

**“A ‘KING’ WITHOUT A KINGDOM”: A BIOGRAPHY OF JACKSON
HARVESTER ANGAINE, 1903-1999**

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DECLARATION

I declare this research is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

Signature Date

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

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Veronica Kanyua and Philip Mungania who enabled me to realise the fruits of education and to my wife Lilian Gacheri and son Morgan Mwenda for being patient with me as I pursued this course.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIPCA	African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa
ANC	African National Congress
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association
IQ	Intelligence quotient
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
KPU	Kenya Peoples Union
KSC	Kenya Social Congress
LEGCO	Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
NCCK	National Council of Christian Churches
SDP	Social Democratic Party
USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

This project paper has examined the life and times of Jackson Harvester Angaine who was born in 1903 and died in 1999. Although the work primarily examined his public life, it highlights his early life and education. The objectives of this study were to examine the early life and education of Jackson Angaine, assess the role of Angaine in Meru and National leadership and to demonstrate his legacy. The trait theory was used in the study. This theory was useful in demonstrating the traits that Angaine possessed which made him a great leader. The study used secondary and primary data which entailed carrying out oral interviews and research in libraries. This work has discussed Angaine's entry into politics before independence and his lengthy stay in elective politics in post- independent Kenya. The study has also highlighted why he lost in the 1979 elections, returned to parliament in the 1983 snap elections and the circumstances that led to his exit from politics altogether in 1992 first multiparty elections. This study has also documented Angaine's activities in GEMA where he represented the Meru community, one of the three tribes that constituted GEMA. Also examined is the "Change the Constitution" campaign in the 1970s. His role in this abortive scheme and the consequences is discussed. Examined as well is Angaine's activity in Meru KANU politics where he was Chairman and dominated for decades.

The finding of this research is that, Angaine's dominance in Meru politics undermined the democratic space in the region. He monopolized power in KANU in Meru district and ensured his hegemony in Meru politics. Angaine worked and ensured the downfall of his political opponents. Emerging and upcoming leaders had no space to develop their potential. He ensured that James Njeru, the MP for Tharaka and Assistant Minister for

Defence, was relegated to the peripheries of party leadership. He repeatedly fought and defeated his bitter rival Nteere Mbogori, except in the 1979 elections, and worked for the downfall of Kabeere M'Mbijiwe who was subsequently sacked as Minister in 1985. Angaine was then appointed Minister of State in the office of the President in charge of Internal Security.

In addition, this work found out that the bitter conflict between Angaine and the Church, specifically the Methodist Church, led to underdevelopment and instability in the Meru region. The political leadership and the Church could not speak in one voice in development matters.

As Minister for Lands, the research found out that Angaine presided over a smooth settlement and registration of land after independence. However his land dealings in the Rift Valley and the allotment of 'Z plots' was not satisfactory to the communities living there and could have sown the seeds of conflict. The Rift Valley leaders argued that some communities from outside the Rift Valley were irregularly allotted land while the indigenous were ignored. This has contributed to the emotive land issues in the Rift Valley.

Finally the study found out that Angaine propelled the Meru community into national limelight and recognition.

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DEFINATIONS OF TERMS

Bangwana atiraciarwa kethira naciari atirokia mutwe means a great leader has not been born and if he is, then he is a novice.

Kabuuru

One of the Ameru age groups.

Kiruuja

One of the Ameru age groups.

Mambere

A term used to refer to the first girls' school started by Christian missionaries to mean pioneers.

Marwirwi

A derogatory term used by first Christian Converts to refer to converts who mixed Christian values and traditional practices.

Mjini

An informal settlement in Meru town inhabited by people of Nubian origin.

Mlolongo

A queue in reference to the 1988 general elections where voters were required to line up behind the preferred candidate.

Mugumo

An indigenous huge tree that is held sacred in some communities.

Muthoniwa

A term meaning in- law.

Ndetithia biondo na ruuji

Used to swear and means “over my dead body”.

Njau ya Mwari

A term used fondly to refer to one's nephew.

Njuri Ncheke

The traditional Meru legislative and superior court and custodian of the Meru culture.

Ntagu

A word used to mean namesake /refers to a person one is named after according to Ameru way of giving names.

Nyumba ya Mumbi

A term used to refer to the fraternity of the Agikuyu people based on their ancestry from the mythical parents of Gikuyu and Mumbi



Source: Angaine's Personal Photo Album; taken in 1983.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

For about four decades, 1963-1999, Jackson Harvester Angaine dominated Meru politics. This dominance was to the extent that he became a national figure in the active part of his life in the leadership of the country. How did he achieve that status? This is the focus of this study. A charismatic, fascinating and a freedom fighter in his own right, Angaine was a Mau Mau veteran and in fact probably because of that, the founding President of modern Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta appointed him Cabinet Minister for Lands and Settlement, a responsibility he discharged with distinction upto 1979 when he lost his parliamentary seat of Meru North West to Nteere Mbogori. In that capacity, Angaine's name was a household name in the whole of Kenya as he was variously referred to as "the King of Meru" and "the grand old man" of Meru politics. Angaine was chosen for study because he was one Meru leader who effectively organized and rallied the Meru community as a whole and placed it in the national political limelight. He remained the spokesman and link of the community and the national Government. A Former MP for Imenti North constituency David Mwiraria said of Angaine;

Angaine put the Meru people on the Kenyan Map. As Minister for Lands and Settlement, he reclaimed alienated Meru land, thanks to the Government collaboration with the World Bank in buying out the land. The land mostly in Timau was allotted to people from all areas in Meru. He would be remembered by the Meru people for his efforts.¹

¹ Hilary Ngw'eno and Nation Media Group, *Makers of a Nation, Jackson Angaine, the Men and Women in Kenya's History*, Nairobi, Kenya History and Biographies Co. Ltd, undated.

As such the history of Kenya is not complete without a detailed biography of the man. This is the objective of this study. This study will also look at his early life and education, his role in the Mau Mau and the struggle for independence. Angaine's life as Meru KANU chairman, Member of Parliament and as Cabinet Minister will also be featured in this study. The study will also look at his later years, death and finally his legacy.

1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

By the start of the 20th century, Kenya was effectively under the British colonial rule. The colonial government systematically set out to establish and transform the socio-economic and political landscape to suit their interests as they sought to entrench their power. Politically, the colonial administration introduced the Westminster style of governance with the top echelons of power dominated by purely British officials, a small clique of African loyalist chiefs and junior civil servants. It is against this background and within this period that Jackson Harvester Angaine was born and grew up. Jackson's father, M'Ithiira M'Angaine was such a loyalist who was appointed chief by virtue of his descent from a family of leaders. Jackson Angaine's father forebears were seers and were closely associated with the history of the Ameru.² Although African colonial chiefs were seen as colonial sympathisers and generally loathed as supporters of the aggressors, they nevertheless enjoyed certain personal benefits. Those benefits included access to educational opportunities for their children and employment in the colonial civil service. That is how Jackson Angaine found his way to elementary schooling at Kaaga which was run by Methodist Christian missionaries. Colonial chiefs

² Jeffry A. Fadiman, *Meru's Golden Age, An Oral History of the Ameru*, London: University of California, 2012, pp.94-101.

were required to cooperate with the colonisers whose purpose was to generate lower cadre officers to work in the civil service by virtue of having received education.

From the onset of colonial rule, African education was administered and run by white Christian missionaries who had preceded the colonialists. To offer graduates of elementary school further training, it was necessary to establish institutions of higher learning. Thus in 1924, an alliance of protestant churches, namely the Church of Scotland Mission, the Church of the Province of Kenya, the African Inland Church and the Methodist Church founded the Alliance High School in 1924 at Kikuyu.³ The school enrolled only boys. It was here that Jackson Harvester Angaine was enrolled in 1934. It was not until much later in the 1930s that the colonial government started participating in African education by giving grants. Alliance High School enrolled protestant learners mostly children from mission schools. To act as role models, chiefs were encouraged to take their children to school. For higher learning, the mission schools would submit successful candidates to the education department, who would then be given financial grants. Jackson's education did not end at Alliance. After acquiring London matriculation from the University of Natal through a correspondence course, he proceeded to Achimota College in the then Gold Coast where he studied education.

The colonial system placed Africans in the lower cadre of civil service to help in the administration of the colony. After Achimota, Jackson was deployed as a teacher at the Coast and worked in various capacities and stations in the colonial civil service. Between 1945-1948, Angaine became secretary of African District Council, where his father was councilor by virtue of being chief.

³ Stephen Smith, *The History of the Alliance High School*, Nairobi: Heinemann, 1973, p 23

Initiation was compulsory for every male child in the Meru community. Angaine, who belonged to the Murungi or Kabuuru age-set was circumcised in 1925 at the age of 22 years. This rite of initiation was very important because it not only ushered one into adulthood but also conferred one with rights and privileges, including the right to marry. Angaine however did not get married immediately as it used to happen to many. This is because he had to pursue his education first. Circumcision, which inculcated courage and resilience on the initiates, must have prepared him for the tough political times ahead.

It was not until 1937 that Jackson Angaine married his first wife, Rosemary Gacheri, according to Meru customary laws.⁴ As he advanced in the colonial civil service, later joining politics, he married several other wives. The last wife Jeniffer, whom he married in 1967, was very instrumental in his political career especially as he became old and the dynamics of politics became tumultuous. Jeniffer would represent Jackson in political meetings and events and sort out the grievances of the electorate.

Jackson's debut into politics began with his activities in Mau Mau. Although his father was a colonial loyalist, the fear of reprisals from those opposed to colonial rule, necessitated Angaine to partake the Mau Mau oath of allegiance. Owing to his activities in the proscribed freedom movement and the rolling out of the 'operation jock stock' that was meant to exterminate the insurgency, Jackson was arrested in 1952 and incarcerated at Manyani, Kajiado, Hola and Manda Island detention camps. His activities with Mau Mau brought him into contact with Jomo Kenyatta in 1953 in Meru as Kenyatta traversed the country, and they later they became close personal friends and associates.

⁴ Oral interview, Peter Karani, Mwirine, Meru, 16th May 2015.

Prior to independence in 1963, Jackson's activities in the Mau Mau made him popular with the Meru community and this helped him assume leadership positions in the emerging political associations. He initially joined the Kikuyu Central Association and later Kenya African Union where he served as secretary and Meru KAU chairman between 1948-1952. In 1961 he was nominated to represent Central a region comprising Meru and Embu in the LEGCO, a position that enabled him to become a delegate to the first Lancaster House Conference. He subsequently became KANU's candidate in the first election of 1961.

In 1963, President Jomo Kenyatta appointed Jackson Angaine as Minister of Lands and Settlement, Survey and Town planning in the first Cabinet of independent Kenya.⁵ Angaine's earlier association with Jomo Kenyatta may explain why he was appointed to this important position. This marked the genesis of a sterling political career spanning about four decades. In Meru, he dominated the political landscape, as the MP for Meru North west and KANU district chairman until the advent of multipartism. Only a brief stint from 1979-1983 saw him out of elective politics as he lost the parliamentary seat to his perennial adversary Nteere Mbogori.

Angaine's political career was as dramatic as it was fascinating. As minister for Lands and Settlement, he oversaw the resettlement of landless Kenyans especially in the Rift Valley albeit with intense criticism. In his home district, he faced frequent rivalry for leadership, first from James Njeru, then MP for Tharaka and later on with Kabeere M' Mbiijiwe who became Minister as Angaine remained in the backbench after the 1983

⁵ Mohamed Amin & Moll Peter, *One Man One vote*, Nairobi: East Africa Education Publishers, 1975

snap elections. Angaine returned to the Cabinet again after Kabeere was sacked and he was appointed Minister of State in the office of the President

The first multiparty elections of 1992 swept Angaine out of politics. The ruling party, KANU, was loosing ground especially in the Mt Kenya region which saw KANU politicians being sidelined and defeated. Angaine lost not only the KANU nominations but also did not manage to find himself in the ballot box. As his political career nosedived, he eventually lost the KANU chairmanship to Mathew Adams Karauri in 1993.⁶

His philosophy of life is perhaps captured by a plaque that he hung on the wall of his house in Timau that read: “struggling is the real meaning of life. Success and defeat are in the hands of God. One should enjoy in struggling”. Jackson Angaine succumbed to heart failure in 1999.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Angaine’s political life traversed both colonial and post-colonial periods. While most of his contemporaries like Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga, Ronald Ngala, and Tom Mboya have been well covered by general writings and academic discourses little has been done about Angaine. In particular, little is known about his early life that might have influenced or shaped his future political career. The literature available has neither documented Angaine’s personal life in detail nor his dealings outside his political sphere. Angaine’s dealings in Meru politics is also not documented comprehensively. It would be interesting for instance to examine why he dominated politics in Meru for so long. In his

⁶ Nation Reporter, “Angaine Ejected from KANU”, *The Daily Nation*, 26th November, 1992, p 1.

home district of Meru and beyond, he was referred as “king”, a title that was misunderstood and interpreted variously. It is the purpose of this study to reconstruct the history of one of Kenya’s key politicians and Government Minister.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- i. To analyse the early life and education of Jackson Harvester Angaine.
- ii. To examine the role of Angaine in Meru politics.
- iii. To examine the role of Angaine in National politics.
- iv. To assess Angaine’s legacy.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

As the chairman of the Kenya African National Union in Meru district (comprising the current Meru and Tharaka-Nithi counties) between 1963-1993, Angaine was one of the longest serving leaders in KANU. As such, he became very influential and dominated politics in Meru region earning himself the title ‘king’⁷. Scrutiny of the literature available only identifies Angaine as a powerful and long serving Minister for Lands and Settlement and Meru KANU Chairman, without detailing the man’s background that might have moulded him for future leadership. He is also mentioned in passing as the ‘grand old man’ of Meru politics. This omission need to be addressed by an indepth study of the man. This work will examine not only his early life and education but also his political career in Meru and national politics. The study is meant to document and unearth why the man rose to prominence beyond his home constituency to national limelight.

⁷ *Weekly Review*, “Angaine Rules Meru, But...”, 10th January, 1977. p 7

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study is the life of Jackson Harvester Angaine from 1903 to 1999. The period chosen is from his birth until his time of death. His early childhood is significant in that it examines whether his upbringing influenced or shaped his future career. Although Angaine bowed out of politics in 1993, he continued to command political influence until he died in 1999.

One major challenge was that conducting interviews consumed a lot of time. Sometimes some informants had little time to spare or got busy on the agreed time and this meant booking another appointment. Cancellation and rescheduling of appointments required a lot of flexibility on my part. As I was based in Nairobi, and most of my informants were based in Meru, it required a lot of travelling and the attendant costs. Additionally, some informants were unwilling to reveal some information citing cultural norms and confidentiality of the subject of the study, in particular on personal and family affairs. While others were simply suspicious of my intentions and this required approval from the family in order for them to give an interview. I overcame this challenge by reassuring them of my intentions and getting approval letter of authority from Angaine's family. Mr. Mutuma Angaine was very instrumental in assisting me in this regard. My greatest limitation was financial constraints especially because some informants were based in Nairobi and others in Meru. I overcame this challenge by first dealing with the oral sources and data in Nairobi and then moved to Meru. Nevertheless I overcame the challenges without compromising the research.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

Substantial literature has been written about Kenyan history both in colonial and postcolonial period. In these writings, the personal contributions of many Kenyan leaders have been documented in detail. In contrast little has been documented about Angaine.

Keller describes the early life of Nelson Mandela, a son of a Thembu chief. His father stubbornly defied the white authorities and refused an order to appear before the colonial magistrate and this led to the loss of his job, land and cattle and sent young Mandela to Qunu where relatives could help support him. Keller traced some aspect of his character back to his royal upbringing, his rather formal bearing, his respect for tradition, his judicial temperament and his regal self –confidence.⁸The Xhosa rite of passage that Mandela underwent at sixteen might have prepared him for the tough political times ahead. Later Mandela found work in the gold mines in the lowly position of a night watchman, patrolling the segregated mines with a whistle and a night stick. He describes his law studies and later how he partnered with Oliver Tambo in the practice of law. The year 1943 saw his entry in politics. Mandela abhorred apartheid and put all his energies to dismantle it. As the government cracked down on opponents of apartheid, Mandela and ANC urged change of tactics from peaceful disobedience to armed insurrection. This led to his arrest and subsequently charged with treason in December 1953. While describing the atrocities of apartheid, the book takes a look at the gallant efforts of Nelson Mandela as a lawyer, freedom fighter and nationalist. Mandela's contribution is best captured by one of his famous quotes said in court during trial;

⁸Keller Bill, Treeshaker, *The Story of Nelson Mandela*, London: Kingfisher Publications, 2008.

I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities...it is an ideal which I hope to live for and see realised but if need be, my lord, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.⁹

The book also details Mandela's walk to freedom in 1990, the subsequent orderly and democratic election, and his election to presidency as the first black president. He stunned the world for openly accommodating the whites, the foundation of the rainbow nation. The book also narrates his unprecedented handing of power, after only a one term in office, to Thabo Mbeki. Mandela's personal traits were instrumental to his unchequered career. The personal traits which includes determination, charisma and self-confidence not only endeared him to the people he led, but also enabled him to make inroads in the belligerent apartheid system. This book is important because it brings powerful traits of successful leaders.

Writing about Tom Mboya, Gimode says that a biography can enable us to have a comprehensive view of a whole era of society. It does not just bring out the 'life and times' of an individual, but examines a wide spectrum of the society in which the said individual lived and had his being. It is a kind of mirror through which an age can be viewed. Gimode describes Mboya's early life and education as poverty ridden. Then he describes his initiation into public life as an employee and then as a trade unionist. He further describes Mboya's contribution in nationalism as a labour movement leader. As such, he was loved and respected by workers and leaders alike, though disparaged and

⁹ Keller Bill, Treeshaker, *The Story of Nelson Mandela*, London: Kingfisher Publications, 2008, p 44.

fought by others.¹⁰ In post-independence era, his popularity with the masses, coupled with his hard work and efficiency in handling Cabinet portfolios turned out to be a danger rather than a blessing. Eventually, this culminated to his assassination on the 5th of July 1969 as he fell victim of ethnic chauvinism and greed for power. Gimode's biography brings out the traits that made Tom Mboya one of the greatest political leaders of his time. He is said to have possessed outstanding organisational skills, hard work and charisma. Although Gimonde, while writing about Mboya does not say anything about Angaine who was Mboya's contemporary, he brings out traits that are important for the study of Angaine. Like Tom Mboya, Angaine is reputed of having possessed traits that made him an effective leader.

Gona in his biography of Zarina Patel describes the early life of Zarina, a scion of the early generation of Indians to migrate to Kenya. He portrays Zarina as a critical woman from early times when her parents would entertain alcohol although they were Muslims. She also questioned her parents' reaction to her marriage to a Hindu man. Partly, this hypocrisy of her parents made her rebellious from an early age. Born in a privileged family, she received good education although this ironically radicalised her as she questioned some dogmatic religious practices, including her very own religion. Citing her controversial marriage, the author portrays Zarina as an independent woman who did things her way and detested control. At the NCCK, Zarina made it clear that , “unless the various communities in Kenya rose above their racial and parochial prejudices they would not only harm themselves but also lose the civil liberties they enjoyed under a

¹⁰Edwin Gimonde, *Makers of Kenya's History, Thomas Joseph Mboya, A Biography*, Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1966.

Republican constitution”, arguing, “racial barriers are artificial”. She also questioned corruption. Zarina detested bourgeoisie lifestyle as demonstrated by her disenchantment of the decision of her husband to purchase a Mercedes Benz car. A non-conformist and independent minded to boot, the incongruence with the husband led to their divorce.¹¹ This work exposes important traits that are key to the study of Angaine.

In his book, G.G. Kariuki traces the history of the Kenyan nation from colonial rule upto the introduction of pluralism. He asserts that the excitement and expectations generated by *uhuru* was soon watered down by the post independence regimes that became authoritarian and tended to perpetuate the interests of the former colonial masters. The new Kenya state soon started experiencing multiple challenges ranging from bitter power struggles, tribal animosities and even assassinations. G.G. Kariuki specifically identifies the land issue as the most problematic. As the resettlement schemes started in the Rift Valley, Kariuki sought to have the settlement schemes extended to Laikipia, his home turf. He says that to achieve this he sent a written appeal to the then minister for Lands Jackson Angaine who agreed to visit Laikipia. Kariuki conducted Angaine on a tour of Igwamuli, Marmanet, and Ol Arabel and was very impressed particularly after seeing a maize plantation at Muthengera area, an area believed to be unproductive. Angaine declared on the spot that the government would do everything possible to extend the settlement in Laikipia district. Kariuki mentions J.H. Angaine as one of the senior Cabinet ministers, whom he consulted in a bid to influence the British government to release money for use in buying land in Laikipia District for the land purchasing

¹¹George Gona, *Zarina Patel An Indomitable Spirit*, Nairobi: Mvule Africa publishers, 2014.

programme in 1966/67.¹² Kariuki asserts that he had worked with Angaine since the formation of KANU and describes Angaine, whom he worked under as an Assistant Minister for Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning, as nearly twice his age, and that, he “treated me like his own son and was not afraid to give me a lot of responsibility.” Kariuki says that as an assistant Minister working under Angaine, he benefitted greatly from his fatherly guidance and induction into ministerial responsibilities. Kariuki mentions the “Change the Constitution” group as comprising political heavy-weights like Jackson Angaine ,Minister of Lands, Paul Ngei ,Minister of Co-operative Development, Njoroge Mungai , Minister of Foreign Affairs, nominated MP Njenga Karume , Chairman of Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association, and Kihika Kimani, KANU’s branch Chairman for Nakuru District. The Change the Constitution group was a faction of politicians opposed to ascension of vice president Moi as next president. Kariuki’s book, however, does not tell us much about Angaine as its coverage traverses the entire political occurrences in Kenyatta and Moi eras save for their relationship in the ministry of Lands and Settlement. This lack of detail need to be addressed by further research.

David Goldsworthy’s biography of Tom Mboya, mentions Jackson Angaine as having been given a junior position in the 1963 cabinet appointments.¹³ Goldsworthy continues to assert that in the 1967 factional groupings of KANU ‘A’ and KANU ‘B’, Angaine belonged to neither, and places him in the third grouping together with Argwings-Kodhek, both seen as neutral in these political factions. Angaine’s duties as a Minister is neither analysed nor his role in KANU politics. Goldsworthy’s account of Angaine forms

¹²G.G. Kariuki, *Illusions of Power, Fifty years in Kenya Politics*, Nairobi: Kenway Publications, 2001.

¹³David Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya; The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget*, London: Heinemann, 1982.

a good background towards understanding the “king of Meru” and his political engagements. However the generalised manner in which Angaine is mentioned requires more indepth research.

In his book, Oginga Odinga explains the development of the nationalist struggle in Kenya. He argues that Uhuru is not yet achieved in Kenya because Kenya has not achieved structural transformation. That is, Kenya has not shed off mother-child cultural and economic relationship with the former master. But nowhere does he mention Angaine, his contemporary, colleague in the first Cabinet of independent Kenya and schoolmate at Alliance High School.¹⁴

Mohamed Amin’s book discusses Angaine’s early history and education and how he fared in the 1974 general elections. Describing him as a leading farmer in Meru District and a Minister for Lands and Settlement, Survey and Town planning, and an alumnus of the famous Alliance High School, Amin details how Angaine almost lost the 1974 elections. Nothing of his activities as KANU kingpin is highlighted and nothing as well is said about his earlier political career or his disgraceful fall-out from politics in 1979 or thereafter.¹⁵ However, this work provides just an overview and further detailed account is necessary through further research.

William Ochien’g in his book describes GEMA as a successful commercial venture, which meddled in KANU and national politics. He says from 1974 GEMA leaders,

¹⁴Oginga Odinga, *Not yet Uhuru*, London: Heinemann, 1967.

¹⁵Mohamed Amin & Moll Peter, *One Man One vote*, Nairobi: East Africa Education Publishers, 1975.

particularly Kihika Kimani, Jackson Harvester Angaine, Njoroge Mungai, James Gichuru, and Njenga Karume, were at the centre of the “Change the Constitution Group” of politicians who were opposed to Daniel Arap Moi succeeding Kenyatta in the event of Mzee’s death, because they wished to keep the government in “the House of Mumbi.”¹⁶ What eventually deterred the anti-Moi forces was the then Attorney- General Charles Njonjo warning, backed by the government, that it was “ a criminal offence for any person to compass, imagine, devise or intend the death or deposition of the president” for which the mandatory penalty was death. Ochien’g does not outline the role played by Angaine, who hailed from outside the “house of Mumbi” in the GEMA alliance or his role in the ploy to change the Constitution to bar Vice President Moi from taking over from Jomo Kenyatta. Although Ochien’gs book discusses Angaine's involvement in the succession issue, further research is required.

Hornsby in his book describes the history of the state of Kenya since independence. Starting with the clamour for independence, the book narrates the nature of the independence struggle, violent and constitutional means that culminated in the granting of independence in 1963. The book gives an account of Jomo Kenyatta’s government and the early Africanisation and Kenyanisation of the economy. Charles Hornsby mentions Alliance High School as the school that took the best African protestant secondary students from around the country, and educated most of the leadership that took Kenya to independence and beyond. Jackson Angaine is mentioned amongst chief Koinange’s son Mbiyu, Eliud Mathu, James Gichuru, Oginga Odinga, Charles Njonjo, Ronald Ngala,

¹⁶ William Ochieng, (ed) *Independent Kenya, 1963-1986, A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*, Nairobi: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1989.

Jeremiah Nyagah, Charles Rubia, Ngala Mwendwa, Paul Ngei, Danson Mwanyumba, Munyua Waiyaki and Julius Kiano as having been educated at Alliance High school. Jackson Angaine is also mentioned as one of the Agricultural Settlement Fund Trustees (the others were Finance Minister James Gichuru, and Bruce Mackenzie Minister of Agriculture), who were required to liaise with the British Government and control the fund into which all settlement money was paid. The Trustees were to oversee and manage land purchase and settlement. This was in reference to the 'Million Acre' scheme of 1962 for land purchase and settlement whose goal was to buy and subdivide nearly 1.5 million acres of European-owned mixed farmland, into 'high -density' subsistence farms¹⁷

Hornsby talks of the political elite that was to lead the country to independence as young and entirely male, well-educated by African standards, but without strong financial resources, and inexperienced in both government and parliamentary politics. At independence, Jomo Kenyatta who was in his sixties as well as Angaine and Koinange in their fifties were the oldest MPs in the first independent Government. Hornsby also cites Angaine and Kenyatta's allies and members of Kenya African Union. Angaine was promoted Minister in the first independence Cabinet. As minister for Lands, Angaine issued instructions in May 1964, the preservation of prime land called 'Z plots' to be acquired by the political elites for the purposes of political patronage. In addition, Hornsby describes Angaine as a conservative Meru politician, and like Njonjo and Koinange, the son of a chief who President Kenyatta trusted to manage settler selection and settlement.

¹⁷Charles Hornsby, *Kenya A History since Independence*, London: I.B.Taurus and Co.Ltd, 2012.

From the mid 1968 onwards, efforts were made to oust Tom Mboya's supporters, including Angaine (Meru KANU chairman), from their party posts by providing financial support and backing to their opponents. The October 1969 General Election, held in the aftermath of Mboya's murder in June 1969 and the banning of the KPU in September the same year, was a referendum on post-independence politics. Angaine is mentioned as one of the MPs who were unopposed in the parliamentary nominations.

On resettlement of Africans in the Rift Valley, Angaine who administered the resettlement Programme was criticized in 1973 by Rift Valley politicians thus, "is he only interested in the lands they are grabbing from Kalenjin people in the Rift Valley? The 'Kalenjin land' is already finished in the Rift Valley."¹⁸ In 1974, former Tinderet MP, Moses Arap Keino, who was the most vocal voice against the settlement of other communities in the Rift Valley after independence, demanded his sacking and referred to him as "a leader to hell and darkness."¹⁹ Hornsby also says that Angaine attended the 26th September, 1976, rally in Nakuru, where ministers in the Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association (GEMA) inner circle demanded a change to the Constitution to remove the provision for the vice president's automatic succession, and another political rally in Meru on the 10th of October 1976. The book says that the 1979 elections saw Kenyatta-era insiders Jackson Angaine and Koinange lose in an election described as the most open since 1963. After the introduction of multipartyism, KANU old guard was swept aside including Jackson Angaine. Hornsby's book is therefore insightful on Kenya's post-colonial history and details the social economic and political developments. The book

¹⁸ Charles Hornsby, *Kenya A History since Independence*, London: I.B.Taurus and Co.Ltd, 2012,p 251.

¹⁹ Ibid.

mentions Angaine as one of the actors in the nascent Kenya government. Nevertheless, the book does not fully discuss Angaine's early life and just mentions his duties as Minister for Lands and Settlement as its scope is basically post-colonial. There is need therefore to zero on Angaine in order to comprehensively cover him.

Khapoya in a journal article, details how Moi, after succeeding Jomo Kenyatta, promised to follow his footsteps. He says that although upon succession Moi had raised hopes of change by releasing political prisoners, he had followed Kenyatta's footsteps by banning former KPU members from running for parliament, prominent of whom were Oginga Odinga and Achieng Oneko.²⁰ Khapoya says that the 1979 succession controversy does not seem to have had any discernible effect on the election. Some politicians who had been opposed to Moi's succession were defeated such as, Kihika Kimani, Taita Towett, while others were returned to parliament like Paul Ngei, Minister of Cooperative Development, James Gichuru Minister for Finance, and Njoroge Mungai, former Minister of Defence in previous Kenyatta administration, who lost the 1974 election but ended up in parliament as a nominated MP. One cannot rule out President Moi's hand in the electoral defeat of those who were opposed to his ascendancy to the presidency. A number of very important old ministers like Mbiyu Koinange, Gikonyo Kiano and Jackson Angaine lost primarily because of either having extremely able opponents (such as Matiba who ran against Kiano) or having lost touch with their constituency. Khapoya also talks of Moi as following Kenyatta's footsteps in restricting freedom of expression. He cites the expulsion of six students from the University of Nairobi after they took part

²⁰ Vincent B Khapoya, The Politics of Succession in Africa, Kenya after Kenyatta, Vol.26, No.3, *Africa Today*, 3rd Qtr, (1979), pp7-20.

in a demonstration against the government, exclusion of Odinga and his colleagues in elections. Khapoya remarks that with almost 60 % of parliament consisting of new members, Moi had a fantastic opportunity to chart his own course in Kenya politics. This article just mentions Angaine as one of the losers in the 1979 elections and tells nothing more about him. Although Khapoya's article gives useful insights into the intrigues after the Kenyatta succession and mentions Angaine, further research is required especially information after Angaine's exit from parliament in 1979.²¹

Godfrey Muriuki says that until his death in 1978, Jomo Kenyatta dominated every facet of political life for more than two decades. He says that during that period, he became the chief source of all manner of patronage, a powerful magnet which enabled him to attract a host of diverse clients. Muriuki, while accepting the belief that the Gikuyu dominated the political and economic life of Kenya he introduces the proviso that much of the leaders came from Kiambu just one part of Gikuyuland. This reflected itself in the civil service and parastatal bodies.²² He talks of the patronage system that saw the constant jockeying among politicians for the ear of the president. This became worse as the President advanced in age. Important decisions were even made without his knowledge. Muriuki mentions Angaine as part of the group led by Kihika Kimani in October 1976 whose purpose was to alter the constitution so as to exclude the Vice President from automatic succession. Others were Njenga Karume, James Gichuru, Njoroge Mungai, and Paul Ngei. Nothing more is said about Angaine in Muriuki's article as it deals with post Kenyatta era when Angaine's influence was waning in national

²¹ Ibid.

²² Godfrey Muriuki, Central Kenya in the Nyayo Era, Kenya After Kenyatta, Vol.26, No.3, *Africa Today*, (3rd Qtr. 1979), PP39-42.

sphere. Further research is necessary to unearth more about Angaine during the Kenyatta era.

Garry Wasserman, in his book, *Politics of Decolonization, Kenya European and the Land Issue, 1960-1965* outlines the genesis of land problem in Kenya as the settlement of Europeans. Large tracts of African land were alienated for white settlement and farming.²³ Wasserman's book is relevant to this study because it discusses the land problem in Kenya and the measures employed to resolve the problem. He avers that since 1961 the security situation seemed to get out of hand with the takeover of European farms, rising land theft and farmers were leaving. In emphasizing the thorny issue of land, Wasserman, quotes ex-senior chief Koinange, "when someone steals your Ox, it is killed and wasted and eaten. One can forget. When someone steals your land, especially if nearby, one can never forget. It is always there".²⁴

Wasserman, while quoting Fratz Fanon, in the "Wretched of Earth", postulates that the settlement schemes were initiated and implemented as part of the remedy as he puts it, "for a colonised people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity".²⁵

Wasserman continues to say that in early November 1963, the Kenya Cabinet was presented a memorandum from the Settlement Fund Trustees (the Ministers of Lands and Settlement, then J.H. Angaine, Agriculture, B. McKenzie and Finance, J. Gichuru)

²³ Garry Wasserman, *Politics of Decolonisation, Kenya Europeans and the Land Issue 1960-1965*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

²⁴ Ibid, p46

²⁵ Ibid, p135

warning of the serious security situation in the new Nyandarua District (the Kinangop). On May 11, 1964, J.H. Angaine, Minister for Settlement, announced the Government of Kenya's decision to reserve the former European houses along with 100 acres for a single settlement plot. The 'Z' plots called so because they were 'zoned –off' from the rest of the estates, were used not only to prevent the destruction of the houses and to reward high level party faithful, but also as a means of providing leadership in the settlement schemes and tying the community closer to the government and the schemes. Quite consciously the plots were reserved for the political leadership. Besides the clear 'political gravy' involved in distributing the land, planners hoped the 'Z' plots would secure a commitment by influential people to the settlement schemes. The 'Z' plots had the advantage of committing the leaders including many minor leaders to the scheme, since any free distribution or seizure of land would also involve their holdings. In this book Wasserman concludes;

In Kenya, land is the opium of the masses. The land scheme offered the new national leaders and externally financed means of dealing with internal conflict. Land transfers were used as a temporary method of inhibiting insurgency in order to stabilize the nationalist regime during the period of colonial transition and beyond.²⁶

In this book Wassermann gives a detailed overview of the land question in Kenya and the attempts made to pre-empt an explosive conflict by what he calls land hunger. Although Wasserman's book addresses the land problem in Kenya, he only mentions Angaine in this connection. Although Wassermann links the issue with Angaine who was the minister for lands, the exposition is scanty and further research is required.

²⁶ Ibid,p156

In his book, *Kenya A Political History the Colonial Period*, George Bennet details the origins of white settlement in Kenya as instigated by Sir Charles Elliot the Commissioner 1901-1904.²⁷ After Kenya was declared a protectorate in 1895, the question was how to make Kenya economically viable so as to stop relying on the British taxpayer. One way was to harness the economic potential of Kenya and the only method was through European settlement. Elliot encouraged English speaking settlers and later Afrikaners who settled on the Uasin Gishu Plateau around Eldoret. Besides South Africans, there came to East Africa in these years men from Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Relying on him, settlers began to arrive in numbers in 1903, and he was active in pressing further concessions on their behalf upon the foreign office.

In his book he details the genesis of the land problem in Kenya, namely the influx of settlers and the dislodgement of Africans from their ancestral lands. It is the attempt to provide equilibrium on the land issue that brings in Angaine and the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, a period not covered by the scope of the book. However Bennet's work is lacking in this regard and further research is necessary.

In his doctorate dissertation, Karuti Kanyinga says the Government introduced the first settlement schemes with the objective of inter alia, circumventing *Nyakua* or grabbing demands by radical politicians and ex-Mau Mau detainees.²⁸ In about 1961 the colonial government with a British loan launched the first scheme for settling about 1800 “yeomen” farmers and another 6,000 peasants on about 180,000 acres. The small holder

²⁷ George Bennett, *Kenya A Political History, The Colonial Period*, London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

²⁸ Karuti Kanyinga, *The Land Question, Struggles, Accumulation, and Changing Politics*, Roskilde University Denmark, A Ph.D dissertation, 1998.

settlement schemes for peasants were inadequate to satisfy the high numbers of landless and especially the ex- Mau Mau detainees who lost some of their lands to chiefs and /or relatives and neighbours through the consolidation programme while in detention. Different social groups, the settlers and politicians in particular, pressed for more settlement schemes. In 1962, a Million Acre Scheme was agreed to involving transfer of some 1.17 million acres. The “assisted farmer category” (yeomen –assisted farmer schemes) had plots of 100 acres called Z plots carved around the homestead of the former settlers and therefore were given together with houses and other farm assets. Again these schemes did not appease the radical and the militant groups- they did not diffuse the growing political tension. This was mainly because the majority of the people who were actually settled were far from being the absolutely landless-the people who had given political impetus for the scheme. To appease the groups, a special commission was established to register and settle squatters, hurriedly in *Haraka* settlement schemes. The remaining squatters were settled on *shirika* farms financed through an agreement between the British and the Kenyan Government.²⁹ All these activities were the responsibility of the Ministry of Land and Settlement although Angaine is not personally mentioned and therefore the dissertation is inadequate as it fails to link Angaine, who was then the Minister, on the issues mentioned. Karuti’s dissertation provides an indepth analysis of the land question in Kenya. However it fails to link the land issue to the Minister who was at the helm of lands ministry. Further research is therefore required to place the issue in perspective.

²⁹ Karuti Kanyinga, *The Land Question, Struggles, Accumulation, and Changing Politics*, Roskilde University Denmark, A Ph.D dissertation, 1998.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

This study used the trait theory and the servant leadership theory. The trait theory focuses on identifying various personality traits and characteristics that are linked to successful leadership. In so doing I demonstrated the leadership traits that make certain people great leaders.

The trait approach belongs to theories developed in the early 20th Century, called “great man” theories because they focused on identifying the innate qualities and characteristics possessed by great social, political and military leaders.³⁰ It was believed that people were born with these traits, and that only the “great” people possessed them.³¹ The trait approach has earned new interest through the current emphasis given by many researchers to visionary and charismatic leadership. Charismatic leadership came to the forefront of public attention with the 2008 election of the United States of America first African President Barrack Obama who is charismatic, among many other attributes.³²

Stogdill survey on trait theory identified a group of important leadership traits that were related to how individuals in various groups became leaders. His results showed that the average individual in the leadership role is different from an average group member with regard to the following eight traits: intelligence, alertness, insight, responsibility, initiative, persistence, self-confidence, and sociability.³³ The trait approach thus has come up with traits that individuals might hope to possess or wish to cultivate if they want to be

³⁰Peter G. Northhouse, *Leadership; Theory and Practice*, London: Sage Publications, 2013, p.20

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

perceived by others as leaders. Some of the traits that are central to this list include intelligence, self-confidence, determination, integrity and sociability.³⁴

The trait approach has several identifiable strengths. One, it fits clearly with our notion that leaders are the individuals who are out front and leading the way in our society.³⁵ The trait approach is also consistent with the perception that leaders are a special kind of people. Such people possess gifts and can do extraordinary things. It also postulates that leaders are different, and this difference resides in the special traits they possess. People desire to see their leaders as gifted people and the trait theory fulfills this need. The trait approach has also given us some benchmarks for what we need to possess if we want to be leaders.³⁶

Nevertheless, the trait approach has several weaknesses. One, it does not delimit a definitive list of leadership traits. The list of traits appears endless. This approach has also failed to take situations into account. It is difficult to isolate a set of traits that are characteristic of leaders without also factoring situational effects into the equation.³⁷

A third criticism of this approach is that it has resulted in highly subjective determinations of the most important leadership traits. For example, one author might identify ambition and creativity as crucial leadership traits; another might identify

³⁴ Ibid p. 23.

³⁵ Ibid p. 30.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

empathy and calmness. In both cases, it is the author's subjective experience and observations that are the basis for the identified leadership traits³⁸.

Research on traits can also be criticized for failing to look at traits in relationship to leadership outcomes, such as productivity or employee satisfaction. For example, trait research does not provide data on whether leaders who might have high intelligence and strong integrity have better results than leaders without these traits.³⁹

A final criticism of the trait approach is that it is not a useful approach for training and development of leadership. For example, it is not reasonable to send managers to a training to raise their IQ or to train them to become extroverted. Traits are largely fixed psychological structure, and this limits the value of teaching and leadership training.⁴⁰

Despite the shortcomings, the trait approach can be applied to individuals at all levels and in all types of organizations and, therefore it is applicable to the study of Jackson Angaine. In my study, I will demonstrate certain traits that my subject of study possessed that made him the leader that he was.

The servant leadership theory emphasises that leaders be attentive to the concerns of their followers, empathise with them and nurture them. Servant leaders put followers first, empower them and help them develop their full personal capacities. Furthermore servant leaders are ethical.⁴¹ Servant leadership originated in the writings of Greenleaf in the

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.32.

⁴¹ Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership; Theory and Practice*, London: Sage Publications, 2013, p.219.

1970s. In addition to serving, Greenleaf states that a servant leader has a social responsibility to be concerned about the “have-nots” and those less privileged. Spears identified ten characteristics in Greenleaf’s writings that are central to the development of servant leadership. These are listening, empathy, healing, awareness, persuasion, conceptualization, foresight, stewardship, commitment to the growth of people, and building community.⁴² Although servant leadership is seen as paradoxical, fanciful and whimsical it is reputed for several strengths.⁴³ In this study I will demonstrate that Anguine was a servant leader.

1.9 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

In this research I will use four hypotheses. The study will be based on the following hypotheses.

- i. The early life, upbringing and education of Jackson Anguine influenced his leadership
- ii. Angina’s background led to his dominance in Mere politics
- iii. Jackson Angina’s dominance in local politics earned him a place in national leadership
- iv. Angina’s legacy was both positive and negative.

1.10 METHODOLOGY

The study used both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources include scholarly books, academic journal articles, magazines, and dissertations. In particular the

⁴² Ibid, p.234.

⁴³ Ibid, p.234.

weekly Review magazine copies were very useful as they contained detailed political coverage of politicians. The secondary sources provided valuable insight on the research topic.

Primary documentary sources from the Kenya National Archives have been very useful. In the Kenya National Archives, I used the electronic catalogue, keyed in my subject of study and accessed the hard copies, then perused for information. Letters and past newspaper articles, diaries, family albums have been analyzed. Primary documents provided information not available in secondary sources. This study also relied much on in-depth oral interviews. Through interviews, people's knowledge, views, understanding, opinions and interpretation on the subject in question was obtained. An open-ended method of questioning was adopted giving the informant the leeway to tell the story. The purpose of the interview is to elicit information on issues inadequately covered by secondary sources and archival material or areas those sources are silent about. I used the purposeful method of sampling whereby I identified interviewees who had knowledge on the subject who the identified others they knew had information on Anguine. In total I interviewed twelve people who included family members and Angina's critics. This way I overcame bias and wrote a balanced story. In parliament, the Hansard was of great assistance. The Hansard provided information on the proceedings that touched on Anguine, or the ministry he presided over or questions directed to him as minister in charge. Since Anguine is deceased, close family members and associates who had first-hand information on Anguine were interviewed. This was critical in order to know the man from people's interaction with him who were close to him.

On his school life, a visit to his former school at Kaaga (now Kaaga Boys School) and Alliance High School revealed little on his school life. At Kaaga, only his name was inscribed on the wall list of honours. However that his name was inscribed on the list of honours was proof that he was a bright student and performed well. At Alliance the archival material found only indicated his name and admission number. The lack of further information was attributed to possible vandalism. This gave me little information on Angaine about his student days.

In carrying out this study, the National Commission for Science and Technology and innovation issued me with a research permit before going to the field. Further, the Meru County education office issued me with an authority letter to facilitate easy access to institutions of learning. Mutuma Angaine also wrote me a family authorisation letter. A question and answer questionnaire which guided me in interrogating the interviewees was used. This enabled a sequential and logical way of questioning. Owing to the limitations of the human mind, recording the interviews using my mobile phone and transcribing was necessary. Finally, I analysed the data qualitatively and wrote a systematic story.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

2.1 EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Angaine grew up a privileged child, being the son of a chief. He was able to acquire education, a rare thing during that time. Education opened up his horizons as he joined some of the best institutions at the time. This included Alliance High School and Achimota College in Ghana. It was these achievements that exposed him and enabled him to join the colonial civil service and later politics. His privileged history too, having descended from a family of leaders gave him a clear advantage in leadership.

Although he embraced Christianity and got baptized, some of his actions were contrary to Christian principles. For instance, he was polygamous and quarreled with Methodist church over hegemony of Meru leadership. A family man of values, he would convene family meetings and urged them to be united. However Angaine was stubborn and rejected his family's advice to bow out of politics even as he became too old and became indisposed.⁴⁴ This way he missed an opportunity to groom and nurture his successor. However his large family was at hand to give him a helping hand when he became indisposed.

⁴⁴ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May 2015.

2.1.2 EARLY LIFE

Jackson Harvester Nteere Angaine was born in 1903, at Gatunkune village, Igoki Sub-location, Ntima Location, North Imenti Division of Meru County. He was the eldest son and child of the late M'Angaine M'Ithiria in a family of six sons and five daughters. The only surviving brother, Peter Karani died shortly after I had interviewed him on 16th May 2015. Angaine belonged to the Gantunku sub clan of the larger Igoki clan. Gantuku clan was one of the four sub clans, Kiramburi, Gantuku, Bwekana and Bwompuria.⁴⁵ His mother named him Nteere, after his paternal grandfather, a name which meant 'fringes' because his grandfather would look after animals on the edges of the forest. Among the Ameru the first born son would be named after the paternal grandfather. Another meaning was a person who always had a different opinion or a non-conformist or independent-minded. The name was descriptive of the character, or the career of the person the child is named after.⁴⁶

As a young boy, Jackson Angaine was strong and brave. According to his younger brother Peter Karani, he would defend and fight for them whenever the other boys threatened them. Quiet and assertive, he was so protective of his peers. His burly physique would intimidate the would-be aggressors. Thus, when they went out grazing, the smaller boys felt safe.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Oral interview, Silas Gitije M'Ikiao, Meru Slopes Hotel, Meru, 24th August, 2015.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Oral interview, Peter Karani, Mwirine Meru, 16th May, 2015.

As it was customary among the Ameru, a child got a second name on circumcision and so Nteere was named M’Nchebere. The name Nchebere meant a brave warrior who fearlessly led other warriors to raid for cattle. Such names were suggested by the initiate’s father to glorify his attributes in his son. The name given on circumcision, unlike that given at birth, was descriptive of the character himself, his physical characteristics or his demeanour and communicated to the sponsor who would then give to the initiate during seclusion. This name would henceforth be used to refer to the person and it would be wrong to use his childhood name on a person who is now regarded as an adult. Boys circumcised at the same time formed an age-set. Age-set intervals would depend on the rate or duration of either farming or tribal wars. Angaine belonged to the age-set named *Kiruja* or *Kabuuru*. Those who belonged to this age set were circumcised in 1925. Age-sets were designed by the Njuri Ncheke, Meru’s highest governing and legislative body. It was also the custodian of Meru’s cultural values. Later in his political career he was nicknamed ‘Herod’, after the biblical Herod who ordered the killing of all male Jews ostensibly because he had heard that a king had been born. The implication of this name was that Angaine ensured that no competitor emerged to challenge his hegemony. He also acquired the nickname ‘Harvester’, a name that emanated from being a renowned farmer. Indeed he was one of the first farmers in Meru to embrace mechanized farming.⁴⁸

By any standards, Angaine hailed from a family of leaders. His father M’Ithiria M’Angaine was colonial chief and seer. M’Ithiria's father, Kiariga, was a prophet whose father was Tharingi. In the 1860’s Kiariga prophesied a new calamity among the Ameru.

⁴⁸ Oral interview, Gerald Murungi, Meru Town, Meru, 23rd May, 2015.

This calamity would be brought by people with clothes (tied at the waist) like butterflies, a reference to European clothing tied tightly at the waist and with red (white) skins to whom the natives must give cattle, goats and even 'our daughters so that we may survive'.⁴⁹ This was in consonance with other prophecies elsewhere about the coming of a new type of warrior against whom no resistance would yield fruit. Prophet Kiariga, Angaine's grandfather, descended from the prophetic family of Kironge and Mpaatha whose history extended to Mbwaa, the cradle of the Ameru. Prophet Mpaatha led his people during their original exodus from Mbwaa (Manda Island) at the Kenyan coast. His descendant, the prophet Kironge, is said to have guided the migrants along the Tana River and Kironge's son in turn urged them to cross the river and enter what they believed to be a desert.⁵⁰

Angaine's father was a colonial chief and as soon as he interacted with the whites he acquired western practices like dressing. He built a beautiful pre-fabricated raised house that was a marvel by the standards of the time. M'Ithiria belonged to the Murungi age-set. M'Ithiria even rode on a horse just like the District Commissioner, Edward Butler Horne, who the locals nicknamed *kangangi* (meaning wanderer because he traversed the area on horseback). And so his appointee learnt the master's habit. M'Ithiria was first recruited as an *askari* in what was then tribal police or *kanga* in 1908. He then became a close associate to the local DC, Edward Butler Horne. Later he became chief for the entire Mirigamieru location, an expansive district in the present Imenti North Sub-county

⁴⁹Jeffrey A. Fadiman, *Meru's Golden Age, An Oral History of the Ameru*, London: University of California Press, 2012, pp.94-101

⁵⁰ Jeffrey A. Fadiman, *Meru's Golden Age, An Oral History of the Ameru*, London: University of California Press, 2012, pp.94-101.

of Meru County. He was later promoted to senior chief for what later became the former and original Meru district that traverses from Thuchi to Ntonyiri. Other chiefs from the outlying areas would come visiting senior chief M'Ithiria to pay homage.⁵¹

The District Commissioner promoted Chief M'Ithiria to senior chief. He became the Commissioner's close companion and accompanied him to appoint other chiefs in other outlying areas or even to dismiss them. So senior M' Ithiria was, that he ceremoniously rode on horseback and a rifle at hand with several hangers on tow carrying a three legged throne because the chief must sit whenever he wanted to rest.⁵² The DC, C.M. Johnston (nicknamed *Baithumbi* because of his hairstyle), promoted Angaine to paramount chief. Angaine's father was a brave (*ngiti*), strong man and was the leader of the warriors. When E.B. Horne set foot at *Miringa- e- Kiguu* in Meru, fulfilling the prophecy that a man with *muromo jwa ithaga* (iron mouth) would come, this brave warrior stepped forward fully adorned with war paraphernalia of spear and shield to confront this intruder. M'Ithiria would lead other warriors to battle to raid animals from the *Uru* (Maasai) and *Thamburu* (Samburu).⁵³

A polygamist like most successful men of his time, and a proud man, M'Ithiria changed the name of one of his wives, Julia Kaburi, (the latter name means a small goat) to *kiburi*(a big goat) because Kaburi meant small.⁵⁴ The Ameru would name their children after an animal if the previous child died. It was believed that this would keep away evil

⁵¹ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

⁵² Oral interview, Gerald Murungi, Meru Town, Meru, 23rd May, 2015.

⁵³ Oral Interview, Peter Karani Rimberia Angaine, Mwirine, Meru, 16th May, 2015.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

spirits that was seen to have caused death of the predecessor child. A seer like his forebears, M'Ithiria had a habit of summoning the granddaughter Honesty Mukomunene and younger brother, Peter Karani and then he would do his magic. At one time, he prophesied that a strange thing would occur that would arouse a major outcry and that the *Njuri* should make a long stick tied at the tip with dry banana leaves. This however failed to avert the would- be catastrophe.⁵⁵

The prophecy meant that a close person in the family would die. True to the prophecy, a letter was shortly delivered to report that his nephew had died in action at the battlefield as the Second World War continued.⁵⁶ M'Ithiria, who always carried a gun, was an obstinate and proud man. This was demonstrated by a bizarre incident. After disagreeing with the whites over ceding land for colonial projects in his area, he chose to commit suicide using his own gun. M'Ithiria had been summoned by the local DC in his capacity as the chief to lay a foundation stone for a project at Kaaga though he was on retirement. He suggested that M'Imathiu, chief of Uringu, a neighbouring location should be contacted to do that. He refused to be compromised, and angrily demanded for the house key, where he took a gun, walked secretly in a quiet part of his land and shot himself. It was an act of patriotism. Rather than betray his people by alienating their land he would rather die.⁵⁷ This incident sent a resonating alarm throughout the neighbourhoods as people got shocked. Angaine's father was honoured by the queen when he was decorated with the prestigious title of the Member of the British Empire (MBE) in the 1950s shortly before he died in 1952. As was the norm among the Ameru male children grew up under

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Oral interview, Honesty Mukomunene Angaine, Kaaga, Meru, 13th June, 2015.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

the tutelage of their fathers. As the first child of M'Ithiria, Jackson Angaine must have adopted the attributes of bravery and leadership from his father that had a bearing to his future leadership.

Angaine's mother was a remarkable woman. Julia Kaburi Angaine was enlightened, gentle, full of wisdom and very influential in her household. She was highly respected by all family members and was a uniting factor. She loved her family and was committed such that upon the death of one of her daughter-in-law (Mutuma's mother), she adopted the infant and nurtured it to maturity. It was customary practice that a close relative suckles a child whose mother has passed on. Mutuma grew regarding his grandmother as her mother. This matriarch was fondly regarded as *ntagu* (meaning namesake) by the entire Angaine household. *Ntagu* was a name used by children named after a maternal or paternal grandmother. Owing to the immense usage of the term, it became like her name and all family members fondly use it to address her. A task or an important decision would not be undertaken before *ntagu* is consulted. Her views were paramount and had to be taken into account.⁵⁸ Angaine's origins from a family of leaders had a bearing on his future leadership. Indeed when the elders suggested him for leadership after independence, this association was a guiding factor.

2.1.3 ANGAINE AND CHRISTIANITY

Having attended primary school at Kaaga where the Methodists had started a mission, Angaine was introduced to Christianity and Christian teachings. He was later to be baptized by the Methodist Missionary Society and given the name Jackson. As a norm

⁵⁸ Oral Interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

Christian missionaries would integrate Christian teaching in their education curriculum. Thus most of the Christian converts would be introduced to literacy skill. This Christian foundation is reflected in Angaine's future dealings. According to Bishop Lawi Imathiu, the former presiding Bishop of the Methodist church in Kenya, "Angaine identified with the church, even when politicking he never talked ill of the church and he contributed to church development."⁵⁹

Jackson Angaine's Christian values were reflected in how he personally chose baptismal names for his children. He gave his first born daughter the name 'Honesty' to denote one of the Christian values he cherished, while the second name, Mukomunene (given at birth) was equally significant meaning 'king's wife' as she was named after her maternal grandmother who was wife to senior chief Angaine, Jackson's father. He named one of his sons, Mugambi, 'John Baptist', and also another son, Mutuma, 'Christian Immanuel'. A shop at Gakoromone in downtown Meru town is named '*Sacred House*'.

2.2 EDUCATION

Western education in Kenya was introduced by European Christian missionaries in the 19th century. In 1844 Ludwig Krapf arrived at Mombasa and with others who joined him later pioneered missionary work. This included not only evangelization but also medical work and education. Although the missionaries began mission stations at the coast, several challenges and the desire to spread the gospel further led them to penetrate into the interior.

⁵⁹Oral interview, Lawi Imathiu, Methodist Guest House, Nairobi, 26th August 2015.

2.2.1 AT KAAGA PRIMARY SCHOOL

The introduction of Christianity and western education in Meru district was done by white missionaries. Education and Christianity was pioneered by Methodist Christian missionaries at Kaaga where they founded a station in 1910. In 1912, Groffiths and Mimmack started building a mission house as well as a clearing the ground at Kaaga.⁶⁰ Rev. R.T Worthington and Mimmack reached this station at Kaaga in 1913. Mr. Worthington was the bulwark behind the Meru mission. He opened a school in 1913 to teach both academic and technical subjects. Woodwork and agriculture were also introduced.⁶¹ There was a boys and girls school popularly called *mambere* meaning “first”. Mambere was a term used by the locals to refer to the girl’s school as it was the first school started to offer western education. The girls who attended the school were shielded from female circumcision which was the norm in the Meru culture at the time. In the local dialect it was ridiculously called *cukuru ya Nkenye* (*school of the uncircumcised girls*). To ensure the girls were not forcibly circumcised, the girls were strictly boarders and were put under close watch over the holidays.⁶² This marked the start of mission education at Kaaga.

When Angaine was growing up, few had embraced western education. The few who ventured were frowned at and regarded as sellouts to the colonial system. There was a tendency to reject anything associated with the white man as a manifestation of protest against white domination and culture. Mostly, those who went to school were children of chiefs or children of Christian converts. The colonial government and the missionaries

⁶⁰Zablon Nthamburi, *A History of the Methodist Church in Kenya*, Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1974, p59.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Oral Interview, Silas Gitije M’Ikiao, Meru, 24th August, 2015.

prevailed upon chiefs and converts to take their children to school. That is how Jackson Angaine, being a son of a chief found himself attending school.

Although Angaine's siblings never received secondary education and also attended elementary school in the same school, Angaine was lucky. His father being a chief and therefore influenced by westernisation took young Angaine to school at Kaaga Primary School at what is currently Kaaga Boys' Secondary School. As was the practice then, chiefs were required to take at least one son to school. His performance was exemplary the reason why he is recorded on the list of honours of 1932 together with two others, Johnstone M' Kirigia and Jonathan M'Amanga. The first on the list is Solomon M'Mugambi in 1931.

2.2.2 AT ALLIANCE HIGH SCHOOL

Alliance High School was founded in 1924 by the Alliance of protestant churches which included The Church of Scotland Mission (later Presbyterian Church of East Africa), Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK), African Inland Church (AIC) and the Methodist Church. According to Stephen Smith the Deputy Headmaster from 1926-1960, the school opened its doors on the 1st of March 1926 with G.A. Grieve as the acting principal of the school.⁶³

G.A. Grieve became the first Principal of Alliance High School as from 1st July 1926. Alliance was the first school in Kenya to offer secondary school education to Africans. It started with multiple challenges, as Smith notes;

⁶³ Stephen Smith, *The History of the Alliance High School*, Nairobi: Heinemann, 1973, p 23.

...the standard of admission must be the highest available to Africans at this time namely the junior secondary certificate....to Grieves consternation, there were no passes in this exam at the end of 1925 for the whole of Kenya and he had therefore to accept pupils of a lower standard.⁶⁴

Apart from secondary education the school, according to clause 3 of Alliance High School constitution, "... shall be an institution in which Christian teaching and influences are dominant".⁶⁵ This objective of the founding fathers was given expression in 1934 with the opening of the chapel;

Early morning chapel services were taken seriously; a pupil conducted the service, led the lesson and gave the address and earnestly great deal of earnest thought and labour was put into the spiritual side of the school.⁶⁶

In 1934 there was a main change in the training of teachers. Lower primary teacher's course was now taken at a primary school and only the primary teachers' course was taken at Alliance. Alliance school was attended by protestant children, mostly children of colonial chiefs. After Kaaga, Angaine was enrolled at the famous Alliance High School in 1934 as admission number 263, joining the list of African boys to attend the mission run school⁶⁷.The most important event of 1934 in African education was the revision of the Grant-in-Aid Rules by the Education Departments of the three East African territories. Grant- in -Aid was financial assistance given to schools by the government. In this year, the stated policy of the Education Department of the three territories was to extend elementary education, to provide training for those fitted to fill posts in the administrative and technical services and to provide more advanced education for a limited number depending on the resources of each territory. Also the education of

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ B.E. Kipkorir, *The Alliance High School and the Origins of the Kenya African Elite 1926-1962*, A Ph.D dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1969 ,p 122.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Alliance High School, Alliance High School archives, Admissions Register.

women and girls was to be made equal in importance with that of men. Grant- in- aid was to be given to voluntary agents to carry out these recommendations and to provide supervision and inspection of all educational work. In Kenya in 1934, two secondary schools, Alliance High School and Kabaa, received grants- in-Aid. At this time there were 114 boys at Alliance High School. Angaine was one of the 44 boys in the 1934 intake.⁶⁸

Other boys entering this year included Arphaxed Cege who later served as a clerk and teacher at Alliance High School until the arrival of Edward Carey Francis in 1940, Jackson Angaine and J.N. Muimi later became Ministers of state, W.B. Akatsa, later at the Ministry of Natural Resources and Assistant Director of personnel, Charles Kabetu later Chairman of Coffee Board, Arthur S. Mbuthia later a medical practitioner, David Ngali later a member of Legislative Council, Simeon Isabwa, later Provincial Education Officer and member of the Teachers Service Commission and Paul Mirie later director of Agriculture.

Angaine's contemporaries also included the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga who joined form one in 1935 and Joseph Otiende who also became Cabinet Ministers in Jomo Kenyatta's government. After Alliance, Angaine obtained his London Matriculation through a correspondence course with Natal University⁶⁹, a prestigious grade that saw graduates join university. It was a big deal such that its graduates would have songs composed in their praise. Thereafter, Angaine joined the famous Achimota College in the

⁶⁸Stephen Smith, *The History of the Alliance High School*, Nairobi: Heinemann 1973, p 75.

⁶⁹ Muthamia M'Muthuri, *History of Political Organization in Meru, A study of Political Development among the Meru of Kenya to 1973*, A Ph.D dissertation, University of Nairobi, p 4.

Gold Coast, now Ghana. It was one of the most prestigious institutions of its kind and known for its high academic credentials and culture and trained Pan African leaders who took part in Africa's struggle for independence. It is here that Angaine was trained and inspired to be leader. Achimota produced graduates who would not only fit in the colonial system but also those who would serve the interests of the colonial masters.

2.3 MARRIAGE LIFE AND CAREER

2.3.1 WORKING LIFE

Upon return from Achimota College, Ghana, Angaine taught in several schools in the Coast Province. These schools included Shimo la Tewa, Rabai, Chonyi and Ribe before returning to his home district to teach at Kaaga Primary School in Meru. At Kaaga, he taught many students many of whom assumed important positions in the nascent Kenya civil service. At Kaaga, Angaine excelled as a teacher and at one time his class performed exemplary well with ninety five per cent pass. He later resigned from teaching.⁷⁰

Angaine then joined the Kings African Rifles (KAR) and was stationed at Aden in Yemen as a regimental sergeant major. He was however ordered to return to teach, but he defied the order and travelled to Isiolo. Here, he met one Sir Kittermaster who became the Governor of Nyasaland the present day Malawi. Sir Kittenmaster was impressed by the young Angaine and he took him to Nyasaland. When he realised Angaine had deserted duty as a teacher he deported him back to Kenya. Upon his return to Kenya, Angaine joined the African Broadcasting Services where he worked with the late Francis Khamisi. The colonial government wanted Angaine to go back to teaching and thus he

⁷⁰ Oral Interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

was not allowed to continue. Again he defied the order and proceeded to Embu where he worked with the Department of Agriculture. He then was posted to Meru to work under the District Agricultural Officer, a Mr. Gardam.⁷¹

Angaine also worked as an interpreter to the Chief Native Commissioner, a Mr. Marchant. He had beaten other applicants for the job as his typing speed was found to be very high, and he was proficient in Accounts and held Arab and African clerical staff certificate. Earlier he had worked with the then District Commissioner, a Mr. Jennings, doing miscellaneous jobs at a salary of twenty shillings.⁷² Angaine briefly worked as an accountant at Mohammed Moti and Sons, an Asian merchandise store in Meru. The young, tall, bespectacled, and always smartly dressed, Angaine would walk every day from his Mwirine home to his office adjacent to what is currently Meru Police Station.⁷³ Between his home and his office, he spotted an arable piece of land where locals grew sweet potatoes and sugarcane as a furrow of water passed by. He bought a piece of land and fenced it using kei apple. He then purchased a plot a few meters away and built whitewashed mud walled rental houses. His target was the Nubian population that had settled at *Mjini* in the slowly growing town. It is in these rented settlements that Africans would brew traditional liquor as the European beer that had been introduced was only sold to whites or selectively to Africans with authority of the whites.⁷⁴ Later Angaine became secretary of African District Council from 1945-1948. Angaine's exit from the council was an irony. In a meeting of the Meru Local Native Council held on the 9th of

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Oral interview, Gerald Murungi, Kaaga, Meru, 23rd May, 2015.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

September 1948, as the President C.M. Johnstone announced that councillor M'Angaine (Angaine's father) had retired from office as the chief of Mirigamieru and thanked him for his loyal service to the government and the Meru people and welcomed Rev. Philip M'Inoti as the new chief, the President regretted that as a result of a recent audit inspection, he had to dismiss the clerk to the Council Jackson Angaine.⁷⁵

Angaine was reputed to be a generous person. Those who visited his home confess to be treated to food and drinks to their satisfaction before he would emerge to address them or hear what they had to see him for.⁷⁶ "He would treat friends so well," said Gerald Murungi, "when I had a back ailment he took me to hospital at the Agha Khan and paid all my bills." Murungi also narrates how Angaine would buy his wife (Murungi's) expensive clothes.⁷⁷

2.3.2 MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Though Angaine had been converted to Christianity, he married several wives. As it were to the early converts discarding traditional practices totally was not easy. At the time of his death on the 23rd of February 1999, he left five widows and two were deceased. The five wives were settled at different farms: Jeniffer at his Kithithina farm, Elizabeth at Kalalu and, Kajuju at Ex- Lewa, all in Timau. The other one, Violet Ngata was settled at Mirigamieru west division. Angaine married all his wives according to Meru customary laws.⁷⁸ He married his first wife Rosemary Gacheri Angaine around 1939 from *Mambere* (Kaaga Girls' Elementary School and now Kaaga Girls High school). Angaine's first

⁷⁵ Kenya National Archives, Meru African District Council meeting held on the 22nd February 1938 to 6th of September 1950, p 316.

⁷⁶ Oral interview, Peter Karani, Mwirine, Meru, 16th May 2015.

⁷⁷ Oral interview, Gerald Murungi, Kaaga, Meru, 23rd May 2015.

⁷⁸ Oral interview, Silas Gitije M'Ikiao, Meru Slopes Hotel, Meru, 24th August, 2015.

wife home was Munithu, a nearby village which was a traditional enemy with Angaine's birthplace of Gantuku. This marriage could be seen to have mend fences between the two villages. At *Mambere*, Rosemary converted to Christianity, and learnt hygiene and modern ways of preparing food. She became an instructor to other women in the neighborhood. Strict and a stickler for detail, she would insist for example that *chapati* must be round and well- shaped. At one time Honesty Mukomunene, her daughter, broke a calabash and cried to the father to have it sewn before the mother would come to know. The father went and bought a stainless steel basin.⁷⁹

After independence, Angaine evidently was the most dominant politician in the larger Meru. It is around this time that he married his second wife Elizabeth from Tigania. Tigania and Imenti sub-tribes of the larger Meru ethnic group viewed one another as antagonists the former accusing the latter of demeaning them. Now that Angaine had become an in- law, his foothold in Tigania became enhanced. Angaine's two other wives Kajuju came from Igoki clan which Angaine belonged but Violet Ngata came from Nyaki clan respectively. His marriage to these two was short lived and May have had little political value.

Angaine married his last wife Jeniffer on the 20th of May 1967. Jeniffer's marriage to Angaine, whose home was Nthimbiri and of the Meru's Ntakira clan was perhaps a political strategy. At a time when voting was clan based on clan alignments, it was important that Angaine endeared himself with the Ntakira clan having himself come from

⁷⁹ Oral interview, Honesty Angaine , Kaaga, Meru, 13th June, 2015.

the Igoki clan.⁸⁰ She now lives at one of Angaine's farms at Kiambogo Settlement Scheme where she grows wheat, potatoes and maize. She also owns the Angaine plaza at Timau Township. According to Jeniffer, Angaine was a very busy person and therefore she would chip in;

I would accompany him to meetings and attend harambees on his behalf. At Mwirine Methodist church I personally presided a fundraiser to buy the kitchen equipment and also presided over a harambee for the construction of Kiambogo Methodist church among so many other projects. At home I would cook for the delegations that called on him and helped in identifying those seeking for employment...it was not easy. One time I was overwhelmed when I hosted his supporters in Nairobi during the 1974 election petition but soon I realised such was the life of a politician's wife.⁸¹

Jeniffer says that the Tharingi family-Tharingi was Angaine's great grandfather and the family patriarch-was a very close-knit family and Angaine would convene family meetings occasionally. Tharingi in the Angaine family is regarded as the patriarch, the furthest they can locate their lineage. He is Angaine's great grandfather. Jennifer describes Angaine as a very tolerant, forgiving and generous person;

He assisted the poor and gave land for church construction. The African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa (AIPCA) where I worship (initially I was a Methodist) with my children was given the one acre by my husband free of charge. At the Naari Kanondone church, he helped them record their music having airlifted them to Nairobi and also secured employment to many young people.⁸²

Angaine was very close to his family and a caring parent. He loved his family and would urge them to love one another. Often, he would convene family meetings and preach togetherness. He was very fond of his kid brother, Peter Karani who he treasured as a secret advisor. This attribute was echoed by one of his daughters-in-law who had this to

⁸⁰ Oral interview ,Silas Gitije, Meru Slopes Hotel,Meru, 24th, August, 2015.

⁸¹ Oral interview, Jenniffer Angaine, Meru Slopes Hotel, Meru, 24th August, 2015.

⁸² Ibid.

say, “he would call in to find out our wellbeing when my husband (Mutuma Angaine) was working as the Town clerk in Mombasa between 1993-1997.”⁸³ A strict disciplinarian, Angaine was very possessive of his family and controlled even the minor aspects of his family such that he would not allow his daughter to pierce her ears even as others did that, “I pierced my ears after I got married”, remarked Honesty Mukomunene, Angaine’s firstborn child. She continued, “every Sunday our father would take us for a picnic at a nearby spring, a serene well called *kithima kia M’Angaine* (M’Angaine’s well). The well was named so because it was located at M’Angaine’s ancestral land.

She continued;

We would carry a table and he would teach us how to use the fork and how to spread the table. At Christmas, our father would personally bake some cakes for the family. At times our grandfather would join us and he would relish Mandazi which we carried.⁸⁴

This sense of duty to his family was also corroborated by his granddaughter;

when I delivered my twins, my grandfather brought me an adult he-goat, a consignment of black beans, cowpeas and pigeon peas and visited me at Gummo estate Nairobi where we lived. He got me my first job at the Hotel Boulevard Nairobi. He was such a loving grandfather.⁸⁵

And as Angaine’s health started to fail owing to old age, it is Elizabeth who took close watch, held his hand and read his letters and took him for treatment at the Agha Khan Hospital in Nairobi.

⁸³ Oral interview, Rosemary Mutuma Angaine, Kaaga, Meru, 23rd May, 2015.

⁸⁴ Oral interview, Honesty Mukomunene M’Mwithimbu, Kaaga, Meru, 13th June, 2013.

⁸⁵ Oral interview, Mary Nkirote Kimbui, Kaaga, Meru, 13th June, 2013.

Angaine's upbringing prepared him for future leadership. He grew up son of a chief and received mentorship from his father. His father's closeness to the colonialists enabled him to get educating at the Kaaga mission Station. Later he got further education at Alliance and went to Achimota after which he entered the colonial civil service. The colonial civil service was key in that he got the necessary experience that made him a good leader. At Achimota, an institution of learning that prepared Africans for leadership was critical for his later service as a leader. However, the leadership was tailored to serve colonial interests. Angaine's marriages gave him social-political connections and linkages that enabled him to cement and consolidate his hold on Meru politics. It also gave him legitimacy and goodwill in those areas the wives came from and thus an added political advantage.

CHAPTER THREE

ANGAINE AND MERU LEADERSHIP

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Angaine as a leader in Meru can be seen through his activities in KANU and through the development programmes that he started. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) was formed at a leaders' conference on 27th April 1960 in Kiambu. It was an alliance between the larger ethnic groups, which were better educated, more economically advanced, more politically mobilised, and more urbanized.⁸⁶ At independence, KANU was an alliance of the Kikuyu, inhabiting Central Province and parts of the Rift Valley, their ethnic cousins, the Embu, and Meru, on the slopes of Mt. Kenya in Eastern Province as well as the Luo of Nyanza Province.⁸⁷ At the Kiambu meeting where the decision to form a nationwide African political party was taken, James Gichuru was to be interim president, holding brief for Mr. Kenyatta, and the Secretary General was Njoroge Mungai. Other members of the committee were Gikonyo Kiano, Katana Ngala, Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga, H. Murithi and James Nyamweya.⁸⁸ The minority tribes felt sidelined and formed KADU on 25th June 1960 at Ngong, Nairobi as a coalition of several parties. Led by Ronald Ngala, the party was ostensibly believed to represent the minority tribes in Kenya which advocated for Majimboism. In the first multiparty elections, KANU won against KADU but the former refused to form government with Kenyatta in prison. Ronald Ngala formed the first government. The second Lancaster

⁸⁶ Arne Tostensen et al, *Kenya's Hobbled Democracy Revisited, The 1997 General Elections in Retrospect and Prospect*, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, 1998, p2.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ George M. Gona, *A Political Biography of Ronald Ngala*; MA thesis, unpublished, University of Nairobi, May 1990, p108-111.

House Conference of 1962 where the independence constitution was deliberated upon led to the 1963 elections. This time, Kenyatta had been released from prison toward the end of 1961 and he joined the delegation to London. And in the 1963 multiparty elections, KANU won 83 seats and KADU 41 seats. Jomo Kenyatta was invited to form government.

In 1982, a Constitutional amendment made Kenya a *de jure* one party state. To consolidate his power Moi introduced the requirement of voters to queue behind a candidate in the elections and the institution of the KANU disciplinary committee. By so doing, the presidency succeeded in making KANU party supreme over parliament.⁸⁹ The task of the KANU National Disciplinary Committee was to punish party members who publicly disagreed with the government and therefore, party policy. Perhaps most significantly it deprived MPs of their parliamentary immunity. Statements made in parliament may be used against them in hearings before the disciplinary committee.⁹⁰

3.1.1 ANGAINE AND KANU POLITICS IN MERU.

Angaine monopolized KANU politics in Meru for about four decades. Meru politicians complained that Angaine had turned Meru into a personal fiefdom and that as Meru KANU Chairman, and founder member of the powerful GEMA, he had all but made the process of democratic participation in party affairs impossible.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Vincent Khapoya, *Moi and Beyond; Towards Peaceful Succession in Kenya? Third World quarterly* Vol. No.1 Succession in the South, Taylor and Francis, www.jstor.org, p 60.

⁹⁰ Ibid P 61.

⁹¹ *The weekly Review*, Angaine Rules Meru, But....", 10th January 1977, p7.

Since the formation of KANU in 1960, Angaine headed the Meru district Chairmanship uninterrupted upto 1993 when the seat was taken by Mathew Adams Karauri. In 1976, Angaine was appointed Chairman of the KANU district Chairmen for the purpose of reorganising the party and on several weekends he convened meetings of KANU district chairmen to discuss party affairs usually at State House Nakuru with President Kenyatta himself chairing the meetings. As a result, Angaine acquired national stature and it was thought that he could be positioning himself for a national office when elections for national executive would be held.⁹²

Angaine guarded his KANU chairmanship position zealously. This required a lot of manoeuvring. To eliminate political dissent and entrench his position as spokesman of the Ameru, in 1976 he resolved differences with Mr. James Njeru, the Assistant Minister for Defence with that aim in mind. The latter had been successfully galvanizing opposition against Angaine. This resolution of differences that had persisted for seven years marked some victory for Angaine. For Angaine, it was not only the role of Meru leadership that was at stake, but also his position as the Chairman which had given him a fair amount of public exposure and had brought him near the President of the party, President Jomo Kenyatta.⁹³

In the 1977 KANU elections, Angaine was re-elected unopposed as the Meru branch Chairman. The Assistant Minister for Defence, James Njeru was elected Secretary of the branch and Miss Anarita Karimi was elected Treasurer. Two weeks later, three Meru

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ *The Weekly Review*, "Angaine's Victory", 2nd November, 1976, pp. 10-11.

MPs denounced the results as unconstitutional. Jacob Mwongo (Nyambene South), J.H. Gituma (Meru South West) and J. Kalweo (Nyambene North) in a letter to the party headquarters accused Angaine of interfering with the party election machinery in Meru “as laid down by the party guidelines and constitution”⁹⁴ The trio claimed that Angaine had switched both the venue and the time of the party elections after informing only his supporters.

As such they claimed that elections were merely nominations, not elections. Gituma claimed that he was ordered to leave and not to alight out of his vehicle at one of the sub-branch elections at Kanguutu Market or else he would be shot by orders of the Minister. The three MPs petitioned KANU headquarters to nullify the elections in Meru “in the name of democracy, justice and the constitutional rights of the citizens.”⁹⁵ But Angaine dismissed their claims; having sorted out his differences with his formidable rival, Mr. Njeru. The KANU headquarters also ignored their plea. Now as the district Chairman, his credibility in the Change the Constitution campaign was boosted and as a powerful political broker in the national elections.⁹⁶ As the foremost politician in the district, he became the spokesperson in GEMA and the Change- the- Constitution crusade.

When Daniel Moi succeeded Jomo Kenyatta after the latter’s death on the 22nd August 1978, he set forth to consolidate his power. With Moi in power, there was a quiet but determined effort to keep down anyone who was anti-Moi in the past, particularly the proponents of the Change- the- Constitution campaign. During the election for the

⁹⁴*Weekly Review*, “Angaine Rules Meru, But...”, 10th January, 1977, p 7

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

provincial representatives to the KANU governing council in November 1978, Angaine survived this purge. Angaine was at the forefront in Change the Constitution campaign that sought to bar Moi from automatically ascending to the presidency upon the death of Jomo Kenyatta.

Angaine was elected one of the representatives of Eastern Province. The other representative was Daniel Mutinda, the Minister for Broadcasting and Information from Kitui district. Angaine's victory was attributed to the fact that in Eastern Province the issue of Change- the- Constitution was no longer an issue. He may have also got sympathy votes following a recent tragic death of his daughter. Representatives to the Governing Council were delegates who did not necessarily reflect the wishes of the general electorate.⁹⁷ Angaine was never known to harbour national political ambitions.

In 1982, Angaine was accused by a group of Meru MPs for his decision as the Meru KANU branch chairman to create the post of Assistant Chairman. Angaine's opponents claimed that Angaine had meant to handpick his supporters which he denied.⁹⁸

Angaine's political associates filled vacant positions in the July 1986 elections .The post of KANU branch Secretary fell vacant following the election of the incumbent, Mr. Julius Muthamia, an Assistant Minister for Agriculture, to the post of Assistant national Secretary-General and was given to Joseph Muturia, an Assistant Minister for Transport and Communications. Both were Angaine's close allies.

⁹⁷*The Weekly Review*, "KANU Governing Council Elections", 24th November 1978, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁸*The Weekly Review*, "No Pushover", 2nd July, 1982, P 7.

Following the sacking of Kabeere M'Mbijiwe in 1985, Angaine was appointed to the post of Minister for State in the office of the President. He was also the Vice Chairman of the KANU disciplinary committee. Kabere M'Mbijiwe archrival in his Meru central constituency, Mr. David Mugambi, was elected branch Organizing Secretary.⁹⁹In 1985, President Moi while addressing a public rally at the coast singled out Sheriff Nassir for praise for regaining the KANU chairmanship and Angaine for his good organisational methods which also saw him elected KANU chairman in Meru. The presidential accolades to Angaine was an indication of restoration of good relations with the President having previously belonged to anti-Moi group in the Change- the- Constitution campaign.¹⁰⁰

3.1.2 ANGAINE AND THE METHODIST CHURCH

The Methodist church, then headed by Bishop Lawi Imathiu, had the largest number of followers in Meru. As such, the church wielded much influence in the area.¹⁰¹In politics, Angaine had been something of an institution. This is because he monopolised political power, sidelined his opponents and uplifted his cronies to political office. He was the sole broker and link with the national government. Anyone aspiring to see the President or aspiring political office had to seek his blessings. For a long time Angaine had considered the Church headed by Imathiu as one that could spell doom for him in parliamentary politics, hence the poor relationship between the two sides.

⁹⁹ *The Weekly Review*, "Angaine's Victory", 4th July, 1986, p 8.

¹⁰⁰ *The Weekly Review*, "Moi Praise Angaine", 6th September, 1985, p 6.

¹⁰¹ *The Weekly Review*, "Needed: More Than a Handshake", 24th February, 1989, p 10.

Having sorted out their differences with Mr. Njeru, in politics, Angaine was to behave in a similar fashion with the church, a few years later. In February 1989, Angaine and Bishop Lawi Imathiu of the Methodist Church in Kenya settled their differences. The historic reconciliation event took place at the Kaaga Rural Development Training Institute with the two antagonists demonstrating a handshake gesture.

The bitter rivalry between the cleric and the politician was long drawn. As a Cabinet Minister and the only one from Meru district, Angaine expected subservience from everyone in the district, including the head of the Methodist Church. But Imathiu did not look up to the Minister whom he preferred to see as member of his flock in need of spiritual guidance, as Imathiu once told Angaine, “ you are a member of the Methodist Church and therefore my lamb, you should be tied by the legs, so as not to destroy the shepherd.”¹⁰²

This divergence precipitated the antagonism that often culminated in a public showdown. The ‘burying of the hatchet’ was short-lived as they would be followed by renewed animosities. During an October 1987 visit to Meru district, President Moi called for, and witnessed another public reconciliation between the two.

This animosity between the two is said to have generated a destabilizing effect in the Meru region. Whereas Angaine dominated politics, Imathiu was the head of the Methodist Church whose largest following in the country is in Meru. Imathiu was known to slight Angaine and Angaine saw church influence headed by Imathiu as a possible

¹⁰² Oral interview, Lawi Imathiu, Methodist Guest House, Nairobi, 26th August 2015.

danger to him. Thus when Angaine was defeated by Nteere Mbogori in 1979 elections, he attributed this to Mbogori's link to the Methodist Church. In the 1988 elections, another of Angaine's opponents was Silas Muriuki, the Meru KNUT Secretary, who also held a senior position in the Methodist Church among them as head Treasurer of Kaaga Synod. Angaine had therefore been convinced that Imathiu was playing godfather to his principal opponents. During the 1988 countdown to elections, Angaine issued scathing personal attack against the bishop at Nthimbiri. Imathiu sought the President's intervention leading to the president's peacekeeping efforts.

Another allegation was that the Reverend Minister had gone round saying that the Minister was a dead man and that he had rejected his donation to the Methodist Church. The Minister said 'let him know that I am a Methodist by right and nobody can excommunicate me from the church of Christ'.¹⁰³ Angaine clearly knew that the Methodist Church had a large following in Meru. This would be critical in the elections. Thus although he failed to strictly adhere to Christian principles, he could not risk to denounce the Church. Imathiu retorted that he was capable of doing so. He also said that were it not for his fear of God and his love for the President, he would choose to go to hell if the path to heaven was through the Minister's path.¹⁰⁴ However according to Bishop Imathiu he had said that, "because I know you hate me, if the road to heaven passes through your land, for sure you would bar me from passing through."¹⁰⁵ However Bishop Imathiu talks fondly of Angaine;

¹⁰³ *The weekly Review*, "Needed: More Than a Handshake", 24th February, 1989, pp 9-10.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Oral interview, Lawi Imathiu, Methodist Guest House, Nairobi, 26th August, 2015.

Angaine is related to my mother. I used to call him uncle and he would call me *njau ya mwari* (my sisters offspring). In the beginning we were very close before we differed. In the 1969 elections when Angaine went to parliament unopposed, I had personally suggested at a public meeting at St. Paul's Methodist Church Meru, that to avoid divisions, Angaine be elected unopposed. His opponent Nteere Mbogori never forgave me for this. The man was very brilliant and possessed a natural pride perhaps due to his background. He led a dignified lifestyle and felt special. His organizational skills were second to none.¹⁰⁶

According to Imathiu there was one reason why the Mau Mau suggested Angaine for leadership, "the Mau Mau wanted wise and courageous people within their ranks". Imathiu speaks of the man's generosity when he was a teacher next to Angaine's home at Mwirine in 1952, "I would borrow his gramophone which was the only one in the village and use it to teach my learners."¹⁰⁷

Imathiu says the genesis of their differences was when the Bishop started to become very influential in the Methodist Church. Angaine perceived the cleric as a threat to his political position and dominance and therefore became paranoid. Another cause was Imathiu's view on land allocation. Those given land though they later sold it, were not properly vetted and unfortunately land ended up to those who already had. Imathiu maintained that the needy and the landless ought to be allocated the land. Some selfish people misled Angaine and the poor were left out. Imathiu openly protested incurring the Ministers wrath.¹⁰⁸ Imathiu was also independent-minded and could not be controlled. He would for example access the President without going through Angaine as the latter was the single most political broker in Meru and anybody wishing to see the President had to seek his blessings. When in December 1975 Imathiu was nominated to parliament without Angaine's intervention, Angaine thought his dominance in Meru politics was

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

threatened. Hence the exchange of bitter words commenced in earnest.¹⁰⁹ Earlier after independence there was oathing (*chai*) that emanated from Central Kenya intended to enhance loyalty to the government of Jomo Kenyatta. While Angaine supported the idea as it spread to Meru, Imathiu claimed that Christians would not be party to it. It was also alleged that Angaine was scheming to have his son Mutuma Angaine succeed him as the area MP. Mutuma would accompany his father to political rallies hence the feeling that Angaine was grooming him for political leadership. Angaine accused Imathiu of having designs to block this bid, and accused him of “being the hyena trying to eat the calf.” Another cause of confrontation between Angaine and Imathiu was the plan by the Methodist Church to set up a private university at the Kaaga Rural Training Centre on land given by the local County Council. Angaine wanted the university to be located at Kiirua Secondary School. This was worsened by the fact that a possible challenger of Angaine, David Mwiraria was the Secretary of the university Committee. The university therefore could be used to boost Angaine’s enemies.¹¹⁰

The 1989 reconciliation was preceded by a December delegation to the President where Imathiu pledged the church’s loyalty and support for the government. This was followed with praise by the President on New Year’s Day for defending Kenya’s human rights record. This warm relationship with the President precipitated the new move towards reconciliation. At St. Paul’s Methodist church in Meru, the animosity flared before a reconciliatory handshake was showcased. Angaine accused Imathiu of malice and of using his church to undermine and discredit him.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ *Weekly Review*, Is Angaine Still the King? 11th December, 1987.

Imathiu finally acknowledges that although Angaine loved and thought great things about Meru, he eventually lost the opportunity to make Meru great. He sums up, “Yes, he united the Meru people but brought no meaningful development primarily because he lacked wise advisors. He was a great General but without effective captains”.¹¹¹

3.1.3 ANGAINE EJECTED FROM KANU

Angaine’s long fortunes as the Meru KANU Chairman started to decline at the outset of the 1992 general elections, having lost the KANU nominations to Meru KNUT Secretary, Silas Muriuki. He lost the appeal he lodged with the KANU Nomination Tribunal that was chaired by Mutula Kilonzo. The tribunal covered a wide range of complaints, including electoral malpractices, poor supervision, misapplication of party rules and procedures as well as complaints of double voting.¹¹² On 5th March, 1993, the Meru KANU executive committee removed Angaine from chairmanship and replaced him with Matthew Adams Karauri. Mr. Angaine was removed after claims that he campaigned for the opposition during the 1992 general elections. Before the ouster, the committee had passed a vote of no confidence on Angaine on claims that he had campaigned for Kibaki and Mwiraria, the top leaders of the opposition Democratic Party. The committee accused Angaine of contributing to KANU’s dismal performance in the general elections.¹¹³ Angaine’s political career had come to an end.

¹¹¹ Op cit.

¹¹² Nation Reporter, “Angaine Ejected from KANU”, *The Daily Nation*, 26th November, 1992, p 1.

¹¹³ Ibid.

3.1.4 ANGAINE AS “KING” OF MERU?

The Meru community was made up of hierarchical councils that were responsible for the general administration of society.¹¹⁴ The *Njuri ya Kiama* or *the Njuri Ncheke* acted more like a Cabinet in the modern systems of government. Only people with strong personalities were selected to this *Njuri* and formed the backbone of the social administrative machinery.¹¹⁵

In a documentary, former Finance Minister and MP for Meru North, David Mwiraria, says that Angaine’s title as “King of Meru” started on his political career. He says that Angaine handpicked allies and got them elected to parliament. He asserted himself so strongly that people accepted that he was the greatest leader in Meru, particularly as the KANU chairman of the greater Meru.¹¹⁶ As a link between the Meru people and the National government, Angaine commanded unchallenged power and influence. This monopoly of power enhanced the title ‘king’.

Angaine loyalists regarded him as king because of his dominance in Meru politics and because of the expanse area he represented as MP. Meru has never had a king. However his political competitors loathed the title as it belittled and undermined them and elevated Angaine to a higher political pedestal. Indeed, a lot of disaffection was generated when on 16th April, 1990, the Timau District Officer, Ochillo Oyugi, said that Angaine was not

¹¹⁴ Zablon Nthamburi, *A History of the Methodist Church in Kenya*, Nairobi: Heinemann Educational press, 1982, p78.

¹¹⁵ Ibid p.78.

¹¹⁶ Hillary Ngw’eno and Nation Media Group, *Makers of a Nation, Jackson Angaine, The Men and Women in Kenya’s History*, Nairobi: Kenya History and Biographies Co.Ltd, undated.

only a king of Meru but also a national leader.¹¹⁷ Angaine himself was happy to be regarded asking. Referring to a visit by the head of the civil service he remarked: "...even when the head of the civil service came to Meru I said, 'welcome to my kingdom', but that does not mean I am a crowned king I am only a hero".¹¹⁸ The self-proclaimed king of Meru would brag thus, "*Bangwana atiraciarwa, kethira naciari atirokia mutwe*" which translates to mean, 'I have no equal and if there is one then he is just a novice.'¹¹⁹ On a point of order in parliament, a political nemesis of Angaine, Kirugi M'Mukindia told Parliament that the Meru had never had a king. The Assistant Minister was reacting to utterances by the Timau DO that Angaine was king, pointing out that the Meru were traditionally administered by a council of elders. He also said that Kenya had one constitution, a single party Republic.¹²⁰ These remarks by Kirugi indicated how other Meru leaders were uncomfortable with Angaine's political hegemony in the region.

3.1.5 BID TO EXPAND MERU MUNICIPALITY: KUTU CAMPAIGN

The period between 1979-1983, Angaine was out of elective politics having been defeated by Nteere Mbogori. However he remained the KANU Meru branch chairman. As Angaine relaxed from political activity many delegations trooped to his Timau home to see him on various matters. Some of them were just goodwill delegations. In his own words, he could not do without interacting with people, "my food is people; without them am dead".¹²¹ Mutuma says that contrary to popular believe that he hated the Asian

¹¹⁷Nation Correspondent, "Timau DO Calls Angaine King", *The Daily Nation*, 16th April, 1990, p 28.

¹¹⁸Nation Correspondent, "Angaine: Am Not Crowned King", *The Daily Nation*, 1st February 1990, p7.

¹¹⁹ Oral interview, Silas Gitije, Meru Slopes Hotel, Meru, 24th, August, 2015.

¹²⁰Nation reporter, "DO's 'King' Remark in Parliament", *The Daily Nation*, 4th April, 1990, p 4.

¹²¹ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

community whom he depended to sponsor his campaign machinery, Angaine cordially interacted with them and was proud enough not to beg for assistance of any kind.¹²²

The Kutu campaign was a lobby that gravitated between two factions for and against extension of Meru Municipality. This occurred while Angaine was out of Parliament when the Local government attempted to expand the Municipality borders to include the whole of Mirigamieru (consisting of Ntima and Nyaki locations). The consequence of this would have meant increased land rates and locals would unwillingly be forced to sell their land fleeing away from exorbitant rates, Angaine vehemently opposed the move with the slogan “Municipality *kutu or kutu*” and vowed that this would never happen under his watch. He said if this happened “*ndetithia biondo na ruuji*” which meant if that happened he would quit politics. When the gazettelement was rescinded after a spirited campaign, the people saw Angaine as their saviour and vowed to re-elect him to Parliament which came to pass in the 1983 snap election. A celebratory ceremony was held at Gikindune (a sacred *Njuri Ncheke* meeting place) where eight bulls were slaughtered.¹²³ This incident shows that Angaine was a servant leader and sought to serve their interests.

For about four decades, Angaine monopolized power as KANU Chairperson and influenced the election of close supporters in the branches and sub-branches. Through his charisma and oratorial skills, he was able to outdo his opponents. The change of regime from Jomo Kenyatta to Moi did not affect this position significantly. He fought every real

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Oral interview, Silas Gitije, Meru Slopes Hotel, Meru, 24th August, 2015.

or perceived opponent vehemently. For instance his feud with the Methodist church under Imathiu was because he believed the powerful Bishop was out to prop and dethrown him from supremacy. However the introduction of plural politics saw his chairmanship wrested from him by Silas Muriuki in 1992.¹²⁴ This marked his fall from glory.

3.1.6 CONCLUSION

Angaine monopolized power in Meru politics for about four decades. He remained the unchallenged leader and power broker in Meru. With almost a religious following, he remained the District Kanu Chairman until the introduction of multipartism when he was replaced by Matthew Adams Karauri. He maintained close allies at the helm of party leadership which assured him of unwavering support.

¹²⁴ Nation Reporter, “Angaine Ejected from KANU”, *The Daily Nation*, 26th November, 1992, p 1.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANGAINE AND NATIONAL POLITICS

4.1 ANGAINE AND ELECTIVE POLITICS.

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Angaine debut in active politics was when he joined the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and later the Kenya African Union (KAU) where he served as Secretary and Meru KAU chairman 1948-1952¹²⁵. He later joined the Legco in 1961 with Bernard Mate, the two representing Central (A region comprising Meru and Embu). Initially Angaine was not interested in politics but was prevailed upon by the Mau Mau and the elders who suggested that he become their voice in Government. His descent from a family of seers and the fact that his father had taken his life in absolute defiance to land alienation endeared him to these two groups. Having joined KAU earlier, Angaine was the automatic KANU flag bearer when the party was formed in 1960.¹²⁶ When the first elections were called in 1961, Angaine was the party's candidate. His son-in-law Stanley Kabira Mwithimbu gave him the first car to campaign. With a support of the youth and a formal youth wing and 34 bicycles, Angaine sailed easily to the Legco. It is Angaine who opened the first KANU office in Meru. KANU won the election but refused to form government with Kenyatta in detention. Ngala was the called to form the government but Angaine refused to join Ngala's government.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ M'Muthuri Muthamia, *History of Political Organisation in Meru, A study of Political Development Among the Ameru of Kenya to 1973*, A dissertation, 1974, p17.

¹²⁶ Oral interview, Silas Gitije, Meru Slopes Hotel, Meru, 24th August 2015.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

4.1.2 ANGAINE AND EX-MAU MAU FIGHTERS.

Mau Mau was a liberation movement founded by radicals who were unhappy with the constitutional and gradual method of agitating for freedom. By 1951, this movement had already started recruiting members by administering oaths against the British. Only people of proven integrity, sincerity, and courage were admitted into this movement. The ultimate aim of the movement was to overthrow the colonial system through armed revolt. On the evening of 20th October, 1952, the then Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, signed the state of Emergency Proclamation and 'Operation Jock Scott' as it was codenamed, went into action.¹²⁸ The Declaration of Emergency unleashed the police and the army on KAU leaders and other suspects. Jomo Kenyatta and five others, namely Bildad Kaggia, Ramogi Achieng Aneko, Paul Ngei, Fred Kubai and Kungu Karumba were arrested and incarcerated at Kapenguria. They were charged with managing the proscribed society of Mau Mau and causing disaffection. These six suspects came to be known as the Kapenguria Six. Hundreds other Africans were arrested simultaneously in other parts of the country and charged for being Mau Mau sympathizers or accomplices.¹²⁹

Angaine was one the people arrested on 20th October 1952 together with one Francis M'Aburia supposedly for their role in Mau Mau activities. He was detained in many detention camps which included Kajiado, Manyani, Hola, and Manda Island before eventually being released and taken to Kinoru stadium with the intention of coercing him to denounce Mau Mau. Instead, he denounced oppression by the colonialists and

¹²⁸ Assa Okoth, *History of Africa, 1915-1995*, Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2006, pp77-84.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

demanded withdrawal of British troops from Kenya and an end of harassment of Africans in the villages. This incident depicts Angaine as a fearless and obstinate. Due to this outright defiance, the colonial police officer, Ian Henderson, spirited him to the wilderness (Nyika) and abandoned him at the mercy of hunger, thirst and wild beasts. He survived the ordeal and was returned to Hola, detained and finally was released later in 1954.¹³⁰

A close associate in those early political activities was Jomo Kenyatta. The two would refer to one another as *muthoniwa*, which means in-law. The symbolic reference of *muthoniwa* emanated from the closeness of the two that is normally characteristic of a marital relationship. The latter would visit Angaine at Mwirine home where they would have private talk, especially after he returned from studies in London. When Kenyatta was imprisoned at Lodwar, Angaine and his son-in-law Stanley Mwithimbu would visit him. Angaine bought Kenyatta his first car after release from prison.¹³¹ During one such visit at Angaine's Mwirine homestead, there was an attempt to arrest Kenyatta and Angaine. This time the Mau Mau activities had become a menace and deliberate efforts were made by the colonial authorities to immobilise and destabilise the movement with the ultimate aim of vanquishing it altogether. Those suspected of involvement were tracked, arrested and incarcerated.

The duo secretly fled and hid at Wason Timber, an Asian timber sawing facility not far from Angaine's homestead. Sensing danger, Angaine's firstborn daughter, Honesty

¹³⁰ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

¹³¹ Oral interview, Stanley Mwithimbu, Meru Town, Meru, 11th April, 2015.

Mukomunene, dug a pit in the house and hid all political literature in a box and poured water on top to camouflage the scene in the event a search was conducted by the colonial police. The politically conscious girl would visit the father even after he was incarcerated at Tuntu, currently situated at the Meru GK prison, a detention camp for Mau Mau dissidents.. A sympathizer of Mau Mau, Angaine would buy warm clothing and sneak them to the forest through a woman called Mama Uhuru(whose real name was Julia Kaimuri M'Ikiome) together with food prepared by Honesty.¹³² Mama Uhuru was called so because of her unrelenting efforts to support the fighters and advocacy for freedom from colonial yoke.

Christian converts and the Mau Mau freedom fighters differed in their view about colonialism. The Mau Mau was opposed to anything foreign, including Christianity. They perceived Christians as sellouts and puppets of the oppressor. Sensing that this would tear down the social fabric, Angaine attempted to reconcile African Christian converts and the Mau Mau. In about 1959, Angaine summoned M'Amiraki, a church leader, his son in law Mwithimbu and his daughter Honesty whereby, amidst feasting, reconciliation was done. Christians were advised not to take the oath. Those who underwent oathing procedures were ridiculed and regarded as *marwirwi* (shaky believers).¹³³

After independence in 1963, Angaine and Koinange were the two leading figures who ceremoniously received freedom fighter Baimungi from the forest at Kinoru stadium. Baimungi was one of the celebrated Mau Mau generals and was based in the Mt. Kenya

¹³²Oral interview, Honesty M'Mwithimbu, Kaaga, Meru, 13th June 2015.

¹³³ Ibid.

forest. Fellow freedom fighter Mwariama had also emerged and was received at Ruringu Stadium Nyeri. These two were celebrated freedom fighters and generals of the freedom army. The coming out of the forest by the two fighters was characterized by surrender of arms among song and dance. Baimungi was then hosted at Angaine's homestead at Mwirine where he sojourned for two weeks.¹³⁴

Several animals were slaughtered for this homecoming for the heroes. As Mau Mau women fighters guarded the entrances to the homestead, Baimungi is said to have ordered women who came to pay homage to bring foodstuff. The two weeks saw Mau Mau fighters express distaste to white practices by cutting plaited hair of the women who had come to pay homage. However, this was discontinued after one brave man called M'ikiba from Kithoka stood and expressed dissatisfaction, terming the rude cutting of the hair as oppression of "our sisters who were supporting you in the forest".¹³⁵

After disagreements with the government, the ex-freedom fighters Baimungi, Icholi and Kibamba and a section of Mwariama group with 300 to 500 followers returned to the forest to fight for their rights from there.¹³⁶ The government condemned the activities of the freedom fighters and appealed to them to leave the forest and gave them up to 12th January 1965 to surrender. The government could only spare 45 plots of about 15 acres each for the Meru ex-freedom fighters. They were given loans to buy the farms, but the Minister for Lands and Settlement Jackson Angaine emphasized that failure to pay the

¹³⁴ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, 2nd May, 2015.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ M'Muthuri Muthamia, *History of Political Organisation in Meru A study of Political Organisation among the Meru of Kenya to 1973*, A Ph.D dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1974, p 2.

loan would lead to eviction and their lands being sold.¹³⁷ They blamed Angaine for their woes but Angaine pleaded with them to come out of the forest.

Having failed to leave the forest, Baimungi's camp on Mt Kenya forest was attacked by the security forces on 26th January 1965 and "Field Marshall" Baimungi and two "Generals" were killed. After the death of these Mau Mau leaders, the other "Field Marshalls" and "Generals" surrendered. Angaine, a close friend of Baimungi, and after the latter's death, educated Baimungi's son at Jamhuri High School and enabled him to be employed by the Survey of Kenya with another Kiriamiti, a relative.¹³⁸

It is observable that Angaine though not a freedom fighter in the sense of fighting from the forest, like many others, he facilitated, sympathized and assisted the freedom fighters. As such the freedom fighters treated him as one of their own. This worked to his advantage as involvement in the freedom struggle conferred leadership positions that arose with the nationalist struggle and independence.

4.1.3 ANGAINE AS A DELEGATE TO LANCASTER

As a member of the Legco, Angaine become part of the delegation to the second Lancaster House Conference together with Bernard Mate. Kariuki Njiru had to step down to pave way for Angaine who was accompanied by his wife Tabitha.¹³⁹ Julius M'Mworia as the third delegate represented the *Njuri Ncheke*, the Meru Council of elders governing body. The delegation was to be as inclusive as possible to cater for all the divergent

¹³⁷ Ibid p 4.

¹³⁸ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

interests. Julius M'Mworia describes Angaine thus, "...educated, aloof and reserved. In his long political career he identified with the elites. I can describe his developmental record in Meru as modest".¹⁴⁰

M'Mworia identifies an incident where a mother in response to a query her son had posed as to why people repeatedly voted for him(Angaine) the mother said, "he does not do anything much, but he allows us to sing."¹⁴¹

M'Mworia says that the small clique of loyalists benefited from Angaine some of whom were allocated plots and land, but maintains that the Meru community would have been better if it had a development-minded, focused and aggressive leader of Angaine's caliber; but Angaine was not. He says that it was not easy to dislodge Angaine from power in spite of his poor record because the elites were disunited, and each sought self-interests and therefore could not launch a common onslaught on Angaine. President Kenyatta's support for Angaine boldened him and scared the opposition as Angaine was a yes- man and had the ear and eye of the president.¹⁴²

M'Mworia also describes Angaine as a master of political rhetoric and propaganda. In song and dance he made his supporters humiliate his opponents in ridicule and demeaning words. One Silas M'Mugambi who opposed Angaine in the 1974 elections was thus ridiculed, "traitor, traitor go to the *Mugumo* tree and pick your votes there". This was in reference to a pre-independence incident when M'Mugambi was a member of the

¹⁴⁰ Oral interview, Julius M'Mworia, Kahawa Sukari, Nairobi, 25th August, 2015.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

tribal police and in an operation some Mau Mau fighters were killed and dumped at the *Mugumo* tree. The latter performed dismally in the poll.¹⁴³ To his name songs were composed to praise him, “Angaine never lies” one went. This way he built himself politically and destroyed his political opponents. M’Mworia describes Angaine as gifted with the power of the garb, and had the ability to hypnotize the crowd and convince them to follow him never mind where he would take them.¹⁴⁴ Angaine utilized these qualities to his benefit as would be manifested in his political campaigns.

4.1.4 KENYA’S FIRST PARLIAMENT AND ANGAINE, 1963

After independence was achieved and Kenyatta formed the government, Angaine became parliamentary Secretary to the ministry of Agriculture and Settlement, Survey and Town planning and later Assistant Minister for agriculture. This was however shortlived. The people of Meru thought this was a junior position and they protested by holding demonstrations.¹⁴⁵ The president then appointed him the Minister for Land and Settlement, Survey and Town Planning in the same year.¹⁴⁶ This was perhaps the most sensitive and important ministry as the clamour for independence and the armed struggle was centred on land. Thus the President wanted the person he could trust to oversee land resettlement and registration. To this end, the personal bond with Angaine explains why he gave him this crucial ministry. Angaine was the sixteenth MP to take the oath of allegiance on the first day of the first meeting of the House of Representatives pursuant to a Proclamation dated 1st June 1963 and signed by H.E the governor at parliament

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Oral interview, Julius Muthamia, Meru Slopes Hotel, 21st August, 2015.

¹⁴⁶ Mohamed Amin and Peter Moll, *One Man One Vote*, Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1975.

buildings on the 7th June 1963. In that first sitting, Humphrey Slade was elected the Speaker and Mr. F.R.S.de Souza the Deputy Speaker.¹⁴⁷

4.1.5 THE 1969 ELECTIONS; ANGAINE SAILS IN UNOPPOSED

The 1969 general elections was an “open race” for anybody who wished to contest. The only restriction was that one should have been a KANU member for six months prior to the elections. This eliminated former KPU supporters like B. Njoka and H.L. Gachiatha from the race but more important was the fact that no one could impose leadership from the top. Anyone with some local support was encouraged to stand. Such support could be secured through certain organisation at the local level for example Cooperative Union. The race attracted 28 candidates in six constituencies in Meru; Meru South (Nithi), Nyambene North (Igembe), Nyambene South (Tigania), Meru Central, Meru North West, Meru South West and Tharaka.¹⁴⁸ In 1969 elections Angaine retained his seat unopposed and was reappointed Minister for Lands and Settlement. In Meru, the 1969 elections did not stimulate the organizational structure of the party. Instead it encouraged conflict and antagonism within KANU leadership. Some of the candidates who won the elections did not support Angaine’s central leadership. The antagonism aroused by this leadership struggle was manifested in the formation of two active competing factions. One group led by James Njeru the assistant Minister for Defence and the other group led by J.H.

¹⁴⁷ Kenya National Assembly Library, The National House of Representatives Official Report, 1st Parliament 7th June, vol. 1. part 1 First Session, 1963.

¹⁴⁸ M’Muthuri Muthamia, *History of Political Organization in Meru, A Study of political Development among the Meru of Kenya to 1973*, A Ph.D dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1974, p10.

Angaine the MP for Meru North West and the Minister for Lands and Settlement. This group comprised Messrs J. Muthamia, J. Muturia and E. Marete.¹⁴⁹

The 1969 election was held following the 1966 “little general election” of 1966 and was the first to be held in accordance with the existing constituency boundaries.¹⁵⁰ It was also held soon after the proscription of the KPU whose leaders including former vice president Oginga Odinga were detained. Nine MPS were elected unopposed in that general election. They included the late Jomo Kenyatta in Gatundu, the then Vice President Daniel Arap Moi in Baringo Central, J. Angaine in Meru North West, Robert Matano in Kwale North, Kamwithi Mwinyi in Embu East, Francis Tuva in Malindi South, Peter Ejore in Turkana West, Peter Ange’elei in Turkana South, and E.P. Kassa Choon in Pokot East.¹⁵¹

In the early 1972 KANU elections, the two leaders of the two rival groups toured the whole district addressing public rallies and establishing sub-branches. Nearly in all markets, two KANU flags were hoisted in different buildings, one for Angaine group and the other one for Njeru’s group. In their speeches the leaders openly condemned each other. This hindered development, as one faction would keep off activities of the other group.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ The 1966 “Little Election” was held in the 29 constituencies where members of the National Assembly had defected to the KPU.

¹⁵¹ *Weekly Review*, “Trip Down Memory Lane”, 12th, February, 1988, p22.

¹⁵² M’Muthuri Muthamia, *History of political Organisation in Meru A Study of Political Development among the Meru of Kenya to 1973*, A Ph.D dissertation ,University of Nairobi,1974, p10.

4.1.6 ANGAINE AND GEMA.

GEMA, a tribal organization, was formed in March 1971 comprising the linguistically related communities of Meru, Embu and Gikuyu. At its inception, GEMA was formed with the purpose of promoting unity and for the welfare of those communities.¹⁵³ Eventually, it metamorphosed into a political outfit whose objective was to stop political leadership from leaving central province or what was popularly regarded as *Nyumba ya Mumbi* (House of Mumbi) referring to the Agikuyu community who locate their ancestry to the mythical Gikuyu and Mumbi. By 1975, it had a membership of 100,000. Associated with it was Gema Holdings. In August 1977, GEMA announced that GEMA Holdings owns property worth ksh. 3 million and that more than 3 million Kikuyu, Embu and Meru people had become members of the association.

The initial idea to form GEMA would seem to have originated from politicians, for the interim official bearers were all politicians of some standing. These were Dr. Gikonyo Kiano as Chairman, Mr. Lucas Ngunjiri as Vice Chair, and Mr. Mwai Kibaki as Treasurer. The other interim officials were Messrs Jeremiah Nyagah, Jackson Angaine, and Jacob Mwongo. However in 1973, top leadership of the organisation was taken over by people who were not professional politicians. Mr. Njenga Karume was elected to the top post while Mr. Duncan Ndegwa took over as Vice Chairman. The post of Treasurer and Organizing Secretary went to MPs Nahashon Mwongo and Kihika Kimani respectively.

Gema, whose motto was *kuuga na gwika* that is, *to say and to do*, began strongly. This was not surprising because several factors favoured it. One, most of the officials at the

¹⁵³*The East African Magazine*, "GEMA Politics", 16th November, 1998.

National or District level were well placed in society, either as successful businessmen or as important personalities in the private and parastatal sector. The organisation's tempo of activity was so significant that some people feared that the organisation may outshine KANU, the ruling party;

Although ostensibly a welfare organisation, GEMA was in fact, a political party within KANU with Kiambu as the nerve centre, but with political retainers throughout the Republic among every tribe. It was through GEMA that affluent Kiambu characters of dubious qualifications sprang into the political arena (and it was through it that many secured top and extremely lucrative posts in the government as well as in the private sector.¹⁵⁴

GEMA'S political ambitions may be gauged from a warning by Kenyatta delivered to the organisation on 2nd November, 1975, in which the President threatened to ban all welfare associations "competing with KANU" saying;

Gema is not the government. It is imperative that you respect the government because if you do not I will disband the organisation. We also have laws by our government which you have to respect because they are superior to your association's Constitution. If it (GEMA) is self-seeking, I will disband it.¹⁵⁵

These threats by the very patron of the association were pregnant with meaning and that is why they had the effect of causing GEMA leaders to go out of their way to parade GEMA as indeed being no more than a welfare organisation. Said Njenga Karume in 1975;

GEMA...is a bridge ...we maintain good relations with the various other social or communal organizations already existing in the Republic and by so doing, serve the cause of greater inter-communal understanding which is the basis of national unity.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Joseph Karimi and Philip Ochieng, *The Kenyatta Succession*, Nairobi: Trans Africa Limited, 2008, P 71.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

But GEMA had political interests. In January 1975, GEMA warned that tough action would be taken against its members who decided to go against the government either by speech or deeds. During GEMA's two day conference in Nyahururu in April 1977, the organization resolved to support a democratic spirit of fair competition for all posts in KANU. The conference which was attended by representatives of all GEMA branches, including 20 MPs and former Mau Mau generals, elected a committee comprising the GEMA, KANU branch Chairmen and Secretaries from GEMA districts and MPs to "select candidates in any national elections."¹⁵⁷

As soon as GEMA was launched, it was introduced in Meru in 1971. The election of GEMA first office bearers was seen a test case for political leadership in the district. Njeru's group emerged victorious and therefore it became his organisational base because GEMA office bearers at every level belonged to Njeru's camp. By 1973, the Njeru group was in a better shape while Angaine's group was devastated. The freedom fighters who pushed Angaine to power were not politically influential as they were then. A new elite composed of the former loyalists and professionals with economic power emerged and questioned Angaine's ability.¹⁵⁸

GEMA was not the only tribal grouping, there existed the Maasai United Front, the formation of GEMA University Volunteer Service, the launching of Abaluhya, Iteso and Masaba (A.I.M) Holdings or the formation of Mijikenda Union. Alongside the rural

¹⁵⁷Christopher Mullei, "Is Tribalism in Kenya Increasing, Waning?", *Weekly Review*, 21st November, 1977, p8.

¹⁵⁸ M' Muthuri Muthamia, *History of Political Organization in Meru A study of Political Development among the Meru of Kenya*, A PhD dissertation, University of Nairobi, unpublished, p 12.

associations were many locational district welfare associations, football clubs and religious sects.¹⁵⁹

One observation from GEMA activities is that Angaine's role was insignificant. It is only when the idea to form GEMA was conceived that he became an interim office bearer together with Jeremiah Nyagah and Jacob Mwongo. In addition, when the office bearers were elected his rival James Njeru the MP for Tharaka and his group emerged victorious. According to Mutuma Angaine, GEMA was "an opposition" party to Angaine in Meru.¹⁶⁰

4.1.7 ANGAINE AND THE 1974 ELECTION PETITION

The election of Angaine in 1974, the third parliament, was challenged in court by his erstwhile political nemesis, Nteere Mbogori, even after he was challenged by two more competitors in the poll, Silas M'Mugambi and Eliphelet Mbogori. The court ruled in Angaine's favour. The petition arose after it was found that there were 3,700 votes above the total number of registered voters. The High Court ruled that the counting discrepancy was not in itself sufficient to nullify his election. The court further submitted that it was not necessary for the returning officer, Mr. Kangethe, the then Meru DC to explain how the counting discrepancy had occurred.

The petitioner claimed that Angaine had used a witchdoctor by the name Kinyonga to make people vote for him. Mbogori claimed that the witchdoctor had gone round campaigning for Angaine during the polling day. He alleged that Kinyonga visited

¹⁵⁹Christopher Mullei, "Is Tribalism in Kenya Increasing, Waning?", *Weekly Review*, 21st November, 1977, p8.

¹⁶⁰ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 2nd May, 2015.

several places threatening death and injury to spouses of those who refused to vote for the Minister. The court also dismissed this claim because it did not find the evidence convincing as the witnesses did not establish undue influence as voters were not compelled to vote or fail to vote owing to witchcraft. Voters cast votes for their preferred candidate. Another claim was that Angaine had used government vehicles to transport voters, a practice which is against the law, an allegation that the court also rejected saying that an election offence had not been committed in relation to that ground.¹⁶¹

Angaine's lawyers, Mr. Satish Gautama and Bahilal Patel argued in their submissions that the petitioner was going outside the scope of his petition. Gautama said there is no evidence to suggest that the ballot papers during the 1974 elections had been tampered with. As for the fact that Angaine had used government transport, Gautama told the court that Angaine as a government Minister was entitled to government transport at all time. Gautama's submissions were supported by the Principal State Counsel Mr. J.F. Shields who together with Nicholas Raballa appeared for the returning officer Alex Kangethe, the then Meru DC. The latter was the first respondent.

Mbogori's attorney, H.P. Makhecha, said the burden of proving how the discrepancy in the counting of votes took place rested on the returning officer not the petitioner. He also submitted that the magnitude of the discrepancy constituted grounds for nullifying Angaine's election and that there had been a deliberate attempt to affect the results right from the start and that extra votes had been inserted in the ballot boxes. When the court

¹⁶¹ Charles Kulundu, "Mountains Out of Molehill", *Weekly Review*, 9th February 1976, pp. 4-5

began hearing the petition the first exercise was to order the recount of the votes. In a preliminary ruling the court said;

The evidence has not shown in one way or the other how this admittedly substantial error occurred....we do not think the error *ipso facto* shows the election was conducted so badly that it can be said to have not been an election...we are of the view that the discrepancy is not fatal to the election.¹⁶²

Although Mbogori had established that there were only 32,575 registered voters in the constituency and that the actual number of votes cast was 36,000, the high court ruled that the number of extra votes did not alter the overall result in the election because it left Angaine with more than 5,000 votes over his closest rival Nteere Mbogori. Angaine had beaten Mbogori by a majority of 9,000 votes in the election having carried out an elaborate recount of the votes. The court concluded that during the election there was virtually 100 per cent turnout, an unheard of enthusiasm for elections in post-independence Kenya. The court finally dismissed Mbogori's petition.¹⁶³

4.1.8 ANGAINE AND THE CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION CAMPAIGN

The subject matter of the change the constitution debate was section 6(1) of the old constitution of Kenya now repealed. It read;

6(1) If the office of the President becomes vacant by reason of the death or resignation of the President, or by reason of his ceasing to hold office by virtue of Section 10 or Section 12, an election of a President shall be held within the period of ninety days immediately following the occurrence of that vacancy, and shall be held in the manner prescribed by section 5(5).

(2) while the office of the President is vacant as aforesaid the functions of that office shall be exercised –

a) by the Vice President

¹⁶²Charles Kulundu, "Mountains Out of Molehill", *Weekly Review*, 9th February 1976, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶³*Weekly Review*, "Mbogori is Back", 13th July, 1979, p 13.

b) if there is no Vice President or if the Vice President considers that he is for any reason unable to discharge the functions of the office of President, by such Minister as may be appointed by the Cabinet.¹⁶⁴

Angaine was part of the campaign that came to be known as Change- the -Constitution Campaign which sought to have the Kenya Constitution amended so that the Vice President would not automatically become President in event of the death of the President. Angaine was the point man of the group in Meru. The Change- the - Constitution campaign was started off by the then Nakuru KANU Chairman, Kihika Kimani, late September and early October 1977 at a meeting in Nakuru. Angaine supported Kimani's sentiments saying, "since law is made by man, it can be amended by man if need be." Angaine became host to the proponents of this campaign the following week in Meru. Others in the campaign included the Minister for Co-operative Development, Mr. Paul Ngei, and a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Njoroge Mungai. Others were Njenga Karume and Mr. James Gichuru, MP for Limuru.

The change the Constitution campaign refers to a lobby in the 1970s by a faction of politicians to have the Constitutional amended to bar the then Vice President Moi from ascending to the presidency after the death of the then president Kenyatta. It was a GEMA outfit aimed at blocking Moi from succeeding Kenyatta in the event of the President's death. When the then Attorney General Charles Njonjo warned that further discussion on the issue might lead to criminal prosecution, Angaine, James Gichuru, Paul

¹⁶⁴Government of Kenya, *The Constitution of Kenya* (Revised Edition) Nairobi: Government Printer, 1992.

Ngei and Dr. Njoroge Mungai dismissed him. However, the Cabinet settled the issue in favour of the Attorney General and the proponents of the debate took a low profile.¹⁶⁵

While the Change- the- Constitution campaign was the culmination of their campaign, efforts to dilute Moi's power began shortly after the assassination of Tom Mboya, with talk during 1970 of altering the Constitution to allow for the position of "Executive Prime Minister" instead of executive President and so undermine Moi. Amidst this atmosphere of plots and counter-plots directed at Kenyatta government and Moi, contending factions of the dominant Kikuyu attempted reconciliation, agreeing to set up a welfare society on the lines of the Luo Union that would protect interests of all Kikuyu. Kenyatta chaired the first meeting at Gatundu and thus GEMA was born.

The anti-Moi campaign was systematic and expanded its horizons to silence and oust Moi's supporters. It used three methods-constitutional, political and military methods to oust the Vice President.¹⁶⁶In 1972, for example, the man they dismissed as "the Arab", Sharraf Nassir, was arrested and detained in the notorious Manyani prison for allegedly planting stories that Kenyatta had killed Mboya. Indeed, when a delegation of about two hundred prominent farmers, businessmen, and politicians from Kiambu called on President Moi at State House Nairobi on 15th February 1979, many political observers noted with interest the composition of that delegation. Conspicuously absent from the delegation were several prominent leaders in the district. These included the Minister for Natural Resources, Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, the Minister for Defence and MP for Limuru Mr. James Gichuru, Jomo Kenyatta's son, Mr. Peter Muigai Kenyatta, MP for Juja and an

¹⁶⁵ The *weekly Review*, "Angaine Still Rules Meru, But...", 10th January, 1977, P 7.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, the late president's nephew, Mr. Ngengi Muigai, MP for Gatundu and Mr. Njenga Karume, the National chairman of GEMA. Njonjo is said to have told the delegation that those who still harboured the Change –the- Constitution idea should now forget it. Mr. Njonjo had warned that members were liable to prosecution, if they continued with the issue thus effectively forestalling a campaign that kicked off in August 1976.¹⁶⁷ Angaine's association and activities in the Change-the- Constitution group contributed to his political defeat in the 1979 elections soon after Moi ascended to the presidency. And even after the snap elections of 1983 that saw him back to parliament, he was not given a ministerial seat until two years later when Kabeere M'Mbijiwe was sacked.

4.1.9 ANGAINE'S BRIEF EXIT FROM ELECTIVE POLITICS

In the 1979 elections, there were two strong feelings in Meru. First, there was the feeling that they must vote to parliament more Cabinet material. The Meru people had only one Minister, Mr. Jackson Angaine, and one assistant Minister for Defence, Mr. James Njeru. The second was the trouble M'Mbijiwe and Miss Njeru had to put up with. M'Mbijiwe had been found guilty of election offences in election petitions which followed 1974 elections, while Miss Anarita Karimi Njeru had been sentenced to two and half years imprisonment for embezzling funds at St. Mary's Girls' High School when she was the headmistress.¹⁶⁸ In 1979, Angaine faced a two-pronged strong opposition in elective politics. The man who on nomination day in 1974 kept officials waiting at the Meru District Commissioner's office so that he could hand over his nomination papers joined the race for the Meru North West seat. Daniel Mwongo Muchena, who at the 11th hour in

¹⁶⁷*Weekly Review*, "New Leadership Row", 2nd March, 1979, p 8.

¹⁶⁸*Weekly Review*, "Political Storm", 29th June, 1979, p 24.

1974 dropped his bid, expressed confidence and promised that he would not withdraw this time round.

He however, reckoned that his other two competitors were no pushovers. This election toppled one of the oldest serving Cabinet Ministers when Nteere Mbogori narrowly trounced him in the poll by getting 17, 948 to Angaine's 16,152, effectively bringing to an end his 16 years dominance of Meru politics. But this was short-lived. Mbogori's win by only 1,796 votes majority indicated that Angaine still enjoyed a sizeable following and could cause problems for Mbogori in future.¹⁶⁹ Mbogori was the Manager of the Mt. Kenya Textiles, Nanyuki and a former Deputy Town Clerk of Meru. He was also the Secretary of GEMA and a Vice Chairman of the Meru Central Farmers' Cooperative Society.¹⁷⁰

Angaine had retained both his parliamentary seat and Cabinet post ever since he was elected to parliament in 1963. At the time of his defeat, too, he was the only Cabinet Minister from Meru district. And in addition to his position as the KANU chairman, he wielded enormous power in Meru politics.¹⁷¹ This defeat was attributed to the fact that he had joined the earlier aborted Change-the-Constitution movement which had sought to bar President Moi (then Kenyatta's Vice President) from automatically assuming the presidency in event of the Kenyatta's death. However, Angaine's main problem was that he was advancing in years and his health was faltering. His opponents claimed that he was too old to be an effective leader and in any case his brand of politics was outmoded.

¹⁶⁹*Weekly Review*, "Hard Time", 5th August, 1982, p 8-9.

¹⁷⁰*Weekly Review*, "Easy Days Over", 4th May, 1979.

¹⁷¹*Weekly Review*, "Hard Time", 5th August 1982, p8-9.

To prove his critics wrong he had recently donated a large sum of money at a fundraising meeting in aid of Meru Institute of Technology in Meru which was officiated by President Moi.¹⁷² The political animosity between the two was not new. Nteere was a former Chairman of the Meru African Political Party which merged with KANU in 1960. He disagreed with Angaine who was the KANU chairman and in 1962 he joined KADU and became its branch Chairman upto its merger with KANU in 1964.

4.1.10 THE 1983 SNAP ELECTIONS AND ANGAINE'S COMEBACK

The snap election of 1983 was occasioned by an early dissolution of parliament owing to the traitor saga.¹⁷³ In 1980 Mr. Njonjo suddenly resigned as Attorney General to seek election to Parliament. Moi then created a new Ministry of Home and Constitutional Affairs. Within two years, allegations were made to the effect that Njonjo was making a bid for the President's position and had been making offers of money and promises of jobs to some MPs, if they would support his quest for the top position. By the time of the 1983 elections, he had also relinquished the Cabinet and parliamentary positions. Many of the politicians who had been close to him, including G.G. Kariuki, Minister of State, Stanley Oloitiptip, Minister of Local Government, four former Assistant Ministers, a former Deputy Speaker and a former Chief Whip were similarly expelled from the party.¹⁷⁴

It was during this snap election that Angaine made a spectacular comeback. Angaine's re-entry to the fifth parliament at the age of eighty years made him the oldest member of

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Charles Njonjo was alleged to have whipped parliamentarians to pass a vote of no confidence on the president which would have seen him ascend to the Presidency.

¹⁷⁴ Vincent Khapoya, Moi and beyond; Towards a Peaceful Election? *Third World Quarterly* Vol.No.1, Taylor and Francis Ltd, <http://www.jstor.org>, p59.

that house. His energy, however, was amazing as was witnessed during the grueling campaigns. Still the KANU chairman in Meru district, now his comeback demonstrated his political control of Meru politics to the chagrin of the younger political competitors.¹⁷⁵ Angaine however, returned to the parliamentary backbench, a new experience having previously been a Minister. This parliament saw the largest number of former Cabinet Ministers to sit on the backbench in Kenya's parliamentary history. Former Cabinet Ministers carry little political clout and Angaine entry into national politics was seen as unlikely especially as he would be busy fighting turf wars with younger politicians in Meru where he was chairman.¹⁷⁶

The re-entry to parliament was testimony that Angaine was still a force in Meru politics. However returning to parliament as a backbencher was an embarrassment to a man who was previously a Minister for fifteen years continuously. Now that Kabeere M'Mbijiwe was the Minister and the only one from Meru, Angaine felt threatened especially now that Kabeere was scheming to dislodge Angaine from KANU chairmanship. A bitter rivalry then ensued for supremacy characterized by public exchanges. Angaine got his way when Kabeere was sacked in 1985 and Angaine was appointed Minister of State in the Office of the President in charge of National Security.

¹⁷⁵*Weekly Review*, "Mixed Results", September 30th, 1983, pp18-19.

¹⁷⁶*Weekly Review*, "New and Old", 7th October, 1983, p12.

4.1.11 ANGAINE AND THE *MLOLONGO* ELECTIONS

The 1988 election, infamously known as *the mlolongo election*, was perhaps the most undemocratic in independent Kenya.¹⁷⁷ This election witnessed massive and unprecedented rigging as voters were required to queue behind the preferred candidate. Intimidation, violence and state machinery was employed to influence voting in favor of the ruling party KANU. The church leaders were extremely critical of the queuing system and they described it as undemocratic, unchristian and unethical.¹⁷⁸ In this poll Angaine polled 13,810 votes to defeat his nearest rival, Mr. Nteere Mbogori, with 9,420 and 7,900 votes for Silas Ruteere Muriuki, the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) Meru Branch Secretary General. In an election described as personalised and acrimonious, Angaine won the poll in spite of his age at 87 years.

In June 1989, some councillors in Nyeri floated the idea that Davidson Kuguru be made Mathira MP for life. Following on this suggestion, Angaine asked his constituents to extend a similar favour to him at a meeting in Meru town. He told the gathering, “let my opponents know that I am as fit as a fiddle in the brain and capable to lead.”¹⁷⁹ This campaign was picked up in July during a fundraising meeting at Ngarendare Market, where Councillor Peter Ruteere of Kisima location pleaded that Angaine be declared MP for life. The call was supported by the Mayor of Meru Municipality, Yusuf Mucheke, who criticised Angaine’s detractors and said that the people of Meru were grateful for

¹⁷⁷*Mlolongo* means a queue. Voters had to line up behind the preferred candidate. Ostensibly the candidate with the longest queue was declared winner.

¹⁷⁸Vincent Khapoya, *Moi and Beyond, Towards a Peaceful Succession in Kenya*, *Third World Quarterly* Vol.No.1, Taylor and Francis Ltd, <http://www.jstor.org>, p59.

¹⁷⁹*Weekly Review*, “Another ‘MP for Life’ Call”, 28th July, 1989, p 15.

what the Minister had done for them and were ready to reward him.¹⁸⁰ Mucheke argued that Angaine had supported many development projects and found jobs for the young people.

Mr. Angaine was ruthless in his bid for political supremacy. At one point, he dramatically demonstrated how he would tear into smithereens the flag that adorned Kabeere M'Mbijiwe's vehicle as Cabinet Minister. This time M'Mbijiwe had been appointed to the Cabinet as Minister for Health and Angaine was in the backbench. True to this or coincidentally, Kabeere was sacked from the Cabinet in 1987 and replaced by Mr. Angaine. Subsequently M'Mbijiwe's woes intensified when he was taken before the KANU National Disciplinary Committee.

The 1988 Elections was not uneventful. Subsequent to Angaine's election and reappointment to the Cabinet, Mbogori filed a petition through a Nairobi law firm, Muriithi and Company Advocates. His argument was that the election was not held according to the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act and that unregistered voters were allowed to vote contrary to the law. He also cited other grounds such as that the presiding officer at Ntirimiti and Giaki polling stations marked ballot papers in the absence of his agents, and that at Kenyatta polling station, the Presiding Officer reported drunk on duty and was totally unable to control the station which opened as late as 10.30 AM instead of the prescribed 6.30 AM.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ *Weekly Review*, "Per Ardua Ad Astra: Imenti North", April 29, 1988, pp. 23-24.

Another ground was that the agents of the petitioner were ordered out of the counting hall at 7.00 PM on the polling day and they did not witness the arrival and receiving of ballot boxes from a number of polling stations. He also claimed that Angaine used a government vehicle to woo voters and claimed that he was a government supported candidate. Mbogori claimed that during the campaign at Kiirua Barrier, Angaine told voters that he did not need voters to vote for him as he had his own way of winning the election.¹⁸²

Although this election petition was dismissed, the grounds raised by the petitioner indicated that anomalies existed especially in view of the general feeling that the 1988 *Mlolongo* elections was full of electoral malpractices.

4.1.12 THE 1992 MULTI-PARTY POLITICS AND ANGAINE'S EXIT FROM POLITICS

Facing growing internal opposition and united donor demands for political change, the Government reluctantly agreed to legalise opposition parties in 1991 and called an election on December 1992, which it won.¹⁸³

The 1992 General elections was the first multi- party poll since the first parliament that pitted KANU and KADU in 1963. President Moi had conceded to both local and international pressure and agreed to have Section 2(a) of the Constitution repealed to allow pluralism. It is this election that swept Angaine out of elective politics. He had

¹⁸² *Weekly Review*, "Per Ardua Ad Astra: Imenti North", April 29, 1988, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸³ Stephen Orvis, *A Review, Multi-party Politics in Kenya*, David Throup and Charles Hornsby: Ohio University Press, 1998, pp347-348.

been defeated in the North Imenti KANU nominations by Silas Muriuki.¹⁸⁴ The North Imenti parliamentary seat that Angaine had monopolized for decades was taken by Mr. David Mwiraria of the Democratic Party led by Mwai Kibaki.

Prior to the repeal of Section 2(a) that allowed formation of many parties, the Kenyan public was divided between those who supported single party politics on the one hand, and those who favoured pluralism, on the other hand. Angaine belonged to the former. In a meeting of the eight MPs in Meru in 1990, which Angaine attended, the MPs expressed their support for the one party system and described it, “as the only workable system since multipartism promoted tribal hatred, greed and retard development.”¹⁸⁵

In another meeting, Angaine urged the Tigania people who voted for Benjamin Ndubai on a Democratic Party ticket into parliament in 1992 to rejoin KANU.¹⁸⁶

In the 1997 second multiparty elections, Angaine was also in loggerheads with the opposition. At one instance he and the wife had to be rescued by the police from an angry Democratic Party mob that threatened to lynch them at Gikumene Primary School polling station accusing Angaine of buying votes.¹⁸⁷ It was a fruitless attempt by Angaine because the opposition went ahead and won the poll.

Angaine national linkages started when he played the role of Mau Mau sympathizer. This is how he met Jomo Kenyatta. A personal relationship began that saw Angaine enjoy the

¹⁸⁴ Nation Reporter, “Change of Guard in North Imenti”, *The Daily Nation*, 14th November, 1992, p.3.

¹⁸⁵ Nation Correspondent, “MPs Support for One Party”, *The Daily Nation*, 23rd April, 1990, p4.

¹⁸⁶ Nation Correspondent, “Angaine Call to Rejoin KANU”, *The Daily Nation*, 18th February, 1995, P 13.

¹⁸⁷ Nation Correspondent, “MP’s Car Burnt in Election Violence”, *The Daily Nation*, 22nd January 1997, p 2.

confidence and trust of the president. That is how he was entrusted with the sensitive and powerful docket of Lands Ministry. Later as a member of the LEGCO he proceeded to Lancaster House Conference talks. This enabled him to interact with leaders of the independence government whom he later worked with. His role in independent Kenya started when he was appointed Minister for Lands. In subsequent elections he sailed through albeit controversially in two elections save for 1979 when he lost presumably due to his role in the infamous change- the- constitution debate that wanted to bar Daniel Moi from succeeding Jomo Kenyatta. After bouncing back in the 1983 snap election, he was appointed again to the Cabinet in 1987. It is instructive that Angaine never embraced plural politics presumably because multipartyism entailed competition and new brand of politics. Angaine belonged, thrived and was a product of single party politics. He therefore failed to fit in the new dispensation that threatened to render him politically irrelevant and hence his endless conflict with the opposition. He was edged out by this new order.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANGAINE AND HIS LEGACY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Angaine's legacy traverses the colonial to the postcolonial periods. One of Angaine's major traits was his generosity that saw him mobilise people and contribute in Harambee projects. His organisational skills facilitated this aspect. As a colonial civil servant, he served in various capacities and gained valuable experience that was necessary to his future career. He therefore joined the first crop of African workforce that formed the rank and file of colonial civil service. Subsequently he found himself in politics when he joined the parties formed to agitate for African rights and later independence. His most profound role can be seen in the government formed after independence as Minister, Member of Parliament and in party politics. In his home constituency he helped initiate and develop several development projects. However Angaine was not flawless. He selfishly undermined other leaders and worked for their downfall. He never entertained challenge or competition.¹⁸⁸ In a way this undermined unity of purpose that could have accelerated development.

5.1.1 MAU MAU OPERATIVE

Angaine's legacy can be traced back to pre-independence period when he joined the decolonization forces. As an active Mau Mau sympathiser and activist he played the role of fast tracking the clamour for independence. During the "operation jock Scott" as the state of emergency was declared, he was detained as the Kapenguria six were also

¹⁸⁸ Oral interview, Julius M'Mworia, Kahawa Sukari, Nairobi, 25th August, 2015.

incarcerated. Angaine became host to the freedom fighters who had emerged from the forest after independence.¹⁸⁹ His association with freedom fighters endeared himself to the people and earned him the choice for political leadership. This explains how he found his way to elective leadership positions.

5.1.2 IN THE LEGCO AND LANCASTER DELEGATE

Thereafter Angaine became part of the first crop of Africans to be nominated to the LEGCO together with Fred Mate to represent central in 1960. As a member of this body, he became one of the delegates that represented Kenya in the Lancaster independence talks of 1962 .As such he helped craft the path that saw Kenya granted independence.

5.1.3 ANGAINE IN THE FIRST CABINET

On the 1st of June 1963 at Uhuru Gardens, the first African Cabinet was sworn in with the attainment of internal self-government. Angaine was part of the new Cabinet in charge of the ministry of Lands and Settlement. He was in charge of this ministry continuously up to 1979. Others included Oginga Odinga as Minister for Home Affairs, Thomas Joseph Mboya as Minister for Constitutional affairs, James Gichuru Minister for Economic Planning, Joseph Murumbi Minister for state in the Prime Minister's office, Joseph Otiende, Minister for Education ,Samuel Ayodo Minister for Local Government, Julius Gikonyo Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry, Dawson Mwanyumba Minister for Works, Communications and power, Eliud Ngala Mwendwa Minister for Labour and Social Services, Lawrence Sagini Minister for Natural resources, Njoroge Mungai Minister for Health and Housing, Achieng Oneko Minister Information, Broadcasting and

¹⁸⁹ Oral interview, Stanley Mwithimbu, Meru Town, Meru, 11th April, 2015.

Tourism, Mbiyu Koinange Minister of State for pan African Affairs, and Bruce Mackenzie Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.¹⁹⁰

5.1.4 ANGAINE AS MINISTER FOR LANDS AND SETTLEMENT

A majority of Kenyans depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Land is therefore the most significant instrument of development in the country. The Kenya government soon after independence adopted a land policy which was directed towards three major objectives: Firstly ,an orderly and successful transfer of land from foreigners to Africans, through the programme of land resettlement in the former scheduled areas (the white highlands);secondly, an orderly and successful transformation of customary rights and interests in land to statutory freehold rights through the process of land adjudication and registration in the former special areas(the native reserves); and thirdly, provision of land within the urban and rural areas at reasonable cost for residential, commercial and industrial development to alleviate shortage of residential accommodation in the urban areas and to facilitate industrial and commercial development projects throughout the country.¹⁹¹

Land consolidation by definition means the gathering of an individual's fragmented plots into a single enclosed holding and its registration under a title deed thereafter¹⁹².Between 1963 and 1978, land consolidation work was completed in Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri, Kirinyaga, Kakamega, Busia, Bungoma and Kisii Districts. In other areas, adjudication

¹⁹⁰ The Weekly Review, "The First African Cabinet", 9th December,1988, p37.

¹⁹¹The Weekly Review, "Fifteen Years of Land Settlement 1963-1978", 20th October 1978, pp73-74.

¹⁹² Joseph Ogwang J, *The Politics of Land-Land Consolidation and Registration in terms of General Economic Development*, A Ph.D dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam,1972.

continued. During the same period, successful group and individual ranches were incorporated under the Land (Group Representative) Act in Kajiado, Narok, Kwale, Kilifi, and Taita Taveta. In total this period saw 417,806 hectares of land fully adjudicated and registered. The three major land policy objectives of the Kenya government, the settlement of landless Kenyans on former foreign owned land was the most urgent and the most sensitive. On a motion in Parliament, the Minister for Lands and Settlement J.H. Angaine said that the object of settlement schemes was to ensure a transfer of ownership of farms in the scheduled areas from European to African ownership in an orderly way and in as short time as possible without endangering the economy.¹⁹³ Schemes were meant to make a large contribution to increased production, contribute to development and reduce landlessness. There were two kinds of schemes; those financed by Britain, the world Bank and the Commonwealth Development Corporation, which were economic developmental schemes on which the settlers must have agricultural experience and contribute capital of their own; and those financed by Britain and Germany, the One Million Acre Schemes. The million acre schemes were for the persons with less experience and money and generally on smaller holdings.¹⁹⁴ This programme was said to have been very successful. In the same period 74,842 families were settled on 744,707 hectares of land in settlement schemes all over the country.

The Department of Settlement helped 140 owners and other large scale farmers to purchase a total of 229 large and medium scale farms assisting individuals to buy some 258,100 acre plots with permanent houses. The Lands Department of the Ministry was

¹⁹³ The National Assembly Library, The National Assembly House of Representatives Official Report ,1st Parliament 7th June, vol.1, part 1 First Session, 1963 ,pp. 659-662.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid pp. 659-662.

responsible for carrying out land acquisition, alienation, and registration throughout the country. Between 1963 and 1964 the Department allotted some 91,599 acres of agricultural and grazing land to the Agricultural Settlement Trust and Trustees of National Parks. At the same time, the Department acquired another 683 estates totaling approximately 559,416 acres for settlement purposes.¹⁹⁵

The department also allotted a number of industrial and commercial plots in Thika, Kisumu and Nairobi for development purposes. For instance a 28 acre site was allocated for the construction of a textile factory. In the period between 1965 and 1967, emphasis was placed on the alienation of land in areas that were formerly left undeveloped because of their relative remoteness from the main centers. At the coast hinterland a block of approximately 1.5 million acres was leased to the Galana Management Scheme for 45 years. African Ranching Co-operatives were also allocated thousands of acres at the coast. In addition 10,000 acres of trust land in Embu and Machakos were set aside for the development of Kindaruma and Seven Forks hydroelectricity projects.¹⁹⁶

During the period between 1973 and 1978 the emphasis was placed on the acquisition of sufficient land within the rural areas of the country to meet the requirements of various national development projects and to satisfy the increasing demand for serviceable land for development by local and foreign investors.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ The *weekly Review*, "Fifteen Years of Land Resettlement", 1963-1978, 20th October, 1978, pp73-74.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

The lands department also allocated sites and plots to various Municipalities and townships for industrial, commercial, residential, tourist and agricultural purposes which contributed considerably to the economic development of the country.¹⁹⁸

5.1.5 ANGAINE AS MINISTER OF STATE IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Angaine was appointed to the Cabinet in 1963 as Minister for Lands and Settlement. He remained in this ministry until 1979 when he lost his Meru North West seat to Nteere Mbogori. He found himself back to parliament after the 1983 snap elections occasioned by the attempt by the then Attorney General and Constitutional Affairs Minister Charles Njonjo to overthrow the then president Moi through a vote of no confidence. After about two years stint in the backbench, he was appointed to the Cabinet in 1985 after the sacking of Kabeere M'Mbijiwe over a corruption scandal.¹⁹⁹

Angaine was one of three ministers of state in the President's office in the Moi administration. The others were Justus Ole Tipis and Hussein Maalim Mohammed. Justus ole Tipis was no doubt the most active Minister in the office of the President among the three Ministers in the Harambee house.²⁰⁰ As Minister of State, Angaine declared The Kenya Medical Research Institute a Protected Area, through a gazette notice issue of 4th January 1990 which amended the Protected Areas Act by inserting two paragraphs in the Act. Under the new amendment, no person was to be allowed to enter the Institute without the authority of the President or the Minister for the time being responsible for

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ *The Weekly Review*, "The first African Cabinet", 9th December, 1988, p 39.

²⁰⁰ *The Weekly Review*, "A New Role for Tipis", 15th January, 1988, p 5.

research. For the purpose of the order, the prescribed authority in this case would be the Director of the Institute.²⁰¹

In 1989, Angaine as Minister of State banned the Development Agenda Magazine. This order was to be challenged in 1992 by the owner who in a sworn affidavit presented to court 81 grounds challenging the ban. He termed Angaine's order as ambiguous and unconstitutional and sought damages.²⁰²

As Minister of State Angaine was required to implement The Public Security (Detained and Restricted Persons) Regulations of 1966 which permitted the government to detain anyone for any length of time without trial when it believed that they have engaged in activities which are dangerous to the good government of Kenya and institutions. This law was used sparingly but effectively by Kenyatta and Moi in dealing with politicians and intellectuals, who criticise government.²⁰³

In July 1990, Kenneth Matiba's detention papers were signed by the Minister in charge of internal security, Jackson Angaine. Immediately Matiba was arrested and taken to Langata police station to start his incarceration.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Nation Reporter, "KEMRI Now a Protected Area", *The Daily Nation*, 5th January, 1990, p 11.

²⁰² Nation Reporter, "Magazine Ban Case in Court", *The Daily Nation*, 26th March, 1992, p 5.

²⁰³ Vincent Khapoya, *Moi and Beyond: Towards a Peaceful Succession in Kenya?* Third World Quarterly vol.no.1, Taylor and Francis, www.jstor.org, p56.

²⁰⁴ Kamau Ngotho, "Detention....and Dashed Presidential Ambitions", *The Daily Nation*, 7th August 2000 p 9.

5.1.6 ANGAINE AND THE CONTROVERSIAL COPAL FACTORY LIMITED SAGA.

The Copal factory was a Nakuru based chemical manufacturing company. It was producing a high potent fungicide used in coffee farms. The fungicide was to be hazardous to the surrounding ecosystem. The principal investors were Mr. Anilkumar Panchmatia, a Kenyan citizen of Asian origin, the Minister for Lands and Settlement Jackson Angaine and Panchamatia's wife Ila.²⁰⁵

The factory since its inception was shrouded in controversy. In June 1979, the company received ksh.7.5 million from the Ministry of Lands and Settlement to move from its then site near the scenic Lake Nakuru to Mombasa. The factory was facing pressure from local and international conservationists as it was producing a highly potent fungicide used in coffee farms. It was said to threaten the ecology of Lake Nakuru. Lake Nakuru is regarded worldwide as an ornithological spectacle because of its large population of flamingoes. It was believed that the fungicidal effect of the copper oxchloride produced at the factory would kill the small organisms in the lake on which the flamingoes feed.

What was questionable was how a privately owned farm was being financed by public funds to move out of Nakuru. Angaine was said to be a shareholder of the company.²⁰⁶ The Mombasa relocation was said also to raise issues because it could interfere with the seashore and adversely affect marine life. Copal limited was set up in Nakuru despite opposition from conservationists. It had a manufacturing capacity of 1000

²⁰⁵ The *Weekly Review*, "Copal Ltd was Paid Millions to Relocate", 29th June, 1979, p 25.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

tons of copper oxychloride annually, worth ksh.10 million. After stopping operations in Nakuru, the company claimed compensation from the government for loss of revenue and profits to the tune of 1.2 million a year. The Ministry of Lands paid Copal ksh.4.5 million in 1977/78.²⁰⁷ In addition, the company was allocated a free piece of land in Mombasa to build a new factory.

In 1978, the Copal Company increased its compensation claims from ksh.100, 000 a month to ksh.188,000 a month. The Ministry paid the company ksh.3 million in 1979 in addition to ksh.4.5 million in 1978. The auditor-general questioned the payments and disassociated the government from dealings with the company. The auditor-general observed, “the government was not bound by any agreement so that it should be held responsible by its dislocation or stoppage of production due to application of environmental protection measures”.²⁰⁸

In 1981, the Mombasa Municipal Council rejected plans drawn up by the company for the construction of a new factory at the company’s alternative site at Mombasa on the ground that the factory was a health hazard.²⁰⁹ Parliament Public Accounts Committee recommended that the site be repossessed by the government at no further compensation to Copal. Another recommendation was that all the money that had accrued in land rates since the allocation in 1977 be paid to the Mombasa Municipal Council, and that all the equipment on the site be removed at Copal’s expense. It urged politicians to stop acting for private companies when faced with a conflict of interest between government and

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

such companies. This was a reference to Jackson Angaine who was a shareholder of the company and under whose ministry the compensation to the company was paid and land allocated. The Copal saga was the second the Ministry of Lands and Settlement had been involved in a questionable deal with a private company. In the first case, the ministry had given several hectares of public land to Halal Meat Products, a privately owned meat farm for setting up its plant.²¹⁰ Although this saga finally fizzled out quietly, the Auditor – general’s report suggested corruption in the Ministry and hence the warning to politicians to keep off matters that would expose them to conflict of interest. This dispute tainted Angaine’s image having been a shareholder in the troubled Company.

5.1.7 ANGAINE AND THE CONTROVERSIAL TIMAU LAND.

In June 1986, Angaine expelled 500 squatter families who had settled on his two Timau farms over more than a decade. He had unsuccessfully attempted to have the squatter families evicted from his Kararu riverside estate and Teleswan farm in 1982, but the then DC, Antony Waitwika, resisted and told him to apportion part of his farms to the squatters. The DC argued that Angaine had invited the settlers in the first place (i.e. in 1972/73) with two major aims: one, to have them clear the forest areas for his eventual farming as well as to vote for him during the elections. Having now lost the elections (1982) and the forest cleared, Angaine had no use for the settlers and wanted them evicted. Angaine said all along he had appealed to the government to have the squatters settled in government land, but it was early 1982 that the administration identified sections of Ngusishi forest where the squatters were allocated two acres for new

²¹⁰ Ibid.

settlement.²¹¹ In a follow up letter addressed to President Moi in 1982 Angaine said that the land in question was allotted in his favour by President Kenyatta in January 1975.²¹²

The land in dispute was forest land and was LR 7188 and LR 10393. And then in early 1977 President Kenyatta extended the first excision by allotting further forest land in his favour, under legal notice number 107 of 29th April 1977. Angaine claimed the land excised in his favour was semi-arid and swampy. He claimed that he struggled to replant trees even after they were destroyed by wild animals and forest fires. Angaine said he had about 48 workers who did some cultivation as they looked after Angaine's interests which include animal keeping. With time, the workers brought in their relatives that led to expansion for farming activities.²¹³ In total the disputed land was about 2500 acres. This is apart from the ancestral land in Mwirine, near Meru Town.

This eventually attracted outsiders. Subsequently the workers brought in many relatives and friends and started building structures, like kiosks. About June 1977 there were about 195 people. Angaine agreed to allow them to stay a little longer and then leave at Angaine's pleasure. Angaine allowed them a three-year grace period after which they would vacate. The workers signed forms in a meeting attended by the local administrators whereby the squatters agreed to vacate the land at the pleasure of the Minister. This included the legitimate workers. Angaine claimed the squatters were politically influenced to rename his farm as Kiambogo Settlement Scheme. He said the only legitimate schemes were Ngusishi, Timau settlement scheme, Lewa Downs, Ntiriti and

²¹¹ Nation Correspondent, "Angaine in Court", *The Daily Nation*, 1st July, 1994, p5.

²¹² Letter to President Moi February, 1982.

²¹³ Ibid.

Kalalu in Laikipia. He claimed that apart from cultivating, the squatters who numbered 360 people cut down mature trees for burning charcoal.²¹⁴

In the letter, Angaine invoked Article 75 of the constitution wherein the protection of individual property is guaranteed, and prayed that the President assist in removing the 360 illegal squatters to a suitable government settlement scheme.²¹⁵

The evictees then wrote numerous letters to various personalities and organizations, including the President, the Chief Secretary to the Kenya Red Cross Society and the National Christian Council of Kenya, seeking relief and other assistance. In their letters, the squatters said that the Eastern PC had ordered them to vacate their plots in two days from March and that they had no time to find alternative accommodation. The squatters claimed that over 400 dwellings were burnt down by the local administration police and youth wingers and that their children had nowhere to attend school. Squatters claimed people were affected by the forced eviction from the land given to them by President Kenyatta, but which Angaine took by force. They claimed that they were evicted in a hurry and were therefore seeking tents, blankets, food and medicine. Angaine blamed the letters as the work of his political detractors and said the eviction was orderly, under the supervision of local administration and the forest officer and that two schools, Kithithina and Ngusishi primary schools, were within the reach of their children.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ ibid

Angaine's Timau farm had witnessed protracted court battles. In 1993, some 447 farmers went to court seeking redress for having been evicted by Angaine from Kalalu farm seven years before. They also argued that having evicted them, Angaine failed to compensate them for the development they had done on the farm during their 13-year stay.²¹⁷ The claimants said that they were awaiting land title deeds when they were evicted. Interestingly, others confessed that they occupied the Kalalu riverside farm after learning that Angaine had fallen from power.²¹⁸ Angaine, however, told court that he had only allowed about 300 poor people to grow crops. He also said that these poor people had been incited by his political enemies to illegally settle on land allocated to him and carved out of the Mt Kenya forest in 1975.²¹⁹ Eventually, 42 people were found guilty of trespassing and fined Ksh 500 or 30 days in jail by the Nanyuki court.

5.1.8 CAMPAIGN TO PREVENT EXPANSION OF MERU MUNICIPALITY

Apart from the many harambees he conducted for development projects and participated in and the students and persons he personally assisted variously, Angaine is reputed for having forestalled the National government's attempt to expand the radius of the Meru Municipality. This would have translated to higher levies for increased number of people. The rates would have been exorbitant to warrant the poor to sell their land and move out of the radius. Thus Angaine launched the *kutu* campaign that saw the government shelve the idea. It is believed this is the single most factor that saw his return to parliament in the 1983 elections.

²¹⁷Nation Correspondent, "Angaine in Court", *The Daily Nation*, 1st July, 1994, p 5.

²¹⁸Nation Correspondent, "Angaine Farm Case", *The Daily Nation*, 30th November, 1993, p14.

²¹⁹Nation Correspondent, "Angaine Blamed", *The Daily Nation*, 6th October, 1993, p 13.

5.1.9 ANGAINE AS A FARMER

A few Africans had attempted cash crop farming in the 1950s and 1960s. This was partly because of the colonial administration had previously banned cash crop farming and because most Africans could not afford the inputs required. Angaine was one of the first people in Meru to plant coffee trees starting with 700 trees, a big feat by the standards of those days. According to Mutuma his siblings and villagers would be paid to dig a three by three hole at thirty cents.²²⁰ Eventually about 20 acres of land were put under coffee farming. The neighbours would go for farming lessons at his farm at Mwirine. He also adopted dairy farming where he kept Merino sheep, beef and dairy cows. In addition he grew large acreages of wheat and pyrethrum at his Timau farm. At Timau, he practised fully mechanised agriculture. A renowned farmer indeed, he gave himself the name *Harvester* because he liked farming.

5.1.10 ANGAINE'S FINAL YEARS, SICKNESS AND DEATH

Angaine was very fluent in English, Kiswahili, Gikuyu and Kimeru languages; he would often speak in symbolism and proverbs. He was famed for a good handwriting and good mathematical skills. His oratorial skills put him above the league of his political competitors. His speeches were full of parables, sayings and proverbs.²²¹ Above all, Mutuma remarks, he never kept grudges and was always ready to forgive and mend fences. All the political differences he had were eventually concluded with public reconciliation. For instance he twice forfeited the 1974 and 1983 costs awarded in his

²²⁰ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, 16th May, 2015.

²²¹ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 16th May, 2015.

favour by court against his rival Nteere Mbogori. His supports were displeased with this act.²²²

Angaine was all along a KANU supporter and official. He was a product of KANU and thrived in the party. When Multipartism was introduced in Kenya in 1991, it was a new type of politics that he never embraced. His political career traversed Kenyatta's and Moi's era. Under the former, he worked as Minister for Lands and Settlement as well as KANU Chairman. Under president Moi, he worked as Minister of State in charge of National Security. As Angaine was losing politically in the advent of multipartyism, Moi's brand of politics was equally becoming irrelevant. It was time for the old guard and their brand of politics to leave the political arena. As Angaine bowed out in 1993, those who lingered on like Moi had few years to go albeit with much opposition. The monopoly of party politics was first becoming irrelevant as well as the believers of that system.

After leaving politics, Angaine retired to his home at Timau where he was taken care by his last and seventh wife Jeniffer Angaine. At this time he had been diagnosed with gout and heart related complications which almost made him immobile. His old age made matters worse as he constantly consulted his two trusted doctors Dr. Silverstein and Dr. Dan Gikonyo. Jennifer would assist him as she received delegates and visitors who continued to throng his homestead for all manner of queries.²²³ On the 23rd of February 1999 Angaine passed on peacefully in his sleep. The autopsy indicated cardiac arrest.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 16th May, 2015.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the life and times of Jackson Angaine. The period covered in the study is between 1903 and 1990. This period spans the time of his birth to the time of his death. The choice of the biography of Angaine is significant as a subject of study. He was a man who not only united the Meru community but dominated the politics of the region and rallied the region to national limelight. As such he became the singular spokesman and powerbroker in Meru. As a result the Meru people were identified with Angaine. Ignoring Angaine meant alienating the Meru community.

The biography of Jackson Harvester Angaine has traced his ancestry to his remotest forebears, Kironge and Mpaatha, the two seers who are said to have led the flight of the Ameru from Mbwaa (Manda Island), following upheavals in the coastal archipelago.²²⁴ This ancestry conferred on Angaine privilege and acted as a springboard for future political office. Indeed his debut in the political career had the blessings of the Mau Mau who linked him to his descent and due to the fact that his father paid the ultimate price of land alienation. Angaine's father M'Angaine M'Ithiria, committed suicide in protest to land alienation.

The story has systematically narrated his schooling at Kaaga where he received primary education, working life, his interaction with the Mau Mau freedom fighters, his long and eventful political career and concluding with his exit from politics and death in 1999. His

²²⁴ Jeffrey A. Fadiman, *Meru's Golden Age, An Oral History of the Ameru*, London: University of California, 2012, pp.94-101.

early entry into nationalist agitation for freedom while in KAU and KANU, laid his basis for political leadership. Having grown in privilege, this must have given him the socialisation for public life. He grew observing his father's trappings of power as colonial chief and this must have inspired and tutored him for leadership. As his father became councillor by virtue of being chief in the LNC, Jackson was the clerk to the same Local Council.²²⁵

Privilege also accorded Angaine the opportunity to receive good education as he attended some of the best schools of the time. To begin with, he received mission education at Kaaga. The Methodist Christian missionaries had established a mission station at Kaaga in 1910 and set up a school. In this regard, he was lucky because his home was a short distance from the school and also because his father was a colonial chief. It was easier for chiefs to embrace western values that included Christianity and education. This is because the missionaries and colonialists had the community leaders as their first contacts and tended to work with them. Angaine secured a place at Alliance after performing well in 1932 examination as shown in the list of honours at the current Kaaga boys' secondary school. At Alliance, he co-schooled with A.M Muimi and Oginga Odinga, among others, boys who later took up leadership and professional positions in early part of independent Kenya and beyond.²²⁶ He later joined the Pan African School at Achimota, Ghana, before returning and working in various capacities in public life. Achimota was one of the most prestigious institutions of its kind, known for its academic credentials and culture. It trained Pan African leaders who took part in Africa's struggle for independence. At

²²⁵ Kenya National Archives, Meru African District Council meeting held on the 22nd February 1938 to 6th of September 1950, p 316.

²²⁶ Stephen Smith, *The History of the Alliance High School*, Nairobi: Heinemann 1973, p 75.

Achimota his interaction with Africans from all over Africa must have exposed him politically. Here Angaine was inspired for leadership. After his three years of study at Achimota, he taught at various schools at the coast, and later returned to Meru, where he worked as a teacher and an accountant at a general merchandise store owned by Mohammed Moti and sons, one of the first generation of migrant Asians. Thus being educated more than most of his peers prepared him for his future political career. Though initially uninterested in politics, his education prompted the elders to propose him for leadership.

When African nationalist activities were gaining ground through the formation of political parties, he entered politics as a member of Kikuyu Central Association, and when it was proscribed he joined KAU becoming chairperson for Meru district between 1948-1952. As the Mau Mau freedom war raged, Angaine was one of those suspected of involvement. Being a member and leader of KAU which was linked to Mau Mau activities, Angaine was not spared the crackdown and on the night when the Kapenguria six were arrested, he was also apprehended and detained.²²⁷ Eventually he was released and after independence he was one of the key persons to receive Mau Mau freedom fighters who had emerged from the jungle. When KANU was formed in 1960, Angaine became its flag bearer in Meru and became the party's candidate in the 1961 elections. These early leadership roles fortified him for future turbulent world of politics.

The 1962 second Lancaster house conference was held to iron out contentious issues in readiness for Kenya's independence. Angaine and Bernard Mate were the two Meru

²²⁷ Oral interview, Mutuma Angaine, Three Steers Hotel, Meru, 16th May, 2015.

politician delegates who proceeded for the conference. At independence in 1963 he became not only MP representing Meru North west but also a Minister in one of the most important government Ministries of Lands and Settlement. Here, he was responsible for overseeing crucial land reforms that included resettlement of landless Africans in settlement schemes, land consolidation and registration. Under his watch, the ministry did a commendable job in land redistribution and pre-empted the anticipated invasion of white owned land by land hungry Kenyans. However, in some areas the inequitable distribution of land sow the seeds of future land conflicts that has manifested itself as land clashes in the 1980s and 1990s.

When GEMA, an organization comprising the linguistically related communities of Meru, Embu and Gikuyu was formed in March 1971, Angaine jumped in the bandwagon. At inception GEMA was intended to promote the unity and the welfare of the three constituent communities. But according to Joseph Karimi and Philip Ochien'g in their book the *Kenyatta Succession*;

Although ostensibly a welfare organisation, GEMA was in fact, a political party within KANU with Kiambu as the nerve centre, but with political retainers throughout the Republic among every tribe. It was through GEMA that affluent Kiambu characters of dubious qualifications sprang into the political arena and it was through it that many secured top and extremely lucrative posts in the government as well as in the private sector.²²⁸

Angaine's position as GEMA official brought political antagonism between him and James Njeru, the then MP for Tharaka. They competed to have their supporters elected as GEMA office bearers. In GEMA politics, Angaine was out staged by Njeru which undermined Angaine's supremacy as Meru leader.

²²⁸ Joseph Karimi and Philip Ochieng, *The Kenyatta Succession* ,Nairobi: Trans Africa Limited,2008, p71.

Angaine enjoyed tremendous trust and confidence of President Kenyatta, who was also a personal friend. He continuously held the Land Ministry docket till 1979, when he was toppled by his erstwhile political rival, Nteere Mbogori. Angaine's political defeat in 1979 was attributed to his participation in the change- the- constitution campaign that sought to bar the then vice president Moi from ascending to the presidency. This plot was hatched by the then KANU Chairman, Kihika Kimani and other wealthy Kikuyus as a bid to prevent the then vice president Moi from ascending to the presidency. The first meeting was convened and hosted in Nakuru by Kihika Kimani which was followed up soon by another one in Meru hosted by Angaine. Angaine became the group's point man in Meru. The involvement of Angaine in this campaign raised his stature nationally but also put him into odds with pro- Moi group. The campaign fizzled out after the intervention of the then Attorney General, Charles Njonjo, who warned that further debate on the issue could attract criminal sanctions.

Angaine's exit from elective politics was however short-lived as he bounced back in 1983, thanks to the snap election occasioned by the traitor issue. The traitor issue rotated around Charles Njonjo who had mobilised a sizeable group of MPs to pass a vote of no confidence in the President thereby enabling Njonjo to takeover²²⁹. However he was not immediately given a ministerial seat and therefore remained at the backbench until 1985 when Kabeere M'Mbijiwe was sacked as minister for health and Angaine was appointed Minister of State in the office of the President in charge of Internal Security. The resumption of Angaine to the Cabinet was an indication of warming of the relationship

²²⁹ Vincent Khapoya, *Moi and Beyond: Towards a Peaceful Succession in Kenya?* *Third World Quarterly* vol. no.1, Taylor and Francis, p.56.

with the President. Three reasons explain this turn of events. One, the Change- the- Constitution Campaign had been overtaken by events and Moi had entrenched himself as President. Secondly, Angaine still commanded a massive political following in Meru and ignoring him was politically suicidal. Thirdly, Kabeere M'Mbijiwe was the only Cabinet Minister and was dogged by corruption related scandals and Angaine being very old was no longer of any threat.

Angaine's role in national KANU politics was minimal. This is except in 1978 when he was elected as one of the representative of Eastern province in the KANU governing council, and also when he was appointed chairman of the KANU district chairmen. Angaine did not contest for national party post even when it was believed he would go for it. In party politics, Angaine monopolised the Meru KANU branch chair from 1960 up to 1993. This has been attributed to his immense organisational skills. His ability to use his oratorical talent to his advantage, and his courage and generosity endeared him to the public. He spoke in parables and a high sense of humor.²³⁰ This way, he was able to keep his opponents under control. Indeed, the 1983 elections that saw him back to Parliament was because of his unwavering resistance to the expansion of the Meru Municipality in what was codenamed *kutu* campaign. The extension of the municipality borders would have translated to increased rates for land. This would have made it difficult for the local landowners to afford the rates and therefore end up selling their lands to the rich.

²³⁰ Oral interview, Stanley Mwithimbu, Meru Town, Meru, 11th April, 2015.

An outstandingly courageous, aggressive, and resilient man, Angaine literally was the topmost political broker in Meru. He fought both legal and political battles, personal and public, fearlessly. One of the battles Angaine found himself embroiled in was with the Methodist church. The bone of contention was that Angaine felt that the church dominance in Meru could spell doom to his political career especially because he could not control the independent-minded head of the church bishop Lawi Imathiu;

In the beginning we were very close before we differed. In the 1969 elections when Angaine went to parliament unopposed, I had personally suggested at a public meeting at St. Paul's Methodist Church Meru, that to avoid divisions, Angaine be elected unopposed. But things changed when he realized he could not control me. We disagreed over several issues.²³¹

His competitors namely Nteere Mbogori and Silas Muriuki were adherents and leaders of the Church and so he felt the church was the force behind them. The effect of this antagonism was characterized by acrimonious exchanges in public between Angaine and Imathiu. The destabilizing effect affected development in Meru as the two sides could not work harmoniously and at one point took the intervention of head of state.

By use of political patronage, whereby he positioned close allies in senior party positions, he ensured ready machinery that entrenched his hegemony in Meru politics. Meru politicians complained that Angaine had turned Meru into a personal fiefdom. As a politician there is a divided opinion on his development record. Whereas his critics belittled his record, others hail him as an achiever. David Mwiraria summarises Angaine's position thus;

Angaine put the Meru people on the Kenyan Map. As Minister for Lands and Settlement, he reclaimed alienated Meru land, thanks to the Government collaboration with the World Bank in buying out the land. The land mostly in

²³¹ Oral interview, Lawi Imathiu, Methodist Guest House, Nairobi, 26th August, 2015.

Timau was allotted to people from all areas in Meru. He would be remembered by the Meru people for his efforts.²³²

The advent of multipartyism in 1992 was not in conformity with his brand of politics and this spelt doom to his long political career. In the 1992 KANU nominations for parliamentary seat, he was outstaged by Meru branch KNUT secretary, Mr. Silas Muriuki. However, both rivals never saw themselves to parliament as the opposition wave of DP swept them with David Mwiraria becoming the new MP for Imenti North constituency. The DP was the favourite party in Central and Eastern part of Kenya. Angaine lingered on as the KANU Chairman in Meru but was toppled in 1993 after accusations that he campaigned for the opposition in the 1992 elections. Mathew Adams Karauri took over as the new KANU chairman.

In accordance with the trait theory approach that I have employed in the study of Angaine, it is identifiable that some innate qualities worked to Angaine's favour. We can deduce that Angaine's traits of aggressiveness, organisational skills, oratorical skills and charisma kept him in politics for the four decades that he dominated politics in Meru. As a servant leader, he assisted jobseekers to get jobs, listened to the delegations that thronged his homestead, especially the period he was out of parliament and supported and sponsored several development projects. However increased pressure from the more youthful politicians, his advancing age and the changing political dynamics led to his Waterloo.

²³² Hilary Ngw'eno and Nation Media Group, *Makers of a Nation, Jackson Angaine, the Men and Women in Kenya's History*, Nairobi, Kenya History and Biographies Co. Ltd, undated.

Various sources were used to get information on this study. Both secondary and primary sources were used. Secondary sources such as books, academic articles, project paper dissertations and journals were used. Secondary sources provided valuable information as I prepared to seek information from primary sources. Primary documentary materials were derived from Kenya National archives. Letters and past newspaper articles were also utilized. Primary documents were vital in that they provided information not available in secondary sources.

Through oral interviews, I managed to find out peoples' knowledge, views, understanding, opinions and interpretation on the subject in question. An open-ended method of questioning was adopted to enable interviewees to tell the story without leading them. The interviewees included family members, political associates and politicians. This was instrumental in getting balanced information on the subject. The data collected was analysed qualitatively.

The finding of this research is that Angaine's dominance in Meru politics undermined the democratic space in the region. He monopolized power in KANU in Meru district and ensured his hegemony in Meru politics. Angaine worked and ensured the downfall of his political opponents. Emerging and upcoming leaders had no space to develop their potential. He ensured that James Njeru was relegated to the peripheries of party leadership ;repeatedly fought and defeated his bitter rival Nteere Mbogori ,except in the 1979 elections, and worked for the downfall of Kabeere M'Mbijiwe who was subsequently sacked as Minister in 1985.

In addition, this work found out that the bitter conflict between Angaine and the Church, specifically the Methodist Church, led to underdevelopment and instability in the Meru region. The political leadership and the Church could not speak in one voice in development matters.

As Minister for Lands, the research found out that Angaine presided over a smooth settlement and registration of land after independence. However his land dealings in the Rift Valley and the allotment of 'Z plots' was not satisfactory to the communities living there and could have sown the seeds of conflict. The Rift Valley leaders argued that some communities from outside the Rift Valley were irregularly allotted land while the indigenous were ignored. This has contributed to the emotive land issues in the Rift Valley.

Finally the study found out that Angaine propelled the Meru community into national limelight and recognition. It is suggested that further research be undertaken on other leaders of Meru who have had a major impact on the community especially in light of the multiparty dispensation that prevailed after Angaine. In mind are other remarkable leaders who are not politicians but considerably affected in a big way the lives of their community. These exist in fields such as academia, religion and entrepreneurship.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1) Tell me about Angaine's family background, childhood, and marriage.
- 2) Give me information about his school life.
- 3) Who were some of his contemporaries at Alliance?
- 4) Where did he go after Alliance?
- 5) When did Angaine enter politics?
- 6) What motivated him to do so?
- 7) What role do you think Angaine played in the fight for independence?
- 8) Explain to me Angaine's party politics (KANU).
- 9) How did Angaine relate with other leaders in Meru at the time?
- 10) Assess the contribution of Angaine in the socio-economic development of Meru.
- 11) What was Angaine's relationship with Meru's Asian community?
- 12) Explain Angaine's role in land distribution in Meru and nationally.
- 13) Tell me about Angaine's other business and farming ventures.
- 14) What would you say is Angaine's legacy in Meru.
- 15) What was Angaine's role in national politics?
- 16) What was the relationship between Angaine and Jomo Kenyatta?
- 17) What was Angaine's role in GEMA?
- 18) In the political scheme to bar vice president (Moi) from ascending to presidency, what would you say was the role played by Mr. Angaine?
- 19) As a Cabinet Minister, how do you rate Angaine's performance?
- 20) In the land redistribution scheme by the Kenya government, what would you say was Angaine's role?
- 21) Assess Angaine's political position in president Moi's government.
- 22) Explain to me Angaine's last political days.
- 23) Give me some insight on your marriage to Angaine.
- 24) What was your role in Angaine's political activities?
- 25) What challenges did you experience in this role?
- 26) As a mother and a wife to a busy politician, did you experience any challenges?
- 27) In your own view, what would you say is Angaine's legacy?
- 28) What was your relationship with Angaine?
- 29) How did your relationship affect development in Meru?
- 30) How do you rate Angaine as a Politician and a Leader?
- 31) Explain Angaine's personality and how this affected his leadership?
- 32) Assess Angaine's development record in Meru.

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NACOSTI

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

Serial No. **A 5127**

CONDITIONS: see back page

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MR. JASON KIAMBI MUNGANIA
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 0-60200
MERU, has been permitted to conduct
research in All Counties County

on the topic: A KING WITHOUT A
KINGDOM A BIOGRAPHY OF JACKSON
ANGAINE

for the period ending:
31st December, 2016

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/15/2493/6047
Date Of Issue : 20th May, 2015
Fee Received : Ksh 1,000

Applicant's Signature

Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

APPENDIX V: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

20th May, 2015

NACOSTI/P/15/2493/6047

Jason Kiambi Mungania
University of Nairobi
P.O Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*A King without a kingdom a biography of Jackson Angaine*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **all Counties** for a period ending **31st December, 2016**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, all Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

SAID HUSSEIN
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioners
All Counties.

The County Directors of Education
All Counties.