. He stated that he was a leader with good leadership skills and well organized political strategies.³⁰⁸

KADU members after they came back from Lodwar saw the release of Kenyatta as a breakthrough to advocacy of Africans grievances as he was an instrumental person for Kenyans in the struggle for independence. The KADU leaders severally held talks with the colonial secretary on the freedom of Kenyatta.³⁰⁹ After all continuous and persistent consultations of KANU and KADU to colonial secretary on the release of Kenyatta from detention it never bared fruit.³¹⁰

After KADU, members saw that it was difficult for them to fight for release of Kenyatta; they agreed to form the government.³¹¹ At one time Toweett said that KADU members were ready to join the government if secretary of colony will ask them.³¹² He noted that they only do so with the agreement of the members. During this time, colonial secretary saw the demand to establish the government guided by the recommendations of the first Lancaster house in 1961.³¹³

It was the whim of KANU and KADU members for Kenyatta to be freed.³¹⁴ They believed in Kenyatta that he was a loyal fighter and very influential leader and loved by many. Toweett and KADU members realized that the release of Kenyatta will take long; they invited the Secretary of Colony Sir Patrick but he never heeded to the invitation.³¹⁵

After KANU declined to form the government, the governor of Kenya ran the government without council of ministers, this made it difficult to coordinate government business. KADU

³⁰⁷ KNA DVC/4/8/639, Kenyatta in detention' *weekly Review*, 19th October, 1961.p 13

³⁰⁸ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.36.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, p, 56.

³¹⁰ Joseph waweru, OI, 14 May, 2021.

³¹¹ KNA DA/6/7/630, the Uprise of Political Parties, *the Weekly Review*, July 5th 1962.

³¹² T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.36.

³¹³ Ibid p, 45.

³¹⁴ KNA DR/3/5/271.Kericho District Annual Report, 15th July 1961.Section (ii).

³¹⁵ KNA DC 7/6/834, Colony And protectorate of Kenya *Legislative council Debates official report 12th council inaugurated 1961* vol Lxxvi ,18th October ,1961.

members were convinced by the governor to form the government. Toweett and his team agreed to form the government as they realized that it was difficult to advocate for the release while outside the government.³¹⁶ In the first meeting of Legco, the government started appointing the ministers. Toweett was appointed minister for local authorities and lands, Ronal Ngala minister for education and leader of business in the government, Masinde Muliro labour and housing. Other appointed ministers were Mackazio R.W for constitution and legal affairs, Weber A. M. F minister for defense and internal security, Swanne A. C minister for Agriculture.³¹⁷ Blande A. C minister for commerce and statistic industry and technology and William Halock appointed minister for labour and public works. The secretary of colony in Britain recognized all these appointments.³¹⁸ In 1961, August KANU members formed an opposition in the Legco.³¹⁹ Gichuru, Mboya and Odinga led this opposition. KADU members who had already joined the government were ready to embrace hard task ahead of them.³²⁰ KADU party represented all races and grievances of Africans in Legco.³²¹ Despite their acceptance to join the government, the Europeans were very careful on their undertakings. They knew that Africans were eager to evict them from their land and to overthrow them from the leadership. They never stopped convincing the governor on the release of Kenyatta³²² On 26th July in a meeting held in London, the governor of Kenya admitted the efforts of KADU about the release of Kenyatta, the investors also urged the governor to release him. Secretary of colony ordered the release of Kenyatta in the same in the month.³²³ The KADU members intervened and requested the governor of Kenya to build a house for Kenyatta in Kiambu.³²⁴ Their request was granted and they themselves supervised until its completion. Until Kenyatta was freed from Lodwar, it was the hard work of Toweett and officials of KADU.³²⁵ They decided to join the government with an aim of tracing closely the authority for them to get a comprehensive way of airing their grievances

³¹⁶ Ibid, p. 290

³¹⁷ Ibid p, 297.

³¹⁸ O, P, Geoffrey, *UCLA, A journal of Africa Stories; Autobiography in Kenya*, 1999 P.102

³¹⁹ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.36.

³²⁰ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi 1990.p. 49.

³²¹ Erick Ronoh, OI, 2 May, 2021.

³²² Joel Ngetich, OI, 3rd May, 2021.

³²³ KNA DC/NC/6/78 'Cold war Among Africa Leaders,' *weekly Review*, 1st JULY 1961.P 14

³²⁴ Frakline Chepkoi, OI, 2 May, 2021.

³²⁵ KNA DC/3/7/902 'Africa Leaders Unity', *weekly Review* 7 August, 1961

and indeed, it worked. Havelock commented that Kenyatta was freed because of the efforts of KADU members when they agreed to join the government.³²⁶

Taaita Toweett is remembered for his active sensible politics that is portrayed in nationalism debates in the National Assembly.³²⁷ Toweett as the minister for Labour and Housing at the same time a Member of Parliament strongly supported serious motions.³²⁸ When motion about loans were brought for debate in Parliament for instance, Toweett vehemently supported the motion, advising those against the motion to go back to their electorates and tell them that they were against the motion on loan.³²⁹ Member of Parliament then representing Central Nyanza Jaramogi Oginga Odinga became a victim of this verbal attack from Toweett.³³⁰ In other words, this is a clear indication that Toweett was always keen not to lose in any debate. He was always ready to defend the deeds of his ministry at all cost.³³¹

In 1961, there was a Parliamentary retreat at Maralal and Toweett was part of the team that went for the retreat. At Maralal, issues of independence were discussed. There was a consensus that a time had come the East African countries were to obtain their independence. Being at the forefront for fighting for independence for Kenya, Toweett was very much disappointed with some colleagues in the National Assembly who were against the motion that aimed at helping the electorates. Toweett while debating in Parliament blamed his fellow parliamentarians for being dormant, he argued that if they did not achieve independence by 1961, it would be because of the laziness of Kenyan representatives.³³² In other words, Toweett was a leader who was always yearning to see things done in the right manner.

3.13 Second Lancaster House of 1962

Both KADU and KANU sent the delegates to the Second Lancaster Conference held in London. This conference was a preparation for Africans to gain independence.³³³ Both parties had different grievances, which were to be deliberated upon in the conference.³³⁴ At this time,

³²⁶ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House*; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers ,2010) P. 62

³²⁷ KNA DC /VC/2/6/04, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Legislative Council Debate Official Report, 11th council inaugurated October, 1956. Volume LXXIII. Section iii.

³²⁸ KNA DC/00/7/4, Vocal Toweett, *the Weekly Review*, 12th 1962.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ KNA/AAT/31/5, Legislative Council Debates official report, 1961.

³³¹ Ezekiel Barngetuny, OI, 28 April, 2021.

³³² KNA/AAT/31/8, Legislative Council Debates official report, 1961.

³³³ Ibid, Section (ii) p, 13.

³³⁴ Mzee Laitich (OI), 7 May, 2021.

KADU wanted devolved system of government while KANU wanted centralized system.³³⁵ The difference of the two national parties were ideas on how to run the government which was to be formed after independence and each party had a good reason to support its ideas.³³⁶

In the Meiden speech of Toweett in Lancaster conference, he elaborated KADU's ideas on devolved government.³³⁷ He argued that in devolved government, many would share the power, corruption would be effectively arrested and common people at grass root level would feel leadership. He added that decentralization would prevent political dominance by the political parties and avoid the eruption of tribes and community groupings. After long deliberations by both delegates representing the two parties, they came into an agreement. This enabled them to come up with common objectives and policies to be tabled in the conference.³³⁸ They unanimously agreed to come up with coalition between the two parties and regionalized constitution that would guide the nation to independence. This constitution stipulated the formation of bicameral form of parliament, the Upper House for Senate and the Lower House for Representatives.³³⁹ The KADU delegates proposed this form of government and thus it satisfied few people especially from KANU party who were the majority.³⁴⁰ These differences prevailed and when KANU took over the leadership of the country in 1963, the first thing they did was to change the constitution to eradicate the section of bicameral and regional government.³⁴¹

It was the view of Toweett and KADU members to have decentralized form of government that could allow Kenya have independence in governance even in local affairs. This could also provide for the devolved government to make their own laws governing their region.³⁴² The overview of second Lancaster house was success to African leaders. Both KANU and KADU agreed to form a coalition system of government.³⁴³ Toweett, Muliro, Ngala and Kenyatta were among African leaders given positions as ministers.³⁴⁴ Kenyatta was given the

³³⁵ Ibid,

³³⁶ KNA, DC/NZA/4/7/84, *Nakuru District Annual Report*, 1961 p.13

³³⁷ Mzee Leitich (OI), 7th Feb 2021.

³³⁸ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.43.

³³⁹ KNA, DN/E44/8/564, Legislative Council Debates, Official Report, 1963, 7TH Session. Volume LXI.

³⁴⁰ Mzee Leitich (OI), 7th May 2021.

³⁴¹ KNA DC/NCA/7/6/83. Dissatisfactions among Africa leaders, *the weekly Review*, 2nd October 1961.

³⁴² Mbugua Hillary, OI, 8 May, 2021.

³⁴³ KNA DC/NN/4/8'Rise of Political Parties', *The weekly Review*, 6th June 1961 p.23

³⁴⁴ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gideon Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1990. p. 23.

minister for economic and rural development. Toweett maintained his ministry as minister for local government.³⁴⁵ Despite the agreement of a coalition, government there still existed differences among the leaders, which emerged due to political supremacy.³⁴⁶ These differences were a barrier to the unity of African leaders.³⁴⁷ Leaders lacked unity in advocacy of African grievances and this was a good opportunity for the whites to sabotage the unity of Africans. Whites were under close watch to the African leaders in the cabinet, they were monitoring every undertaking of the newly appointed ministers.³⁴⁸

After African leaders agreed to form coalition government, it was difficult to identify the opposition leader thus there were no criticisms to the government. It was unlawful for African leaders who were appointed by colonials to government to fight for independence, this delayed the self-rule. Toweett argued that there was no need to have opposition voices to make Kenya updated and informed in government policies.³⁴⁹

The groupings of African leaders formed in 1962 emerged with differences in 1963. These groups consisted of KANU and KADU representatives. Their main objective was to come up with constitution that would guide the country to independence. KADU claimed that KANU members killed the decentralization form of government, which was agreed in the Second Lancaster House Conference.³⁵⁰ KADU members in the same angle were seen as traitors and close associates of the whites in governance of the country.³⁵¹

3.14 Toweett and 1963 General Elections in Kenya

In 1963, general elections there were two major parties KANU and KADU competing; these were the dominant parties in the country.³⁵² Toweett was one of the contestants for the Bureti constituency seat using KADU ticket.³⁵³ KADU formed a coalition with APPA with an aim

³⁴⁵ KNA, DC/NAY/6/0/4 Reshuffal of cabinet', *The weekly Review*, 22 December 1963

³⁴⁶ Lawrence Metet, OI, 3 April 2021.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ KNA, DC/AC/6/07, The National assembly Official Report, Volume XX-Part 1, First Session, Tue 28th April 1963.

³⁴⁹ KNA, DC/NCY/4/6/80 'Tenant landloard Barbaric Relation ', *the weekly Review*, 15th September 1975.

³⁵⁰ KNA DT/5/6/05 'Stiff completion in Bureti constituency'. *The Kericho Times*, 25th September 1963, p.5

³⁵¹ Mzee Leitich, OI, 7 May, 2021.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ KNA DC/5/7/06 Annual Report Kericho District, *The political Event, Moverment*, 1963.

to discontract KANU.³⁵⁴ This coalition never lasted for long since as they pathed ways before the elections. After election in May, KANU won most of the seats to parliament; it dominated most parts of Western Kenya.³⁵⁵

The KANU and KADU had different objectives, Kenyatta and KANU members were championing the democratic country, they aimed at making the country free from Europeans exploitation and bring the equality in all aspects of development while KADU members were advocating for decentralization of government to promote national unity and equality.³⁵⁶ From the objectives of these two parties, each of them was fighting to gain prominence in the country³⁵⁷. Both did not have an idea on how to liberate Kenya economically after it gained independence.³⁵⁸

KANU candidate in Bureti constituency prof. Jonathan Ngeno challenged Toweett but he lost narrowly to Toweett.³⁵⁹ Toweett was in public eyes and he had influence in Bureti region and Kipsigis community at large. He was seen as Kipsigis spokesperson and his influence was tenacious. Toweett won in 1963, he beat up prof. Ngeno with a landslide victory.³⁶⁰ Since Toweett and KADU counterparts were advocating for decentralized system of government, the idea of majimbo gained popularity in Rift Valley.³⁶¹ In all the constituencies created in Rift Valley, KADU candidates won. The overall analysis after elections showed that from 117 positions in the House of Representatives, KANU won 64 positions while KADU took 32 and APPA 8. In the upper house, KANU got 19 and KADU 17 while APPA got three.³⁶²

In 1963, the leader of KANU Jomo Kenyatta was installed as the Prime Minister of Kenya after Kenya gained her independence in 1963.³⁶³ Toweett and KADU were agitating for a country governed by the rule of law. At this time, KADU was an opposition party. Toweett

³⁵⁴ Dickson Chelogoi, OI, 7 May, 2021.

³⁵⁵ KNA DC/5/7/06 Annual Report Kericho District, *The political Event, Moverment*, 1963, Section (ii).

³⁵⁶ Mzee Leitich, OI, 6 May, 2021.

³⁵⁷ KNA Matson Papers MSS/18/9. G. Benett "colonial Kenya", *Civilization*. Vol. XII, No. 2/4 1963 P. 130.

³⁵⁸ Dickson Chelogoi, OI, 7 May, 2021.

³⁵⁹ KNA, DA/5/6/04, Battle of Bureti giants, *the weekly Review*, 4Th June 1963.

³⁶⁰ KNA DC/NN/06/9/07 'Kanuu Victory', *Kericho Times*, 5th March 1963.

³⁶¹ KNA, DA/5/6/04, Battle of Bureti giants, *the weekly Review*, 4Th June 1963.

³⁶² C. Sangir & N. John, *The Kenya General Election of 1963*, P. 43.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, P, 57.

and Ngala were in the forefront advocating for decentralized government,³⁶⁴ while Kenyatta and KANU members wanted centralized system of governance. Toweett and his team were forced to form an opposition for them to push for their interest of decentralized governance.³⁶⁵

3.15 Independent Kenya

The secretary of colony before Kenya was granted her independence was called Duncan Sondly. He conveyed a meeting in London in 1963 for African leaders. The conflicting interests of KANU and KADU emerged in the meeting. Using his powers as a secretary of colony Sondly altered the constitution to make difficult for African leaders to change.³⁶⁶ He stretched the requirements such that for any party to change some of the chapters in the constitution, it required support of 80 per cent in parliament and 70 per cent in the senate.³⁶⁷ This made it difficult for Africans to debate and think of amending the constitution.

Another difference between KADU and KANU was the department of security under regional governance. KANU members wanted it to be the responsibility of the national government. Secretary of colony resolved the difference and made security docket under care of public service, this body was entirely responsible for the provision of personnel to both regional and national governments.³⁶⁸ It was agreed in the meeting that majimbo law was to be implemented simultaneously and in stages. The powers, which were decentralized, were to be given regional government before Kenya gained independence and some powers would be handed after independence.³⁶⁹

The conditions introduced by secretary of the colony left African leaders unsatisfied about the changes constitution.³⁷⁰ Toweett and KADU members demanded for implementation of decentralized government.³⁷¹ The actions of Sondly made Kenyan leaders united and fight

³⁶⁴ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1990. p. 23.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid p, 31.

³⁶⁸ KNA DC/5/7/03 'Parties Demands,' *the weekly Review*, 21st Feb 1962, p.2.

³⁶⁹ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1990. p. 23.

³⁷⁰ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.30.

³⁷¹ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation*, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers ,2010) P. 14

for independence. Togetherness and tireless efforts and unity of both parties earned this country independence on 12th December 1963.³⁷²

3.16 Summary

This section analysed Toweett in the colonial government and his struggle for independence as from 1957 to 1963. It showed that he entered into elective position in 1957 to 1964, the general election of 1957 in colonial government, analysis of Toweett in involvement in Lennox Boyd Constitution of 1957. The section noted that he was involved in the division among the AEMO which started in 1957 and he played a crucial role to unify them as the coordinator of the union. It also showed the unsatisfaction of African leaders on the introduction of Lennox Boyd Constitution, the wrangles among the elected leaders in Africa Union, it analysed how diligently Toweett handled and guided Africa leaders in the formation of political in 1959 countrywide. He was appointed to represent the country in the First Lancaster House Conference in 1960 where deliberations which negotiated for independence of the country were discussed. The chapter demonstrated the undertakings of Toweett when he was appointed to ministry in 1960. It also showed how he ventured into formation of national political parties as he played a key role in giving direction to other leaders. It's evident that Toweett was a true nationalist who fought for independence. The section also analysed Toweett's contributions after he was appointed to represent Kenya in Second Lancaster House Conference in 1962 where final stages of handing powers were discussed. The next section analysed the politics and leadership of Toweett after independence from 1964 to 1969.

³⁷² T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.37.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICS AND LEADERSHIP AFTER INDEPENDENCE, 1964-1999

4.1 Overview

The chapter examined the historical amalgamation of big political parties, Toweett's life after he resigned from parliament following his refusal to cross the floor of the house to join the government side in 1964. It also analysed his life after he lost the seat and how he recaptured his seat in 1969 general elections. The chapter also elaborated his undertakings in various ministries he was appointed into after his comeback from 1969 to 1979 and how his political journey deteriorated.

4.2 Amalgamation of Giant Political Parties, KADU Joined KANU Party 1964

Early 1964 many Africans leaders agreed to disband opposition political parties.³⁷³ Some wanted the change of constitution to disband the opposition party.³⁷⁴ Prominent leaders from various political parties championed for the idea. Tom Mboya, Masinde Muliro and Ronald Ngala were the leaders who saw the need to dissolve parties and form one united party.³⁷⁵

When Kenyatta was released in prison, Kenya gained her independence and he was appointed the prime minister of Kenya, he started campaigning for unity of the country.³⁷⁶ He was among the people in government who wanted centralized form of government. As he moved around the country he was never received happily especially in areas where leaders were advocating for regional governments³⁷⁷. This hostile reception of the prime minister in some areas raised many questions regarding the unity of political parties. It was dividing the country instead of uniting.³⁷⁸

By 1964, it was evident that the government was trying to create one party government.³⁷⁹ The KADU members were agitating for multi-party but strengthening the unity of the parties.³⁸⁰ Toweett and Muliro started to criticize the government, they said that the

³⁷³ KNA, DC /5/7/03, Disbandment of giant parties, *The Weekly Review*, 5th Feb 1964.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, Section (II).

³⁷⁵ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House*; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers, 2010) P.78.

³⁷⁶ Ibid p, 42.

³⁷⁷ G. Benet & C. Rosberg, *the Kenyatta Election*. London, (Oxford University Press), 1961, p. 43.

³⁷⁸ A. W, Mabololo; 'A Biography of Elijah Mwangale', MA Thesis, University of Nairobi; 1939-1992, p. 12.

³⁷⁹ Ezekiel Kipkoech, OI, 5 May, 2021.

³⁸⁰ A. W, Mabololo; 'A Biography of Elijah Mwangale', MA Thesis, University of Nairobi; 1939-1992. p, 43.

government had failed the economy of the country. Toweett pinpointed the suffering of the landless that had been displaced by the Europeans and government had not made any efforts to resettle them.³⁸¹ These critics by the KADU members intensified. The issues that were being raised by the opposition, the government had no solution to them. This exposed the government weakness to the Kenyans.³⁸² Increased criticisms by the oppositions forced the government to illegalize public gatherings in the country. This move made the opposition leaders to raise their voices. Toweett asserted that, it was the whim of the people of Kenya that after the independence, they would enjoy the freedom in their land but it was shocking that the government is dictating its subjects.³⁸³

Toweett wanted the public to be informed in every undertaking of the government.³⁸⁴ He wanted the same people who fought for independence of the country to be kept aware of the activities done in the government.³⁸⁵ The restrictions imposed to the opposition denied them from raising the issues of unemployment and raising issues of the landless people within the country.³⁸⁶ The government was trying to avoid further debates in the country about the amendments done to the constitution.

Kenyatta issued a statement concerning the withdrawal of powers of decentralized governments and reduction of the allocation of funds.³⁸⁷ This meant that the national government was simultaneously reducing the powers of regional government for it to amend and change the constitution. This idea was against the whim of Toweett and KADU members.³⁸⁸ The statement of Prime Minister paralyzed the running of the regional governments. At this point, of time, Toweett knew the intensions of the government to change the constitution and he stood against any proposals made by the government, as he was the chief adviser of KADU party.³⁸⁹ He knew it was impossible to change the

³⁸¹ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House*; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers, 2010) P.83.

³⁸² Ibid P 78.

³⁸³ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.36.

³⁸⁴ Ibid p,36

³⁸⁵ Ibid p,37

³⁸⁶ Ibid, p,41

³⁸⁷ KNA DC/NN/4/5/02, one party State, *The weekly Review*, 3rd July 1964.

³⁸⁸ John koech, OI, 13 May, 2021.

³⁸⁹ KNA NC/3/5/06, Kericho District Annual Report, *General view on politics*, 5th July 1964. Section (ix).

constitution through parliament; the government used council of ministers, which was unconstitutional way of making the constitution.³⁹⁰

The government successfully made the changes thus weakened the powers of the opposition. This was achieved by bringing the opposition to join the government. Toweett stood firm and promised to be last person to be moved by the government on their decisions.³⁹¹ The decision of Kenyatta to shape the funding of the regional governments and his reviews in the constitution forced many leaders in regional government trace closely to the government. Members of KADU from western Kenya led by Muliro negotiated with Kenyatta to join the government and they finally supported the prime minister's move. These leaders from western region said that they were not ready to witness the Africa leaders opposing themselves in their country.³⁹²

In 1964, the government introduced a bill to the Lower House of the Parliament to make changes in the constitution so that it can make the country a republic through a commonwealth and make adjustment in constitution to make the president the head of state and minister to be the adviser in running the government.³⁹³ The government silenced the group of opposition as it made the changes. Kenyatta championed his interest of making the country one-party government. In 1964 July, he issued the statement that "it is a new beginning and soon we shall reach the end, leaders must be united and walk in one and united path".³⁹⁴

KADU members who were fighting for the devolved system of government and regionalism were not pleased by the action of the President.³⁹⁵ Toweett, Ngala, and other KADU officials were publicly against the move of prime mister Kenyatta who claimed that regional system was expensive and running the administration was difficult.³⁹⁶ After some few months, Kenyatta's intension to amend the constitution was known he intensified the illegality of holding public rallies and meetings.

³⁹⁰ Poul Sang, OI, 2 May, 2021.

³⁹¹ KNA DC/RC/6/04 'Staunch stand of Rift Valley mp', *the weekly Review*, 2 March, 1963.

³⁹² Jonathan korir, OI, 15 May, 2021.

³⁹³ KNA DC/NN/4/5/07The National Assembly, *Official Report*, second Parliament Inagurated 6TH Nov 1964, Volume XX, Part II

³⁹⁴ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi, 1990.p.31.

³⁹⁵ Kipkemoi Arnest, OI, 9 May, 2021.

³⁹⁶ KNA DC /3/04/6 'Amendments of the laws', *the weekly Review*, 12 April 2020.

Between October and November 1964, KADU members who wanted the retention of constitution were defeated. The government declared the amendment of constitution in October 21st 1964. The amendments made were the introduction of the position of the president with powers to appoint ministers and his vice president.³⁹⁷ It also reduced the powers of regional assemblies, made the close relation of central government, and devolved governments.³⁹⁸

It was mandatory that for any amendment to be done in the constitution, it required 70 per cent of the members of the Lower House and 60 per cent from the Upper House and if it failed to meet the required number, it will enter referendum and incase voted by 60 per cent it will come to the parliament and voted by the majority.³⁹⁹ The KADU members never came in terms with the system the government was using to make amendments. They feared that it would not be both transparent and fair to their expectations since the government appointed the commission that was in charge.⁴⁰⁰ Toweett issued a statement that the proposed constitution will only benefit the politicians but not the common citizens, they uphold that they wanted a president who was modest and who value the democracy.⁴⁰¹ To them it was just a way of giving the president to run and control all aspects of developments in the country.⁴⁰² The change made the president to be above the law, control the parliament and make any adjustment in the law regarding the running of the country without validations from the parliament.⁴⁰³ Toweett as a leader who valued democracy told Kenyans that freedom was their rights even though the liberty and liberation they fought for in the hands of Europeans was about to be snatched by the government of KANU through re-introducing the one party state.⁴⁰⁴

It was the understanding of Toweett and KADU members that for any change made in the constitution to make the country a republic, it required validation from all political parties with amicable agreements.⁴⁰⁵ The changes were to allow the country gain a republic status but the opposition was not consulted in any amendment process. The motion was brought to

³⁹⁷ Ibid,

³⁹⁸ KNA DC/3/8/04, *Who Is Who in East Africa 1963-1966*, Published and Printed by MacroPublisher (Africa) Limited.

³⁹⁹ KNA CT/10/4/012, Amendment of Costitution, the Weekly Review, 17th July 1964.

⁴⁰⁰ Nathaniel Chebelion OI, 17 April 2021.

⁴⁰¹ Robert Turgut, OI, 2 May, 2020.

⁴⁰² Nathaniel Chebelion, OI, 17 April 2021

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Joseph Kipsang, OI, 17 April, 2021.

⁴⁰⁵ Nathaniel Chebelion, OI, 17 April, 2021.

the parliament and no member was allowed to contribute or to make any adjustments in the bill tabled.⁴⁰⁶ Toweett tried to argue that it was against the articles of the constitution of section 72/10 that allowed the members to question any bill provided in the floor of the house. This bill granted many powers to the president and the executive.⁴⁰⁷ The proposal was passed and made to be a law. Kenya gained a republic status on October 1964 when lower house validated the proposal. The bill sailed through the first, second and third reading in the parliament with majority votes, more than the required 75 per cent against the opposition led by Toweett and Ronald Ngala which got 19 votes against the amendments.⁴⁰⁸ After the third reading, leaders from various regions started to join the government by crossing the floor of the house.⁴⁰⁹ Before the bill was taken to upper house, members of KADU had already crossed the floor to take seats in the government section. By the time, it reached the upper house, Toweett and the remaining KADU members had no effort to convince members to vote against the proposal.⁴¹⁰

In the process of tabling the bill in the upper house, members of KADU from the Maasai community had started looking for the way forward of their community and how they could join the government.⁴¹¹ Prime Minister Kenyatta convened a meeting in his home in Kiambu and invited the plain Nilotes communities in November 1964. He convinced them to join the government and since they already had an idea the leaders agreed unanimously to join the government.⁴¹² These leaders promised Kenyatta to cross the floor and support the government proposal in the upper house.⁴¹³ The move of Maasai and Samburu communities to support the amendment triggered the coastal senators to declare their support to the amendments.⁴¹⁴ Oginga Odinga finalized the victory of KANU in a public rally that was held in western Kenya, he convinced Wamalwa representing western region to vote for the bill and he agreed to join the government side contrary to the stand of his party.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁶ Raphael Kitur, OI, 3 May 2021.

⁴⁰⁷ KNA KD/3/5/04, *Annual Report, Kericho District*, The provincial Commissioner. 1 Feb. 1964.

⁴⁰⁸ KNA, DC/CJ/6/04, Legislative Council Debate, *official Report*, Vol.xi June 1964 p.112

⁴⁰⁹ Raphael Kitur, OI, 3 May, 2020.

⁴¹⁰ KNA, DC/CJ/6/04, Legislative Council Debate, *official Report*, Volume 15th June 1964. Section ii

⁴¹¹ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi 1990.p.37

⁴¹² B, George & R. Carl, *the Kenvatta Election*. London, Oxford Press, 1964, p. 32.

⁴¹³ Franline Bett, OI, 4 May, 2021,

⁴¹⁴ KNA, DH/03/5/04. Public Relations Office, "*independent Government*", Oxford University, April 7, 1964,

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid*, Section 14.

The decisions of many members of KADU to join the government forced leaders of KADU to surrender and join KANU.⁴¹⁶ In November 1964, KADU chairperson Ronald Ngala announced that KADU was joining KANU.⁴¹⁷ Ngala claimed that the party was remaining with nobody after the Kalenjin, Maasai and Luhya joined the government side.⁴¹⁸ He added that he took the move because he wanted to give support and bring unity in the government. Ronald Ngala registered himself officially as a KANU member.⁴¹⁹ The decision of Ngala led to dissolution of KADU, which was the main opposition party.⁴²⁰

Toweett was not happy with Ngala's decision.⁴²¹ Rift Valley where KADU was the dominant party did not receive the decision fully, but as the time went by other members had to accept and join the government.⁴²² Other members of KADU who were against dissolution were Sammy Omari who was the senator of coastal region and treasury of CAPP and Alex Karisa.⁴²³ They said that, the move taken by Ngala to dissolve the party was ill informed; they added that the party was not a private property that can be disbanded in a day.⁴²⁴

Toweett who was serving in the House of Representative stated that, he could not move out of the party because of a decision made by one person.⁴²⁵ He argued that, despite the fact that the constitution allows for the dissolution of a party, an individual cannot take the step without validation from the executives of the party.⁴²⁶ He added that the party officials never sat and decided on whether to join the government or not. Toweett portrayed unwary stand and he declined to go as per the decision of the KADU members.⁴²⁷ Toweett refused to cross the floor of the house to join KANU.⁴²⁸

⁴¹⁶ Mzee Leitich, OI, 7 May, 2021.

⁴¹⁷ G. Gona, *Political Biography of Ronald Gedion Ngala*, MA Thesis University Of Nairobi 1990.p.54

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ G. Waserann, *Politics and parties; Kenya Europeans 1961 - 1966*. (Cambridge, University Press), 1965, p. 92

⁴²⁰ T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), p, 12.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Mzee Leitich, OI, 6 May, 2021.

⁴²³ Raphael Kitur, OI, 6 May, 2020.

⁴²⁴ T, Toweett, *Unsung Heroes of Lancaster House; an account of Kenya's constitutional and political transformation*, (Taaita Toweett Foundation publishers, 2010) P.9.

⁴²⁵ KNA, KC/4/6/08, Toweett Stand, *the Kericho Times*, 3 July, 1964.

⁴²⁶ Mzee Leitich, OI, 6 May, 2021.

⁴²⁷ Richard Tuitoek, OI, 3 May, 2020.

⁴²⁸ Ibid

After the officials of KADU agreed to join the government in the both houses of parliament, Toweett was not happy with the decision.⁴²⁹ He was focused and loyal to the party and determined to accomplish the objectives they set when they initiated the party.⁴³⁰ He shocked the world when he suddenly resigned as Bureti constituency member of parliament; he claimed that he only believed in the manifesto of KADU.⁴³¹ He stated that, dissolving KADU was away of killing the democracy in the country. After resigning from Parliament, he went ahead to consult and sought for confirmation of his electorates to support him rebrand KADU.⁴³² He went ahead to seek fresh mandate from the electorates through a by-election and he lost the seat to his opponent Alexander Arap Rai, a primary school teacher.⁴³³ The stand of Toweett not to go against the decision of KADU showed that, he was a leader who respected democracy and hated politics of intrigue and malice. Toweett went into political limbo until 1969 when he recaptured his Bureti seat⁴³⁴.

4.3 Toweett in the Political Oblivion 1964-1969

In 1964, Toweett lost his seat as Bureti Member of Parliament in a by-election, which was done after he resigned and refused to cross the floor of the House following his party agreement to join the government.⁴³⁵ Toweett being an independent minded and a leader with a stand who always believed in political democracy went against the decision of the party and boldly decided to resign and seek for fresh mandates from his electorates.⁴³⁶ He resigned without minding the outcome of the by election. KADU reached the decision to disband the party with claims that they wanted a strong and united party of Africans for them to do development in unity and push for total independence in Kenya.⁴³⁷

After the by-elections, he lost the seat to his close opponent in 1964 general elections, a primary school teacher, Alexander Arap Rai, who took the seat until he was overthrown in general elections of 1969.⁴³⁸ While he was in political limbo, he concentrated on his private,

⁴²⁹ KNA, KC/4/6/08, Toweett Refused to cross the floor, *The Kericho Times*, 4 July 1964.

⁴³⁰ Ibid

⁴³¹ KNA KC/7/8/05, Toweett schocked the world, *The Kericho Times*, 7 July, 1964.

⁴³² William Arap Yator, OI, 5 May, 2020.

⁴³³ KNA KC/45/04/4, Unexpected Battle in Bureti, *the Kericho Times* 12th July 1964.

⁴³⁴ Edwin Kirui, OI, 9 Ma y, 2021.

⁴³⁵ Mzee Leitich, OI, 6 April, 2021.

⁴³⁶ Chepkoiit Arap Tapotui, OI, 11 April, 2021.

⁴³⁷ KNA KC/V/9/04, Unity of Africa Leaders, the *Weekly Review*, 18th July 1964.

⁴³⁸ Jenniffer Ngasura, OI, 18 April, 2021.

academics and family life; he majorly focused on farming in his home area of Kericho Districts.⁴³⁹

In 1966, he pioneered several dairy boards in Kericho district; he played a crucial role not only in his home district, but also in also national wide through formation of cooperative movements.⁴⁴⁰ He was also involved in the formation of several water projects in his home area, examples are Ainamoi water project, Chepangany water project, Leidet water project and Mararot water project.⁴⁴¹ Most of the time you could find him in his business premises in Kericho town, where he was serving as a manager and doing his private studies in his office. He wrote many books and in that span of time he wrote a book entitled *Epitaph on colonialism and short poems*. The book majorly dwell on his experiences as one of the leaders who fought for independence. He narrated the efforts of his fellow leaders in the struggle for independence. He added on the strategies of leaders who were in government in the colonial times to overcome the colonialists. He also elaborated their undertakings and their stand in first and second Lancaster round table talks in London.⁴⁴² In his book *An African's year in England*, he expansively narrated how they were treated in England as Africa leaders who were advocating for African's grievances.⁴⁴³

In 1969, he initiated his publishing company in Kericho where he published and edited his own newspaper called the *Voice of Rift Valley* and he also continued with the writing of Kipsigis vernacular magazine *Ngalekab Kipsigisiek* which was being published quarterly, this was extension of his writings he did in 1957 when he was a CDO in Kericho and Nandi Districts.⁴⁴⁴ He engaged in his farming activities in various places of his land in Kaplong Sotik where he involved himself in large scales farming of maize.⁴⁴⁵ He established tea plantation in Litein and Chemosot as he erected a building in Darajani near Nakuru town and Kipkelion area. In addition, he managed his large family; he always made sure that his children attended school.⁴⁴⁶ He brought his extended family close by conveying frequent meetings to harmonize them, empower them economically and encouraged them to educate

⁴³⁹ "Obituary - DR. Taaita Araap Toweett" by Leo Odero Omolo, www.jaluo.com

⁴⁴⁰ Frankline Bett, OI, 9 May, 2021.

⁴⁴¹ Stanley Birir, OI, 7 May, 2021.

⁴⁴² T, Toweett, *Epitaph on Colonialism and Shorter Poems*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), P.5.

⁴⁴³ T, Toweett, *An Africans Year in England*, (Kenya Literature Bureau, 1979), p.4.

⁴⁴⁴ Geoffrey Toromo, OI, 12 May, 2021.

⁴⁴⁵ Zachariah Chepkulul (OI), 18 April, 2021.

⁴⁴⁶ Stanley Birir, OI, 7 May, 2020.

their children.⁴⁴⁷ Toweett was seen as a person who valued education and yearned everyone within his area to take their children to school.

During that time, he also prepared himself for 1969 general elections, he not only concentrated on his family but also found himself in public gatherings where he got a chance to solidify his future political bid for Bureti constituency. He participated in many fund raisings and charity works in the society of Bureti and beyond.⁴⁴⁸

4.3 The General Election of 1969 and Comeback of Taaitta to Leadership of Bureti Constituency

After the elapse of five years term from 1964 to 1969, the country prepared itself for a general election as stipulated by the constitution. In Bureti constituency, there were four candidates and Toweett was among the contestants. Toweett was then in for KANU ticket, the party issued regulations that any person allowed to contest in that popular party for any seat was supposed to be a registered member of that party for not less than one year.⁴⁴⁹ Toweett qualified since after he was defeated in the by-elections in 1964, he came back and drummed up support for KANU after his original party was disbanded.⁴⁵⁰ This rule of KANU made many candidates who were interested to contest via the ticket drop their candidature and opt to be independent candidates, others joined small parties. Toweett stood against Mista Arap Korir, these two candidates were contesting to clinch the KANU ticket to battle out with Barmalel Tamason who was fitted by KANU rule and opted for independent candidature.⁴⁵¹

Toweett managed to defeat Korir in the contest for KANU ticket in the nominations with majority votes and became flag bearer in Bureti constituency. Toweett finally won the final race of Bureti from independent candidate Barmalel Tamason, Mr. Alexander Arap Rai, Kipkemoi Korir, Joseph Chumo and Ezekiel Kipsoi Belsoi. He got majority votes of 58, 491 followed by Alexander with 6,692, Barmalel Tamason 5,924, Korir with 2,044, Belsoi 1,500 and Chumo with 494 votes.⁴⁵² From the voting pattern, it clearly showed that, Toweett was a leader with strong move in this area of Bureti constituency. He won the race with a landslide;

⁴⁴⁷ Moses Tuimising, OI, 13 May, 2021.

⁴⁴⁸ Alexander Maritim, OI, 3 May, 2021.

⁴⁴⁹ Frankline Bett, OI, 9 May, 2021.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid

⁴⁵¹ Samwael Terer, OI, 5 May, 2021.

⁴⁵² KNA /AB/EPD/LFD/ASJ /53/34, Annual Report 1964 Kericho District.

this was because of his long and proven experience in public affairs and his remarkable undertakings in the past leadership.⁴⁵³ He was involved in provision of government projects on water supply, rural electrification, roads transport, health and education that were witnessed in Bureti. Apart from his development records, Toweett was an eloquent speaker and his main strength came from the fact that he had been in national politics long before independence and his public service he remained a man of principles.⁴⁵⁴

When Toweett recaptured Bureti Parliamentary seat, he was appointed minister for education. He served in the ministry for the longest time in record; he was marked as the longest serving minister for education in history where he served for ten years.⁴⁵⁵ He brought changes in various levels of education. As a minister for education, he was elected the President of the 19th General Assembly of the UNESCO from 1976 to 1978.⁴⁵⁶ This was because of UNESCO General Conference that was held in Kenya in 1976. This conference was historical because it was the first time to be held in Africa since when UNESCO was formed thirty years ago. More than 3000 delegates from all over the world representing more than 140 nations, together with other many organizations, attended it. Toweett chaired the conference where various important issues were discussed and passed. They also drew up programmes and discussed the budget for UNESCO service for the next two years.⁴⁵⁷

During his tenure as a minister for education, there was increased number of students attending primary schools all over the country. These were about 3.3 million children in primary schools in 1976 compared to 2.8 million in 1975. The number of primary schools in Kenya in 1974 were 8700 compared to 1969 when the number was 7854.⁴⁵⁸ In addition, nearly all districts had been provided with storage facilities for school equipment, more vehicles were made available to district education boards to assist in transporting school equipment to reach schools without much delay.

⁴⁵³ Wilson Mutai, OI, 2 May, 2021.

⁴⁵⁴ Alice Cheriro, OI, 4 May, 2021.

⁴⁵⁴ KNA SB/12/04/241 'Kenya New position in UNESCO', Weekly Review 3rd Jan 1988.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid,

⁴⁵⁴ KNA DC /NN/R/02, 'Anew political Equation', *the weekly Review* 8th Jan 1988'.

⁴⁵⁴ KNA KC/4/04/12'Education in Kenya is still growing but problem exist', *13th The Weekly Review* 1976.

⁴⁵⁵ KNA KC/5/04/342 'New minister for Education', weekly Review, 2 Sept 1967.

⁴⁵⁶ KNA DC/6/8/9 'Kenya New position in UNESCO', Weekly Review 3rd Jan 1988.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid,

⁴⁵⁸ KNA KC /6/7/04' A new political Equation', weekly Review 8th Jan 1988'.

In his early years in the ministry, Toweett budgeted for construction of boarding primary schools at Bura, Kacheliba and Sololo and this program continued throughout the year.⁴⁵⁹ These schools are located in the districts of Garisa, West Pokot and Marsabit.⁴⁶⁰ These projects assisted in improving enrolment of primary school children in these specific semi-arid districts. All these formed part of efforts of Toweett as minister for education to raise opportunities of access to education in the disadvantaged areas.⁴⁶¹

In secondary schools, he made radical changes, which led to the rise of the numbers of students registered in secondary schools all over the country. In 1970, there was 30 percent increase in form one intake countrywide for both governments maintained Harambee Schools and private school. Furthermore, more teachers were posted to over 100 Harambe Schools, bringing the total number of TSC teacher serving in Harambe School to over 190.⁴⁶² As a way of motivation, Toweett in 1974 introduced the President Award scheme, which involved secondary school student competing in various activities both academic, and co-curriculum. President Jomo Kenyatta presented gold award to 27 students at state house in 1974 courtesy of Toweett.

In part of Technical and applied education, Toweett restructured the institutions. The reforms gave rise to several technical institutes in the country, upgrading and expanding technical schools at Kitale and Shanzu in Mombasa, these are just few undertakings of Toweett in the ministry of education which led to the promotion and enhancement of technical courses in the country.⁴⁶³

After the general elections of 1974 he were re-elected to Parliament as MP of Bureti constituency under Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as the president, he was shortly removed from the ministry of education to ministry of Housing and social service.⁴⁶⁴ Because of his experience in the ministry of education, he was reappointed; he served in the ministry of housing and social service for only five months.⁴⁶⁵ He continued with his programmes to improve

⁴⁵⁹KNA DC/RR/5/7/03 'New minister for Education', weekly Review, 2 Sept 1967.

⁴⁶⁰KNA DC MM/R/04/12 'Education in Kenya is still growing but problem exist', *13th The Weekly Review* 1976.

⁴⁶¹ KNA TC/23/5/6 'Warm up at Dagoretti' *weekly Review* 23rd Feb 1979.

⁴⁶² Harrison Chepkwony, OI, 14 May, 2021.

⁴⁶³ David Arap Ronget, OI, 21 May, 2021.

⁴⁶⁴ KNA DC/NN/E02/2 Toweett Transferred, *The Weekly Review*, 4th July 1974.

⁴⁶⁵ Mzee Leitich, OI, 6 May, 2021.

education in the country.⁴⁶⁶ In his second term in the ministry, he pioneered many schools in central Kenya, Nairobi and Nyanza province.⁴⁶⁷ He opened Kinyanjui Technical Institute, he also instituted Greek Orthodox Church seminary Bishop Gathuna.⁴⁶⁸ In his time in the ministry, Toweett not only focused on the country development but also targeted to promote education in his constituency.⁴⁶⁹ He initiated many schools. Some of the few schools he initiated are Leldet primary in 1974, Mararet primary 1970, Kapsabet secondary 1971, Chebangany primary in 1969 and Kericho day secondary school in 1976.⁴⁷⁰ Apart from schools, he also pioneered water projects and roads within his area of representation that made his name famous in the region.⁴⁷¹ He was one who budgeted for Chalchet Bridge, the bridge joining Kericho and Kisumu district. In 1975, he championed for the construction of Sotik, Bomet-Narok road, Longisa-Olengurone road, Ndanai, Makimeny eight miles and Kapsorok Soliat road six miles.⁴⁷² He initiated several water projects in the area; Ainamoi water project 1974, Kericho district sewerage 1975, Kedowa water project 1975, Kaboson irrigation scheme 1974, Kapsegel dam 1974, Chepkemei health center 1974, Litein water supply and Mararet water project 1975.⁴⁷³ These are some of the projects that put the name of Toweett famous and respected in Kenya and his region where he was an MP and Minister for Education.

It was not the first time for Toweett to find himself in differences with Moi, after Moi ascended to power following the death of Kenyatta due to old age, he maintained Toweett as minister for Education.⁴⁷⁴ Toweett never attended Machakos education meeting that was attended by President Moi because of his political difference with him. The president was launching developments projects touching on health and education, which were directly linked to his ministry. An uncharacteristically angry Moi said ‘I do not understand why the minister and his assistant could not come to the launch, for them to tell us the plans they have for schools in the district of Machakos’.⁴⁷⁵ He warned officials of his administration to tow

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ronny Langat, OI, 12 May, 2021.

⁴⁶⁸ KNA RC/6/7/010 Warm Up at Dagoretti, now Riruta School is bone of Contention, *The Weekly Review* 23rd Feb 1978.

⁴⁶⁹ Ronny Langat, OI, 12 May, 2021.

⁴⁷⁰ Ruth Chepkoech Ngetich, OI, 21 May, 2021.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid

⁴⁷² Christopher Cheruiyot, OI, 21 May, 2021.

⁴⁷³ Poul Korir, OI, 21 May, 2021.

⁴⁷⁴ Mzee Leitich, OI, 6 May, 2021.

⁴⁷⁵ KNA DC/04/12/02Toweett Scalded’, East Africa, *The weekly Review* 27th, July 1979.

the line or face the consequences; he argued that his humility should not be taken for granted by official who did not want to take their work seriously.⁴⁷⁶ After a tough talk by President Moi in Machakos development tour, Toweett apologized quite sincerely to the president. He never explained the reasons leading to his absence but he said, “Today I am a miserable man because of what happened yesterday when I, my permanent secretary and my assistant minister failed to turn up at the fund-raising meeting.⁴⁷⁷ This was purely an accident. I am very sorry for what happened”. It remained to be seen whether Moi would accepted the apologies and let the matter rest as it was. The differences of Moi and Toweett worsen from this day he failed to turn up for a meeting in Machakos.⁴⁷⁸ During his time in the ministry of education, he used a famous slogan of building both body and mind. This emerged because the ministry of education under him was distributing milk to learners all over the country as a way of motivating them to attend school.⁴⁷⁹

In 1975, Towett was appointed the minister for Social Services and Housing. However, in 1976, President Kenyatta switched two ministers in a minor reshuffle of his cabinet. Dr. Onyonka who was formerly in education, changed places with Toweett of housing and social services. For Toweett this was the second stint as education minister and it came at a time when the government was engaged in a major review of the completely educational system in Kenya. As the minister for Social Services and Housing, Toweett did support bills in Parliament that went a long way in helping reshaping the status of the slums in Nairobi.⁴⁸⁰

As the minister for Housing and Social Services, Toweett fought for the rights of low income earners. As a government, Toweett alluded that barbarism against tenants would not go unpunished. Toweett was against some unscrupulous landlords who went about removing doors, roofs, windows and disconnecting power and water supplies.⁴⁸¹ In other words, he was against the idea of landlords and landladies manipulating their tenants.

In the year 2000, Toweett retired after serving in political and various government dockets for a period of forty-two years from colonial to post-colonial period.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Poul Sang, OI, 28 April, 2020.

⁴⁸⁰ KNA DC /JK/9/2/05 East Africa, *the Weekly Review*, July 26, 1976.

⁴⁸¹ KNA DC/001/ET/02 Minister on unscrupulous Landlords *the Weekly Review*, December 22, 1975.

4.4 Toweett and Change of Section Six of the Constitution.

The discussion of the changes of old constitution started in 1976 by a section of politicians among them was Toweett MP Bureti, Kimani Kihika MP Nakuru, Mr. Paul Ngei, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, Njenga Karume, Mr. James Gichuru and Angaine from Meru.⁴⁸² The chapter that these leaders wanted to change was Section Six on the transition of leadership in case of the seat of President became vacant for any reason. The Section stated that if the office of the president became vacant, vice president would automatically resume the office for ninety days and if the vice president is not able to hold the office for any reason, the minister appointed by the cabinet will take over the office.

In the year 1976, the health of the sitting President Jomo Kenyatta was deteriorating due to old age. During this year Moi was the vice president, some of the senior politicians were against the leadership of vice president Moi since there were not in good terms from 1960 due to leadership struggles. This was tactical mistake made by Toweett in 1976 by abstaining to attend the meeting of the president in Machakos.⁴⁸³ The political difference with Moi made his political career shaken in Bureti, this was reflected in 1979 general elections where he was defeated by Professor Ngeno Jonathan a relative newcomer to politics. Ngeno stood against Toweett in 1974 but he was defeated. He concentrated with his business and vied again for the MP seat in 1979 where he won overthrowing long serving Minister for Education Toweett.⁴⁸⁴

Toweett, Chelangat Mutai and Alexander Muge were part of the team from the vast Rift Valley region who were agitating for the change of section six of the constitution. Their main target for the amendment was to stop Moi from clinching the seat as the health of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was deteriorating.⁴⁸⁵ Toweett was the team leader of politicians from Rift valley advocating for amendments of the constitution to block the vice president Moi from ascending to power automatically despite Moi hailing from the same region.

The interest of this group of leaders started in 1977; a politician from Nakuru, Nixon Kihika Kimani, formulated the idea. Kimani conveyed a meeting in Nakuru town in November 1977.

⁴⁸²KNA DC/EC/8/04/2, Change of section Two A. *The Weekly Review* 12th June 1976.

⁴⁸³ Frankline Bett, OI, 25 April, 2021.

⁴⁸⁴ Joseph Ngeno, OI, 25 April, 2021.

⁴⁸⁵ Alice Chelaite, OI, 3 May, 2021.

The leaders held a philosophy that; man can only change laws that were made by man⁴⁸⁶. Toweett was in forefront in Rift Valley campaigning for change of section six.

Attorney general of the republic of Kenya was Charles Njonjo, he challenged the decision of these leaders, and warned them that whatever they were advocating for was criminal offense but they all rebuked the advice of the Attorney general and moved on with the idea. The matter was brought to the cabinet for discussion where Toweett was a member and the cabinet dismissed the proposal as they were guided by the Attorney general.⁴⁸⁷ The aims of this group of leaders was to decentralize power of the vice president and introduced the docket of executive prime minister to compliment the powerful president and out do the vice president. During that period, Moi supporters were threatened in many ways. Many were arrested and imprisoned with false allegations.⁴⁸⁸

Early 1977, elders and respected people from the central Kenya held a meeting with vice president Daniel Moi. Political leaders were not invited in the meeting. The attorney general was the only senior government leader present.⁴⁸⁹ Njonjo advised the elders that the amendment of a section of constitution was impossible and illegal and any person advocating for change could be prosecuted.

Toweett engagement in the idea of constitutional amendments made him lose his seat in Bureti constituency in 1979 to a young politician Prof. Jonathan Ngeno. His electorates were hostile because of going against Moi bid to gain Presidency. Moi and Toweett hailed from the same region. After he lost the seat to Ngeno, he was appointed by Moi to be the chairperson of the Kenya Literature Bureau.⁴⁹⁰ He never contested in 1983 because the ground was hostile for him but KANU party courtesy of President Moi nominated him to Parliament. From 1983 to 1986, he was also appointed chairman of Kenya Airways there after appointed chairman of Kenya Seed Company where he served upto 1999.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁶KNA DC/12/4/9/04 Beginning of change of constitution by Rift Valley leaders. *The Weekly Review* 16th June 1977.

⁴⁸⁷ Stanley Chebelion, OI, 17 April, 2020.

⁴⁸⁸ Rt. Richard Maliet, OI, 25 April, 2020.

⁴⁸⁹ J, Kiambi, a King without a Kingdom, *a Biography of Jackson Harvester Angaine*, MA Thesis University of Nairobi. 1903-1999, P 21.

⁴⁹⁰KNA KC /03/4/03 'Losers rescued'; *weekly Review* 12th Dec 1979.

⁴⁹¹KNA KC/12/04/3 Toweett New head of Kenya Airport', *Kericho Times* 6 Dec. 1983.

Toweett last political docket was from 1972 to 1977, he never contested for any seat but he nominated as Member of Parliament. In 1997, Toweett retired from active politics and engaged in his private activities at his rural home at Kericho district and Nakuru.

4.5 Summary

This section explored Toweett's political journey from what triggered him to resign after amalgamation of big political parties in 1964 and recaptured in 1969. It analysed him in political limbo, the general election of 1969 and his comeback to politics and the involvement in the change of Section Six of constitution that tried to block Moi from ascending to power that brought him down in elective positions and put him to retire in active politics in 1976.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 To Examine Early Life and Education Background of Toweett 1925 to 1957.

The study found that Toweett was a responsible child. After his mother died, it was established that his father never remarried therefore he was in-charge of the home chores, he looked after his father's cattle and took tealeaves to the factory located a few kilometers away from his home for sale. He was a boy who could not sleep without accomplishing his set daily goals. He helped his father in many works. His father loved him so much because of his obedience and his hard work. It emerged that he used to wake up very early in the morning to do milking before he could go to the field to take care of the cows during the holidays.

Toweett as an elder son he was responsible for organizing his siblings and assigning them duties. His early life showed that he was trustworthy, hardworking and focused child. He started schooling in 1931 at the age of six when his mother was still alive at Chepwagan mission primary school. Because it was mandatory for one to be a Christian, he was baptized in 1934 by the AIC for him to be allowed to be part of the Christian pupils in the school. He was brought up by pagan parents but he converted to Christianity so that he could be allowed to attend mission school. Despite the fact that his parents were pagans, he persistently attended church and followed all the rules and regulations of the mission institution. His hard work in school and his active participation in Church activities made him to be known by church leaders and members as well, this earned him a good reputation in the church and even in school. He was aggressive and he could comprehensively explain himself to the school headmaster.

Toweett emerged to be one of the top students in academic and this made him to be known in school and teachers liked him, they always gave him a chance despite mission school rules where children of pagans were not allowed to be in their school. Church awarded him a scholarship because of his active participation in church activities and the fact that he was always topping in class. He was punctual, ready and willing to undertake any assignments given in the church.

His close friendship with the father familiarized him with the Kipsigis culture and the ways of living according to the Kalenjin community. His knowledge on Kalenjin culture helped him to collaborate with both the white man education and the Kipsigis culture. That is the

reason why his knowledge and respect on culture was never eroded even as he interacted with the missionaries and his subsequent conversion to Christianity. His father allowed him to go for white man education because he was a man who had already seen the importance of educating children.

Toweett was selected a class prefect in class three by his class teacher because of his nature of hard work and punctuality in school. He used to cover a distance of about 4 kilometers everyday going to school. It is evident that Toweett was a brilliant student, attentive and courageous. These attributes developed his leadership skills. In 1938, he wrote his CPE national exams and his performance was remarkable. This gave him recognition in the church and in the entire society. After he received his results, some well-wishers to join secondary school awarded him scholarship.

In 1939, he joined Kabianga High School, a school he happened to be one of the pioneering students. In Kabianga, his academic brightness continued to illuminate and his leadership capability perpetually grew. He did well in form two exams, proceeded to the next level, and later joined prestigious Alliance high school in 1947. In 1948, he joined Makerere University in Uganda for higher learning, this was a place he learnt and mingled with diverse culture and students from all over the world, he interacted with students from Kenya who later became prominent leaders. Toweett's studies never stopped in Makerere University, he later advanced in South Devon Technical College in Turkey and later acquired his masters and PhD degree at the University of Nairobi.

Before joining politics in 1957, he worked as a welfare officer for Europeans in Kericho and due to the strict supervision in the job, he resigned in 1953. He was appointed as the first African CDO in Kenya by Europeans. He carried out his duties with diligence and total commitment and were promoted in the same position. While holding same position, he demonstrated that he was a person with commendable leadership skills. Apart from his job, he also worked as an editor of monthly magazine of Kipsigis called *Ngalekab Kipsigisiek* where he was teaching the community on various developmental aspects largely on agriculture and education.

Toweett's interaction with African leaders and the colonialists enabled him learn how to control and run the government from the grassroot to the national level. After he realized how

the Europeans in the farms were enslaving Africans, he created the interest of contesting for a political seat to get a better position to articulate for Africans demand.

5.2 To Explore Political Life of Toweett in Colonial and his Contributions to the Struggle for Independence 1958 to 1964.

The study established that Toweett's leadership started during his academic journey since when he was in primary school. He entered into elective position in 1957 when he contested for Legco seat. He received support to contest for South Nyanza, a region that had high population of Luo community and Toweett was a Kalenjin candidate contesting for the position. He lost to Lawrence Oguda. He never gave up when he lost to Oguda. He continued to maintain his aspiration and hope to represent the people in the National government. In 1957, Littleton Plan proposed the increase of number of African representation; this led to creation of six constituencies. This opened the way for Toweett to Legco and those who were defeated in 1957 general elections. He was elected to Legco to represent Narok and Kericho Districts in 1958 along with David Ngatia, Justus Kiano Gikonyo (Central Rift), J.J Nyaga (Embu), Trance Joseph Khamis (Mombasa) and Dr. Julius Gikonyo (Central).

After African leaders were increased in Legco, they formed a strong union known as AEMO for them to articulate for the African issues comprehensively and advocate for independence of the country. The division emanated from the three leaders who were fighting for leadership in the union. Ngala, Odinga and Mboya. Toweett was appointed the coordinator of the organization, he tried his best to bring friendly environment among the leaders and at some point succeeded and gained a good reputation and respect from the leaders. As a coordinator of African leaders, he organized African meeting in June 1958 with an objective of getting attention of the government on the constitutional matters. He was a concerned leader who always minded about the welfare of other leaders, this was evident in his parliamentary debates where he always asked about the conditions of imprisoned leaders.

In 1958, he tried to convene a meeting with the governor of Kenyan territory. The African leaders made proposals to present to governor on African representation but their requests were rejected. In October 1958 Toweett and his fellow leaders moved out of the governors meeting to demonstrate their dissatisfaction in governor's leadership on Africans. This forced the governor to call for another meeting on 10th November 1958 to bring back the African leaders to Legco. Some of the leaders suggested that they resign from their positions while

others refused and saw that it was not the best option. On 27th November, the Kenya governor increased the number of African representatives and removed council of ministers. These were some of the demands of African leaders. The unity of African elected leaders was due to efforts of Toweett who was the organizer and coordinator of AEMO.

In 1959, nationalism gained momentum and Europeans paved way for African leaders' demands. Africans came together with the Arabs, Asians and some of the whites who were advocating for the interest of Africans and formed CEMO. CEMO consisted all the communities and all the races in the country. It was formed with the aim of gaining more unity among Kenyans as they fought for their rights in the colonial government. Toweett was one of the leaders of CEMO with Kiano being the chairperson. Toweett was the adviser of the union since he was an elite and well conversant with the constitutional matters.

The study showed that Toweett was a key leader in the colonial government; he participated in many political parties from 1959 despite being a division among the nationalists. The Nationalists had different approaches on how to gain independence of the country; his team wanted to use peaceful means to reach an agreement with the colonial government. The difference in opinion among the moderates and radicals resulted in the formation of tribal and regional political parties. Toweett and Ngala distanced themselves from the formation of regional political parties. The two leaders saw this as a way of European wanting to bring division among the African leaders; they remained loyal to initially formed unions of AEMO and CEMO. Both leaders knew that the only way African grievances could be heard was through national union and not regional and tribal parties. After along deliberation of the regional political parties, they decided to come up with main parties, they formed KANU and KADU to agitate for the country's independence. This led to the dissolution of CEMO and AEMO.

The study observed that Toweett was one of the active participants in the constitutional discussion at the conference in Lancaster in 1962. Toweett was appointed to represent Africans because he was very humble, educated and eloquent in expressing his ideas. He was more conversant with the grievances and demands of Africans. His vision in African organization earned him a good reputation among the colleagues hence was elected to represent Africans in Lancaster conference.

At the conference, the study established that Toweett was a leader; he proved his capability by uniting African leaders in the conference and advised them on how to negotiate for African grievances and constitutional amendment. They finally returned to the country victorious as their demands were taken into consideration.

After a breakthrough in the first Lancaster House, he proved that he was a great and capable leader. He was immediately appointed assistant minister for Agriculture and he was chosen to be part of the council of ministers because he was deputizing a European minister who was not well conversant with the country's territory. Despite the appointment of Toweett, some of the African leaders were against, they saw it as betrayal but appointed African ministers promised to fight for the release of the imprisoned leaders while in the council. The position that was given to Toweett and others acted as a training ground where Africans were oriented on how to conduct and coordinate the ministerial activities without help of the Asians and Europeans. Toweett stood firm and gave substantive information that their appointments were a milestone towards the achievement of independence and a comprehensive channel to articulate for African demands.

The study noted that Toweett was one of the leaders in 1961 that brought the society to self-rule. They advocated for the implementation of the recommendations made in Lancaster conference in 1960. The first demand was the release of Kenyatta from prison. In 1961, Toweett was enjoying the fame and popularity in southern electorate area. In 1963 general election, there were two main political parties KADU and KANU, which were competing. Toweett contested for Bureti constituency seat with KADU ticket and was challenged by KANU candidate Prof. Ngeno who lost to Toweett. Toweett was famous, his undertakings were remarkable in his area of representations, and he took the victory in the general election.

5.3 To Analyse Political and Leadership of Toweett after Independence 1964 to 1979

This objective analyzed how Toweett conducted political game and his leadership after the country gained its independence in 1964. To conclusively examine this objective the study analyzed the time when he was in political oblivion (1964-1969), elections of 1969 and comeback into the political arena, the change of Section six of the Constitution. Toweett after losing, he concentrated on his private life, academics, family and he majorly focused on farming in his home district of Kericho.

After Kenya gained her independence in 1963, Kenyatta was nominated as the prime minister. He delivered strategies on how to bring the African leaders and all the tribes together thus dissolved all the parties and formed one united party. Toweett was not of the idea of forming one party state, he moved on criticizing the government, he said that the government had failed the economy. He continued and said that the government had not shown any efforts to resettle the suffering landless Kenyan who had been displaced by the European. It was his expectation that people would enjoy the fruit of independence but not put into political formations, dictatorships and intimidations in their own lands. He wanted the public to be informed of every undertakings of the government. In 1964, Kenyatta withdrew the powers of decentralized government and reduced the allocation. This paralyzed regional government operations; the changes were against the whim of Toweett and KADU members. Despite the fact that it was hard for Kenyatta to amend the constitution, he used all means as prime minister, he finally amended, and this weakened the powers of the opposition. Toweett stood firm and promised to be the last person to be moved by the government on any decision which was contrary with his belief and which was not beneficial to ordinary citizens. In October 1964, KADU members who were advocating for regional government were defeated and decentralized government was introduced. After a tedious process of amending the constitution, some of the members of KADU agreed to cross the floor of the house and join the government's side but Toweett portrayed unwary stand, he declined to cross the floor. He finally shocked the world when he suddenly resigned as Bureti constituency Member of Parliament. He claimed that he only believed in the manifesto of KADU, he added that dissolving KADU was a way of killing democracy in the country. He resigned as MP without minding the outcomes of the by-elections. The study found out that Toweett was a leader who respected democracy and hated politics of intrigues and malice. He lost in the By-election and was put into a political limbo until 1969.

In 1966, he pioneered several dairy boards not only in his home district but also in nationwide cooperative movements. Apart from his development activities, he took time to write several books including *'Epitaph on Colonialism and Short Poems'*, *'An African's Years in England'*. He also published weekly newspaper called *'Voice of Rift Valley'* and vernacular magazine *'Ngalekable Kipsigisiek'* that was published quarterly. He did much of the development in the community in preparation for the 1969 general elections.

There was a general election in the country in 1969; this was the elapse of five years after he lost in 1964 by-elections. During this time he was fully in KANU party, he contested using KANU ticket and he won the Bureti constituency seat in both the nominations and general elections. The study found out that in Toweett's meilden speech categorically stated the ideas of KANU about devolved system. He explained that the powers would be shared. Corruption would be effectively arrested and common people at the grassroot level would feel leadership. He added that decentralized governance would prevent political dominance by the political parties and avoid the eruption of communal groupings.

In 1969, he was appointed as a minister for education, a position he served for ten years. He secured this position because of his education and long experience in leadership. As a minister of education, he was elected the president of UNESCO in the nineteenth general assembly in 1976, a position he served for two years. During his tenure as the minister for education, there was increased number of pupils and students in learning institutions countrywide, developments advancements in schools' technological advancements were witnessed.

In 1979 Toweett involved himself with the change of section six of the constitution; the section was all about the transition of leadership in case the seat of the president became vacant for any reason. The section established that if the office of the president became vacant, the vice president would automatically resume the office for a period of ninety days. Kenyatta's health was deteriorating and those who were against his vice president Moi wanted to change the section for Moi not to ascend to power in case Kenyatta died. A section of leaders including Toweett, Kimani Kihika, Paul Ngei, Njoroge Mungai, Chelagat Mutai and Alexander Muge were propelling for the idea of the change for section six.

The study established that for many years Toweett was in the forefront campaigning against Daniel Moi in Rift Valley. The engagement of Toweett in campaigns of change of the constitution against vice president Moi made his relationship with Moi worsen and he also lost ground in local politics which made him loss his Bureti Parliamentary seat in 1979 to a young politician Prof. Ngeno Metet. After Toweett lost his seat in 1979, he was appointed to chair the Kenya Literature Bureau, he never contested in 1983 general elections and he was nominated to Parliament by KANU at the same time he was appointed chairman of Kenya Airways, thereafter, he served as chairperson of Kenya Seed Company up to 1999. His last

political seat he served was from 1992 to 1997 as nominated Member of Parliament under KANU.

5.4 Toweett Legacies and Life after he Dropped active Politics

The study showed that after finishing school Toweett emerged to be one of the few educated individuals in the society. Before he joined politics, he was appointed by the European to be the first African to serve as CDO in Kericho and Nandi districts. This study revealed that he did his work to his best and he portrayed a good leadership skill as a CDO. After he served as CDO, he plunged himself into politics in 1957 and 1958 he was elected to represent Narok and Kericho districts in Legco. In the same year, he was appointed assistant minister for Agriculture under colonial government where he discharged his duties remarkably and ministry of Agriculture witnessed improvement and transformation in all its undertakings.

Toweett was appointed by his African leaders to participate in the First Lancaster round table in 1960 due to his high academic level. This conference ushered in the independence; he emerged to be a fighter, strong advocate and agitator of Africans grievance in the conference.

The study established that Toweett was a fearless and charismatic leader. He was spotted in his articulations and his contribution in Legco airing Africans grievances. He supported important motions in Parliament that concerned the ordinary people. He was a leader who always wanted things to be done in the right way. After he completed schooling in Jean school Kabete as social welfare administration he was appointed by the Europeans in 1950 to the position of a Welfare Officer. The welfare position was a position that was rarely held by the Africans, he shortly held the position in Kericho district. He left the job in 1953 and started working as a broadcaster with the Voice of Kenya Company (VOK) in Kisumu African service until 1955 when he was awarded a scholarship to Devon Technical College in Torquay by the Kipsigis county council to advance his studies in public and social administration. After graduating from Devon South Technical College, he was appointed to the post of a Community Development Officer in Nandi district. Toweett became the first African Community Development officer to be employed in Kenya by the Europeans. He carried out his duty as the CDO with diligence and total commitment and he got a promoted. He demonstrated that he was a person with commendable leadership skills. His workmates and Europeans noted that he was hardworking person. He was consulted on various issues in

his capacity. Toweett was always willing to solve and provide amicable solutions to problems facing his workmates and the community.

After he plunged into political seat in 1958, he was appointed as an Assistant minister for Agriculture in 1960, he brought many changes in the ministry in various sectors; he brought improvement in Kenya Farmers Association KFA. He was reshuffled to the ministry for labour and housing in 1961. In the same year, he was elected back to Legco, he introduced the issuance of loans to help workers to boost their businesses. In 1962, he was moved to the ministry of lands, survey and town planning where he initiated the program of land buying companies, which finally helped many Africans to acquire legal lands and access to title deeds.

The study noted that Toweett served as longest minister for education from 1969 to 1979. During his tenure in the ministry, he brought changes in the section of education that will forever be remembered. Some of his remarkable undertakings in ministry is that he wanted to better education in semi-arid areas of Kenya. He allocated money for construction of boarding schools in northern part of the country in Bura, Kacheliba and Sololo areas situated in Garisa, West Pokot and Marsabit. This program of Toweett helped in enrolment of primary school children in semi-arid area. The study revealed that he made radical changes in 1970, which led to the rise on the number of students enrolling for secondary education in Kenya in early years of 1970s. Many secondary schools mushroomed and increased TSC teachers. As a way of motivating students, Toweett introduced the president award scheme to award the best students in the secondary schools all over the country. This exercise was done yearly in state house.

Technical institution developments in the country were some of his record of accomplishment as a minister for education. Several technical institutions were commissioned and others upgraded in various parts of the country like Kitale, Kisumu, Rift Valley, Mombasa, Nairobi and many parts in central province. Additionally, as a minister for education he was elected the president of the nineteenth general Assembly of UNESCO from 1976 to 1978. This was the highest position Kenya held in UNESCO since its formation. He chaired the UNESCO in conference where important issues were discussed and passed and a number of them were very helpful to the country especially the education sector. He was seen as an advocate of low-income earners when he was appointed minister for housing and social service for a

period of six months. He alluded that barbarism against tenants would not go unpunished; he was against unscrupulous landlords who went about removing doors, roofs, windows and disconnecting power and water supplies for the tenants in the country. In the year 2000 saw Toweett retiring after serving in various government dockets for a period of forty-two years from colonial to post-colonial period. He never contested for any position when he was nominated to the Parliament in 1992 to 1997. After he retired from active politics, he was appointed as Director of Kenya Times Newspaper he also published and edited his own newspaper called the Voice of Rift Valley. In 2002, he started writing a weekly column in Kenya Times called *Face to Face with Guru*. Toweett as one of the veteran politicians, academician, activist and as all-season nationalist ,as established in the study he was actively involved in the constitutional Review process of 2003-2004 at the Bomas. He died in 2007 in a car accident.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, therefore, the study set out to construct a political biography of Taaita Toweett. The methodology applied involved the use of both secondary and primary sources. Primary information from the Kenya National Archives and the Kenyan Parliament were gathered and used in the construction of the biography. Field interviews were conducted in Kericho and Nairobi counties. Secondary information was gathered through review of books, journals articles and Magazines. All the information from both the primary and secondary sources was pieced together to construct a biography of Taaita Toweett. The study employed the great man theory which greatly informed the study, the aspect of intelligence, wisdom and power was used to analyse how he maneuver in politics. In his endeavors as a politician, both in Bureti constituency and at the national level, Toweett exhibited the qualities of a great man. Since his childhood, the background moulded and impacted his future leadership greatly. His leadership style was a replica of that of great men. The study established that he played a big role in the struggle for independence of the country from 1958. He was a leader who was ready and willing to work for what he believed was right. Being a great man that he was, Toweett became the last man standing in 1964 when all his colleagues in KADU joined KANU. According to him, he believed that his integrity was so expensive to be manipulated. The study yielded various findings. It established a very close correlation between his early life and his career as Member of Parliament and Minister. The study particularly established that various occurrences and experiences in Toweett's early life left lifelong mark in his mind that went a long way in shaping his future life. His parents played a key role in molding him to become whom he turned to be. The study showed that despite immediately after independence the country was down economically, he emerged with track record in the ministries he was appointed to. A biography of Toweett is an important contribution to the history of modern Kenya. It illuminates on the life of a great leader who fought hard for the independence of this country but was yet to be recognized by scholars. This work conclusively achieved its objectives.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this research are anticipated that it will be relevant and it will make a good impact to the analysis of prominent and great leaders in our country and even beyond. As the case of Toweett, indeed child early life can impact and mould his or her future, this study will help student of history and encourage students from humble background to have hope and work hard despite the situation it may. Additionally it teaches us the roles played by our leaders in historical times, it's evident from the study that Toweett was colonial fighter and he struggled for independence of our country from 1957. He fought for independence of the country through constitutional means; he was involved in many deliberations, which earn the nations the self-rule. Therefore, research proposes that exemplary leadership of Toweett and the ways he propelled his leadership should be emulated because it brought remarkable changes and impacted this nation greatly.

Basically a duty of a leader is to restructure the society with an aim of empowering the subjects, leaders should copy Toweett's style of leadership, whereby the subjects are made to be part of the decision making in any undertakings in their leadership, for good generation of ideas on how to develop the society, Bureti developed in all aspect due to people involvement in running of leadership. This study will help the leaders to emulate the leadership style of Toweett on how to make and put in place good strategies and policies on how to deal with their political activities. This is evident on how Toweett was conducting the ministerial activities as well as Member of Parliament in the colonial and postcolonial government.

The research therefore, recommends further research regarding the books he wrote about the Kipsigis community.

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S/No	Name	Age	Occupation/Details	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Length of Stay in Bureti
1	Kimulwo, Christopher	56	Farmer	Litein	25/04/2021	56yrs
2	Tapsabei, Taplule	66	Farmer	Getarwet	18/04/2021	66yrs
3	Chepkoech, Racheal	75	Farmer	Roret	19/04/2021	75yrs
4	Chebochok arap Ngasura.	71	Farmer	Londian	20/04/2021	71yrs
5	Tapnyolei, Temugo Ruth.	73	Farmer	Belgut	20/04/2021	73yrs
6	Johnstone arap Koech.	79	Retired Teacher	Mogogosiek	20/04/2021	79yrs
7	Chebochok, Christopher.	72	Farmer	Chekoror	24/04/2021	72yrs
8	Koech, Joseph.	64	Retired Teacher	Kipkelion	22/04/2021	64yrs
9	Talam, Jane	66	Farmer	Bureti	21/04/2021	66yrs
10	Tapotug, Samweal	73	Farmer	Chepkeikei	2/04/2021	73yrs
11	Chelilim, Christopher.	71	Retired Police	Komosiek	21/04/2021	71yrs
12	Turgut, Simon.	69	Farmer	Chelilis		69yrs
13	Ngochoch, Jonathan	66	Retired public servant officer	Kabartegan	23/04/2021	66yrs
14	Ngerechi, Arap Chelugui.	59	Farmer	Litein	23/04/2021	59yrs
15	Tekutwo, Joseph.	69	Politician	Tebesonik	23/04/2021	69yrs
16	Barchok, Daniel.	74	Politician	Segutio	21/04/2021	74yrs
17	Maruu, Stephen.	81	Retiired Chief	Cheplanget	21/04/2021	81yrs

18	Kapkoros, Daniel.	66	Farmer	Korongoi.	27/04/2021	66yrs
19	Tembur, Frankline	65	Politician	Chepitet.	07/05/2021	65yrs
20	Koech,John	72	Farmer	Kerongo.	13/05/2021	72yrs
21	Korir, Jonathan	64	Former Councillor	Mosonik	15/05/2021	64yrs
22	Turgut,Robert	70	Farmer	Rotinuek	02/05/2021	70yrs
23	Kitur, Raphael.	68	Farmer	Kapletyo	22/04/2021	69yrs
24	Bett, Frankline	71	Farmer	Litein	12/05/2021	71yrs
25	Koech, Geoffrey	69	Farmer	Kitala		69yrs
26	Tuitoek, Richard	63	Retired Teacher	Chepnyalilo	03/05/2021	63yrs
27	Yator,William	69	Retired Administrator	Barshele	05/05/2021	69yrs
28	Kirui, Edwin	64	Farmer	Litein	9/05/2021	64yrs
29	Chepkoit, Arap Topotui	70	Retired Chief	Kimarkis	11/05/2021	70yrs
30	Ketienya, Victor	56	Teacher	Jamjii	07/05/2021	56yrs
31	Birir, Stanley	59	Farmer	Londian	07/05/2021	59yrs
32	Toromo, Geoffrey	66	Retired Teacher	Tebesonik	12/05/2021	66yrs
33	Tuimising,Moses	63	Teacher	Litein	22/04/2021	63yrs
34	Maritim, Alexander	64	Farmer	Chepchapas	03/05/2021	64yrs
35	Kenduiywo, Frankline	70	Former Public Service Servant	Nokirwet	24/04/2021	70yrs
36	Terer ,Samweal	75	Farmer	Litein	09/05/2021	75yrs
37	Mutai,Wilson	66	Farmer	Tebesonik	02/05/2021	66yrs
38	Cheriro, Alice	70	Farmer	Cheptangul ei	07/05/2021	70yrs
39	Chepkwony, Harrison	59	Police	Roret	14/05/2021	59yrs
40	Arap Ronget, David	61	Former Agricultural officer	Kapkatet	21/05/2021	61 yrs

41	Langat, Kositany	80	Farmer	Ngoino Road	12/05/2021	80yrs
42	Ngetich ,Chepkoech Ruth	82	Former Administrator	Chemosit	21/05/2021	82yrs
43	Cheruiyot,Christopher	91	Farmer	Cheptagum	21/05/2021	91yrs
44	Korir,Poul	65	Tailor	Litein	21/05/2021	65yrs
45	Komelyon ,Frankline	65	Businessman	Roret		65yrs
46	Ngeno,Joseph	63	Farmer	Ngoino Road	25/04/2021	65yrs
47	Sang, Poul	53	Teacher	Litein	22/04/2021	53yrs
48	Chelaite, Alice	66	Farmer	Ndaraweta	03/05/2021	66yrs
49	Chebelion, Stanley	69	Businessman	Belgut	17/04/2021	69yrs
50	Maliet,Richard	75	Retired Teacher	Roret	25/04/2021	75yrs
51	Tarus,Isaac	61	Lecturer Egerton	Ngata	21/04/2021	0yrs
52	Kirwa,David	78	Farmer	Litein	22/04/2021	78yrs
53	Ruto,Joseph	63	Politician	Getarwet	18/04/2021	68yrs
54	Mutai,Stanly	58	Activist in Litein	Roret	22/04/2021	58yrs
55	Chepkemoi,Winny	51yrs	Teacher	Chemitan	23/04/2021	51yrs
56	Kirwa,Jonathan	59yrs	Teacher	Litein	22/04/2021	59yrs
57	Koech,Weldon	45yrs	Teacher	Litein	02/05/2021	45yrs
58	Metet,Johnstone	71yrs	Farmer	Cheptagum	21/04/2021	71yrs
59	Taplule,Agness	81yrs	Retired Chief	Cheborgei	28/04/2021	81yrs
60	Kimulwa,Sinei	62yrs	Farmer	Kibugat	21/04/2021	62yrs
61	Ng'etich,Zakayo	67yrs	Farmer	Kuresoi	03/05/2021	
62	Chepkwony,Jennifer	71yrs	Retired Chief Chemitan location	Chemitan	26/04/2021	71yrs
63	Mibei,Andrew	61yrs	Retired Teacher	Cheplanget	24/04/2021	61yrs
64	Tembur,Ednah	57yrs	Politician	Cheplanget	24/04/2021	57yrs
65	Ng'etich,Johnstone	64yrs	Farmer	Cheborgei	25/04/2021	64yrs
66	Barng'etuny,Joshua	77yrs	Farmer	Cheborgei	26/04/2021	77yrs

67	Tapletkoi,Margret	84yrs	Farmer	Litein	07/04/2021	84yrs
68	Arusei,Jane	54yrs	Teacher	Kusumek	07/04/2021	54yrs
69	Barchok,Daniel	78yrs	Retired Police	Cheplanget	21/04/2021	78yrs

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. Elaborate about Taaita Toweett family background, his childhood and his larger family
2. Do you have idea of Toweett academic journey?
3. Do you know some of his schoolmates in various institutions?
4. How did he manage to join mission schools?
5. How did he join politics?
6. What made Toweett join elective position?
7. How did Toweett fight for independence?
8. What was the contribution of Toweett towards the struggle for independence?
9. Analyse the role and position played by Toweett in KANU?
10. How was the relationship between Toweett and his fellow leaders in Bureti Constituency and beyond?
11. What changes did Taaita make in social and economic development in Bureti Constituency?
12. What made Toweett to be appointed to ministry for education?
13. How was Toweett's social life?
14. What are some of the economic activities Toweett engaged in?
15. Are there some legacies of Toweett in the development of Bureti and Kericho area?
16. What are your remarks on the legacies of Toweett?
17. What made Toweett famous in national politics?
18. What was the role of Toweett in KANU nationally?
19. How was the relationship between Toweett and the first president of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta?
20. How did Toweett attempt to block President Daniel Arap Moi from ascending to power in 1976?
21. How did Toweett perform in various Ministries he served in?
22. How was his political stand in Government of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta?
23. How was Toweett's political last days in the government of Daniel Arap Moi?
24. How was your interaction with Taaita in political activities?
24. What can you comment on the Toweett's legacies?

25. How was the character of Toweett and how his personality influenced his leadership?
26. Analyse the development track record in Bureti and beyond which was done courtesy of Toweett.

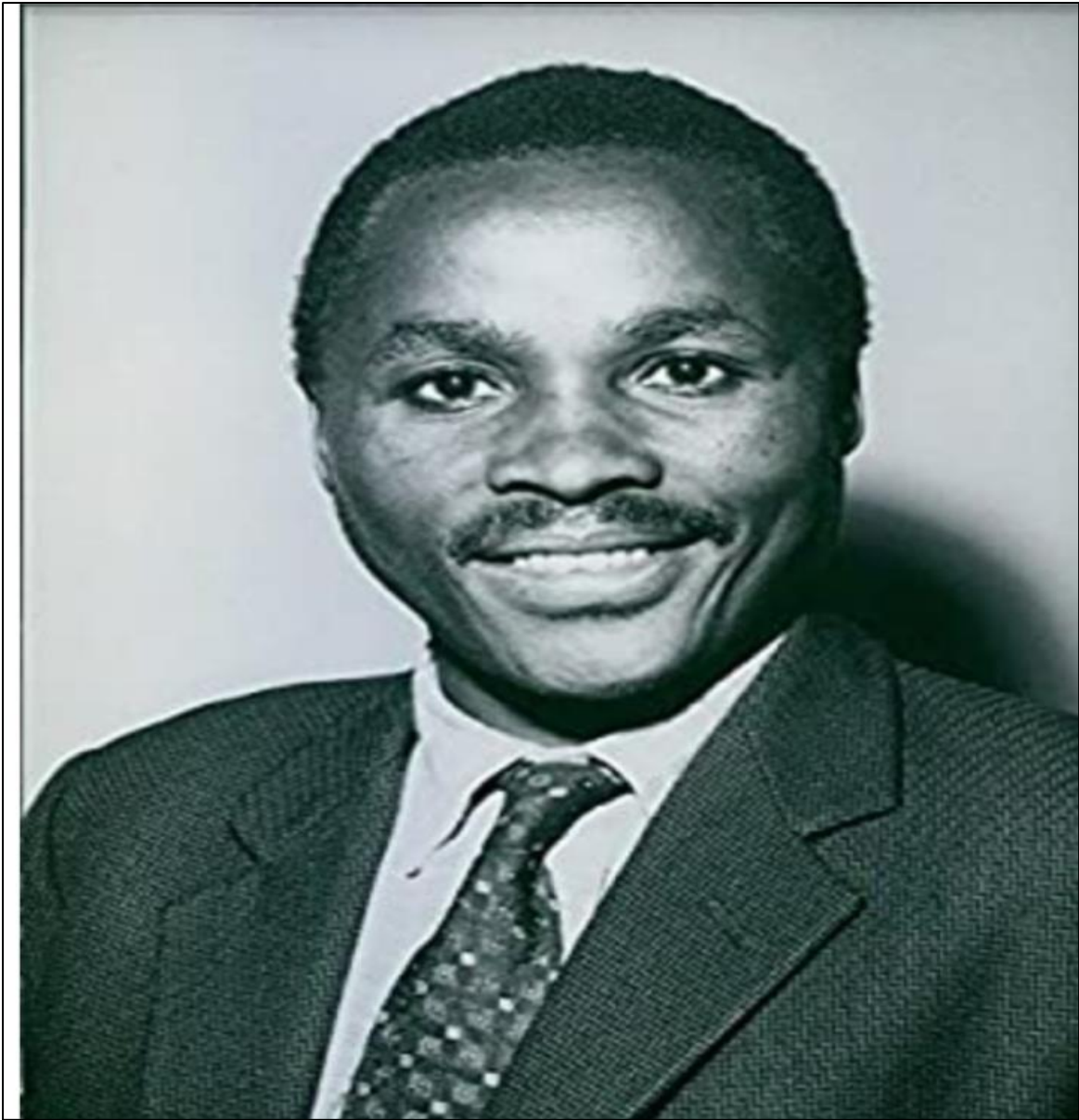


Figure 1: Portrait of Dr. Taitta Toweett.

Photo taken in 1962.

Source; National Assembly.



Figure 2: The picture of first wife of Taaita Arap Toweett taken in 1972 at Molo Highlands Hotel.

Source; Kenya National Archives



Figure 3: Toweett and other delegates in Lancaster House Conference 1962.

Source; Kenya National Archives



Figure 4: Toweett in his office as the assistant minister for Agriculture in the 1959



Figure 5: Toweett as a minister for education during the opening of Languages Association Conference in Nairobi, 1973.

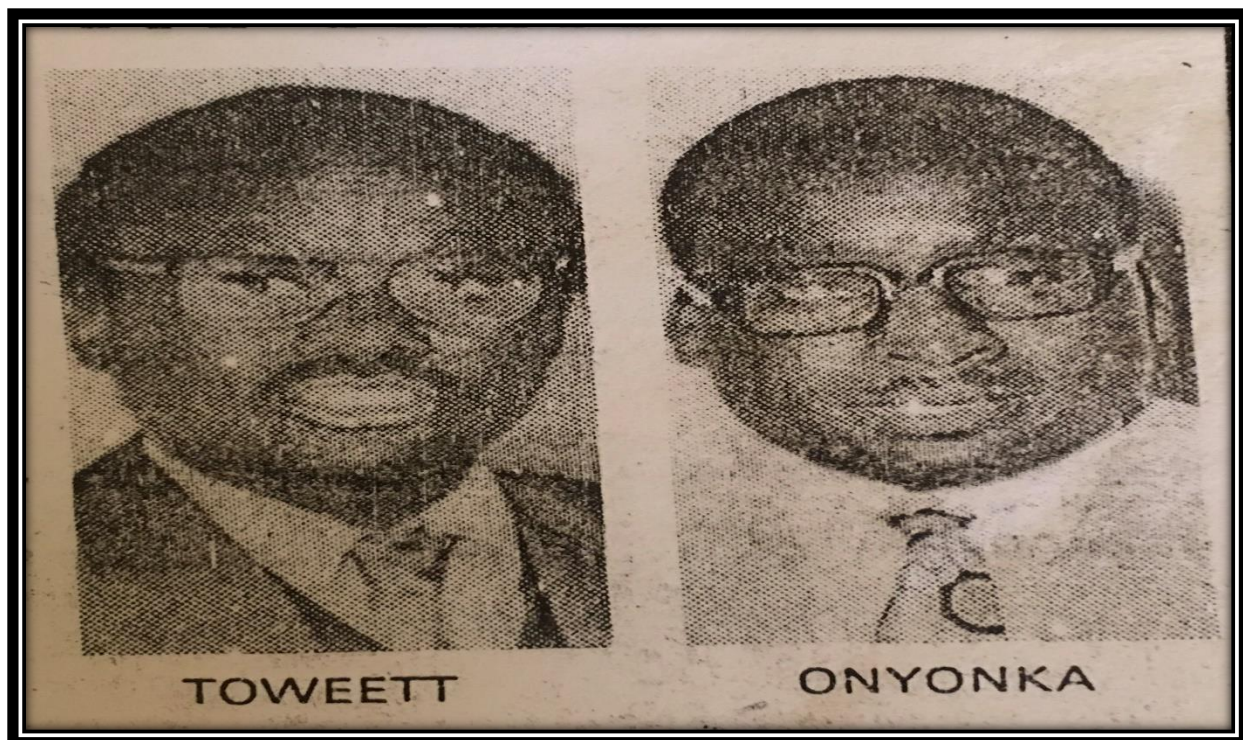


Figure 6: Photo of Toweett and Onyonka in 1976 when their ministries were reshuffled.

Source: Author's collection from the Kenya National Archives

Appendix II: Research Permit



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Appendix II: Journal Publication

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Original Article

The Forgotten Heroes of Independence: A Case of Dr. Taaita Toweett.

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Date Published: ABSTRACT

17 February 2022 This paper studies on the struggle and undertakings of Dr Taaita Toweett towards the achievement of independence of Kenya from 1958 to 1964. The paper starts by ventilating on the background of Toweett from childhood to the time he plunged to politics in 1958. The paper focuses on two objectives, namely, the emergency of Taaita Toweett in to active politics and his contribution and legacies of Toweett towards achievement of independence. The paper uses the great man theory postulated by great historian Thomas Carlyle. The theory describes the influence of the leaders like Napoleon and Shakespeare in ancient societies thus applicable in the analysis of Toweett activities in the straddle for independence in Kenya. Qualitative methodology and historical technique were used in data collection while historian research design and purposive sampling were the main techniques used to identify the oral informants. Archival information was also a source of written data collected. The main themes which guided this research paper are the emergence of Toweett into active politics in 1957, the first Lancaster House conference of 1960, the formation of National political parties and the second Lancaster House conference of 1962.

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