EDUCATION IN EASTERN UGANDA, 1900-1939: A STUDY OF INITIATIVE AND RESPONSE DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

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EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

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The purpose of this study was to analyze the process of educational transfer in eastern Uganda. It focussed on the relationship between two crucial aspects of this process, initiative and response. Within the colonial situation in Africa, educational initiatives came from the missions and later from a mission-government coalition. Indigenous response came from both the aristocracy and the peasantry. However, the relationship between initiatives and responses was not simple. African response to colonial educational initiatives was examined in relation to the economic and administrative changes of the colonial period. It was argued that colonial educational initiatives prompted a positive indigenous response only if they offered an experience of training which was apposite to the economic and administrative realities of the colonial environment.

These realities changed from time to time. As a consequence, the study was organized chronologically. They also

varied from place to place. Thus, within each loosely defined period, similar educational initiatives might prompt different responses in different places. Eastern Uganda was selected as the area for investigation because it offered material for comparison. At given times in the early colonial period, educational initiatives were similar throughout the region, but economic and administrative realities varied from one place to another. African response also varied from one place to another. Such variations support the idea that the nature of African response to colonial education was related to the economic and administrative realities of their particular colonial situation.

In the first years after the missions began their work in the Mbale area of eastern Uganda, their efforts were frustrated by their unwillingness to see the need to adapt their Baganda-inspired methods to the different conditions of eastern Uganda. Furthermore, their dependence for support on Kakungulu, their use of Baganda catechists, and their interest in the Baganda community resident in eastern Uganda, all served to foster a negative identification between the missions and the colonial government. Given the government's primary concern with pacification and stability, this identification discouraged any positive response to the missions' educational initiatives.

Many of these false assumptions continued when the missions began work in Teso. However, the profitable cultivation of cotton introduced an economic environment which favored a positive response to mission schools by both the peasantry and the aristocracy. The missions, through their church schools,

served as protectors of the peasants against communal obligations, and thereby facilitated the mobility of the peasants from their lives as rural cultivators to lives as "urban" consumers. Special schools for sons of chiefs offered an institutionalized way for the aristocracy to perpetuate itself.

With the expansion of both the local administration and the specialist services attached to the colonial administration, the number of posts available to those not qualified to attend the schools for sons of chiefs increased. The missions' simultaneous emphasis on expanding and improving their facilities for teacher training made the normal classes the point of access for peasants to wage-earning jobs.

After 1925, the government's policy of selective subsidy to mission schools effectively established an elitist school system. By refusing subsidies to most village schools, the authorities denied themselves the possibility of directly influencing these schools. Consequently, attempts to implement the policy of "adaptive" education focussed exclusively on the presumptive elite in subsidized schools. However, employment possibilities outside of agriculture continued to exist for this presumptive elite, while opportunities within the agricultural sector were limited. As peasants had learned from experience the utility of school attendance for wage-earning employment, it was unlikely that, having got access to such schools, they would willingly be diverted into "adaptive" education and a career in farming.

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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the process by which western educational institutions were introduced to eastern Uganda and developed there. It will raise questions concerning the motives and methods which shaped the western educational initiatives which set the process in motion. But, more significant, it will raise questions about how the environment in eastern Uganda shaped and modified these initiatives once the process had begun. Education, as it emerged in eastern Uganda, did not conform solely to the blueprint of western designers. The translation of these designs into reality was accompanied by many alterations which better suited the needs of the clients. This complex process -- first the introduction of educational ideas and institutions into a new society, and then the transformation of these ideas and institutions to conform to the needs of that new society -- is called educational transfer.[1]

Since educational transfer was an integral part of the colonial experience, it has been a frequent theme of historians of colonialism in Africa. As such, it has suffered from the weaknesses apparent in a colonial historiography that aimed at

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[1]Daniel Lerner has rejected the term "transfer" because he feels it is inadequate and misleading. "Transfer" for him does not allow for the analysis of disruptive factors which follow from any institutional intrusion and which ultimately give it shape. He prefers the word "transformation." Hence the title of his article. See D. Lerner, "The Transformation of Institutions," The Transfer of Institutions, ed., W.B. Hamilton (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), pp. 8-9.

justifying and glorifying the colonial presence. Much, indeed, most of what was written about this process throughout the colonial period came from the pens of either missionaries or government personnel. While interesting as primary sources of information, these works exhibited a natural bias for egocentricity. Their audiences were generally of the same orientation as the writers themselves. Much of the missionary writing was aimed at church communities at home in the interests of raising funds for continued work in the field. Missionary efforts, missionary ideas and missionary successes inevitably received pride of place. Little critical probing and questioning of these sources emerged as few readers had a basis for such a critique. The result of this unilateral interpretation of events, this appearance of "company histories" as the basis for knowledge, was a one-sided version of reality. Ignored in the majority of these sources was the essential reciprocity of the colonial situation. Educational initiatives, like administrative and economic strategies, were taken to be superimposed on the tabula rasa that Africa was thought to be.

As it had suffered through association with the colonial historiography of the past, the study of educational transfer has also profited from the changing historiography of Africa that has characterized the last decade or so. Increasingly, trained historians, at first mostly foreign and later indigenous, have been able to step back from the biased position of active participant, to observe the educational initiatives of the European agents with a higher degree of objectivity and critical perception. Researchers in the first stage of this

evolution still focussed largely on who the Europeans were, what they did, and why they did what they did. Explanations were sought in the forces and factors which shaped policy in Europe and America. Different policies were seen to result from the different environments in which each of these initiators emerged. But gradually, the reciprocal nature of the process of educational transfer has been recognized. Not only the agent and his environment, but also the client and his environment, has merited the researcher's attention. In fact, the latter of these factors is recognized now as the more influential. In examining this process generally, Daniel Lerner has suggested this priority:

> the controlling component of this sequence is internal to the traditional society. The initial intrusion comes, it is true, from the outside. But its impact depends upon the reaction of the indigenous people. An intrusion that is widely ignored or evaded or rejected has little or no impact. It is only an intrusion which is internalized by a significant fraction of the population that can have any lasting effect.[1]

To focus upon this dependence, however, is not to suggest the meeting of a dynamic foreign initiative (intrusion) and a static, traditional society. Some attempts to analyze a society's capacity to assimilate external initiatives have focussed on such notions as a society's value system or political culture to explain observed differences from one

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

society to another.[1] These efforts tend to ignore the changing conditions in pre-colonial societies which over time altered this so-called assimilative capacity. In looking to the indigenous society for clues which help to explain the fate of external initiatives, it seems most useful to focus on those elements within that society which were themselves changing. Such change determined the speed and ease with which new economic and social patterns were worked out in accordance with the aims and expectations of the colonial power. The job of the educational historian, then, is to examine the process of educational transfer in light of these new patterns of activity. Educational initiatives which were successful can be said to have been responsive to these new patterns; those which failed did not. Research on educational development in Ghana has suggested this relationship:

> In the initial phases of contact there will be virtually no demand for formal education unless some changes have already occurred in the traditional structures. If, for example, there had been an attempt to offer western education <u>in vacuo</u>, and if it had not been associated with significant changes in the

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[1] See D.E. Apter, <u>The Politics of Modernization</u> (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965); C.E. Black, <u>The Dynamics of Modernization</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); for examples from eastern Uganda, see N. Dyson-Hudson, "Factors Inhibiting Change in an African Pastoral Society: The Karimojong of Northeastern Uganda," <u>Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences</u>, XXIV (1962), pp. 771-801; also, B. Brook, "Pastoral Values as an Explanation of Conservatism in Karamoja District Uganda," <u>Issues in African Development</u> (Papers presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of African Studies, February, 1972), pp. 22-48.

> economy or the system of political control, it is likely that educational demand would have remained minimal; educational institutions by themselves would not have constituted powerful factors in social change.[1]

The present study aims to analyze the response to foreign educational initiatives in terms of how far these initiatives were associated with the significant social changes of the early colonial period. Did a fit exist at different stages during this period between these initiatives and the changing social situation? Educational initiatives by missions or governments were basically external factors. The changing patterns in economic and political activity followed from the growth of a cash crop economy and the establishment of a colonial administration. Both educational initiatives and colonial environments changed over time. Thus, the criteria for indigenous response were not constant. What might succeed at one time would not necessarily succeed at another. Consequently, the study is divided chronologically, though time periods are not dogmatically adhered to because neither the initiatives nor the environments which defined them changed in a rigidly calendrical sequence. Even within these loosely defined time periods, however, colonial environments varied from one place to another in accordance with the changing nature of each society at the time of the colonial challenge. If, therefore, educational initiatives were similar

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[1] P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 38-39.

throughout a given area, and only the environments differed, we would be able, through a comparative analysis, to see how these differences affected indigenous response to educational initiatives.

Eastern Uganda provides interesting material for this type of comparison. As used here, eastern Uganda includes those areas which make up present-day Bukedi, Bugisu, Sebei, Teso and Karamoja districts[1] (see Map 1, p. 16). This area was referred to by several different names throughout the colonial period. The most common, used even recently by scholars, was "Bukedi,"[2] though it is clear that this name had no local currency. Nonetheless, it has persisted up to the present and this can cause confusion. References throughout this text to the colonial designation, as distinct from the present-day district, will be enclosed in quotation marks. In some early missionary writing, the area was inaccurately called "Kavirondo" because of the linguistic similarity between some of the people in eastern Uganda and those further to the south and east.[3] Karamoja was rarely included in any reference to "Bukedi." In fact, the accurate name was known very early on, though some confusion may result from its sometimes being

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[1]As I write, these district boundaries are in the process of being changed again. The area included here is likely to coincide with the new Eastern and Karamoja Provinces.

[2]See M. Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967), 340 pp. He used the term for convenience, and his introduction provides a good explanation of the origin of the term.

[3]See C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Crabtree's Journal Letter, 10 October 1901.

written "Karamojo."[1] The entire area was incorporated into the Uganda Protectorate as vaguely defined in 1894, and became a frontier area after 1902 when a large part of this protectorate was transferred to the East Africa Protectorate. Prior to 1902, the area made up Uganda's Central Province. Subsequently, it has always been the fulcrum of the Eastern Province.

As an area of secondary mission penetration, eastern Uganda experienced mission initiatives in education which were strongly influenced by ideas and strategies that had emerged in Buganda. Such a bias was inevitable when the decision-making mechanisms, and, in fact, many of the early missionaries, remained firmly rooted in the traditions of early work in Buganda. Whatever the advantages or disadvantages for the work in eastern Uganda, the transfer of this model meant that mission initiatives were broadly similar throughout the area in a given period. This similarity was strengthened by the fact that only two missions, the Protestant Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) and the Roman Catholic Mill Hill Mission (M.H.M.), were in the area during the early colonial period. In contrast, the diversity of the colonial situation within the area was marked. Though small, eastern Uganda represented a geographical and cultural mix and a concomitant complexity in the pre-colonial period. This diversity persisted in the face of colonial overrule because it imposed on the colonial authorities the need to deal with each area differently. Thus, attempts to develop a cash crop economy and to

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[1] See W.D.M. Bell, Karamojo Safari (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), 298 p.

establish a colonial administration impinged on each society with varying degrees of force, and met with varying degrees of success. This combination of broadly similar educational initiatives and diverse colonial environments permits us to analyze the relationship between education, economic and social change, and indigenous response.

While it provided an important dimension to this study, the diversity of eastern Uganda also presented certain difficulties for the actual investigation. The main problem arose from the unequal availability of material on the different areas. First, anthropological data which had been collected and written up and which was important for an understanding of the atmosphere of contact, tended to focus on only some of the societies of eastern Uganda, leaving others almost totally unstudied. Fortunately, both the Iteso and the Bagisu were among those peoples who captured the attention of researchers. Similarly, detailed secondary studies on economic and social developments of the first decades of the colonial period were uneven. Here it was Karamoja which profited most from the attention of the historian, though neither Teso nor Bugisu had been completely overlooked.

Primary material, that is, archival sources, presented the greatest difficulty, as this material was uneven in both quantity and quality. The archives at Soroti, in Teso District, must surely be the best organized of all of the district archives in Uganda, having been neatly and logically arranged and catalogued some years back. They were used extensively, therefore. At Mbale, there is also an impressive collection of archival

material which is, unfortunately, completely unordered. It has received more attention from white ants and lizards than from officials. A great deal of time was spent over a five-month period trying to extract material from these archives, with some success. The arrangement of these documents, however, was far too great an undertaking for the time available, and a feeling of dissatisfaction over their condition and inaccessibility persists. The Bukedi District archives appear to have suffered from the peripatetic nature of the district's administrative headquarters, which was sometimes housed at Tororo, sometimes at Mbale, and sometimes at Malukhu, near Mbale. Remnants of these archives can be found mixed in with those of Bugisu District at Mbale, but much of this material has disappeared. The archives in Karamoja, according to James Barber, were destroyed,[1] and no attempt was made to track down any surviving documents. Some compensation for this unevenness came from also using the Secretariat Archives at Entebbe and the Colonial Office archives at the Public Records Office in London, but this material generally lacked the local detail being sought.

The church archives were also uneven. The C.M.S. has an impressive and well-organized collection at their headquarters in London, which was very useful. The Native Anglican Church in Uganda has an equally large collection housed at its provincial offices at Namirembe, Kampala. Unfortunately, much of the educational material, along with a miscellany of other documents,

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[1] See J. Barber, Imperial Frontier (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), p. 222.

was transferred to various organizations and individuals when the office of Education Secretary was abolished in 1964. A record was kept of this distribution,[1] so that some of these errant documents were eventually traced to the Makerere University Library archives, as well as to the Departments of Religious Studies and Education at the same university. For the M.H.M., the problems were greater, for such material as existed was scattered far and wide. Only a small box of documents remained at their headquarters in London. The bulk of what appears to exist may be found at the diocesan offices of the Jinja diocese.[2] In addition, much valuable information was available in some of the older parishes in eastern Uganda itself. Nyondo and Nagongera were particularly useful, but other collections were found at Budaka, Dabani and Ngora. In sum, however, the archival material for Protestant mission work is far more substantial than that available for the work of the Roman Catholics. This imbalance has inevitably affected this study.

Oral material has not been gathered and incorporated to the desired extent. The original intention had been to conduct interviews on a small scale in each area under study after completing the archival investigations. Unfortunately, only two weeks after my arrival in eastern Uganda, in January, 1971, political developments in the country made it extremely difficult

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[1] Namirembe Archives, PE 1/1, B. Wardrop, Church of Uganda Education Office to Provincial Secretary, Church of Uganda, 17 May 1964.

[2] The material was moved here from Nsambya following the formation of one Kampala diocese from the two that had existed at Rubaga and Nsambya, and the consequent downgrading of the M.H.M. position at Nsambya.

to undertake such interviewing. Some months later, Bukedi District was officially closed to any kind of research, and subsequent archival investigations at both Soroti and Mbale were only carried out under close official scrutiny. Fortunately, the existence of a large collection of transcripts of interviews done by undergraduates at Makerere University under the supervision of the staff of the History Department came to my attention. Although not gathered with the same purposes in mind, these texts helped fill the gap created by my own inability to interview. Two of these texts were of particular value for the present study.[1] One of the main areas of investigation, Teso, was not covered by this interview program, however, so once again the problem of unevenness in sources was confronted.

This study of educational transfer during the colonial period maintains an historical perspective. If, however, it responds successfully to the challenge imposed on it to investigate educational initiatives in terms of how they were associated with economic and social developments, it will have a wider than historical relevance. Though official colonial influence ended with the achievement of political independence in 1962, the phenomenon of educational transfer did not. Educational aid as one dimension of technical assistance continues to be a very significant element in relations between

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[1] See Makerere University, Department of History, "Bugisu Historical Education Texts," collected by Rebecca Mafabi-Madaba; "Bukedi Historical Texts," collected by Priscilla Ndegemo-Mbayo.

the developing countries of the third world and the developed countries of the industrialized world. These contemporary programs of educational transfer continue to take place within the context of varying economic and social conditions. These variations parallel those which existed during the colonial period and which determined the success or failure of educational innovation. Historical perspectives might therefore inform contemporary efforts.

CHAPTER I

EASTERN UGANDA ON THE EVE OF COLONIALISM

Both the introduction of western education into eastern Uganda and the creation of the colonial situation of which it was a part fit squarely into the twentieth century. The first Christian missionaries began their work in the area in 1900 and it was under their auspices that schools got their start. The first rudimentary form of colonial administration appeared in the same year, only a few months earlier, with the arrival of Kakungulu, a Muganda general in the employ of the protectorate authorities at Entebbe. Yet, in order to understand either the broad phenomenon of colonial overrule in the area or the narrow process of educational transfer and the response to it within this colonial context, it is necessary to look back to the nineteenth century for clues. The degree to which any society was able to adapt to the changes wrought by colonial innovation depended on the interaction between the form those changes took and the recent history of the society concerned. Thus, anyone seeking to understand the success or failure which adaptation to colonialism met is forced to look beyond the agents of change — the colonialists — to the indigenous social situation at the time that the colonialists arrived. Such social situations were not, however, static; they had evolved over time, as the result of the continuing introduction of new variables into a

fluid environment. A preliminary social history of the recent past becomes important, therefore, for understanding the subsequent capacity of a society to adapt to the colonial situation.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SITUATION

For eastern Uganda, this recent past can be defined as the last half of the nineteenth century. The most significant variable during this period in eastern Uganda was economic. The appearance of new economic options had varying effects on the social alignments throughout the area. The last decades of the century also witnessed the violent, but usually temporary, incursions of people into the area for purposes other than settlement or transit. Both of these phenomena had their source in conditions external to eastern Uganda, but the effects on the area were significant.

They were not, however, uniform in all places. In the early colonial period this area had a broad unity fostered by its status as an appendage to the area of real colonial interest in Uganda, the interlacustrine kingdoms to the south and west. The rule of Kakungulu, the Muganda general called upon by the hard-pressed and largely disinterested authorities at Entebbe to organize a rudimentary administration east and north of the Mpologoma River, strengthened in the minds of these authorities the notion that the area could be ruled as one unit. In fact, Kakungulu styled himself "king of Bukedi."[1] Quickly, however,

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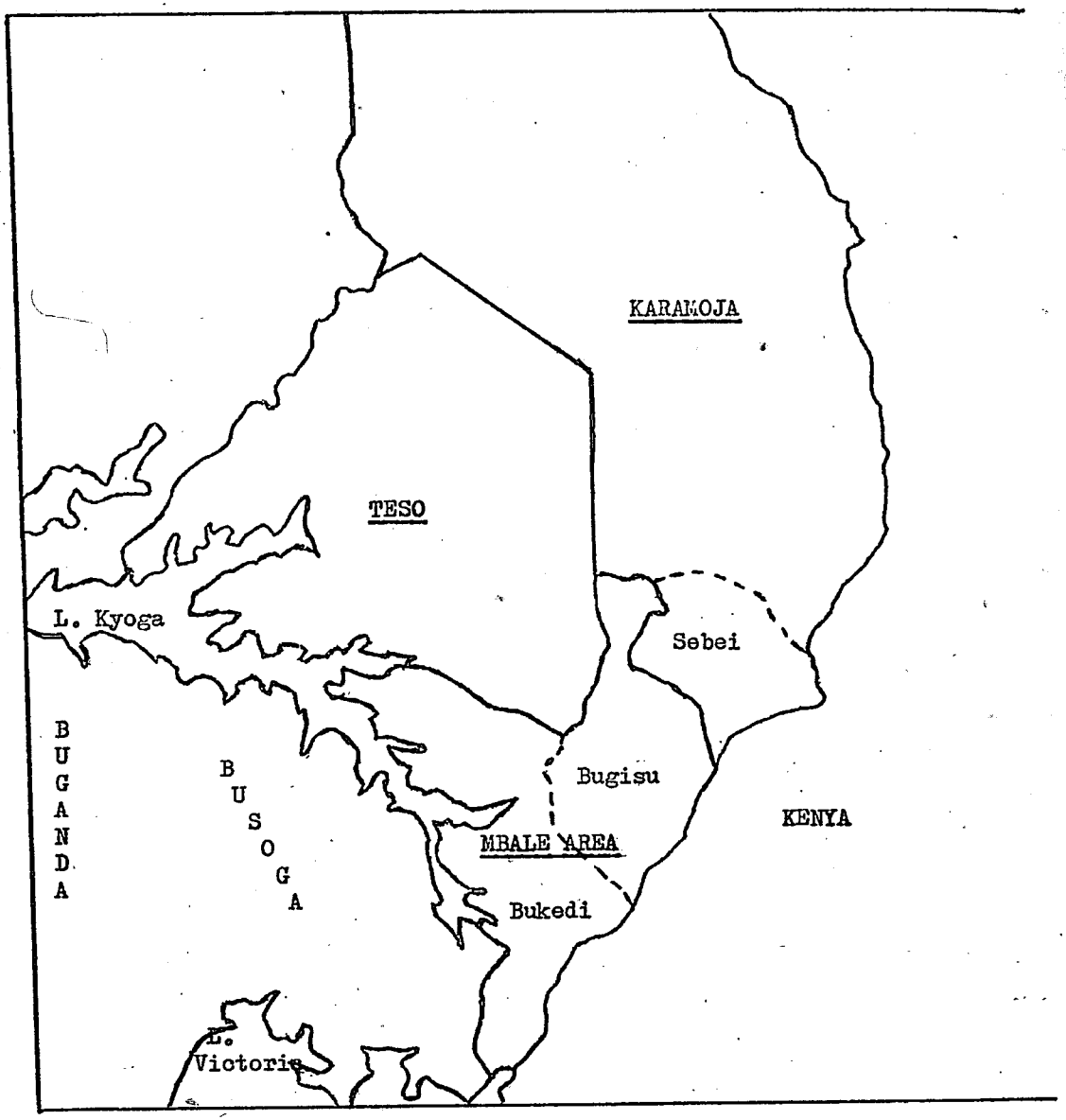
[1] M. Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967), pp. 128-29.

the weakness of this position became clear. Three separate areas were recognized: i) Karamoja, a vast, intermittently watered plain which extended north and east from Mount Elgon to the escarpment above Lake Rudolf and the Chemerongit Hills and which corresponds to the present Karamoja and Sebei Districts; ii) Teso, a much more fertile plain which occupied the area west and south as far as the shores of Lake Kyoga and which corresponds to the present Teso District; and iii) a third area, here called the Mbale area, which was and is less easy to define, having long been subject to controversy in respect of boundaries and administrative divisions. The term "Mbale area" as used here accorded with the region covered by the Mbale District of C.M.S. The most populous district in the area is Bugisu. The rest of the Mbale area is in the present Bukedi District (see Map 1). Economic specialization in the colonial period — cattle in Karamoja, cotton in Teso and coffee in Bugisu — tended to reinforce the tripartite division that had emerged from the "kingdom of Bukedi." Consequently, this division has proved useful as a way of organizing the comparative analysis which forms the bulk of this study. It is important, therefore, that the preliminary social history of the area also be treated in terms of these three areas.

Karamoja

The people of Karamoja are commonly called the Karamojong, though in reality they belong to several linguistically different, but related, groups. In addition, two non-related peoples, the Suk and the Sebei, occupy the south-eastern corner of the



Map 1. Eastern Uganda: The Three Main Areas Recognized as Distinct in the Early Colonial Period, as They Relate to Present Administrative Boundaries. (NB. The broken lines indicate boundaries of present districts which do not coincide with recognizably distinct areas in the early colonial period.)

Karamoja plain, though both are predominantly highlands people. With the exception of a small number of mountain dwellers who reside on the upper slopes of the volcanic peaks which are characteristic of the area, the Karamojong are pastoralist cattle-keepers. Rainfall, while not uniformly inadequate, is erratic and seasonal and thus agriculture is a hazardous undertaking.[1] Competition for grazing land has been a constant feature of life in this area.

This competition was heightened in the last half of the nineteenth century because of the pressure exerted on the Karamojong by their powerful neighbors to the east. The Karamojong were under direct pressure from the Turkana who pushed aggressively southwards during this period. Turkana expansion was aided greatly in the last years of the century by the importation of arms through Ethiopia and Somaliland. The Suk too were widening the area under their control at the expense of the Karamojong, moving steadily down from their hills and occupying the plains and river valleys which had formed a frontier between the two peoples.[2] The Sebei, living as they did on the northern flanks of Mount Elgon and in the plains below, were exposed to pressure from both the Karamojong and the Nandi to the east. Heavy raids were recorded from the Kitale area of Kenya by the 1860's and 1870's. Evidence of

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[1] See P.H. Gulliver, "Jie Agriculture," Uganda Journal, XVIII (1954), 65.

[2] J. Barber, Imperial Frontier (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), pp. 85-86; see also R.W. Beachey, "The Arms Trade in East Africa in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of African History, III (1962), pp. 466-67.

specific raids was recorded in 1890.[1] What emerges in the northeastern corner of Uganda, therefore, is a coterie of cattle-keeping peoples arranged in a power hierarchy with the Turkana at the top, followed in descending order by the Suk, the Karamojong and finally the Sebei. Each was motivated principally by the need to maximize territory in the interests of supporting cattle. This competition, and the violence which it bred, continued well into the colonial period.

In fact, the potential for violence was greatly enhanced with the increase in the volume of available firearms as a result of the area's being incorporated into a developing network of trade based at the coast. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Karamoja and Sebei became the foci of the most highly organized and profitable trading network in the area. The reference here is, of course, to the appearance of Arab, Swahili and Baluchi traders based at Zanzibar. Initially, their aim was to purchase ivory, but in later years the capture of slaves was not unknown. With the opening up of the direct route from the coast, these coastal traders no longer needed to follow the route inland via Tabora, and across the lake. With this shift, the riches in ivory to the north-east, which had been hinted at in the Kyoga markets, became readily

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[1] For the pre-colonial history of Sebei, see J.M. Weatherby, "Inter-tribal Warfare on Mt. Elgon in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Uganda Journal XXVI (1962), 200 ff.; H.B. Thomas and R.F. Lindrell, "Early Ascents of Mount Elgon," Uganda Journal XX (1956), 116; J.M. Weatherby, "A Note on the Sebei Caves," Uganda Journal, XXVI (1962), 215; C.W. Hobley, "Notes on a Journey Round Mount Masawa or Elgon," Geographical Journal, IX (February, 1897), 182; W. Goldschmidt, Sebei Law (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 9.

accessible from the east. The inland base of this route was at Mumia's, and the earliest route north from there passed east of Mount Elgon to the advanced base camp on the northern flanks of the mountain among the Sebei. Several early travellers have attested to the existence of this camp.[1] Karamoja, however, was the main arena for this trade. In the 1880's and 1890's the volume of trade was small. The traders carried away only that ivory which the Karamojong brought to them, and in return gave beads. In the last years of the century, however, the number of traders grew appreciably. As competition for ivory increased, and prices rose, traders turned into hunters using firearms.[2] The introduction of these firearms and the competition of traders from Ethiopia, who had already armed the Turkana, laid the area open to the full fury of the coastal traders. By the turn of the century, Karamoja, with its impressive traders' camp at Manimani, was an important link in the chain that stretched all the way from Zanzibar.[3]

The outside traders provided new challenges and new influences. Those Karamojong who responded by providing the traders' wants profited greatly, especially when cattle replaced beads as the object of barter. Such transactions permitted

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[1]Hobley, op. cit., p. 182; H.H. Austin, With Macdonald in Uganda (London: Edward Arnold, 1900), pp. 131-33; see also E.M. Woodward, Precis of Information Concerning the Uganda Protectorate (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), p. 30.

[2]See W.D.M. Bell, Karamojo Safari (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1949); also, H. Rayne, The Ivory Raiders (London: William Heinemann, 1923).

[3]For a detailed account of this trade, see Barber, op. cit., pp. 91-106; also Beachey, op. cit., pp. 466-67.

certain Karamojong to replenish stock decimated in the 1890's by raids and epidemics.[1] In this way, a small cadre of men with entrepreneurial skills did begin to emerge. By and large, however, the incorporation of Karamoja into a long-distance trading network did little to alter basic economic and social patterns. Cattle continued to be the focal point of economic and social life.[2] By making available to the Karamojong supplies of arms with which the fight against the Turkana and the Suk could be more effectively waged, the traders tended to reinforce and strengthen the institutions of warfare which were the basis of Karamojong life. The new economic options did nothing to lessen the significance of the age-grade system, which retained its importance as a way of initiating men into the life of the people and of organizing their warfare activities. Thus, the appearance of new economic options, far from destroying the traditional institutions, gave them renewed vitality. As a result, the level of violence was increased to such an extent that when colonial authority was extended to Karamoja, the need for pacification monopolized official thinking and policy.

Teso

With the minor exception of the Kumam, who occupy a peninsula that juts into Lake Kyoga and that constitutes Kaberamaido County of the present Teso District, all the people

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[1] Barber, op. cit., pp. 91 and 101.

[2] See P.H. Gulliver, The Family Herds: A Study of Two Pastoral Tribes in East Africa, The Jie and the Turkana (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1966); D. Clark, "Memorial Service for an Ox in Karamoja," Uganda Journal, XVI (1952), 69-71; N. & R. Dyson-Hudson, "Marriage Economy: The Karamojong," Natural History, LXXI (May, 1962), 44-53.

of this area are commonly called the Iteso. These people have, over a period of perhaps three hundred years, moved away from the linguistically related Karamojong toward the relatively fertile and well-watered areas of modern Teso. This migration continued well into the nineteenth century. As they moved west and south, their dependence on agriculture increased. This shift was accelerated as a result of famines and epidemics which greatly reduced their stock of cattle. In this way, the Iteso became primarily farmers whose interest in cattle was secondary. Patterns of shifting cultivation slowly gave way to rotational cropping, thus reinforcing the sedentarization of the Iteso.[1] This adaptation would not have been possible in the semi-arid lands of the Karamojong and the Suk. In addition, their security increased for they were moving out of the effective range of the Nandi and Turkana invaders from the east, while still being shielded by Lake Kyoga from the worst depredations of the Baganda.

These migrations and the concomitant, though gradual, shift in economic activity from pastoralism to agriculture shaped the history of Teso in the period under study. The lessening of dependence on cattle meant inevitably that a new source of food and wealth would be sought. The fluidity which characterized the search for such a source introduced an openness to new economic options that was lacking in the more predictable environment of Karamoja. This need to adapt to changing conditions had important effects on the social organi-

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[1] J.B. Webster, "Pioneers of Teso," Tarikh, III (1970), pp. 48-49; also J.C.D. Lawrance, The Iteso (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 135.

zation of the Iteso. Both the clan, which had been territorially defined, and the age groups, which had centered on the waging of war, declined in significance as settlements came to include people from many different clans, and as the decreasing dependence on cattle and the increasing distance between them and their cattle-keeping neighbors reduced the need for institutions of war.[1] This complex sequence of events was suggested by early research on Teso.

> It is possible that the indigenous Iteso social organization would have been able to withstand this authoritarian imposition of an alien chiefly organization [by the colonial authorities] if it had not been that this society was itself in a state of flux owing to change from a nomadic pastoral existence to a fixed agricultural life. The introduction of the profitable economic cotton crop and the prevention of local warfare accentuated the tendencies already inherent in the change from pastoralism to agriculture. If it had not been for this, the local organization might have carried on a subterranean existence parallel with the Government one as has happened so frequently in other parts of Africa. That it has not done so is probably due more to the economic changes than to the undoubted pressure which came from the Baganda to suppress the initiation ceremonies, which were at one time the chief bond in local life.[2]

The economic and social changes of nineteenth-century Teso meant that piecemeal selection of colonial offerings was far more possible there than, for example, in Karamoja where traditional economic and social patterns continued to exist as lively options.

The migrations south and west were also significant

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[1] For a discussion of these institutions, see Webster, op. cit., pp. 53-55.

[2] A.C.A. Wright, "Notes on the Iteso Social Organization," Uganda Journal, IX (1942), p. 62.

because by them the Iteso were brought into contact with the trading networks of the Bantu-speaking peoples of the inter-lacustrine area. Lake Kyoga was especially important in facilitating this trade. It has been called the "trunk road" of such trade.[1] The Banyoro were the most important of these trading partners, and it was with the Iteso and the Kumam that they had the most contact. Some Arabs, based in Bunyoro, also took advantage of existing links to barter for ivory with the Kumam.[2] Initially, cattle, goats, hides and skins, and foodstuffs were bartered by the Iteso and Kumam in return for barkcloth, beads, fish and iron hoes. Sweet potatoes and groundnuts were also highly prized by those north of the lake. Iron hoes, however, were the most significant import, as the replacement of wooden ones with ones made of iron allowed for rapid improvement in agricultural methods and productivity. These hoes had at one time been imported into Kumam and Teso through the agency of the Langi. The price was, therefore, very high, as much as three hoes being the equivalent of one cow. When the direct trade opened up between the Banyoro and the Kumam, these latter were quick to establish themselves as middlemen, selling the hoes to both the Iteso and the Karamojong in return for cattle, and, most important, ivory. The ivory thus collected soon appeared at the lake shore markets, thus rendering the trade

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[1] M. Odada, "The Economy of Pre-Colonial Kumam," Source Material in Uganda History, Vol. D (Kampala: Makerere University, Department of History, n.d.), p. 489.

[2] Odada, op. cit., p. 489; see also J.C.D. Lawrance, "A History of the Iteso to 1937," Uganda Journal XIX (1955), p. 19.

more profitable for the Kumam and more desirable for those to the south, including the recently arrived Arabs, and Swahilis from Zanzibar.[1]

The organization of this trade was straightforward. The Iteso and the Kumam did not own canoes. Thus the responsibility for the actual transport of goods across Lake Kyoga in either direction fell most notably to the Banyoro.[2] Such an arrangement meant that the exchange of goods took place on the northern shore of the lake, which was dotted with markets found either under trees or at the homes of certain people. These loci of trade came to be associated with the person in whose or near whose home they were, and soon came to bear his name. Such a person, in return for his assistance in organizing such markets, was given some payment by the traders. Evidence suggests that the trade continued throughout the year, reaching its greatest volume during the dry season from November to March. Kumam tradition also indicates that their trade links with the Banyoro reached their peak during the reign of Kabarega between 1869-1899.[3]

A study of Bugondo, one such area on the northern shore of Lake Kyoga, has indicated that a significant result of these commercial contacts was the growth of polyethnic contact. Initially, such economic specialization as emerged appears to

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[1] Several authors have alluded to this trade. See especially Lawrance, The Iteso, pp. 143 ff; also, M. Odada, op. cit., pp. 487-90; M. Odada, "The Kumam: Langi or Iteso?" Uganda Journal, XXXV (1971), pp. 148-49.

[2] "Extracts from Mr. Crabtree's Reports," Uganda Notes, May, 1901.

[3] Odada, "Pre-Colonial Kumam," p. 488.

have been defined along ethnic lines.[1] This rigid identification of ethnicity and economic activity did not endure, however. By 1912, when the colonial authorities took up the responsibility for the establishment of a township at Bugondo, these lines had already been blurred. In fact, one thrust of protectorate policy was to revitalize ethnic categories and impose ethnic segregation in the interests of orderly development.[2] But the economic and social realities thwarted this attempt to ascribe importance to ethnic identification. These loci of trade were important precisely because they offered opportunities for individuals to succeed apart from ethnic origins. People engaged in trade were at all times a minority of the population. Nonetheless, the existence of this minority provided a model of successful individualism based on the learning of skills and techniques which were outside of the scope of traditional Teso life. In justifying her use of a spatial community as her unit of analysis, Joan Vincent has suggested the significance of this model for social history. "In Africa the settled community may be looked upon as the locale in which people become persons as economic and political development brings with it increased room for maneuver for the individual and an expanding range of choice."[3] The introduction of cotton, which was the basis of colonial economic policy in Teso, was able to capitalize on the experience gained from these early commercial contacts across Lake Kyoga and the polyethnic interaction which they bred.

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[1] Joan Vincent, African Elite: The Big Men of a Small Town (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 257.

[2] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[3] Ibid., p. 264. Emphasis mine.

The Mbale Area

The people of the Mbale area are heterogeneous in the extreme, having neither linguistic unity nor any degree of shared traditions. Representatives of Uganda's three main language groups — Nilotic, Nilo-Cushitic, and Bantu — can all be found here. The most numerous occupants are Bantu-speaking. Yet even among these peoples there are significant linguistic differences and traditions which seem to indicate diverse origins. The Padhola, the most enigmatic linguistic group in this part of Uganda, speak a Nilotic language related to that spoken in northern Uganda, as well as in southwestern Kenya, but totally unlike the languages in their immediate neighborhood. The Teso-speaking people who straddle the present Kenya-Uganda border in the area of Tororo are directly related to the Iteso. They appear to have been the last people to enter the Mbale area and were not finally settled at the onset of colonialism. Despite this ethnic heterogeneity, a certain unity can be imposed on the area based on economic patterns. The prevailing activity throughout the area was subsistence agriculture. A rudimentary system of crop rotation existed. The main harvest was followed by the cultivation of subsidiary food crops which supplied the needs of the family. Cultivation of grain was the norm in the plains whereas bananas were the staple in the highlands of Mount Elgon among the Bagisu.[1]

The peoples of the area also had trading contacts outside of the area. Iron hoes were a significant object of trade in

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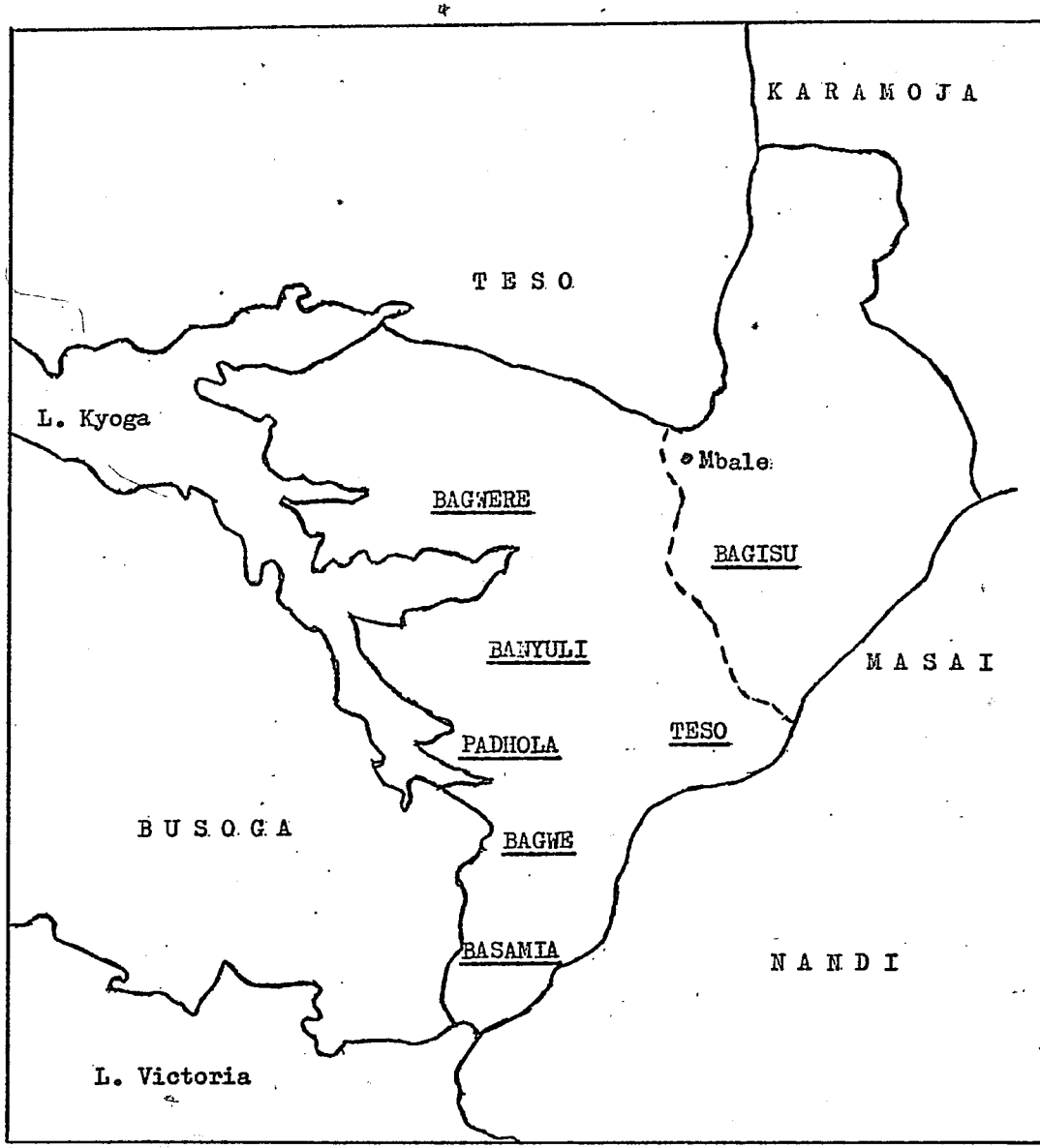
[1] J.D. Tothill (ed.), Agriculture in Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 42-45.



Map 2. The Mbale Area of Eastern Uganda. The underlined names indicate the main ethnic groups of the area. The broken line indicates the present-day boundary between Bugisu and Bukedi districts.

Samia to the south. The Basamia had long been known for their ability at iron working, and the existence of a market where their products, as well as smelted iron, were sold caught the attention of an early observer. In times of famine these hoes were exchanged for food from some parts of Busoga.[1] In addition to exchange with peoples outside the area, it is likely that the neighbors of the Basamia also looked to them for their supplies since iron ore was unavailable among the Banyole, Bagwere, and Padhola.

The Bagisu, alone among the peoples of eastern Uganda, have been depicted as disdaining trade over any significant distance. The first missionary in the area was struck by their unwillingness to go "more than six miles in a direct line from their home." The lack of markets was also in marked contrast to the active barter going on in Samia, not more than fifty miles away, and the "great border markets of Kairanja," not more than twenty miles distant.[2] This disdain of establishing trading links outside of their own territory, however, has been greatly exaggerated, as later evidence, based on broader observations, has shown substantial external contact. The early missionary himself admitted that the Bagisu went as far as the village chief Mayanja, about ten miles from Mumia's, in the territory of the closely related Babukusu. Some Bagisu even reached the

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, Crabtree Papers No. 27/1, Crabtree to Hobley (?), 8 January 1902; also see Uganda Notes, February, 1902.

[2] Uganda Notes, February, 1902. It is likely that Kairanja, whom Crabtree identifies as a "border Musoga chief," was a Mugwere, speaking a language almost indistinguishable from Lusoga.

village of Mumia itself to trade.[1] In addition, a number of iron furnaces have been located in Bugisu, yet iron ore was unknown. One observer has suggested that smiths imported metal and made only spears, knives and rough ornaments; spades and hoes were brought ready-made from Bunyoro and Busoga.[2] This attempt to link Bugisu with Bunyoro through trade accords with the observations of an early traveller who noted the existence in Bugisu of "a few cowries, found to have been imported from Bunyoro, being passed on through intermediate tribes."[3] The contact between Bugisu and Busoga has also received attention. Citing an example from Bumasifwa in northern Bugisu, Twaddle described a system of triangular trade in cattle, ivory and iron implements between Bugisu, Sebei and Busoga. Cattle was exchanged for Ivory in Sebei; ivory for hoes in Busoga; and hoes for more cattle in Bugisu. In other words, the Bagisu are shown as the middlemen, getting ivory from Sebei and supplying it to Busoga, and getting hoes from Busoga, using some for domestic consumption, and supplying the rest to Sebei.[4]

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, Crabtree Papers No. 27/1, Crabtree to Hobley (?), 8 January 1902; also No. 27/3, Crabtree to Foaker (Mumias), 15 May 1902.

[2] J. Roscoe, The Bagesu and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate (Cambridge: University Press, 1924), pp. 30-31; see also J.S. LaFontaine, "The Social Organization of the Gisu of Uganda with special reference to their Initiation Ceremonies," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1957), p. 98.

[3] Hobley, op. cit., p. 182.

[4] Twaddle, op. cit., p. 66, citing J.S. LaFontaine, The Gisu of Uganda (London: International African Institute, 1959), pp. 20-23; see also Entebbe Secretariat Archives (E.S.A.), A/10, Farrant, "Bukedi, 1900"; also, Roscoe, op. cit., p. 66, for a discussion of the iron ore trade into Sebei.

These trading contacts do not appear to have spawned the same polyethnic communities that grew up along the north shore of Lake Kyoga, possibly because the loci of trade were not so rigidly fixed by geography. Furthermore, they were in no way apposite to future commercial development in the area. With the increased interest in the ivory trade of Karamoja, the administration focussed its attention on controlling the transport of the ivory to the coast through eastern Uganda (Mbale) instead of through the East Africa Protectorate. Therefore, these early commercial experiences did not have the enduring significance as did those in Teso. But the availability of economically viable resources, combined with the lack of natural barriers to attack, opened up this part of eastern Uganda to on-going, often violent incursions into the area. It was this vulnerability to external attack that shaped the history of the Mbale area in the last half of the nineteenth century

From the west the most important aggression came from Buganda, which was in the process of expansion in several directions during this century. Segmentary societies were easy prey for cattle collecting expeditions. One of the earliest Europeans to pass through this area noted that, with the capitulation of the Basoga, the aggressive activities of the Baganda had been intensified and raids farther east had been stepped up to such an extent that by the last half of the nineteenth century, havoc had grown greatly in magnitude.[1]

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[1] G.S. Were, A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 142, citing Joseph Thomson, Through Masai Land (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1885), p. 502.

The expedition of the Baganda across the Mpologoma River in 1884 is a good example of such raids. In this case, the Baganda were firmly defeated. This episode points not only to the existence of such activity, therefore, but also to the ability of some people in eastern Uganda to mobilize in order to repel these attacks. An example of this mobilization in response to threats from outside was the initiative toward unification in Padhola under Majanga.[1]

Cattle were not, however, the sole aim in such expansionist activity. Though the main slaving base seems to have been to the east, it is clear that Samia was also exposed to slave raiding operations from the direction of Buganda and Busoga.[2] Along the shores of Lake Victoria, the Baganda raided the Basamia for their iron ore and hoes. In such attacks, it is clear that the Baganda could employ their fleet of canoes to maximum advantage. Nonetheless, Samia tradition indicates that the Baganda were ultimately defeated. Such a defeat, however, did not eliminate all competition for the natural resources and specialized products of the Samia coast which continued to be the object of attack by certain clans of the Abaluhya to the east.[3]

To the east, the Masai and later the Nandi were the

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[1]For a good account of the Baganda invasion, see Twaddle, op. cit., pp. 69-70; see also B.A. Ogot, "Traditional Religion and the Pre-Colonial History of Africa - the Example of the Padhola," Uganda Journal, XXXI (1967), 111-116.

[2]Were, op. cit., p. 143; see also B.A. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 119.

[3]G.S. Were, Western Kenya: Historical Texts (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 52.

main adversaries. Padhola traditions indicate that their main enemy in the early nineteenth century were the Masai, the fear of whose attack led to the establishment of concentrated villages surrounded by deep trenches.[1] A similar tendency among the Bagisu, especially in border areas, is also attributed to attacks from the south and east by the Masai and later the Nandi.[2] The Bagwe, in the extreme south, built walled villages to ward off attacks by the Masai, but these warriors managed to work out a system of rough scaling-ladders made of tree trunks lashed together which rendered Bagwe villages indefensible.[3] As late as 1894, one missionary reported the existence of a significant number of Masai as far west as Busoga.[4] The raiding potential of these people was clearly enormous.

The final aggression came from the north where the Iteso took up the banner of expansion. This forward threat of the Iteso was impelled in part by pressures from Karamoja but the exact nature of these pressures is unclear. One suggestion is that the Karamojong, being pushed by the expansion of the Turkana to the north-east, in turn put pressure directly on the Iteso.[5] A more recent interpretation points to the

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[1] F.G. Burke, Local Government and Politics in Uganda (Syracuse: University Press, 1964), pp. 183 ff.; see also Ogot, Southern Luo, pp. 94-95.

[2] LaFontaine, "Social Organization," pp. 256-57.

[3] E.M. Persse, The Bagwe: Ethnological Notes and Some Folk Tales," Uganda Journal, III (1936), p. 284.

[4] T.M. Richards, "Mr. Greatcoat or the Life of W.A. Crabtree by his Daughter," (mss. in C.M.S. Library, London), p. 58.

[5] Twaddle, op. cit., p. 55.

arrival in Teso around 1840 of a non-Karamojong people, the Iworopom, as refugees from Karamojong attack. A section of these Iworopom is said to have settled in south Teso, where an Iteso-Iworopom alliance grew up and established a powerful military organization which from 1860 to the 1890's continually hurled armies southward through Bugisu into Samia and Bugwe.[1]

These invasions were violent and disruptive. There is much evidence of Teso attacks during the nineteenth century in the Mbale area. The Iteso of Bukedea have their own traditions of fighting against their immediate neighbors, the Bagisu, and it appears that at one time the Iteso called upon the Kumam to the north to assist them in attacking Bugisu.[2] As late as the turn of the century, the Bagisu continued to live in the protection of the hills and valleys of Elgon, secure from Teso attack. At that time, the area of present-day Mbale town was a no-man's land due to continual fear of attack from the north, even though it seems clear that the Bagisu had deflected the Teso onslaught toward the end of the century and forced them to follow a more westerly route via Bagwere.[3] Teso invasions are within living memory of the Bagwere.[4] The Banyole also record attacks by the

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[1]Webster, op. cit., pp. 49-50; see also J.G. Wilson, "Preliminary Observations on the Crompom People of Karamoja, Their Ethnic Status, Culture and Posultated Relations to the Peoples of the Late Stone Age," Uganda Journal, XXXIV (1970), 125-46.

[2]Lawrance, The Iteso, p. 126; also Odada, "Pre-Colonial Kumam," p. 487.

[3]M. Twaddle, "The Founding of Mbale," Uganda Journal, XXX (1966), 26; see also Ogot, Southern Luo, p. 119.

[4]Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 130, statement by D. Gewuma (15 April 1969); No. 164, statement by Ezekieri Kageni (15 May 1969).

Iteso at the same time as the Nandi were making their presence felt. Banyole tradition suggests that they defeated the Iteso and caused fragmentation of that people[1] but it is certain that the Iteso continued their push southwards past Bunyole so as to come into contact with the Basamia and Bagwe by 1880. The Bagwe were able to stem the tide of Teso advance with the aid of arms supplied by Arab traders who had come from Buganda.[2] This confrontation caused a reverse migration by the Iteso which complicated their pattern of settlement to an even greater extent.

Thus, most of the people of this part of eastern Uganda had recent and violent experience of encroachments by powerful neighbors. The reactions of the peoples of the area varied. Some attempted to centralize authority in order to mobilize for defense; others erected feeble fortifications to protect their villages; yet others fled into the presumed safety of their mountain valleys. All, however, felt the sting of the invader. As a result, neither settlement patterns nor power relationships were firmly established at the close of the nineteenth century. At the time of the coming of the colonial regime, the situation in eastern Uganda was in a state of flux. This fluidity was unacceptable to the British authorities and their agents, as their expectations for eastern Uganda required law and order, and thus stability. The introduction of the Baganda under the guise of colonial authority to establish that stability was counterproductive, however, given the peoples' recent experiences

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[1] Burke, op. cit., p. 181; Were, Historical Texts, p. 27

[2] Persse, op. cit., p. 284; Ogot, Southern Luo, p. 119.

at the hands of the Baganda invaders. Instead, violence increased, stability decreased. As in Karamoja, the closing years of the nineteenth century in the Mbale area were characterized by a spiralling of the level of violence. The result, when colonial authority was established, was an overriding concern within the administration for pacification and stabilization.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COLONIAL INNOVATION

The advent of colonial overrule in eastern Uganda introduced new economic and administrative variables which brought in their wake changes in the social environment, commonly called the colonial situation. The two most readily observable of these variables were the development of the exchange sector of the economy in accordance with the needs and interests of the colonial overlords, and the establishment of an administration based on practices and procedures which had evolved outside of eastern Uganda. The production of a viable cash crop and the organization of trade came under the purview and direction of the protectorate authorities. While it is true that the parameters of this trade were substantially widened as a result of this shift in management from the local level to a centralized authority, it is equally true that local interests were sacrificed to the interests of the colonial authorities. Thus, official attention focussed only on those areas which had a production potential which the administration could easily exploit in order to earn money to pay its bills. Other areas which either lacked this potential or presented too many problems to make exploitation immediately viable were

passed over. The administrative machinery introduced into eastern Uganda in the colonial period was also novel in at least two respects. On the one hand it drew together under one authority all the disparate peoples of the area, and on the other, it attached this new unit to a much larger administrative unit, the Uganda Protectorate.

These two innovations had certain general implications for colonial life in eastern Uganda which were potentially similar throughout the area. However, the degree to which they affected the particular environments of the different peoples of the area varied considerably. Thus, the colonial situation -- the norms for participation in it and the opportunities flowing from it -- varied from one area to another. It is, of course, true that not all areas were dealt with identically by the colonial authorities. But colonial innovation varied at least in part in response to the authorities' perception of the recent past in the area concerned. Differential treatment stemmed from an assessment of what was necessary and possible in a given area. It is useful, therefore, in attempting to understand why particular environments varied in the colonial period, to look at how colonial innovations related to the recent past in the areas defined. Such an examination will assist us in our subsequent discussion of education in terms of what opportunities existed at particular places and particular times, and what one had to do to take advantage of those opportunities.

At least two elements of the recent past determined to what extent these colonial innovations shaped the particular

environments in the three areas of eastern Uganda. These were economic change and violence.

The main aim of the colonial authorities, once it was clear that the definition of the Uganda Protectorate had come to include the area north and east of the Mpologoma River, was the production and sale of a cash crop sufficiently profitable to allow the area to pay its way. Cotton was ultimately selected. Such an approach ignored the potential for trade which had been stimulated in the last years of the nineteenth century by the enormous profits gained from ivory. It also overlooked the possible profits to be had from cattle. In brief, it emphasized agricultural and related developments at the expense of other activities. On two counts, the recent past in Teso can be seen to have effectively led into this program of development. First, the economic adaptability which characterized the on-going shift among the Iteso from pastoralism to agriculture, and the resultant changes in social organization, had nurtured an attitude of flexibility among the people which accepted change as an integral part of economic and social life. Second, the growth of loci of trade along the shores of Lake Kyoga had foreshadowed the development of that lake as the main avenue of trade and transport connecting eastern Uganda to the rest of the protectorate. Teso's natural suitability for the cultivation of cotton, therefore, complemented these two pre-disposing factors in making a success of the colonial economic policy. The meteoric rise of cotton production soon eclipsed the ivory trade on which the recent economic viability of the Karamojong had been based. The Bagisu too suffered from the decline of the ivory trade which had passed

through their area for several years. Neither of these peoples had the experience of economic change which had prepared the Iteso to accept future change. Neither of them had the advantage of participation in a pre-colonial commercial network that so nearly paralleled the early colonial one. Thus, Teso, more than any other part of eastern Uganda, profited from the growth of a colonial economy.

Violence was a widespread feature of eastern Uganda in the late nineteenth century. Both the development of a viable economy and the establishment of an administration depended on at least a minimal degree of security and stability. Therefore, the presence of violence in an area and its continuation into the colonial period would be a hindrance to the implementation of colonial policy, for pacification militated against economic development. In eastern Uganda, the pre-colonial history of both Karamoja and the Mbale area was characterized by violence. The Karamojong alternated in raids and counter-raids with their powerful neighbors and competitors for cattle. The people of the Mbale area fought against predations from the north, east and west simultaneously. In both areas, the conflicts continued into the colonial period, and these twentieth century conflicts represented direct continuity with the upheavals of the nineteenth century, exacerbated by colonial influences. For example, the agitation among the Padhola and the Bagisu, which brought forth punitive expeditions, grew out of the high level of tension that existed traditionally between them and the Baganda. But this tension was heightened as a result of the influx of new Baganda into the area, now with official sanction. Similarly,

the traditional hostility between the Karamojong and their neighbors, the Turkana and the Suk, was encouraged by the illicit, but commonly known, trade in arms. This continuing violence was naturally interpreted as a threat to security. Thus, pacification and not economic development dominated early colonial contact with these people.

Only the Iteso, who had been largely shielded from the external attacks and cattle competition of the late nineteenth century, had no recent experience of violence at home which could be fanned by colonial interference. Furthermore, the people in Teso were relatively receptive to the colonial authorities and thereby avoided the experience of colonial pacification. This absence of violence laid the way open to economic development.

It is against the background of these patterns of violence and economic change in the recent past that colonial innovations shaped the colonial situation in eastern Uganda. Both the economic and administrative innovations contributed to a marked enlargement of scale in the activities of the people of Teso. Opportunities became available in a much wider context and the norms for participating in these opportunities were increasingly established outside of the local context. Philip Foster has suggested that the enlargement of scale of the exchange sector of the economy was one factor "leading to the progressive disintegration of traditional structures and their successive replacement by new concepts of social status and new modes of acquiring it."[1] A corollary of this enlargement of scale was

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[1] P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 127.

an increasing individualization of choice. With the increased range of possible jobs available outside of the pre-existing limits, a system of recruitment emerged with divorced its participants from their association with the old and bound them as individuals to the new.[1] In order to qualify for jobs, people were forced to meet the norms established within the colonial context. This meant that certain skills would be required, among them, for many jobs, the ability to read and write. It also meant a certain independence from the socializing institutions of the traditional community would be needed. Some effort was necessary, therefore, to institutionalize the learning of these required skills and the nurturing of these attitudes of independence.

Without the educational initiatives of the missionaries, it is doubtful that sustained economic and social change in the early colonial period would have been possible. This dependence on education for supplying the human resources which are essential to any development plans, be they colonial or contemporary, has been broadly recognized in principal, though not in detail, within the field of development studies. It was this educational imperative which ultimately gave Christian schools a wider significance than had been commonly perceived by their designers.

But, the importance of education for economic or social development, though generally accepted by development planners,

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[1] An interesting preliminary consideration of the notion of enlargement of scale can be found in several papers read at the Universities Social Science Council Conference, Kampala, 1968. See, for example, J.S. Saul, "Enlargement of Scale in Post-Independence Tanzania."

was not self-evident to the indigenous populations of colonial areas. In his study of Ghana, Foster noted that "within traditional societies of the Gold Coast pattern, the demand for education will not arise until significant changes have occurred in the social system as a result of European contact. Then and only then will a cumulative pattern of demand emerge."[1] In such a situation, external educational initiatives might be independent of any plans for development, and might well precede any "cumulative pattern of demand." Such was the case with early mission education in eastern Uganda. In fact, a pattern of indigenous "demand" never emerged there. Educational initiatives continued to come from outside. However, these initiatives succeeded only if they were ultimately perceived by the indigenous population as relevant to subsequent changes in their economic and social patterns. In the same way that development planners have concluded that not all educational strategies contribute equally to development, the people of eastern Uganda could be expected to respond

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[1]Foster, op. cit., p. 125. He argues that Buganda was an exception to this "delayed" incorporation of educational institutions (p. 126), but even here it seems that the process was at work, though greatly telescoped because of the particular conditions which were operating in Buganda when the missionaries arrived. See J.V. Maas, "The Restructuring of State Education in Buganda Before Colonial Overrule," The Dean's Papers, 1969: Columbia University School of International Affairs, ed., Andrew W. Cordier (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 202-223.

positively only to those educational initiatives to which perceptible benefits accrued. Therefore, the following analysis of indigenous response to external educational initiatives will parallel Foster's study of the emergence of indigenous demand in Ghana. The analysis will focus on whether, and to what extent, there existed a fit between the external educational initiatives and the economic and social changes which resulted from colonial contact.

CHAPTER II

THE BUGANDA MODEL

Eastern Uganda was an area of secondary mission penetration, one step removed from the initial contact between missionaries and African society. Primary contact took place in Buganda.

By 1900, when missionaries first entered "Bukedi" from Buganda, running schools of one kind or another was an important part of their activities. At that time, however, the place of schooling in the overall context of their work in Buganda was not entirely clear. In fact, right through the first decade of the twentieth century the debate over the place and nature of formal education in relation to the aims and motives of missionary activity continued unabated within mission circles. As a consequence, the experiences in Buganda which shaped the outlook of those missionaries responsible for education in eastern Uganda changed over time. These changes in mission approach were bound to affect the foundation and development of mission schools in "Bukedi" with which they coincided. At the turn of the century, however, it was the myopia, developed as a result of more than two decades of work in Buganda, rather than the experience of any particular educational strategies, that influenced the first years of work in eastern Uganda. The opening of stations in "Bukedi" was explicitly seen by mission authorities as an extension of their

work in Buganda. Thus, it is important for putting these initial efforts into perspective to look briefly at the work of the missions in Buganda up to 1900.

THE CHURCH IN BUGANDA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Two indigenous groups stand out as significant in the work of the early Christian church in Buganda: the chiefs and the catechists.

The Chiefs

On their arrival in Buganda in 1877, the missionaries were forced to confine their teaching to the palace of the king (kabaka), in the king's presence. This policy stemmed from the political nature of the mission's existence in Buganda at that time. The king was intent on making the missionaries completely dependent upon himself. The result of these early strictures on movement and teaching meant that those in the king's household were the first to come under the influence of the missionaries. Also included in the inner circle were those living in nearby households. These included men living in the compounds of other important men in Buganda, such as the prime minister (katikiro) or those county chiefs that maintained town houses in the capital. By their nature, these houses included actual chiefs or potential nobility serving their royal apprenticeship in the service of the king. After successful service at the palace or in one of the satellite households, many of these apprentices were made chiefs, with the right to collect around them their own retinue of followers. These

chiefs were the first Christians in Buganda.

The importance of these households for the early response to Christianity has been suggested by several scholars. One church historian has written, "In the palace of the Kabaka and in the great households of the nobility....the very form and structure of the church had been prepared in advance."[1] It was within these households that the first sense of Christian solidarity arose as a counter to the king's erratic professions of faith. When persecution came after the death of Mutesa in 1884, it was these households and the loyalties that had been bred within them which formed the basis for organizing the church as an underground movement. The heads of these households formed the first African church council in 1885 in order to run the church in the face of opposition. These same men laid the plans for regaining power in Buganda after it had fallen to the Muslims in the succession struggles following Mwanga's deposition. The Christian revolution which succeeded in 1890 to place all the great chieftainships in the kingdom in the hands of well-known Christian leaders was the culmination of thirteen years of missionary work in Buganda. After 1890, the chiefs were the leaders of the states as well as the leaders of the church.[2]

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[1] J.V. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1958), p. 34. See also, J.V. Maas, "The Restructuring of State Education in Buganda before Colonial Overrule," The Dean's Papers, 1969: Columbia University School of International Affairs, ed., Andrew W. Cordier (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 202-223.

[2] Taylor, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

By this reversal of power, the missions were more than ever dependent upon the favor of the chiefs for the continued success of their work. It was at the request of these newly autonomous chiefs that the missionaries were finally able to move from the capital to the country districts. In 1892 thirty-seven requests were received from Christian chiefs inviting the missionaries to live with them on their country estates and to assist them in building up local churches.[1] The relationship between the church and these chiefs was very close. "The missionaries worked, at first, entirely through these chiefs," Taylor writes, "regarding them as the natural leaders of the church, as indeed they were. They had the same functions as had been exercised by the heads of the cluster-households in the capital."[2] The missionaries were able to use a system of Christian instruction that pre-dated their own arrival in these country districts. All chiefs had undertaken preaching and teaching in their own areas. With the arrival of the missionaries, minor chiefs were assigned the duty of organizing local services to accommodate their visits.[3] Without this initiation of contact through the chiefs and their on-going support for the work of the church, it is certain that the spread of Christianity throughout Buganda would have been much slower.

But the joining of secular and religious power and obligations presented its own problems. The decade of the 1890's

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[1] Ibid., p. 64, citing C.M.S. Archives, Letter, Bishop Tucker, 19 April 1892.

[2] Ibid., p. 68.

[3] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

was one of intense political and military activity in Buganda which made demands upon the time and energy of the chiefs. At the same time, with the growth in size and complexity of the local church communities, the amount of time and attention which should have been devoted to their spiritual direction also increased. These two areas of interest were frequently in competition with one another, leading Taylor to conclude that "a church so dependent on the chiefs is very vulnerable."[1] As a consequence, during the last years of the century, chiefs began to withdraw from positions of active management in church affairs. Initially this did not signal a retreat from responsibility for leadership in the church. It was a "purely pragmatic adjustment" which recognized the need for a separate category of people — clergy, teachers, and catechists — to run the church. However, such an adjustment laid the way open for a wider participation in leadership roles by this new clerical group.

At the same time, there appeared in Buganda a new generation of missionaries that supported this separation of secular and ecclesiastical leadership. Non-chiefly clerics, it must be assumed in light of future developments, were thought more likely to bend to the will of these missionaries. "The old type of African church leadership could not for long be maintained in partnership with this new missionary assertiveness, and it was steadily replaced by a new leadership that was both more clerical and more filial."[2] Thus, the position

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[1] Ibid., p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

of the chiefs within the church in Buganda was changing as the century ended, but their importance in the initiation of contact and in the early spread of mission work had not been missed.

The Catechists

The growing importance of catechists in the church in Buganda was made possible by the increasing availability of candidates offering themselves for this work after the revival movement of 1893. It is true, of course, that even before this time, people passed on from one to the other what they had learned from the missionaries. The missionaries regarded the ability to read as basic to success in the search for religious truths and to ultimate baptism. Christianity was a religion of the book, and an ability to read and comprehend what the book said was a condition of conversion. The religious importance of literacy is attested to by the fact that catechetical centers or "synagogi" where all the reading material was religious, were the first "schools" visible in Buganda. And from these classes, Christians, among them the chiefs just discussed, went out and taught others to read. The same person who taught others during the week would usually conduct worship services on Sundays. Such teachers were the earliest catechists. As time passed, the term "synagogi" became less common and these centers came to be referred to as "bush schools."[1] In these bush schools, the man in charge continued to be called a catechist.

Some training for these catechists was envisioned, but it

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[1]A. Wandira, "A Study of Indigenous and Western Education in Uganda, with Reference to Purpose and Practice." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1961), p. 285.

did not materialize immediately. One church historian suggests that those catechists commissioned in 1891 were trained, but the nature of their training remains unclear.[1] It was not until after the revival of 1893 that the number of volunteers coming forward increased to such an extent that a catechist system can be said to have emerged.[2]

These catechists fit into a hierarchic church structure. In 1894, Buganda was divided into thirteen missionary districts, each under the supervision of a European missionary. Each district was then sub-divided into pastorates in charge of Africa clergy. Below them were parishes, and within each parish were several village churches. These lowest levels of the church hierarchy were the domain of the catechist.[3]

Candidates were usually young men who had only recently completed their own baptismal training. The original intent had been to call these catechists into the mission stations periodically for consultation and further training.[4] But the number of places demanding these catechists grew so rapidly that the training program was swamped. It appeared impossible to meet the demand. An attempt was made to limit the number of catechists

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[1] M. L. Pirouet, "The Expansion of the Church of Uganda (NAC) from Buganda into Northern and Western Uganda between 1891 and 1914, with special reference to the Work of African Teachers and Evangelists" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of East Africa, 1968), p. 10.

[2] Taylor, op. cit., pp. 63 and 75.

[3] Ibid., p. 78.

[4] W.A. Crabtree, "Diaries 1894-1904," extract entitled "Notes from Finance Committee Minutes," 12 March 1894 (Microfilm in Makerere University library).

sent out to 100, but as early as 1894, one missionary forecasted a need for at least 150 such workers.[1] In the face of these numbers, training and supervision were woefully inadequate. It was not until 1898 that the decision was taken to set apart one missionary for the theological training of those catechists already in the field.[2] Even then, the Bishop remarked that, though in principle catechists in the field were to be guided and trained by European missionaries, in practice this rarely happened, either because their hands were full, or, as he quite candidly admitted, because some of the Europeans did not have the qualifications necessary for the task.[3] What emerged, therefore, was a system which, by design, attempted to place these catechists in a dependent position but which, in fact, allowed them a large degree of independent judgment at the local level.

THE EARLY CHURCH IN EASTERN UGANDA

The Christian church entered eastern Uganda in the company of an invading army. It looked for, and got, support in its first years from that army which had been transformed into an unpopular force of occupation. This strange alliance was not an accident of history. On the contrary, it was a conscious effort by missionaries in Buganda to turn the situation to their

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[1] Roscoe to Tucker, 10 May 1894 (Mss. in Makerere University library).

[2] F. Carter, "Education in Uganda 1894-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967), p. 32.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/01, Tucker to Baylis, 3 June 1899.

advantage. The army was from Buganda. Its leaders were Christians with whom the missionaries had close associations. Despite obvious evidence to the contrary, many missionaries labored under the misconception that these Baganda had gone to eastern Uganda to evangelize.[1] Because of the special nature of their relations with chiefs within Buganda, church authorities assumed that similar use could be made of Christian chiefs outside of Buganda. As a consequence, the decision was taken to advance into the area with these chiefs. Along with the missionaries came Baganda catechists whose service in "Bukedi" was seen as a natural extension of the spread of catechists throughout Buganda. It is clear, therefore, that the early experiences in the church in Buganda influenced the initiation of work in eastern Uganda. In the process, the work of the church became identified with the oppressive presence of an alien power. It is the purpose of this section to examine the implications of this identification and show how it shaped the reactions of the people of eastern Uganda to mission work, in general, and to their educational initiatives, in particular.

Kakungulu's influence

The first experience of colonial overrule in eastern Uganda dates from the arrival in 1900 of Kakungulu, the Muganda general in charge of an army of occupation. Almost immediately, this military presence became political domination with Kakungulu assuming the title of "king of Bukedi." Kakungulu's

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[1] Pirouet, op. cit., p. 323.

position was given official sanction by the British colonial authorities. Thus, the importation of large numbers of Baganda followers who were given employment in Kakungulu's new government was really the start of British colonial activity in eastern Uganda. This phenomenon has been called Baganda sub-imperialism, and has been the subject of at least two well-documented studies.[1] It does not, therefore, need extensive re-iteration here. It is sufficient to note that the British, in extending their control over eastern Uganda, used both Baganda agents and the model of government that had grown up in Buganda. The resulting structure was a complex hierarchy with Kakungulu at the top and an increasingly extended administration at each succeeding level, manned almost entirely by Baganda.

It is important to be aware that in the Mbale area, these early years of so-called administration were really years of pacification. The violence that had characterized the last years of the nineteenth century in this area had continued up to the arrival of Kakungulu's army. Since one of the main adversaries in these years had been the Baganda, it must be assumed that Kakungulu's arrival was interpreted as a continuation of the preceding hostility. The people of the area did not acquiesce in the face of this strengthened opposition. As a consequence, the Baganda agents and their followers were engaged mainly in

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[1] For the most comprehensive treatment of this subject see M. Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967). An early analysis of this issue can be found in A.D. Roberts, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda," Journal of African History, III (1962), pp. 435-450.

punitive expeditions against them. The most destructive of such expeditions came in 1905 when the authorities moved against the Padhola as punishment for the murder of some Baganda in the area. Other smaller parties were sent with alarming regularity into the foothills and valleys of Mount Elgon in an effort to subdue and bring under control one clan after the other.[1] Even without the organization of a punitive expedition, the depradations of Kakungulu's followers created a condition of turmoil and anxiety in the area.[2]

The excesses of Kakungulu and his followers were commonly known in official circles. As early as 1901, concern was expressed that some of Kakungulu's subordinates had misconducted themselves frequently.[3] The following year, because of the growing number of complaints, the Commissioner sent an official to reside at Kakungulu's headquarters and the result was "complete revelation," confirmation of the administration's worst fears.[4] This growing body of criticism was strengthened with the killing of a Muganda chief, Kisika, in Padhola in 1905, and the continual revolts and upheavals in the mountainous areas occupied by the Baganda starting in 1906. In both cases, the official report to the colonial authorities in London put

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[1]Twaddle, op. cit., pp. 216-17; 235-40.

[2]Ibid., pp. 104-10.

[3]Entebbe Secretariat Archives (E.S.A.), A/10 Vol. 2, Report by W. Grant on the Central Province for August, 1901 and Visit to Bukedi, 7 September 1901.

[4]Public Records Office (P.R.O.), FO 2/589, Jackson to FO, 24 January 1902.

the blame on the Baganda agents who were exceeding their authority or taking undue advantage of their positions.[1]

A suggestion was put forward that there be a substantial increase in European staff in order to lessen dependence on Baganda agents.[2] Their unpopularity in the area was well expressed by one official of long-standing:

> The Ugandan in his own country is in most cases a very estimable and sympathetic individual, but, when placed in authority over people whom he considers to be inferior to him, usually displays such pride and arrogance that feelings of resentment are quickly engendered in the minds of those who are brought into contact with him. The Uganda agents employed in the Bukedi country have certainly done good work and the collection of taxes have increased rapidly. It is unquestionable, however, that they are cordially hated by the tribes among whom they live, and every now and then we hear of these agents being murdered or driven away...I feel convinced, judging by the results of the last three years, that if we continue to force these high-spirited natives to submit to the direct influence of petty employers of their own colour, who are evidently hated by them, we shall have constant trouble in the country and eventually alienate any sympathetic feeling which they may still entertain for European officials.[3]

And yet, Kakungulu and most of his followers were Christian. It was this Christian presence which enticed the missions into the area. William Crabtree of the C.M.S. settled in the area as the first missionary with little idea of what to expect. He had some information from the travels of

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[1] P.R.O., CO 536/2, Hayes-Sadler to CO, 27 July 1905; see also CO 536/8, Hesketh Bell to CO, 26 November 1906; and E.S.A., SMP 1297/06, Hesketh Bell to Lord Elgin, 26 November 1906.

[2] For this lengthy correspondence, see the entire file E.S.A., SMP 1344/07.

[3] P.R.O., CO 536/18, Hesketh Bell to CO, 27 February 1908.

two other missionaries,[1] but the validity of their observations has been disputed by one historian who accused them of perpetuating stereotyped attitudes toward non-Baganda.[2] The one element of certainty at the time of Crabtree's departure from Mengo was Kakungulu's presence in the area.

In explaining the motive for his trip to the London authorities, Bishop Tucker wrote that Crabtree had gone to visit Kakungulu on holiday.[3] Yet it is clear from earlier correspondence both in Uganda and with the London authorities that Crabtree had more ambitious plans. On the surface, he was supposed to collect material and prepare a first reader in the vernacular of the area.[4] In his correspondence Crabtree too mentioned the preparation of this reader, but added, "there is, of course, other general work to be done."[5] Only one month after his arrival, Crabtree put forward the idea of opening permanent mission work. In less than three months, the Executive Committee at Mengo, the headquarters in Buganda, decided to give financial assistance for a house to be built and to establish lines of communication with the more settled areas of the mission field. The land on which the house was

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[1] T. M. Richards, "Mr. Greatcoat or the Life of W.A. Crabtree by his Daughter" (MSS in Church Missionary Society Library, London), p. 90.

[2] Pirouet, op. cit., p. 323.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Tucker to Baylis, 30 April 1902.

[4] Mengo Notes, I (December, 1900).

[5] C.M.S. Archives, Crabtree Papers No. 27/3, Crabtree to Ecob, 7 November 1900.

to be built had been donated by Kakungulu.[1]

Land was a significant element of Kakungulu's hospitality, and the missions accepted offers as a natural parallel to what had been done for them in Buganda. The Mill Hill Mission also received from Kakungulu a plot at Masaba very close to the one occupied by Crabtree. Within a short time, acrimony between the neighboring missions led the protectorate authorities to consider this whole question of land allocation. In a letter to the authorities, Crabtree accused Fr. Kestens of the M.H.M. of listening to the grievances of local chiefs and passing judgments which contradicted his own.[2] Following Crabtree's letter, Grant, the Sub-Commissioner at Jinja, ordered Kestens to withdraw to Budaka in order that he might ascertain the opinion of the local population at Masaba.[3] Unfortunately, Kestens antagonized the officials by demanding compensation for the losses incurred as a result of the withdrawal.[4] In taking their decision, therefore, they concluded that as the grant to the mission had not been recorded at Entebbe, it must be disallowed.[5] However, even at Budaka,

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/02, Millar to Baylis, 5 January 1901; also Minutes of the Executive Committee, 21 March 1901.

[2] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2, Crabtree to Grant, 20 September 1901. For Kestens' view of this disagreement see Kestnes to Grant, 18 October 1901.

[3] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2, Grant to Acting Commissioner, 4 October 1901 (telegram).

[4] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2, Kestens to Grant, 9 October 1901; Commissioner to Grant, 17 October 1901.

[5] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2, Grant (Sub-Commissioner Jinja) to Acting Commissioner, 22 October 1901.

Kakungulu's influence was strong. Though the protectorate authorities attempted to arrange the matter "without Kakunguru being in any way consulted...to show him that the question of land claims is entirely outside his sphere of work,"[1] Kestens was still dependent on Kakungulu who alone could guarantee workmen for building on the new plot.[2]

Kakungulu was also influential in ensuring that the missionaries had pupils in the classes which were being set up at the mission centers. This effort followed once again the system worked out in Buganda. Kakungulu was lauded by John Purvis, Crabtree's successor at Masaba, for his response to an appeal for support for a school for sons of chiefs.[3] Eventually it was to these so-called chiefs that the missionaries turned for this support. Even then, however, several informants were of the opinion that the chiefs were not independent in their decisions to send a boy to the mission to be educated. The government, it is true, had on several occasions avowed that the chiefs and people had complete freedom in this matter. The Governor, in writing to the Roman Catholic Bishop, stated the government's position clearly. "I am inclined," he noted, "to encourage the chiefs as far as possible in getting their sons educated and in ordering them to pay a proportionate cost of their expense. As regards the chiefs, they will certainly not be pressed to send their sons to any particular mission...

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[1] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2, Boyle (Chief Secretary) to Grant, 23 January 1902.

[2] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2, Kestens to Grant, 22 October 1901.

[3] Uganda Notes, September, 1904.

that is entirely a matter for the chiefs themselves."[1] In the early years of mission expansion such an approach, which allowed freedom of choice between the two missions, but which discouraged the total rejection of mission schools, generally meant coercion by the chiefs. In eastern Uganda, Kakungulu took on this coercive role and was accused of threatening the chiefs with the loss of their jobs if boys, and later girls, were not sent to school.[2]

Kakungulu also sponsored catechists in the area under his authority. When he established posts, he brought with him not only military followers, but also men like Andereya Batulabude, a church teacher. It was this sponsorship of Christianity that gained for Kakungulu his reputation as a Christian leader. The links between the earliest Christian teachers and Kakungulu's rule were clear. When other catechists came with the missionaries, they were paid from funds supplied by Kakungulu and his Christian followers.[3] On arrival, they all lived in government compounds under the protection of Kakungulu's agents. In fact, many of them replaced the earliest teachers that had come with Kakungulu. As a result, their work was confined to the Baganda resident in these posts and a handful of youngsters in the immediate neighbor-

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[1] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Hayes-Sadler to Bishop Hanlon, 7 August 1908.

[2] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 135, statement by Mr. Israel Kabazi, 18 April 1969; No. 168, statement by Rev. Asanasiyo Malingha, 26 May 1969; Bugisu Historical Texts, No. 17, statement by Rev. E. Wokadala, 27 March 1969.

[3] Namirembe Archives (Makerere University Library) N3/1, Purvis to Millar, 4 December 1904.

hood who were willing to learn Luganda.[1]

The presence of Kakungulu at the head of numerous communities of Christian followers resembled the early households that had formed the structure for the spread of Christianity in Buganda. On questions of land, school attendance and support for catechists, the missionaries were initially able to look to Kakungulu for support. In this way the confidence of mission authorities in the Buganda model was bolstered, and their faith in chiefs, represented to them by Kakungulu, as the key to initiating contact was reinforced. As a consequence, the important differences between Buganda and eastern Uganda tended to be overlooked. Also, the danger of too close an identification with the alien overlords was ignored.

William Crabtree's Opposition

One strident voice, that of William Crabtree, was raised in opposition to this Buganda-induced myopia.[2] Though ultimately not influential in determining mission policy in the area, his opposition was important because it put into relief those differences between Buganda and eastern Uganda upon which that policy faltered.

Crabtree, being the first missionary to work in the area, had no precedents on which to rely. Initially, he was

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[1] Church Missionary Society, Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries, entry by Kitching, 1908; C.M.S. Archives, A7/06, Roscoe, Report on a Tour to Bukedi, May-June, 1908; see also A.M. Bishop and D. Ruffell, "A History of the Upper Nile Diocese" (MSS in C.M.S. Library, London), pp. 3-5.

[2] William Crabtree was a controversial figure from the time he arrived in Uganda in 1890 until his departure in 1904. He was a man of strong views, described by his colleagues as both "impossible to deal with," and "somewhat erratic in his

a fan of Kakungulu, acknowledging a debt of gratitude to him both for his offer of a plot of land and his help in the work of building on the mission station. But Crabtree was quickly disillusioned. Kakungulu, he felt, knew little of the people of the area despite his long residence there. "The desire to get goods far exceeded the desire to learn who and what the various peoples were."[1] This condemnation spread rapidly to all Baganda working in the area. He accused teachers sent from Buganda of working almost exclusively with those who had learned Luganda and of refusing to use books prepared in Lugisu and Teso.[2] In a long report prepared for the authorities in London, he summarized the difficulties which Baganda teachers faced. Lack of knowledge of the people and the language was the most serious shortcoming.

Initially, as we saw, catechists had been confined to the compounds of the Baganda agents. This meant that their work reached only those who spoke Luganda. Despite Crabtree's linguistic work, which identified four distinct language groups in the area of eastern Uganda, the language policy of the mission remained unchanged. Crabtree received some support from his successor who argued that it was unfair for European

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methods." See C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Walker to Baylis, 13 June 1900; Tucker to Baylis, 26 June 1903.

[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Crabtree to Stock, 29 January 1903.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/04, "Notes of a conversation with Rev. W.A. Crabtree on 5 April 1904, also on his letters and reports," prepared by J.W. Rundall, 9 April 1904 and presented to Group III Committee meeting, 7 June 1904.

missionaries working there to be forced to learn Luganda. "Such study," he suggested, "must of necessity alienate the mind from the peoples and country of Masaba."[1] In fact, it would have been difficult to choose one language for work in the Mbale area, precisely because so many languages existed side by side. As policy, therefore, Luganda was retained as the language of all instruction in church schools.[2]

Even more important than language was the question of how far the mission could rely on chiefs for support. Crabtree was convinced that, as the chiefs in eastern Uganda did not have the same kind of influence as they did in Buganda, they would be an unreliable source of strength for the church. After only a few months in the area, he wrote "here is no feudal system; those we call chiefs for want of a better name, are men of great moral influence amongst their people, but have absolutely no means of enforcing it." In 1903, he made a public appeal for a redress of the situation concerning mission work in eastern Uganda. "Unless some vigorous action is taken soon," he intoned, "the absorbing interest of Uganda proper and its marvellous people is going to be a positive hindrance to the evangelization of those parts of the Protectorate which

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/05, Purvis to Baylis, 19 June 1906.

[2] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 138, statement by Mr. Thomas Tegu, 19 April 1969. This was a rigid interpretation of the policy laid down as early as 1902. "The recognition of vernacular distinction should not be carried beyond what is really necessary for adequate instruction of the common people." See C.M.S. Archives, A7/L1, "Draft memorandum regarding the Language Question in the Uganda Mission," adopted by the Committee on Correspondence, 7 January 1902.

the Baganda do not know."[1] This statement was Crabtree's clearest indictment of the C.M.S. authorities at Mengo, but was merely one expression of opinion in a long campaign to persuade his superiors to adapt their policies to new conditions. A full year earlier he had called for a new organization entirely independent of Mengo.[2] He complained that those living outside of Mengo had little voice in running the mission and were hardly ever consulted on decisions affecting eastern Uganda. He concluded, "The view and policy recognized in the Mission...is therefore that of Mengo and the chiefs... How much the chiefs weigh in European councils in Mengo is well illustrated by Gayaza."[3] His doubts concerning the potential for chiefly support were crucial to his opposition to mission policy.

On this point he had some support from other missionaries who visited or worked in the area. One wrote, "in Ukedi the chief is almost reduced to a position without magnitude like Euclid's point."[4] His successor also argued that the success of the missionary in the area was linked to his ability "to limit his expectations according to the character of the people rather than according to preconceived ideas gathered in a country such as Uganda, where the history of the people and the circumstances of life are totally dif-

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[1] Uganda Notes, March, 1903.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Crabtree to Stock, 5 April 1902.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Crabtree to Baylis, 24 Nov. 1902.

[4] A.G. Fraser in Uganda Notes, October, 1900; see also W. Chadwick in Uganda Notes, August, 1902.

ferent."[1] He was convinced that "no work here can be carried on or judged from a Buganda standpoint."[2] It is significant that such opinions emanated from Purvis' pen since it was he who had the task of carrying out the work "from a Buganda standpoint." Such contradictions highlight the fact that decisions concerning eastern Uganda were made in London and at Mengo, not at Masaba.

Mission Policy and Its Implications

In June 1904, the London authorities decided that, while noting Crabtree's strong feelings that the work in eastern Uganda was exceptional, it had for the present to be seen as an "extension of the Uganda Mission," under the authority of Mengo.[3] Simultaneously, at a conference of missionaries in Mengo, Bishop Tucker assured the society that the church in Buganda had sufficient resources to form a base for extension eastwards. A separation of the eastern section of the diocese was possible in the future, he assured them, but at that time he considered it premature.[4] Shortly thereafter, the decision was taken not to allow Crabtree, then on leave, to return to Masaba because of his strained relations with the Baganda there.[5] Crabtree resigned from C.M.S. in 1905.

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[1] J. Purvis, Through Uganda to Mt. Elgon (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), p. 336.

[2] C.M.S., Extracts, entry by J.B. Purvis, 1905.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/L1, Baylis to Walker, 10 June 1904.

[4] C.M.S. Archives, A7/04, Minutes of Conference, 15-17 June 1904.

[5] C.M.S. Archives, A7/04, Tucker to Baylis, 28 July 1904.

By this decision, the mission authorities opted for a mission policy based on their Buganda experiences and contacts. This decision had two main implications for their work. First, there continued to be an overwhelming interest in the Baganda community resident in eastern Uganda. Second, the expected role of chiefs in mission work continued to exceed reality.

Early church work in eastern Uganda had been confined to those who spoke Luganda. But with the establishment of the first station at Nabumali (Masaba),[1] and with progress in linguistic studies by the early missionaries, which resulted in the publication of a Lugisu grammar in 1907, serious steps had been taken to make contact with those indigenous to the area. However, the special attention given to the large Baganda colony at Mbale after 1908 was a turning away from this commitment. Both Crabtree and Purvis based their opposition to the opening up of a station at Mbale on the belief that it would cripple the work among the Bagisu.[2] Yet in 1908, in answer to persistent appeals by the Mbale Church Council, which comprised exclusively Baganda, Mbale was established and immediately made the headquarters of the

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[1] Nabumali was the name of the specific area within Masaba at which the C.M.S. established their first mission station. As a result, early references have been to Masaba. All subsequent references will be to Nabumali. The same thing happened within the Mill Hill Mission. Their first station in Masaba came to be called Nyondo, and it is used in all subsequent references to that place.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/07, Purvis to Baylis, 24 September 1909; Crabtree to Baylis, 24 September 1909.

missionary district. In support of this shift, the authorities argued that the more than 3,000 Baganda in Mbale had already built up a flourishing church and that these people were doing a great deal to support the church in "Bukedi." Furthermore, they argued, by being in Mbale the mission could more easily make contact with the chiefs from the surrounding countries as they came to the government station to discuss civil matters. A house was put at the disposal of the mission by Kakungulu.[1]

In any event, Nabumali did not close completely until 1915, and that closure was temporary as the station opened up again there in 1919. Nonetheless, the 1908 decision represented a conscious attempt by the mission to identify itself not only with the Baganda community, but also with the protectorate authorities. The choice of Mbale as mission headquarters reinforced the mission-Baganda alliance. Its significance was suggested by one senior missionary. "I cannot help thinking," she wrote, "it was a great mistake closing down the work at Nabumali; if the place was not central, we ought to have started a station elsewhere. Mbale is not a good centre for work [among] the Bagisu...Mbale is too far away to keep in touch with them."[2] Mbale was not only far away physically from the bulk of the population; it was also separated morally

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/06, Mbale Church Council to C.M.S. Committee (London), forwarded with Tucker to Baylis, 19 May 1908; Roscoe to Baylis, 23 June 1908; Roscoe to Clayton, 26 September 1908.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/012, E. Pilgrim to Manley, 27 January 1919.

by the fact that it represented effective conquest over the people and the area. It was in effect the imperial capital of eastern Uganda. The conversion of the Bagisu was not easy, according to one informant, because as they had clashed with the Baganda from the time of Kakungulu's arrival right up to 1907, and as the missions were associated with Kakungulu, the Bagisu felt that "the whiteman was using the Baganda to conquer the Bagisu both physically and spiritually."[1] By this association, the missions were naturally identified with the program of pacification.

The most obvious target for opposition was the catechists who lived in isolated locations throughout the area. The well-documented case of the two Baganda church teachers killed in 1905 in Padhola by a raiding party exemplifies such opposition.[2] Another case in which the opposition was explicit, points up the situation even more clearly. In 1913, a case of incendiarism was reported at the mission at Nyondo. Upon investigation, the district commissioner learned that the cause of these acts was opposition to the continued presence on mission lands of Baganda teachers who held the right to require labor from the tenants on the same land. The chief of the land (mailo) admitted "it was people from the mailo who did it; they want to turn out the Baganda from

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[1] Bugisu Historical Texts, No. 17, statement by Rev. E. Wokadala, 28 March 1969. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see R. Sweeting, "The Growth of the Church in Buwalasi - I," The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History, II (1968), pp. 340-45.

[2] Twaddle, "Politics," p. 211.

the mailo." In his testimony, another tenant explained that as Baganda agents were being relieved of their duty elsewhere, their followers were coming to live with other Baganda, notably teachers. This had happened at Nyondo: it is clear from this testimony that the distinction between government Baganda and mission Baganda was very fluid. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in his findings, the district commissioner concluded that "the Bagisu in many cases do not distinguish between Government Baganda and any other Baganda." Requests continued to be made to remove the Baganda teachers along with the Baganda agents whose withdrawal started in 1913.[1]

The viability of the missions was severely compromised in the Mbale area during the period of initial contact because of their close identification with those who used force to establish an alien administration and continued to use force to maintain it. The hesitant response to mission initiatives must be seen within this context.

One proposed feature of this alien administration had been the training of a corps of local chiefs who, it was hoped, would eventually replace the Baganda agents in local administration. Implied in this training program was the belief that there existed in the area men who would naturally fulfill this role. In their expansion from Buganda into western Uganda,

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 3665, Perryman, "Inquiry into Burning of Catholic Mission House at Nyondo on 18 August," 27 August 1913; also, Perryman to PC Jinja, 16 September 1913.

the authorities had hitherto experienced only situations which, while not identical to that in Buganda, had enough similarity to confirm the notion that chiefs were a general feature of the protectorate. Even in eastern Uganda certain features of the political situation encouraged the perpetuation of this notion. For example, in Padhola, a degree of centralization had emerged in the last years of the nineteenth century which concentrated certain power in the hands of Majanga.[1] Among the Bagisu, villages were related to a particular lineage so that the kinship system provided the main means of recruiting men for service within a spatial community. As the familial and spatial units were so closely correlated, the importance of the clan, and thus the clan head, in political action was considerable.[2] It was possible, therefore, for officials whose inclination favored the Buganda system, to identify men of authority in eastern Uganda. Such men became chiefs. As a consequence, the authorities and their agents inadvertently selected notables whose authority and influence varied widely in both scope and intensity. Irrespective of these variations, the men identified in this manner were organized into geographically determined hierarchies, and called upon to perform administrative duties as defined by the protectorate government, and under the guidance

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[1] Twaddle, "Politics," p. 67.

[2] J.S. LaFontaine, "The Social Organization of the Gisu of Uganda with special reference to their Initiation Ceremonies" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1957), p. 99.

of the Baganda agents. Their legitimacy rested squarely with the colonial authorities who retained the exclusive right of appointment and dismissal.

So long as they interpreted the situation in eastern Uganda through the eyes of Kakungulu and the Baganda agents, the missions were bound to accede to this identification of chiefs and act accordingly. It will be recalled that one of the presumed advantages of Mbale as a mission headquarters was that it would give the mission access to those recognized by the government as chiefs. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that Fr. Kirk of the M.H.M. station at Budaka, considered Majanga to be the kabaka of Padhola. On his first visit to the area, he left a teacher with him, and on each subsequent visit, catechmenates were established at the mbuga (residence) of each so-called chief throughout Padhola.[1] His use of Luganda terminology is indicative of the influence which his Buganda experiences had on his thinking about eastern Uganda. As late as 1908, Fr. Kirk could still enthusiastically conclude:

> On looking down the list of readers residing on the mission allotment, one could see the names of chiefs, brothers and sisters of chiefs, and sons of chiefs, who owned vast stretches of land thickly populated, and once having got the chief, you stood a good chance of getting the tribe; so that altogether the prospects for the missions were exceedingly bright and encouraging.[2]

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[1] Mill Hill Archives, London, Fr. C.J. Kirk to Mill Hill, 3 April 1944. Kirk also identified Oguti as chief in the Teso-speaking area of present-day Tororo and established catechumenates under his supervision.

[2] St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, V (1908), p. 189.

Initial, exploratory contacts by both missions continued to be made during a process called itineration. Such contacts were always mediated via the so-called chiefs in a particular village, and teachers were only sent to chiefs who requested them. School plots which were allocated after these itinerations were officially recorded with the administration in the name of the chief who was held to be responsible for the area.[1] Both Fr. Kirk at Budaka, and Holden and Leech at Nabumali used these itinerations to request each chief for at least one son to be sent to the mission station school as a boarder.[2]

This inflated notion of the importance of these chiefs caused problems for early mission work. It involved the missions in local rivalries over the question of who was the legitimate notable in a given area. By its dealings with a particular man, the missions gave implicit recognition to him as the chief. If this recognition did not coincide with the realities of power locally, trouble would ensue. For example, one missionary at Budaka placed a catechumenate near the enclosure of a man called Nikambi, whom he had been led to believe was the chief. Shortly thereafter, another chief, Mauso, established his claim as chief of that area, and forced the transfer of the catechumenate to a place near his

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 470, "Schedule of Unregistered Plots (Eastern Province) of Mill Hill Mission, 1919," forwarded with Biermans to Chief Secretary, 21 August 1919.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/08, Annual Letter, A.J. Leech, 5 December 1910; see also C.M.S., Extracts, entry by W. Holden, 1907. M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Kirk to Fr. Matthews, 23 July 1912.

compound.[1] At another time, at Budaka the position had become even more serious. Wadagala, described by Fr. Kirk as a "rebel-chief" began attacking those Bagwere who were living on mission land. He even threatened to kill Fr. Kirk.[2]

Tensions also arose because the men failed to do what was expected of them. The protectorate authorities had been forced to replace large numbers of these early notables because of their inefficiency. For the missions, this inefficiency was judged by how well these chiefs were able to mobilize support for the local church and school. In this, too, many of the chiefs were found lacking.

Implications for Education

The prime importance of an ability to read as a pre-condition for baptism was carried to eastern Uganda by the earliest missionaries. Both Crabtree at Nabumali and Kirk at Budaka devoted substantial time and attention in their first months opening up reading classes. The first such classes were inevitably located at the mission stations themselves, and thereby received the personal attention of the missionary in charge there, assisted usually by at least one Muganda catechist. In addition to directing these reading classes, the missionaries undertook itineration, first in the immediate neighborhood of the station and then covering an ever-widening circle, aimed at placing other catechists in as many out-lying

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[1] St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, V (1909, pp. 208-09.

[2] E.S.A., A/25 Vol. 1, No. 20, Kirk to Matthews, 21 December 1902.

locations as possible. This centrifugal spread of rudimentary educational facilities is indicated by the pattern of acquisition of plots by the Mill Hill Mission during the period up to 1914. Each of the plots enumerated in Table 1 represented an embryonic church/school manned at least intermittently by one catechist.[1]

Table 1. Number of Plots Acquired by the Mill Hill Mission in Eastern Uganda up to 1914.

District		1900-04	1905-09	1910-14	Total
Bugwere	Mbale Area	10	7	10	27
Pallisa	Mbale Area	15	3	3	21
Budama	Mbale Area	-	3	14	17
Bugisu	Mbale Area	-	-	-	-
Ngora	Teso	4	8	16	28
Toroma	Teso	-	5	11	16
Soroti	Teso	-	1	27	28
Lwala	Teso	-	-	5	5

Budaka was the center of initial Roman Catholic work, and was started with determination in 1902. From Table 1 it is easy to see that early intensive activity was determined by proximity to Budaka. Bugwere and Pallisa were the closest districts to the station. At the same time, some attention was also directed to areas very much on the periphery. Thus, teachers were sent as far afield as Ngora (Teso) from the very earliest period. It was not, however, until a mission was opened at Ngora itself in 1908 that it then became a new center

[1] E.S.A., SMP 470, "Schedule of unregistered plots (Eastern Province) of Mill Hill Mission, 1919," forwarded with Biermans to Chief Secretary, 21 August 1919.

for both the intensive and extensive spread of the church/school network. In the first instance, therefore, some teachers were sent out as an isolated vanguard of Christianity and education. If the results of their work warranted it, at a later date a new mission station would be opened from which greater control over these outposts could be maintained. Before 1908, therefore, all Roman Catholic teachers, wherever they were located, were dependent for authority on Fr. Kirk at Budaka. As the circumference of coverage widened, however, whole areas were carved off of the Budaka mission's responsibility to form newer, smaller administrative units.[1]

The C.M.S. network of church/schools was organized along similar lines. Crabtree had recognized the need for some system of local responsibility when he identified several distinct language groups in the area. Intensive work was at first limited to the station at Nabumali and the areas immediately surrounding it. Nonetheless, teachers were also sent out to the periphery of the administered area, where they established themselves in the neighborhood of government agents.[2] The C.M.S. did not carve their area up into as

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[1] B.W. Langlands and G. Namirembe, Studies in the Geography of Religion in Uganda, Occasional Paper No. 4 (Makerere University, Department of Geography, 1967), p. 56. By 1920 seven such units existed, based respectively at Budaka, Ngora, Nagongera, Nyondo, Soroti, Lwala, and Dabani.

[2] Andereya Batulabude worked at Kumi in Teso under the nominal authority of the Nabumali mission from 1904 to 1908 (see C.M.S. Archives, A7/06, Roscoe, "Report on a Tour to Bukedi, May-June, 1908." See also Pirouet, op. cit., p. 373; there is also a record of other teachers having been sent to both Pallisa and Serere as early as 1904. See "From Mengo to Masaba," Uganda Notes, October, 1904). For early Christian

many administrative units as the Mill Hill Mission had done. Only two missionary districts, as the C.M.S. called them, were established. One was headquartered at Mbale; the other at Ngora. In order to enable them to exercise a close control in their large districts, they divided them into several sub-districts. For example, in 1910 the Mbale missionary district comprised five sub-districts -- Budama (Padhola), Bugwere, Bunyuli, North Bugisu and South Bugisu.[1] A senior catechist was appointed in each sub-district to oversee the work of the junior catechists, many of whom were completely untrained, and to report back to the missionary in charge.[2] In this way,

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work in Bugwere, see N. Magoola, "The History and Development of Education in Bugwere" (Unpublished Associateship Paper, Makerere National Institute of Education, 1967), p. 14. For the work of Petero Dakigesa in Bunyuli, see L.C. Usher-Wilson in South of the Sudd and on the Backwaters of the Nile, II (July, 1937), pp. 6-7; also, Y.H. Nabe, "The Development of Primary Education in Bunyole County" (Unpublished Associateship Paper, Makerere National Institute of Education, 1967), pp. 21-22. No accurate statistics seem to be available for the number of teachers who worked within C.M.S. Various reports indicate that in 1910 the number for the Mbale District was 56. By 1918, the number for the district was 184. See C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, Annual Letter, H.B. Ladbury, December, 1910; also A7/012, "Missionary Districts, 1919 - Mbale." At about the same time the total for Teso was 25 and for Lango 10. See A7/09, Annual Letter, H.G. Dillistone, 9 December 1911.

[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/08, Annual Letter, H.B. Ladbury, 16 November 1909. Another sub-district was added in 1915 when the area of present-day Samia-Bugwe, with its center at Busia, was transferred to the Mbale District from Iganga. See Bishop and Ruffell, op. cit., p. 2.

[2] H.B. Ladbury, "Diaries of Mission Work," entry dated August, 1910; also 30 November 1912 (MSS in Makerere University Library).

the foundations were laid for a centralized system of church schools, dependent for direction on mission authority.

The reading classes at the mission stations differed from those at more distant places only in the amount of supervision given by the missionary, but basically the teaching was done by the African teacher. Elementary instruction in literacy was the prime function of these classes, but it was literacy based solely on religious reading material and aimed at forming the basis for baptism. It was also literacy in Luganda.

One informant was able to describe in detail what these classes included. Rev. E. Wokadala started his education at Makuyu in North Bugisu. Those newly under instruction were divided into three groups -- "a"; "wa"; and "bwa" -- in order to learn the alphabet. A test was administered after passing through each stage. Initially lessons were normally conducted under a tree by senior readers, that is, those in an advanced stage of preparation for baptism, but not yet baptized. These senior readers helped the catechists whose attention was usually focussed on the final stages. During the second stage, the pupils learned to join letters together. This stage was called "bwino," and during it the pupils began to cram and recite passages from the Bible or the Apostles' Creed. Beginnings were also made to introduce basic skills of numeracy, so that pupils passing through this stage could count to 1000 and perhaps to one million. Before going on to the third and final stage of preparation, all pupils had to pass a simple test administered by the teacher/catechist. If a pupil succeeded, he would continue on to the final stage ("ekitundu").

This last stage took a full year, during which time the pupils were expected to become fluent in reading the Bible. The exam which terminated this stage was conducted initially by the European missionary.[1] For the Catholics the course was shorter, lasting as it did only one year, but it resembled the program just described. Four months were devoted to learning prayers, four months to the catechism, and four months to baptism preparation. Everything was to be learnt by heart. The pupils hardly saw a book, but did exercises in a sing-song fashion.[2]

These classes were not always as efficient as they might be. Their effectiveness depended heavily on how good the individual teachers were. As newly baptized readers were encouraged to offer their services as teachers, and as close supervision was not always possible, missionaries were not always satisfied with the results. Ladbury, a C.M.S. missionary at Mbale complained of the need for increased supervision when he described a reading class which he saw as typical of those schools where only junior teachers were available. "The children are allowed to sit in a large group with a small 'walifu' (first reader) in their midst on the ground. One leads the class and the others all sing out the words without knowing in the least what the words look like. The marvel is," he concluded, "that they learn to read at all."[3] At another place, indeed, no one did

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[1] Bugisu Historical Texts, No. 17, statement by Rev. E. Wokadala, 27 March 1969.

[2] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 166, statement by Mr. Petero Manku, 20 May 1969.

[3] H.B. Ladbury, "Diaries," entry dated 14 March 1916. For other missionary complaints see C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, Annual Letter, I. McNamara, 3 December 1911.

learn to read as the teacher neither had a catechism nor had he made any effort to teach. In this case, the missionary laid blame on the senior teacher who never inspected the schools.[1]

One of the major factors that was inhibiting the growth of these church schools was the persistent endemic shortage of catechists. In the beginning, most of these catechists came from Buganda. This importation of workers meant that there was a substantial turnover. It was not always possible to ensure replacements when and where they were needed. In 1904, Purvis complained that the supply of catechists was insufficient. "An efficient and two inefficients are sent from Uganda," he pointed out, "when the Mbale Christians are willing to pay for twenty efficients were they available."[2] As late as 1912, there was continued concern over the fact that more teachers were leaving than coming. Many outstations where the church schools were located were left unattended as a result.[3] Supervision by senior catechists was also reduced to a minimum. Thus, for example, no one from the Budaka mission had visited the church schools at Gogonyo, Kasodo or Pallisa from 1909 to 1912.[4] The popular view of these church schools must, therefore, be examined with the knowledge that the schools themselves did not always represent stable institutions.

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[1] H.B. Ladbury, "Diaries," entry dated 21 August 1915.

[2] C.M.S., Extracts, entry by J.B. Purvis, 1904.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, Annual Letter, Rev. A. Leech; A7/010, Annual Letter, A.M. Morris, October 1912.

[4] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Kirk to Fr. Matthews, 23 July 1912.

Furthermore, these reading classes were aimed at benefitting the individual. The missionaries themselves encouraged this view by stressing their religious content. These classes aimed solely at conversion. Thus, for one missionary, it did not matter that he saw little potential in the intellectual capacity of his students because for him, "the chief aim [was] to make them Christians."[1] In this orientation, the missionaries in eastern Uganda were limited by an isolation from the ferment in Buganda over the church's responsibility in the field of secular education. Their views were those predominating in Buganda in 1900.

As conversion was an individual acceptance of the gospels, only those skills of literacy were stressed that would permit an understanding of these gospels. Little or no effort was put into the teaching of other more concrete skills that might have had tangible and immediate benefit to a whole village or household. It was more important that these schools be widespread than that they be efficient. Soon, the local people came to distinguish between religion and education; they criticized the earliest missionaries for not wanting education but for being "intent on religion only."[2]

In those early years, therefore, many of those who attended the reading classes did so reluctantly. One of the symptoms of this reluctance to attend the church schools was

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, Annual Letter, W. Holden, 28 November 1911.

[2] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 166, statement by Mr. Petero Manku, 20 May 1969; No. 164, statement by Mr. Ezekieri Kageni, 15 May 1969.

the enormous difference between the number of names appearing on the roll and the number in actual attendance. At the girls' school at Nabumali, for example, with a roll of 150 pupils, morning attendance numbered 125, while in the afternoon the number dropped to 80.[1]

Coercion was often necessary to ensure attendance. The methods used were sometimes quite stern. One missionary admitted that "they do not come easily. Salome (my Muganda teacher) and I go out and hunt them up in the morning, and in this way we often get a good number who would otherwise play about."[2] The most elaborate description of this use of force noted that missions organized "groups on the hunt," made up of church teachers, senior readers, and those already baptized and perhaps confirmed. Such a group would be called together weekly in order to catch those who had run away, as well as some new readers. If someone was caught a third time, a fine was levied which was payable in chicken or matoke. One favorite method of trapping prospective pupils was to launch a night attack on an unmarried girl's house so as to catch any unsuspecting visiting youths. Such attacks were often carried out on a tip by a reader who spied on those in hiding. If, after several attempts, a youth was still intransigently opposed to remaining at the class, he would usually be left alone, as there had been cases where unwilling pupils con-

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/O10, Annual Letter, I. McNamara, 5 December 1912.

[2] C.M.S., Extracts, entry by E. Pilgrim, 1905.

tinually interrupted classes through foolery and feigned idiocy.[1] In one area, parents were reportedly imprisoned for refusing to allow their sons and daughters to attend classes.[2]

It was at this point that the missions often sought help from the local chiefs. Some chiefs took up this responsibility with such enthusiasm that they were identified by the villagers as willing allies of the Baganda agents and the teachers. Most, however, did little for fear that the basis of their own individual success might be replaced by another. One informant suggested this theme when he explained the reluctance as follows:

> Education was persecuted by everyone -- chiefs, parents and native doctors. The chiefs worked against it because they thought it was aiming at removing them from their chieftaincies which was done later. So they did so to safeguard their positions. The parents because it aimed at depriving them of cows (brideprice), and the native doctors because it will soon render their work useless.[3]

Clearly, mission education was seen as a threat both to the communal traditions and obligations of a rural society and also to the positions of privilege enjoyed by the traditional authority figures.

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[1] Bugisu Historical Texts, No. 17, statement by Rev. E. Wokadala, 27 March 1969.

[2] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 138, statement by Mr. Thomas Tegu, 19 April 1969; No. 133, statement by Zakaliya Goli, 16 April 1969; No. 153, statement by Mr. Solomon Kigolo, 4 May 1969.

[3] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 159, statement by Mr. Zephaniya Bumba, 7 May 1969.

Educational statistics for this period are either non-existent or unreliable, or difficult to work with because of the changing nomenclature of the institutions for which they were being gathered. The slow response in the Mbale area to the church schools, which has been suggested by the foregoing material, can be seen from the comparison in Table 2 of the number of churches and church plots in the Mbale area and in Teso up to 1919. Each of these churches represents a church school.[1] Teso, it must be remembered, had its first European missionary contact eight years after the Mbale area.

Table 2. Comparison of Church Expansion in the Mbale Area and in Teso.

Area	Pop.	C.M.S. to 1919 Churches	Cate-chists	Bap-tisms	M.H.M. to 1919 Churches (1914)	(1919)
Mbale (1900)*	425,230	98	184	1571	38	65	118
Teso (1908)*	287,222	103	266	2214	18	77	119

*The year European missionary work began in each area.

There were, it is true, residuals of Buganda experience which continued to operate even in Teso after 1908. By that time, however, the mission authorities in Buganda had accepted

[1] E.S.A., SMP 470, Schedule of unregistered plots (Eastern Province) of Mill Hill Mission, 1919," forwarded with Biermans to Chief Secretary, 21 August 1919; also, C.M.S. Archives, A7/012, "Missionary Districts, 1919."

an expanded notion of their responsibilities in education. Also, the colonial environment in Teso was substantially different than that which existed in the Mbale area. This combination of changes modified the effects in Teso of a continued adherence to the Buganda model. A brief discussion of the most important of these residuals, the missions' attempt to use chiefs in the education work of the church, will conclude this chapter on the Buganda model. It will also serve to introduce the subsequent discussion of responses to mission education in Teso.

THE EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH TO TESO

In initiating their work in Teso, the missionaries once again looked to chiefs, as designated by the protectorate authorities, to provide them with land. It will be recalled that Kakungulu had been responsible for giving initial grants of land to both missions in the Mbale area in 1900. As a result of the chaos that had occurred in Buganda in the first years of the century over the question of allocations of land, however, the administration adopted a rigid land policy in other parts of the protectorate. Thus, by the time the missions needed land in Teso, the situation was different than it had been. When, in 1908, both mission societies applied to government for permission to purchase land from chiefs Ariko and Madi at Ngora, these purchases were disallowed on the grounds that all land outside of the so-called agreement countries was crown land, or "at all events at the disposal

of the crown subject to such rights as the natives who may be in actual occupation of it may be able to show." Instead, compensation for disturbance was to be paid, but once indigenous claims to the land had been abandoned, this land was free for disposal according to government wishes. In this case, following a precedent set in Busoga, the land was given to the missions as a free grant for mission purposes.[1]

This official policy on land tenure bore some resemblance to reality. The inability of chiefs to allocate land to missions without limit had been recognized by the district commissioner when, in recommending to the Entebbe authorities to accede to the mission requests at Ngora, he cautioned against any further grants being made within five miles of the sites initially allocated. His argument was based on the fear that "even if a sub-chief gave his consent to a further sale, he might get into trouble with his people for having done so."[2] Thus, it is likely that even if the government had not made its official position known, the dependence of the missions on chiefs for land allocation would have been substantially less than had been the case elsewhere. By taking an official position on this question, however, the government not only reduced the potential for close cooperation between the two parties, but also forced the missions to submit their work to

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 379/08, Kitching (CMS) to Collector, Mbale, 14 April 1908; Kirk (MHM) to Collector, Mbale, 16 April 1908; Minute, Hesketh Bell, 26 November 1908.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 379/08, Ormsby to Deputy Commissioner, 21 April 1908.

close scrutiny by government authorities. Since all applications for land had to pass through the D.C.'s office, the action taken by the D.C. could be interpreted as a sign of either approval or disapproval of the directions of mission policy. The Bishop of the C.M.S. expressed fear that this was happening in connection with efforts to build schools. As chiefs in what he called "the more recently administered districts" were subject to a different system of land tenure than had pertained in Buganda, they did not have any pool of resident labour from which they could call workers forward to build schools or churches. Where an attempt was made by these chiefs to use such labour, they were normally fined. "The not unnatural result of this," he suggested, "has been that, in spite of verbal assurances on the part of officers to the contrary, the people have concluded that the government does not wish to have schools built, and that the attempt to educate his people is likely to lead a chief into serious trouble with the government. The natural tendency of this feeling would be to prevent any but the keenest among the chiefs from taking any steps towards the education of his people."[1]

The affects on mission educational work of this change in approach to land tenure and alienation of land were again clearly indicated by a controversy that developed between government authorities and the C.M.S. in Kumam country. At two locations -- Ekwera and Kangai -- the district commissioner,

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 4844, Willis to PC Jinja, 15 July 1916.

Driberg, had ordered the removal of teachers sent out by Archdeacon Kitching on the grounds that teachers of whatever denomination were not permitted to reside within the confines, or in the immediate vicinity, of a chief's village. In explaining his move, the D.C. reminded the missionary that as chiefs had no power to dispose of crown lands, no new teachers should have been sent out without reference to government authorities. As there had long been a ban on the practice of locating teachers near chiefs, he continued, and as this ban had often been the basis for the government's suggesting a more suitable site, it was clear that any application in respect of these two teachers would have been treated in like manner.[1] Indeed, at Kangai a suitable site was selected by the D.C. at some distance from the village, even though no official application by C.M.S. had reached his office.[2] In clarifying the position to his superiors, Driberg reiterated that on many occasions sites applied for had been changed when the proposed sites were thought to be too near the chiefs' villages. The general guidelines worked out and included in a letter cited by him indicated that "no application for a site will be recommended if the site is within three-quarters of a mile of a boma or government post."[3]

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Driberg to Kitching, 14 March 1917.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Driberg to PC Jinja, 12 June 1917.

[3] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Driberg to PC Jinja, 12 June 1917, citing Driberg to Fisher (CMS Gulu), 19 March 1913.

The government's refusal in these cases to sanction sites for teachers in or near chiefs' villages was based principally on the objection that, under the guise of the chief's right, labour would be forcibly recruited to build and maintain the schools and also to cultivate food for the teacher's household. In addition, the fear was expressed that the chief would use undue pressure to force those in his village to attend the school. Driberg pointed to Kitching's own words -- "chiefs who wish their people educated" -- as a proof that the missions wished to use chiefs in the above ways. He argued that if "no undue influence is expected of the chiefs by the mission and no levy of forced labour, it would appear immaterial whether the mission school is in the chief's village or at some distance from it on a suitable and approved site."[1] The response of the C.M.S. to this challenge reinforced the notion that missions felt very dependent on cooperation from these chiefs. The Bishop argued that similar conditions had never been suggested in any district west of the Nile, where the sending out of teachers and the building of churches had always been viewed as a matter between the church and the people. He felt that, on the issue of using pressure to force attendance at school, a distinction must be drawn between the putting up of a building for education and the compelling of people to attend such a school. Furthermore, it seemed to him patently unfair

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Driberg to PC Jinja, 12 June 1917.

to label as forced labour that work put into construction of schools and churches, while a similar use of labour to build houses for the chiefs' wives or visitors went uncriticized.[1] For Kitching the paradox was even more striking. His views are quoted at some length because he states clearly and explicitly what the expectations of the mission were:

> With regard to the general policy as to education, no one could say that we of the CMS have ever endeavoured to get undue pressure brought to bear on anyone to become a reader; we have always impressed on our teachers that individuals have the most perfect freedom in the matter. But surely a chief is allowed to encourage his people and even expected to do so, in all matters relating to their progress as a tribe; and while not bringing pressure to bear on individuals he may surely be allowed to make it possible for those who wish it to be educated. In such matters as the cultivation of cotton and making of roads no option is allowed to the people at all, the general welfare of the country being involved. Why should education be put on so much lower a footing? Why should it be held that much greater hardship is involved in the erection of a building for educational purposes, by which the people themselves benefit, than in the frequent construction and re-construction of rest camps, by which only Europeans are benefited? Yet the chiefs are compelled to build the latter and not even allowed to encourage the building of the former.[2]

Clearly, then, the missions had carried over many of their expectations concerning how they might employ chiefs in their work from their previous experiences in Buganda. It was likely, as the D.C., Mbale had noted, that ultimately they would have been disappointed in their efforts in this connection even if the government had not intervened. It

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Willis to Jarvis, 9 July 1917.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Kitching to Driberg, 3 April 1917.

would not have been easy, under the best of circumstances, to have successfully duplicated the relationships with chiefs with which which they were familiar elsewhere. Their task was rendered more difficult, however, by the fact that government, through the working out of its new system of land tenure, especially as it allowed the implementation of a policy decision to separate the missions as much as possible from the influence of chiefs, was creating the impression that it was against education. Citing the Reverend Andereya Batulabude, a Muganda who had been the first Christian teacher in Teso, Kitching argued that "the impression is now universal in the district that the government are against education or 'reading' and chiefs therefore are apt to say that they do not want a teacher, thinking that they will be penalized if they express a desire for instruction.

Such impressions were inevitable where government sought to avoid some of those problems which had plagued its early administration in Buganda. In the important area of land tenure, the government did not import the Buganda model. In a sense, therefore, the government had been more adaptive in its work in eastern Uganda than the missions. The result was a loosening of the ties which bound chiefs and missionaries together.

Nonetheless, chiefs retained some stature in mission policy because, although schools were not to be built in the

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 4844, Kitching to Willis, 26 April 1917. See also C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, Annual Letter, H. Banks, 10 October 1911.

immediate vicinity of chiefs' villages, they could not be built at all without the consent of the chief. A request for land on which to build a school would only be entertained by the government if the chief and his people genuinely wished to start with education. Thus, looking back at the controversy just examined, the district commissioner allocated a suitable site for a school away from the village at Kangai because a desire for education was demonstrated there. At Ekwera, on the other hand, no site was allocated and the teacher went away because the chief and people had neither wanted a school nor supplied any voluntary labor to build one.[1] This demand for a pre-existing and popular desire for education made it extremely difficult for any church teacher to insinuate himself into an ambiguous situation, for the authorities were likely to disallow any application in respect of such a teacher. Despite the policy on land tenure, therefore, the missions continued to be dependent on the good will of the chiefs. The following chapter will attempt to show why this adherence to at least one aspect of the Buganda model was more successful in Teso than it had been in the Mbale area.

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 4844, Driberg to PC Jinja, 12 June 1917.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN ECONOMIC DETERMINANT

The main feature of initial missionary contact in Teso which made it different from initial contact in the Mbale area was the economic prosperity which accompanied it. The first decade of the twentieth century had been witness to the rapid growth of the protectorate's cash crop sector, based largely on the successful cultivation of cotton. Teso was the focus of this prosperity in eastern Uganda. The present chapter attempts to show how this new prosperity, combined with new missionary attitudes toward their educational responsibilities, affected indigenous response to educational initiatives. After a brief profile of the economic environment in Teso, it will treat the implications of this prosperity both for the education of peasants and the education of chiefs.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IN TESO

Karamoja was the locus of economic prosperity in the area vaguely defined as the British sphere of influence in Uganda for more than ten years after its establishment in 1894. It was ivory from Karamoja, and not the richness and fertility of Teso, which was the key to revenue earning in the area. The highly competitive exploitation of this

commodity has been described by several writers.[1] In the last decade of the nineteenth century, a great trading center had grown up at Manimani in central Karamoja and large numbers of foreigners - British, Greeks, Swahilis and Baluchis - vied for the profits from this trade. Before the completion of the railway, only ivory could assure a return large enough to cover the high costs of porterage to the coast. Even in the first years after the railway had reached Lake Victoria, ivory continued to occupy the predominant position as a source of revenue for the protectorate government. In 1903, ivory accounted for £ 26,000 of a total export value of £ 43,000.[2] Its effects were marked not only in Karamoja, but also in Mbale which was on the route to the coast. The Commissioner, in his report to the Foreign Office, hinted at this prosperity when he described Mbale as "a bazaar lining both sides of the broad road with some thirty-five traders, Indians, Greeks, Swahilis and others."[3] Such prosperity as appeared, however, was very localized. Though the government was at that time trying to encourage the growth of local centers of trade outside of Mbale, the Provincial Commissioner did not feel that any of these local centers had been sufficiently firmly

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[1] James Barber, Imperial Frontier (Nairobi: EAPH, 1968); C. Welch, "Pastoralists and Administrators in Conflict: A Study of Karamoja District" (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of East Africa, 1969).

[2] C. Ehrlich, "The Uganda Economy 1903-1945," History of East Africa, eds., V. Harlow and E.M. Chilvers, Vol. II (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 397.

[3] Public Records Office, FO 2/858, "General Report on the Uganda Protectorate for the Year Ending March 31, 1904," forwarded with Hayes-Sadler to FO, 28 July 1904.

established to warrant permanent leases. Such trade as existed in these outlying areas was still largely itinerant.[1] The ivory trade did not, therefore, introduce widespread prosperity throughout the area. Nonetheless, it was still considered of sufficient significance in 1904 to necessitate the establishment of a government post at Mbale to assure that the ivory trade continued to pass to the west of Mount Elgon so that the revenues earned from it were not siphoned off illegally through Mumias, recently transferred to the East Africa Protectorate.[2]

Despite this prosperity (and its attendant potential for development) Karamoja was largely neglected by the British authorities. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century the British government took no effective action to regulate either the system of trade or the extreme lawlessness of the district which resulted from it. Administrative control was not undertaken until a combination of the agitation from the East Africa Protectorate and the menace of Ethiopian infiltration brought the Karamoja issue to a head. In 1910, Governor Jackson implemented the decision to extend control to the area. By that time, however, the basis of Karamoja's economic prosperity and potential had been largely exhausted. Already in 1904 one official described ivory as a "broken reed," being

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[1] Entebbe Secretariat Archives, A/10 Vol. 4 No. 176, Boyle to Acting Commissioner, 27 October 1904.

[2] M. Twaddle, "The Founding of Mbale," Uganda Journal, III (1966), pp. 25-38.

replaced in importance by such commodities as chillies, ground nuts, hides and skins. It is perhaps this declining importance of ivory which accounted for the reduction in the size of the bazaar at Mbale over the next few years.[1] But the most important economic development that had occurred during the decade of official inactivity in Karamoja was the introduction of cotton, first in Buganda and then, in 1908, in eastern Uganda. The meteoric rise in cotton production eclipsed the ivory trade and the focus of prosperity shifted very rapidly away both from ivory and from Karamoja. Not only, therefore, had the inaction of the British permitted an uncontrolled exploitation of the ivory resources, so that the supply was practically exhausted by 1910,[2] but also new developments elsewhere had robbed the area totally of its already dwindling importance. These circumstances support the view that Jackson was in no way motivated in his extension northwards by the possibility of reaping economic benefits from Karamoja. Indeed, he saw traders as the root of all evil, and as a first step, cancelled all trading licenses for Karamoja and forced the traders out of the district with brutal efficiency.[3] When administration came, it was largely in response to pressures external to Karamoja itself.

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[1] See Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 397; see also E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 4 No. 169, Boyle to Commissioner, 14 October 1904; P.R.O., CO 536/21, Bell to CO, 11 September 1908.

[2] Barber, op. cit., p. 105.

[3] Ibid., p. 121.

The prosperity attendant upon successful cultivation of cotton proved far more long-lasting than that based on the ivory trade. From promising beginnings in Buganda, cotton cultivation was brought to Teso in 1908. Though it was introduced here at least three years later than in Busoga, by 1913 output had reached 7,500 tons of seed in Teso as against only 4,000 tons in Busoga. From a value of £236 in 1904, cotton exports sky-rocketed by 1910 to a value of £165,412.[1] The first cotton experimentation center was opened at Kadunguru in Teso and by 1916, three-quarters of all Uganda cotton came from this area.[2] After a threefold increase from 1912 to 1917, the cotton acreage again trebled in the next five years.[3]

Consequent upon the needs of the burgeoning cotton industry, transport grew rapidly. In the early years, head porterage was the only available means of getting raw cotton to the ginneries which until 1912 were all located outside of eastern Uganda. The establishment of ginneries close to the growers meant a reduction in the distance the raw cotton had to be carried, but it was still necessary to get the lint to the ports on Lake Victoria which were part of the network based on the Uganda Railway and Mombasa. The most notable development in this regard was the opening up of a steamer

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[1] C.C. Wrigley, Crops and Wealth in Uganda (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 14-15 & 20.

[2] J.D. Tothill (ed.), Agriculture in Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 182-86.

[3] Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 435.

service on Lake Kyoga which then linked up with the newly built Busoga Railway from Namasagali to Jinja. This service started in 1906, and by 1910, nine lake ports had been opened. In 1909 the steamer carried 590 tons; by 1913 the tonnage had increased to 9,086, the greatest portion of which was cotton. By 1912 and 1913, new steamers were brought into service. The importance of this network is indicated by the fact that ginneries were generally built near these Kyoga ports. The value attached to these steamer services is also shown by the strenuous but unsuccessful efforts made to provide a canal link with Lake Bisina via the Agu swamp. The lake network remained important for Teso until the railway extension reached Soroti in 1929.[1] A second, though far less significant, outlet for cotton from eastern Uganda was Mjanji, a port on Lake Victoria some sixty miles south of Mbale. Opened in 1912, it showed phenomenal growth and reached its full stride by the 1920's. In 1925, exports of 14,971 tons were recorded. It too suffered from subsequent railway construction and when the railway reached Tororo in 1927, traffic at Mjanji declined rapidly. By 1929, only 71 tons were exported.[2]

The most significant difference between the cotton industry and the ivory trade, however, was that with cotton prosperity was widespread and diffuse. It became the source

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[1] A.M. O'Connor, Railways and Development in Uganda (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 40-41; see also J.C. Lawrance, "A History of Teso to 1937," Uganda Journal, XIX (1955), p. 28.

[2] V.C. Ford, The Trade of Lake Victoria (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1955), p. 28; see also O'Connor, op. cit. pp. 42-43.

of wage-earning employment not only for the thousands of people engaged as porters, but also for those employed in the ginneries which followed necessarily upon the expansion of the cotton industry. In 1912, two ginneries were built at Bugondo, a port on Lake Kyoga. By 1914 the number had risen to five, by 1919 to ten and by 1920 to twenty.[1] Indeed, by the early 1920's the government was moving to limit the number of ginneries which could operate in a given area as a result of over-capitalization.[2] In 1904, Mbale had appeared as an isolated outpost of commercial activity. With the coming of the cotton era, however, trading centers sprang up at almost every crossroads. In Teso alone, Indian shops were reported at Bululu, Soroti, Serere, Ngora, Mkongoro, Kumi, Mukura, Kapiri and Kalaki by the end of 1908.[3] Two years later, as a result of the extension of steamer service on Lake Kyoga, centers of economic activity had appeared at the ports of call — Namasale, Sambwe, Bugondo, Kelle, Kagwara, Lale and Chuloi.[4] In 1913, fifty-seven markets in eastern Uganda were gazetted for the purpose of buying cotton from the growers.[5] The extent and spread of this prosperity can be seen most

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[1]Lawrance, op. cit., p. 28; for a detailed account of the entire history of ginneries, see Ehrlich, op. cit., pp. 435-51.

[2]Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 443.

[3]Lawrance, op. cit., p. 27

[4]Uganda Protectorate, Gazette, 1910.

[5]Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 437.

clearly from Table 3, which is a partial list of the trading licenses, both general and retail, issued in 1913, the first year in which the Licensing Ordinance was operative.[1] Eighteen(*) of these locations were in present Teso district, most suited to cotton cultivation; ten in the present Bukedi district, and only two in the present Bugisu district, least suited to cotton cultivation. None of the trading licenses for 1913 were issued for Karamoja. In fact, as late as 1920, only two or three traders in Karamoja had been granted licenses, and these few aimed principally to serve the needs of the administration.[2] Within five years of its introduction, cotton had become the basis of prosperity in Eastern Uganda and that prosperity was focussed in Teso.

Table 3. List of General and Retail Trading Licenses Issued in 1913 in Eastern Uganda

Center	Retail	General	Center	Retail	General
Mbale	25	6	Serere*	6	-
Pallisa	32	1	Bukedea*	6	-
Ngora*	15	3	Mkongoro*	6	-
Kaberamaido*	14	5	Mukura*	5	-
Busia	13	-	Senda	5	-
Mjanji	13	3	Pilitok*	4	3
Kumi*	12	4	Kidongole*	4	1
Nagongera	12	1	Magoro*	4	1
Tororo	11	-	Kyere*	3	1
Kalaki*	10	10	Magodes	3	-
Budaka	9	3	Lukonge	3	-
Soroti*	8	2	Usuku*	3	1
Bugondo*	7	6	Kapiri*	3	-
Mulanda	7	-	Toroma*	3	-
Kwapa	6	-	Kadunguru*	3	-

Each of the following locations had two licenses issued: Anyara, Kelle, Bunyias, Muliambuzi, Busiu, Mazimasa, Wera, Pingiri and Terinyi, plus 36 other locations with one each.

[1] Uganda Protectorate, Gazette, 1913. [2] Barber, op. cit., pp. 151-52.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND EDUCATION FOR PEASANTS

The bulk of the trading licenses had been issued to either Indians or Arabs, though a small number of Baganda also opened businesses. Therefore, the people of Teso were only indirectly affected by the new prosperity. Nonetheless, the economic prosperity had serious repercussions on the style of life of the peasants. Hitherto they had been producers living on their own holdings. They were now encouraged to be both consumers and townsmen.

Peasants Become Consumers

Cyril Ehrlich, in discussing the contribution of Allidina Visram, who had been granted eight general licenses in Teso alone, suggested that "it was in such remote areas... that the educational role of commerce was most important."[1] What was this educational role? The first effect of the increased prosperity was the availability of a multiplicity of goods in the shops and trading centers which had been unknown only a short time before, and, of course, the money to pay for these goods. This combination of money and goods led quickly to an increase in consumer demands. The desirability of this situation had been recognized by the authorities even before cotton had been introduced. One district officer had cleared an area for a trading center at Nagongera with the idea that the establishment of such a center would introduce

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[1] Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 409.

specie into the country.[1] His project was quickly overtaken by circumstances when cotton brought in more money than he had hoped for. This same officer noted with satisfaction two years later that Indian traders scattered throughout the district hawked their goods from village to village and thereby brought "the products of civilization to the very doors of the natives ...securing sales among those who would never come to Mbale."[2] Thus, a growth in consumer demands, and a continuing search for money through wages, were assured.

Consumption patterns were largely shaped by what one economist has called the "demonstration effect;" that is, copying of habits of consumption from a people more accustomed to a high level of consumption of such goods. In the case of eastern Uganda, the Baganda clearly provided this model.[3] A people whose material culture had formerly been sheltered from outside influences would normally be most interested initially in goods that could be readily substituted for those already in use without any serious disruption. Such was the demand for cloth which was isolated as a particularly fast-moving item in the Mbale bazaar in 1909. This demand was probably also tied to the adoption of Christianity, especially in the eyes of women.[4] The phenomenon of increased consumption

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 261/06, Ormsby to Boyle, 30 April 1906 (monthly report).

[2] E.S.A., SMP 859/08, Ormsby, Bukedi District Annual Report, 1907-08, received 16 May 1908.

[3] P.G. Powesland, Economic Growth and Labour (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1957), p. 15.

[4] Ibid., p. 2.

was strongly encouraged by the opening up of convenient transport networks as this development lowered the costs considerably and brought them increasingly into reasonable range.[1]

It was precisely this increasing exposure to the cornucopia of material goods that worried the missionaries in these early years. One element of pressure in the move to open up mission work in the east as soon as possible had been the fear that the traders and the government would get there first, introducing their brand of "civilization without Christianity" -- materialism and a desire for wealth -- which would make the acceptance of Christianity more difficult.[2] This fear persisted throughout the first decades of mission work. The building of the new Busoga Railway, the opening of a steamer service on Lake Kyoga and the increased cultivation of cotton were all cited as reasons why a retrenchment in personnel should not be allowed to affect the staffing situation in the eastern part of the diocese.[3] Kitching, who became one of the key figures in the Teso mission field, estimated that the income from cotton in 1913 would be 2,000,000 rupees. Such tremendous wealth prompted an appeal for increased effort couched in similar terms of urgency. "Wealth has multiplied in a manner that is almost dangerous for so raw a tribe...hence there is the urgent need for rapid

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/04, Walker to Baylis, 24 December 1903; also A7/03, A.G. Fraser, "Report on a Visit to Masaba," 1902.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/08, Walker to Baylis, 14 November 1910.

evangelization while the opportunity remains."[1]

This presumed negative correlation between an increasing material prosperity and the work of the missions is only justified if we confine our analysis to evangelical aspects. There was a legitimate basis for fear that an entrenched materialism would militate against any sincere acceptance of the Christian message. Missionary work at that time, however, was not exclusively evangelical. The struggle within the C.M.S. in Buganda during the first decade of the century had resulted in a mission enterprise that emphasized welfare, especially education and medical work, as well as evangelization. Whereas it is likely that evangelization was made more difficult by the prosperity,[2] the same was certainly not true for educational work.

Peasants Become Townsmen

One contemporary study of education in West Africa posited a correlation between the extension of a monetary economy and educational diffusion. This correlation was held to be valid when the extension of the monetary economy coincided with an urban growth that was also accompanied by the

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[1]A. Kitching, "The Teso District," Uganda Notes, November, 1913.

[2]See M.L. Pirouet, "The expansion of the Church of Uganda (NAC) from Buganda into Northern and Western Uganda between 1891 and 1914, with special reference to the Work of African Teachers and Evangelists" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of East Africa, 1968), p. 347, where she concludes that the difficulties experienced in Teso Christianity today stem from the close association between Christianity and cotton in the early years.

appearance of a heterogeneous ethnic population and the emergence of "complex Western-type occupational structures."[1] It would be difficult to argue that the extension of a monetary economy in eastern Uganda spawned urban growth as it is commonly defined. One long-time observer of the scene in Uganda has argued, on the contrary, that the economic transformation of Uganda has not been accompanied by any large-scale trend toward urbanization and that the growth of a wage-earning class has had little effect on the basic economic fabric of the country which is still tied to the land.[2]

Nevertheless, the increasing availability of money did give rise to the growth of loci of economic prosperity which also became loci of population density. Though not urban centers, they were accompanied by the two other necessary conditions for educational diffusion outlined above. First, the economic development of the area was characterized by the emergence of a complex occupational structure. Ginneries and the transport system were both large employers. As an example of the new possibilities in trading centers, the 1911 census showed nineteen occupations in Mbale alone.[3] This occupational complexity was also greatly increased with the indigenizing of the new administrative structures which started in 1913. The second condition, the growth of a heterogeneous population,

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[1] R. Clignet and P. Foster, The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), p. 56.

[2] H.B. Thomas and R. Scott, Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 273-77.

[3] Uganda Protectorate, Census, 1911.

is less easy to document. The census of 1911 is not sufficiently detailed to allow for a statistical profile of the ethnic composition of each trading center. Fortunately, one of the early centers, Bugondo in Teso, was chosen as the subject of an anthropological case study, and from that study the heterogeneity of its population clearly emerges.[1] Though it was one of the biggest centers, Bugondo was typical in most respects, and can be taken as an example of the "urban" growth in the area.

The main difference between loci of population such as existed in eastern Uganda and the urban centers of West Africa, was the ease and frequency of communication between them and the surrounding rural areas. Being small, and being founded on a largely agricultural base, the trading centers were in close physical contact with the rural hinterland. The people were able easily to travel into the countryside and back again. In such a situation, the changes in attitudes which grew in the environment of the trading centers would be less likely to be confined there, but rather would readily diffuse throughout the rural areas as well. Even if educated people concentrated themselves in the centers, which seems to have been true in Mbale in 1913,[2] they would be sufficiently in touch with their peasant relatives and friends to provide a model of change.

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[1] See J. Vincent, African Elite: Big Men in a Small Town (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

[2] "Bugishu Bukedi," Ebifa mu Buganda, January, 1913, p. 7.

Thus, insofar as the extension of a monetary economy was accompanied by the growth of loci of prosperity where a heterogeneous ethnic population and a complex occupational structure appeared, conditions would seem to have existed for educational diffusion in Teso from a very early period.

Missions as Protectors

How do these conditions operate to encourage educational growth? The occupational structure may work most directly if the new jobs to be done need special skills. The introduction of cotton necessitated serious attention being paid to ploughing instruction, and this was the first governmental effort in education in Uganda.[1] In general, however, the jobs available in the trading centers, at the ginneries and within the transport system did not need specialized training. It would certainly be true to say that in the early stages, an ability to read was not a prerequisite of employment in the commercial sector. What then was the link between these variables and the growth of education?

As a result of the economic prosperity of the early colonial period in Teso, tensions developed for the peasant between his traditional life style and the new economic opportunities available to him. Although new social patterns emerged in the trading centers, based on the increased availability of wage-earning employment, for most peasants, communal restraints

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[1] See P.R.O., FO 2/864, FO to Treasury, 11 July 1904.

were still operative. Social institutions are more conservative than economic institutions, and, therefore, a time lag between economic change and social change is not unusual. This disequilibrium was heightened by the attempt to impose on Teso a native administration modeled on a Buganda prototype. The colonial authorities, because of their dependence on chiefs, and guided by their experience in Buganda, exaggerated the feudal nature of the relationship between chiefs and peasants. This emphasis continued until the 1920's when the interests of the peasants began to assume prominence in policy considerations. Thus, in the early years, the peasant was caught in a web of obligations to his community and his chief.

The encouragement of individual choice and individual gain, which was a feature of the economic environment of the trading centers, stood in stark contrast to these communal restraints. Peasants who opted to enter wage-earning employment required freedom of movement. As two life styles emerged in Teso, the social patterns of the peasant as a rural producer were temporarily out of phase with his opportunities as an 'urban' consumer. The problem for the peasant was how to move from the one to the other; how to avoid communal duties so as to ensure freedom of movement. Expressed in economic terms, this meant how to assure a sufficient measure of personal security and freedom from exaction so as to be certain that wages, once earned, would not be taken away.[1]

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[1]Powesland, op. cit., p. 5.

Christian missions provided a convenient bridge. Christianity stressed the supreme value of the person as well as the personal accountability of the individual for the life that he leads. The missionaries were interested in the individual and his potential conversion. An economist has drawn the link between Christianity and economic change. "Christianity in its own right, quite apart from concomitant influences working in the same direction, helps to detach the individual temporarily from his native society and thereby facilitates the mobility of tribesmen seeking paid employment."[1] But detachment from indigenous social constraints must be accompanied by a reincorporation into some other social network. Fortunately for the nascent individualism introduced by the economic changes and fostered by the Christian message, the missions took on an institutional form and maintained a relationship with the colonial administration which allowed them to act successfully as shields against demands made by the chiefs.[2] As time went on and the occupational structures became increasingly differentiated so that occupational recruitment became more closely tied to particular sorts of educational experiences, this undifferentiated demand decreased in importance, but for those seeking to enter the wage-earning class via unskilled employment, this "protection" factor remained important.

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[1] Ibid., p. 12.

[2] See E. Dauncey Tongue, "The Contact of Races in Uganda," British Journal of Psychology, XXV (1934/35), p. 356.

The missions consciously sought to maximize their potential as "protectors" from traditional exaction. As early as 1908, the question as to whether those living on mission land were liable to fulfill their traditional labor obligations to chiefs was raised by the mission authorities. The unanimous opinion of officials at several levels was that such men should in no way be released from these obligations, as such privileges would cause large-scale migration to mission lands.[1] This ruling seems to have been substantially modified the following year, however, when elaborate rules were drawn up by which certain exemptions from this obligation were allowed. Under these rules, men who could produce a receipt from a European, indicating that they had done one month's manual labor during the year for the mission, could obtain in return a labor certificate which removed any further obligation to the chief for one year. The missions were warned, however, that "receipts for labor should only be given when really deserved, for important work connected with your mission....it is essential that the authority of the chiefs should be maintained to the fullest extent."[2]

As a result of the incidences of incendiarism at the Catholic Mission at Nyondo in 1914 which were signs of resent-

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 436/08, Grant, Collector at Jinja to Deputy Commissioner, 11 March 1908; Wilson to Grant, 15 June 1908; Minute, Hesketh Bell, 4 November 1908.

[2]Namirembe Archives (Makerere University Library), N3/1, Knowles, PC Kampala to Chief Secretary, 29 June 1909.

ment against obligations to work for the mission, especially under the direction of Baganda, the discussion concerning labor again revived. It was clear from the views then expressed that the custom of tenants living on mission land being required to work for the mission rather than the chief had been widely implemented. It would appear that the peasants no longer had an option. If they lived on mission land, their obligations automatically switched from the chief to the missionary in charge. "The practice has been established," the Governor noted, "of assimilating the demands made upon tenants of government and mission lands to those made by the chiefs on their tenants." The argument he used was exactly the same as that used earlier. If no obligations existed, then there would be a mass migration to mission lands. But whereas in 1908 the solution was to continue the system of obligations to the chiefs, in 1914, peasants were obligated to perform their labor for the missions.[1] By this directive, the relations between the substantial number of peasants living on mission lands and the chiefs were significantly altered.

Though no rules were gazetted to regulate these practices,[2] they continued for many years. Agitation came once again in 1922 when the number of workers available on mission land was insufficient. By this time, however, the administration had begun its own move to loosen the ties between the

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 3665, Wallis, Acting Governor to CO, 25 September 1914.

[2] Ibid., p.

peasants and the chiefs through a system of commutation of the labor obligation. Under this system, peasants had the option to pay a fixed sum to the native administration in return for freedom from any obligation to work for the chiefs. This money was then used for funding projects of the native administration. In 1922, it was suggested that the missions also introduce this commutation of labor in return for grants from the administration proportional to the number of adherents of each mission in any district.[1] This plan was not pursued in the Eastern Province with any official vigor until 1927. At that time, the administration's proposal to collect Shs. 6/- in lieu of services rendered to the missions elicited serious objections from the mission authorities. Their position was based on strength of custom. "Tenants on mission land had, for 20 years or more, been considered as owing similar obligations to the missions as other natives owed to their chiefs....this custom lacked legislative sanction...but it had become crystallized by years of use, and could not be lightly disregarded."[2]

The administration's position was based on the law. Any continuation of the practice whereby mission tenants performed labor obligations for the benefit of the mission rather than the native administration was impossible.[3] By 1927,

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[1]Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 LL, Acting Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioners, 1 June 1927. See the same correspondence in Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 86A.

[2]Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 219, Acting Chief Secretary to PC Jinja, 4 January 1927.

[3]Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 86A, Acting Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioners, 1 June 1927.

therefore, even the proposal of grants to missions had been modified. In implementing the plan in Bugisu and Teso in that year, the authorities did allow grants to the missions as a temporary measure until missions could readjust to the new situation. However, this lessening of the hardship for the missions did not in any way lessen their resolve to eliminate the system. "Inasmuch as the missions had no legal right to exact free labour from the tenants on the registered estates, this grant-in-aid can only be of a temporary nature to tide over the present difficulties and you must therefore anticipate its discontinuance at no very distant date."[1] Furthermore, it was proposed that this grant be merged into the general grant made by the native administration to the missions for education so that it should disappear as soon as possible as a specific grant in compensation for lost privileges to which in fact the missions were never entitled.[2]

The special position of tenants on mission land vis-a-vis local chiefs pertained for at least twenty years in the Eastern Province. The system was never well defined nor uniformly implemented. However, by differentiating between those who lived on mission land and those who did not, and by setting the missionaries up in a role parallel to that of the chiefs, the system provided an alternative to the burden of

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[1]Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 219, Chief Secretary to NAC and MHM, 9 September 1927.

[2]Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 219, Chief Secretary to PC Jinja, 10 September 1927.

obligations to the chiefs. The missionaries became increasingly responsible for the well-being and protection of their tenants in their relations both with the neighboring chiefs and the protectorate authorities.[1] A significant number of peasants were, as a result, divorced from their traditional relations with their chiefs. For many, the breaking of traditional links was the first step in the transition from a life style constrained by obligations to chiefs to one which allowed for greater individual mobility. It, therefore, represented a move closer to participation in the emerging life style of the trading centers.

It also brought the peasants into contact with Christianity and with the reading classes which were a feature of every village church. Attendance at these classes was not obligatory for tenants, but because of their proximity to the church, they had ready access to these classes. Attendance seemed the best way of ensuring the continued protection of the missions who had sponsored their freedom from traditional obligations. Indeed, attendance ultimately increased that protection when all readers in mission schools were granted a six-month exemption from performing traditional obligations of labor to anyone.[2] Attendance at these schools was, therefore,

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[1]See, for example, Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 87, Fr. Thyssen, Ngora, to DC Teso, 15 December 1927, where he complains of treatment of tenants on leasehold land at Toroma.

[2]See Mbale Archives, No. XY, Cox, Acting DC Bugisu to PC Jinja, 10 November 1921, citing Eastern Province District

the second step away from traditional social institutions and toward participation in the new life style of the trading centers.

It was in light of the peasants' need for resolving the tension between traditional social institutions based on rural production and participation in a changing life style defined by the new opportunities of the cash economy that the early church schools succeeded in Teso (see Table 2, p. 80). This success was not related to the teaching of skills of literacy. It did not matter that these classes aimed primarily at conversion, while neglecting the transmission of concrete skills. The same distinction that had grown up earlier in the Mbale area between religion and education was not significant in Teso because the content of the classes was unimportant. For the peasants of Teso, attendance at these classes served as the outward sign of membership in a social network that exempted its members from traditional obligations. Such an exemption was crucial if the peasants were to take part in the new economic opportunities that had appeared in the trading centers throughout the district.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND EDUCATION FOR CHIEFS

The increasing prosperity and development orientation in Teso had a second implication for church expansion. The

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Conference of 1920. See also, Banks to Cox, 30 January 1922; DC Bugisu to Superior, MHM at Nyondo and Principal, CMS at Nabumali; Dillistone to DC Bugisu, 10 July 1926; Minute, DC Bugisu, 10 July 1926.

colonial authorities, once they had decided to develop cotton in Teso, had to concern themselves with the building of an infrastructure for this development. They could turn to Indians, with their capital and know-how, to build up the industrial infrastructure that was needed. Mobilizing the peasant producer, however, presented special problems. Based on their familiarity with the Buganda model, they looked to chiefs and those who would be chiefs to undertake this mobilization.

This imposition of increased responsibilities carried clear implications for training chiefs which had not been present during the preceding years in the Mbale area. The local administrators were not slow to articulate this need for training. One assistant district commissioner, dissatisfied with his native administration, outlined the educational imperative clearly. "I am making every chief in the district select his successor," he wrote, "and I am bringing these in to live at Kumi where I hope to be able to give them an elementary education and make them familiar with our methods. A start has been made with some ten chiefs' sons who are quiet youths and at an age when they can easily be taught."[1] "Purely secular education is what this district so sorely needs," wrote another administrator. His own idea was a government school where both elementary education and practical knowledge of agriculture would be combined. Such a school, he argued,

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 321/09, Pellew Wright (Kumi) to PC Jinja, 15 March 1909.

would be an enormous benefit to the people and the administration.[1] At that time, however, the government lacked enthusiasm for any large-scale educational projects. The ploughing schools run by the Department of Agriculture were isolated exceptions to the government's lack of involvement in running schools.[2] Given this reluctance to initiate schools of their own, it was natural that the government looked to the missions to establish such schools. As a consequence, the administration's desire for trained chiefs who could assume important economic responsibilities focussed attention on mission schools.

Fortuitously, the administration's needs in Teso coincided with the conclusion of a decade of ferment within mission circles in Buganda over what responsibilities toward education the missions should take on. A decision had recently been taken there which favored increased attention to secular education. This coincidence of the administration's economic designs and the missions' sense of broadened educational responsibilities established the conditions for success of missionary initiatives in Teso.

Chiefs in Teso

Ngora was established as the center of mission work for both the Church Missionary Society and the Mill Hill Mission in 1908. At that time, as we saw in Chapter II, aspects

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 925/09, Coote (ADC Bukedi), Annual Report, 1908/09.

[2] See F. Carter, "Education in Uganda" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967), pp. 61-65.

of the Buganda model for church expansion continued to shape mission strategy. The missionaries attempted to get land from the chiefs. The protectorate authorities disallowed this method of land allocation, and thereby loosened the ties between the missions and the chiefs. However, when land was finally allocated to the missions by an administrative decision, the plots were registered in the names of the same chiefs who had been prohibited from allocating them. This apparent paradox exemplifies the tensions which characterized the role of the colonial chiefs.

The first decision followed from the recognition that chiefs in Teso did not traditionally have the ability to allocate peasants' land within any defined area. The second decision represented an attempt to infuse those men recognized as chiefs by the administration with authority over peasants within given territorial units. In this period of initial contact, it was crucial that chiefs maintain their traditional rapport with neighboring peasants, whom they would be called upon to mobilize for production. Enforced alienation of their lands by chiefs to the missions represented a threat to that rapport. At the same time, the decision to seek the assistance of these chiefs in mobilizing the peasant producer necessitated that they gain an authority over the peasants which they did not traditionally have. Official registration of peasants' land in the name of chiefs represented a strengthening of that authority.

The urgency with which the administration proceeded in its program to identify the most probable candidates for

these newly defined chieftainships was exemplified by the appointment of an Iteso chief to replace the Muganda agent who resigned at Ngora in 1910. The experiment centered on Njala, a local chief who was asked to run the native administration in Ngora sub-county without the assistance of an outside agent. This first choice was apparently well made, for Njala was reported to be "by far the most intelligent chief in the district." In fact, no further agent was ever appointed at Ngora. Njala retired with honors in 1919.[1]

The administration's attempt to infuse the chiefs in Teso with a non-traditional authority rendered the mission's Buganda-inspired inclination to focus on chiefs more viable than it had been in the Mbale area where no similar attempts had emerged. This focus was further sharpened by developments in mission thinking in Buganda.

Educational Growth in Buganda

At the turn of the century there were in Buganda, in addition to the undifferentiated vernacular and central schools described in Chapter II, three specialized channels of education: i) advanced classes, added to the central schools in which teachers were trained for vernacular schools; ii) in-service training for catechists under the direction of a theological tutor; and iii) an industrial mission to train artisans for work in the service of both the church and the

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 179, Newman (ADC Kumi) to PC Jinja, 8 March 1910; SMP 2070 I, Jervoise to Chief Secretary, 6 November 1919.

government. The last of these channels, the industrial mission, was handed over to a commercial company with C.M.S. connections in 1903.[1] Aside from the commitment to industrial education which it demonstrated, it played no further part in the educational controversy of the first years of the twentieth century. Instead, conflicts arose as the missionaries attempted to work out the relationship between the advanced classes of the central schools, which represented the growing secular emphasis in the mission, and the classes for theological training which were the cornerstone of the mission's evangelical program.

In 1903, a scheme for intermediate education was proposed to the London authorities by Bishop Tucker. The actual blueprint for this scheme was drawn up by A.G. Fraser, another missionary. Embedded in the scheme were the seeds of the debate which occupied the next six years. Following Tucker's description, it was to be a system of secondary education which would complement the central schools system already evolved. Its main purpose was to train an educated ministry, taken to include "clergy, readers and teachers." The students would "in the first instance and for some years to come" be candidates for ordination and teachers within the church.[2] Fraser's proposed curriculum was suitably church-oriented,

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/01, Walker to Baylis, 12 November 1897; 21 June 1898; 6 March 1899. P.R.O., FO 2/743, K. Borup, "Report on the Uganda Industrial Mission," 1 December 1901; H. Carus-Wilson to FO, 1 July 1903.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Tucker to Baylis, 5 May 1903.

though it also included such subjects as history, mathematics and physiology. Those educated would be bound to serve the church for three years. The most remarkable element of the proposal, however, was that students were to be selected from among those who had achieved distinction in the central school examinations.[1] On the one hand, therefore, the intermediate school was by design tailored to ecclesiastical necessities. On the other, the recruitment of students linked it with the non-ecclesiastical channel of education. This ambiguity was apparently appreciated by C.M.S. authorities who requested clarification as to whether the intermediate school was to be a seminary for future clergy.[2]

Further confusion arose when the proposal was submitted to the protectorate authorities. The version of the scheme which they received, although also provided by Bishop Tucker, differed appreciably from what he had described to the C.M.S. authorities in London. The course of study was basically the same, with the significant addition of "those subjects recommended by the government at Entebbe as likely to further the material interests of the country." The education of the sons of chiefs was contemplated and though the first scholars to complete the course would, it was hoped, join the staff as teachers, one of the objects of the scheme was to train the Baganda for subordinate and clerical posts in the administra-

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, A.G. Fraser, "Proposed Constitution for an Intermediate School," forwarded with Tucker to Baylis, 5 May 1903.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/LI, Baylis to Walker, 27 June 1903.

tion.[1] On the basis of this description, the protectorate authorities recommended that the Foreign Office allow a remittance of dues on the purchase of timber required for the buildings, and provide scholarship assistance to a limited number of the best-qualified entrants.[2] The first of these recommendations was rejected because the Treasury objected seriously to the whole theory of differential relaxation of customs duties. The second recommendation regarding scholarship assistance, however, was acceded to, though with some reductions, pending an evaluation of the experiment to see if the administration did in fact profit from an increase in the supply of subordinate staff.[3]

Bishop Tucker was obviously telling each of the potential benefactors of his scheme what they wanted to hear. No mention was made of the administration-oriented aims of the scheme in his correspondences with C.M.S. London and, conversely, in discussions with the Commissioner in Uganda, the production of teaching staff was de-emphasized, and the training of subordinate staff and sons of chiefs received the bulk of attention. Furthermore, Tucker used suspect promises of support from the other party to convince each of the two benefactors of the project's appeal. In May, 1903, Tucker assured C.M.S. London that the Commissioner would assist in getting exemption from tax on building materials when, in

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[1] P.R.O., FO 2/736, Hayes-Sadler to FO, 9 September 1903.

[2] P.R.O., FO 2/744, FO to Treasury, 21 October 1903.

[3] P.R.O., FO 2/744, Treasury to FO, 3 November 1903.

fact, the request for such exemption was not transmitted to the Foreign Office until five months later.[1] Similarly, writing in September, 1903, the Commissioner forwarded Tucker's assurance that the C.M.S. London had given general approval to his scheme, when in fact Tucker himself, in writing to C.M.S. authorities in December 1903, expressed his own disappointment that, in rejecting the proposal on financial grounds, they had failed to express any opinion on the value of the scheme itself.[2]

Tucker was an apt politician. By using such shrewd tactics he managed to get financial support from both sides - mission and government. In 1904 at a conference of missionaries, his program of intermediate education was launched and Apolo Kagwa was asked to provide a site for the school at Budo. But the smoke screen he had set up at the outset in the interests of gaining the needed finance, makes it difficult to assess his real intentions in establishing intermediate education. The weight of evidence would indicate that, at least in the initial stage, he did wish to continue both religious and non-religious teaching at a higher level than had hitherto been possible. But the ambiguity which he had nurtured was not lost on the missionaries themselves. The 1904 conference proved the first arena for articulating the conflicting views on educational development in Uganda which existed within the mission.

Initial discussion centered on how this intermediate school should fit into existing arrangements. As it became

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/03, Tucker to Baylis, 5 May 1903.

[2] P.R.O., FO 2/736, Hayes-Sadler to FO, 9 September 1903; C.M.S. Archives, A7/04, Tucker to Baylis, 29 December 1903.

increasingly clear, however, that the intermediate school would cater for the needs of training government personnel, those who feared the secular drift of education demanded the simultaneous establishment of a theological college. Under this plan the intermediate school would specialize in the training of high level schoolmasters, chiefs and government men, while the theological college would be charged with training men to be the clergy in important centers. A Board of Education was established to oversee all the educational work. The most remarkable feature of this new organization, however, was that the intermediate school was to occupy a place in the ladder between the central school and the theological college. In other words, admission to the theological college was to be from Budo. The apex of the system was to be the theological college.[1]

The effort to establish a theological college above the intermediate school was a vain attempt by the evangelicals to reverse what they saw as an undesirable trend. In fact, these theological classes never attracted students from the intermediate schools. Those coming for training as evangelists, lay readers, and clergymen continued to be drawn from their supervised work in the parishes. This recruitment policy was inevitable. The 1904 plan was based on the assumption that church work was still the highest form of service aimed at. It ignored the fact that students coming into the proposed

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[1] C.M.S., A7/04, Minutes of the Missionary Conference, 15-17 June 1904.

intermediate school from central schools would already have opted for training that was not oriented toward service in the church.

During this same period, the central schools, and especially the advanced classes for teacher training, which had been relegated to the lowest rung of the educational ladder in the 1904 plan, grew rapidly. A series of advanced courses, culminating at the newly established Normal School at Namirembe, emerged. In fact, many students used this normal stream as a way into Budo.[1] In this way, the school hierarchy outlined in 1904 was completely reversed in the following years. The theological college which was to have been the apex, came to occupy the lowest position in it, while the central schools led gradually into a normal school which came to occupy the middle position. Despite all plans to the contrary, Budo, the so-called intermediate school, with its secular emphasis, took indisputable lead in the educational tug-of-war.

Having lost ground through the institutional differentiation which they themselves had engineered, the evangelicals then shifted their attention to a struggle for the control of Budo itself. Here again they were at a disadvantage. H.W. Weatherhead was appointed the first principal, and he set about organizing the school according to his own designs. His plan included an industrial training and what came to be called "higher critical thinking." His purpose was decidedly

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[1] See C.M.S. Archives, A7/06, Tucker to Hesketh Bell, 4 December 1907; A7/09, J. Britton, "The Normal School, Namirembe," 8 September 1910.

not limited to preparing people for service in the church. In his own words:

> The country looks for men of probity and faithfulness and knowledge to be chiefs and judges; the Government officials required educated assistants, clerks, capable of filling their posts with ability, interpreters in touch with the people; the trader looks for suitable agents and reliable workmen; the church looks for leaders with brain and moral force. In fact, without education, no true development is possible for a country.[1]

In the Educational Scheme of December, 1908, Budo was formally recognized as the apex of the C.M.S. system. In the following year, the theological work was removed totally from the jurisdiction of the Board of Education and placed under a new Theological Board.[2] These changes meant not only that the mission commitment to practical education had been institutionalized, but also that it had been institutionalized at the highest level. Henceforth, the educational system, led by Budo, was dominated by this non-ecclesiastical orientation. As a consequence, after 1908, schools for the sons of chiefs commanded the respect and attention of mission authorities not only in Buganda, but also in other areas of the diocese.

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[1] H.W. Weatherhead, "Education in Central Africa," Church Missionary Intelligencer, June, 1907, p. 338. Weatherhead's protagonist in this controversy was Charles Hattersley who condemned Budo for its failure to produce graduates who took up service in the church. For Hattersley, the distinction between education and evangelization was clear. For him it was the latter which ought to be the mission's principal work. His departure from Uganda over this issue symbolized the victory of Weatherhead and his views.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/07, H.W. Weatherhead, "Draft Scheme for Education," December, 1908; Namirembe Archives, N3/2, Minutes of Diocesan Synod, 30 April 1909. The work of the Mill Hill Mission in Buganda is far less well documented than that of the C.M.S., but they too had established a school explicitly for the sons of chiefs at Namilyango. This school soon stood at the apex of the Mill Hill system.

Schools for Sons of Chiefs in Teso

Four schools for sons of chiefs appeared in eastern Uganda between 1908 and 1914. Three of these schools were in Teso; only one was in the Mbale area. This imbalance itself points to the existence of a more conducive environment in Teso for the development of such institutions.

The idea of establishing a school for sons of chiefs was an explicit part of the initial plan for C.M.S. work in Teso. The decision to open a new station dated from 1907,[1] and two missionaries were transferred there from other stations.[2] Plans were finalized after an episcopal tour in 1909. In his report, Bishop Tucker again suggested that a school for sons of chiefs be established immediately. For him, agricultural and technical instruction were to be the bases of the curriculum. To this end, the two missionaries charged with the responsibility of starting this school were men of practical experience. H.G. Dillistone had been a builder in Toro, and W. Syson had been the director of the industrial mission in Nandi.[3]

Tucker also assured mission authorities in London that both the government and the chiefs were willing to cooperate in such an undertaking. The government supplied the land;

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[1] C.M.S., A7/05, Minutes of the Executive Committee, 4 November 1907.

[2] C.M.S., A7/06, Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee, 20 December 1907; Minutes of the Executive Committee, 12 October 1908.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, Minutes of the Missionary Committee, 13 March 1911.

many chiefs agreed to send their sons for instruction.[1]

It is clear from this report what direction was projected for the school. The grant of land had been conditional on the mission's promise to teach agriculture. The plough needed to initiate this instruction was made available through the district commissioner in Teso.[2] The authorities approved a further grant of £20 for what they called the Industrial Mission at Ngora, for the purpose of encouraging ploughing in Teso by instructing boys in carpentry and blacksmithing.[3] These priorities were in strict accordance with both the support of technical education throughout the protectorate,[4] and the particular emphasis on the development of cotton and instruction in ploughing in Teso. Simultaneous with the opening of the Ngora school, the government started a ploughing school at Kumi and attached two cotton instructors to the Agricultural Department in Teso. At least one other

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/06, Tucker to Baylis, 22 March 1909.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, W. Syson, Annual Letter, 18 November 1911.

[3] E.S.A., SMP 1185/06, Buckley (CMS) to Chief Agricultural Officer, 2 June 1911; Chief Agricultural Officer to Chief Secretary, 8 June 1911; Chief Secretary to CO, 31 July 1911; CO to Jackson (Governor), 6 September 1911. See also the same correspondence in P.R.O., CO 536/41.

[4] The above correspondence concerning Ngora Agricultural School was only a small part of a substantial file (E.S.A., SMP 1185/06) entitled "Encouragement to Missions for Native Industries," which was based on a memorandum by Hesketh Bell, 27 October 1906, setting out his views on technical education.

such school had opened at Soroti by 1913.[1] It was clear that the protectorate authorities planned to use this school for training future chiefs to contribute to the economic development of the district.[2]

This avowedly practical orientation accorded with the philosophy of Syson, the school's director.

> If we are only to train the lads for reading and writing, prepare them to become members of Christ's Church without anything else, under the present conditions of life in their villages the temptations are great. Grant that the lads can read, write and are earnest Christians. What difference does it make to their position? I feel that we are only doing half our work...Will the Gospel appeal to natives the less because we give them something for their hands to do?... Give them something to do and you are helping to keep them straight.[3]

The school came to be called the Ngora Agricultural School. Despite its name, however, the school was not exclusively agricultural, nor was it opened exclusively to the sons of chiefs. These two modifications were interrelated. As

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 1619/09, Jackson (ADC Kumi) to PC Jinja, 30 September 1909; PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 11 October 1909; C.J. Graham, Assistant Overseer, Ploughing School Kumi, "Report for the month of January, 1910." Regarding cotton instructions, see E.S.A., SMP 1895/09, Lamb, Superintendent of Cotton Department to Chief Secretary, 30 December 1909. Regarding Soroti Ploughing School, see E.S.A., SMP 1939, PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 25 September 1913. See also, J.D. Tothill, op. cit., pp. 54-55; also, K. Arrowsmith, "Fifty Years in Teso," Corona, XIII (1961) p. 180.

[2]See E.S.A., SMP 925/09, Coote (ADC Bukedi), Annual Report, 1908/09.

[3]E.S.A., SMP 1912, W.S. Syson, Reply to a series of questions asked by the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, forwarded with Walker to Wallis, Chief Secretary, 16 January 1912.

early as 1910, the principal noted that of the more than fifty boys in the school, only forty were boarders. The remainder were boys selected from the day school who served as house servants on the station.[1] These boys were taught different specialties than the sons of chiefs. Five were working in the school forge, six were waiting for carpentry lessons to start, and one was helping as a teacher for the small boys in the school.[2] The government had seen the need for these sorts of training which effectively complemented the emphasis on agriculture by assuring that ploughs, once in use, could be maintained and repaired. Thus, the presence in this school of at least two streams, far from destroying the nature of the school as a specialist institution, increased the utility of the school even more. The "chief-making" specialization was further enhanced with lessons in reading, writing and dictation. Luganda, as well as Ateso, were taught because the missionaries thought it behooved all those destined to become chiefs to be fluent in Luganda as it was the official language in government.[3] In 1916, at the request of the acting district commissioner, Syson agreed to begin classes for training in how to keep tax registers.[4]

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/08, H.G. Dillistone, Annual Letter, 9 November 1910.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/08, W.S. Syson, Annual Letter, 12 November 1912.

[3] E.S.A., SMP 1912, W.S. Syson, Reply to a series of questions asked by the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, forwarded with Walker to Wallis, 16 January 1912.

[4] E.S.A., SMP 1929, PC Jinja to DC's, 17 July 1916.

Emphasis on the cultivation of cotton, and the related skills of carpentry and blacksmithing suited the wider strategy of C.M.S. as it allowed the work to be self-supporting. This idea of self-support was crucial to any new venture in those years of financial stringency. Thus, the mission authorities in Buganda were highly critical of the school which, by 1912, was seriously in debt. They recognized that the reason for these financial difficulties was the fall in cotton prices, yet they used the indebtedness as an excuse for imposing school fees, with the threat to close the school if the fees were not paid.[1] As a consequence, the directors reported a vigorous and successful campaign to bring in fees. Whereas at the end of 1911 only three boys had paid fees, by November 1912, over 50 percent had done so, and the rest had promised to pay after the sale of their cotton.[2] The combination of the rise in cotton prices, the collection of fees, and the profits from the school forge rendered the school self-supporting by 1913.[3]

About the other two boarding schools founded during this period there is less documentation. At Kalaki, in the Kumam-speaking area of Teso, a school for sons of chiefs was opened in 1910 by the first missionary to settle there, Mr.

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[1] Namirembe Archives (Makerere University Library), N3/12, Walker to Dillistone, 7 February 1912; Walker to Buckley, 7 February 1912. See also E.S.A., SMP 1758/09, Walker "Educational Report," 9 April 1912.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, W.S. Syson, Annual Letter, 12 November 1912.

[3] Uganda Notes, May, 1913; see also E.S.A., SMP 1758/09, H.W. Weatherhead's Report, forwarded with Millar to Chief Secretary, 22 August 1913.

Innes. He was following the model which he had seen at Ngora. It is certain that such a move was premature, as little mission work had gone on in the area up to that time. Nevertheless, when he died only eight months later, the protectorate officer responsible for the area noted that his school for the sons of chiefs had been well started and would have proved of great assistance to the administration.[1] The school continued for two years under the supervision of a Muganda teacher, but was closed when he returned to Buganda for further training.[2]

No permanent boarding school was opened during this period at the Mill Hill headquarters at Budaka, despite Fr. Kirk's efforts to collect together sons of chiefs. There is evidence, however, that at least forty sons of chiefs from the area covered by the Budaka mission were sent to Namilyango High School near Kampala for training.[3] The Roman Catholics undertook only one such educational experiment during these early years, also located at Ngora. In 1912, the missionary at Ngora reported the existence of an industrial department attached to the church school on the station. In it four boys were being taught brick-laying; already six others had finished their instruction.[4] There were not at that time any

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 178, Pellew Wright to PC Jinja, 30 September 1912.

[2]C.M.S. Archives, A7/010, H.G. Dillistone, Annual Letter, 1912.

[3]M.H.M. Archives, London, No. 27, Fr. Kirk to Mill Hill, 3 April 1944; see also M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Matthews to PC Buganda, 3 July 1915.

[4]M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Kiggen to Fr. Matthews, 10 August 1912.

boarding facilities at Ngora,[1] but it was obvious that those responsible for the department at Ngora had plans to expand in order to include instruction in agriculture. In the same letter which outlined the very limited beginnings of industrial work, the missionary pleaded for an extension of 200 acres so that the cotton cultivation could be started.[2] It is not exactly clear when boarders were first accepted. There is some indication that a handful of boys stayed at the mission as early as 1912,[3] but the bulk of the evidence suggests 1914 as the year in which the school appeared. By the middle of that year, 121 boys were in residence.[4]

In most respects this school resembled the neighboring one directed by the C.M.S. The most comprehensive description of it came in a lengthy report presented in 1914. As at Ngora (CMS), much of the early success depended on the encouragement and cooperation of the administrative and agricultural officers. The cultivation undertaken seemed more diffuse than in the C.M.S. school, but cotton was clearly the most important crop. All cultivation was meant to be an object lesson for the

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[1] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Matthews to Chief Secretary, 22 August 1912.

[2] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Kiggen to Fr. Matthews, 10 August 1912.

[3] Soroti Archives, XMSN - MP 165/13, Fr. Hurkmans to DC Teso, 29 March 1914; Fr. Kiggen to DC Teso, 4 April 1914.

[4] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Hurkmans to Fr. Matthews, "Report on Ngora Primary Elementary and Agricultural School," August, 1914; see also E.S.A., SMP 1758/09, Biermans to Chief Secretary, 26 May 1914.

chiefs' sons. Other subjects were also taught, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and drill. In 1919, bookkeeping, typing and English were added.[1] A council, modeled on the missionary's conception of an indigenous council, regulated small discipline cases. The one significant difference was that the Catholic school did not achieve self-support, even though the authorities saw it as desirable. Of the more than 100 boys in the school, only 29 had paid fees. Nor did the sale of cotton recognize sufficient profit to cover costs. Thus the vicariate was called upon to finance this venture while at the same time it was recognized that as the government was meant to profit from the training of these boys, it should be pressed into giving an annual grant.[2]

The issue of self-support dominated the founding of the school for sons of chiefs at Mbale. A brief description of the early years of this school will illustrate by contrast the success of the schools in Teso. A request had been made to the government for 200 acres of land near the mission station in Mbale in 1910. This request was quickly granted, and cultivation started before any students were brought into residence.[3] These early initiatives were seriously retarded, however, by the mission authorities in Buganda who were increasingly concerned over the financial situation at Ngora.

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[1]Nyondo Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the "Bukedi" Fathers held at Ngora, 15 July 1919.

[2]M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, Fr. Hurkmans to Fr. Matthews, "Report on Ngora Primary Elementary and Agricultural School," August, 1914.

[3]C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, H.B. Ladbury, Annual Letter, December, 1910.

Under no circumstances was the school to start without prospects of financial support. In support of the principal of fee-paying, reference was made to the problems at Ngora. "The Ngora school has run on a rock...I sincerely hope that the Ngora school does not illustrate your position."[1] When the Mbale school opened its doors to boarders in August, 1912, therefore, the authorities were acutely aware of the need to operate within the available funds. They were, for example, immediately concerned that the boys pay their fees. Also, though they were explicitly aware of the utility of training blacksmiths and carpenters, they confined their industrial work to agriculture. Coffee was the main crop and four thousand trees were planted. In addition, attention focussed on the cultivation of food crops.

At Mbale, as at Ngora, there were a few boys who were not sons of chiefs. In the first class of 25, only 18 were aristocrats. The others were boys who worked on the station as servants. There was not, however, the same streaming that had occurred at Ngora, mainly because the tools needed for blacksmithing and carpentry were unavailable. The course was uniform for all and included, in addition to farming, the Scriptures, the three R's, drill, singing, sewing and cooking. As the boys came from different areas, unlike those at Ngora, who were mainly from Teso, language presented a problem; five different language groups were represented in the first class.

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[1] Namirembe Archives (Makerere University Library), N3/12, Walker to Baylis, 9 February 1912.

Thus the language used in the school was Luganda.[1]

Within two years, the school was beset by a most serious problem, springing from ambiguity within the mission as to what its priorities in the Mbale area should be. The main symptom of this ambiguity was the mission's inability to decide on a site for the school. In 1911, a site had been allocated at Mivule, two miles from the mission at Mbale. It was here that the residential facilities were built and cultivation begun. In August, 1914, on the recommendation of the Missionary Committee, it was decided to stop all building until the question of the suitability of the site had been sorted out.[2] At the end of that year, the decision was taken to transfer the whole school to Nabumali.[3] Apparently this decision was taken without much forethought. Within eight months of the initial move, the decision was reversed and once again the school moved back to Mivule. Then in 1920, after being closed for two years, the school moved finally to Nabumali.[4] These migrations re-

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[1] C.M.S. Archives, A7/09, H.K. Banks, Annual Letter, 30 September 1912; A7/010, Banks to Manley, 27 December 1912; Circular Letter, H.B. Ladbury, February, 1913; H.B. Ladbury, "Diaries," entry dated 30 November 1912.

[2] C.M.S. Archives, A7/010, Minutes of the Missionary Committee, 6 August 1914.

[3] C.M.S. Archives, A7/011, Millar to Banks, 11 November 1914.

[4] C.M.S. Archives, A7/011, Minutes of the Missionary Committee, 5 August 1915. See also "A Short History of the School," Nabumali High School Magazine, I (August, 1949), 2, for a synopsis of these migrations; August 1912 to December 1914 at Mivule, December 1914 to August 1915 at Nabumali, August 1915 to 1918 at Mivule, 1918 to February 1920, closed. From February, 1920, onwards the school has been at Nabumali.

flected the conflicting loyalties between the mission and the Baganda, on the one hand, and the Bagisu, on the other. They affected enrollment seriously. No significant increase was recorded for the first four years.

A statistical comparison of the growth of the two best documented schools for sons of chiefs gives further support to the notion that the Teso schools were relatively more successful. See Table 4.[1]

Table 4. Comparison of the Growth of Two Schools for Sons of Chiefs in Eastern Uganda.

Date	Mbale Boys' High School	Ngora Agricultural School
1909/10	-	30
1910/11	-	*
1911/12	-	65
1912/13	28	101
1913/14	30	128
1914/15	30	121
1915/16	40	88
1916/17	75	130
1917/18	73	129
1918/19	64	120
1919/20	66	120
1920	37	*
1921	60	150

Mission schools which purported to supply an appropriate training for future chiefs, prompted in part by the administration, encouraged a positive response from Africans who were

[1] P.R.O., CO 613/9-21, Uganda Protectorate, Blue Books, 1909-21.

aware of the need to maximize their position in a colonial environment that demanded new norms of conduct. Such a colonial environment, based on economic prosperity, emerged in Teso simultaneously with the appearance of schools for sons of chiefs. In this new environment, chiefs were called upon to mobilize the peasant producers and to ensure maximum returns to the administration from the production of cotton. The vigorous response in Teso to these schools for sons of chiefs indicated both an awareness that the economic prosperity demanded a chiefly hierarchy which was to be judged by new norms and a belief that these schools could produce such chiefs.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN ADMINISTRATIVE DETERMINANT

Beginning in 1911, posts in the local administrative network in eastern Uganda were increasingly made available to people indigenous to the area as a result of the decision to withdraw those Baganda who had been recruited by the protectorate authorities to act as government agents in the area. The second decade of colonial rule in this area was, therefore, characterized by the de-colonization of several levels of the administrative network. At the same time, it was a period of expanding colonialism insofar as the specialist services attendant upon a widening of economic, political and social activities led inevitably to a much more visible protectorate presence. Magistrates, cotton inspectors, road builders and steamer captains -- each represented one phase of the changes which were occurring in the name of colonial development. As a result, the protectorate government very soon occupied the position of chief employer in the area. Both of these trends -- the removal of Baganda agents and the expansion of specialist services -- created a growing need for the local recruitment of people with varying skills and training. This increase in occupational complexity led to a growing association between occupational recruitment and educational experience. Thus the response to educational initiatives in

this period, which were still mission-directed, must be seen as an indication of how well they answered the increasingly job-specific demands made by the administration.

THE REPLACEMENT OF THE BAGANDA AGENTS

The complex hierarchy imported from Buganda and dominated by Kakungulu and his followers was described briefly in a previous chapter. This centralized structure was novel to the people of eastern Uganda as they were not organized in any way similar to the interlacustrine kingdoms further west. The largest unit of effective day-to-day government was far more localized than in these larger territorial units. At the highest level of the hierarchy, therefore, totally new political roles were created. Insofar as these paramountcies had not existed earlier, the innovation was significant. It was at this level that Baganda were employed as agents. These highest posts were not initially opened to people indigenous to the area. But once the structure had been built, the demand for indigenizing its staff soon followed. An anthropologist who studied the Bagisu observed that the hierarchy of chiefships within the administration provided opportunities for leadership and power which the traditional system had never offered. In many instances, the behavior of the agents themselves abetted this demand in that the depradations which were difficult to avoid in such a loosely controlled system created a pool of discontent among the people of the area. These stimuli combined with improved communications and the establishment of central institutions such as the mission

schools to make "Gisu tribesmen out of lineage members."[1] The process of replacing the Baganda agents while maintaining the new structures resulted in a rapid increase of the number of jobs available and aspired to.

The End of Baganda Agency

A brief profile of this phenomenon of Baganda agency and its gradual disappearance from eastern Uganda will illustrate its importance. Michael Twaddle has provided a clear analysis of the sequence of events which changed the agency from one personally loyal to Kakungulu to one subsumed officially under the colonial administration.[2] But the quantitative aspects of the question were overlooked. In 1901, when the personnel was still exclusively under the control of Kakungulu, twenty Baganda were appointed as county chiefs (saza), assuming titles drawn directly from the political system in Buganda. Thus we find, among others, the mukwenda, Leubeni Bitege at Bwiro (Lango), the sekibobo, Kujegirakama at Serere (Teso), the pokino, Isaka Namuziga at Bukedea (Teso), and the kangoo, Yakobo Kiriebuganda at Bunyuli (Bukedi).[3]

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[1] J.S. LaFontaine, "Tribalism Among the Gisu," Tradition and Transition in East Africa, ed., P.H. Gulliver (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 182; see also M. Twaddle, "Tribalism in Eastern Uganda," in Gulliver, op. cit., p. 194. For an opposing view, see J.R. Postlethwaite, I Look Back (London: J.V. Broadman & Co., 1947), p. 31.

[2] Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, London University, 1967), pp. 196-211.

[3] E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 2 No. 25, "List of Ba-masaza of Kakunguru within his limits in Bukedi," December, 1901.

By 1908, the system had been rationalized and a schedule of salaries payable by the administration had been worked out on the basis of 28 agents, divided into first, second and third class, depending upon the importance of the area to which they were appointed.[1] Three years later the number had sky-rocketed to 117, the highest total ever reached.[2]

The rapid growth in the number of agents occurred in a very short period of time. The two main reasons for this expansion -- the paucity of colonial administrative personnel and the absence of influential indigenous chiefs -- were repeated with cloying frequency throughout the period.[3] Yet few officials believed the system was flawless. However, no concrete action was taken to discontinue the system until 1911. At that time, Haldane, assistant director commissioner at Palango (Lango), in a letter to Knowles, district commissioner (Hoima) presented a thorough-going, highly critical review of the system of Baganda agents in his area. His own solution was not to dispense with their services, but rather

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[1] E.S.A., S.M.P. 82/07, Boyle to Deputy Commissioner, 6 January 1907; P.R.O., CO536/21, Hesketh Bell to CO, 11 September 1908.

[2] E.S.A., S.M.P. 519/09, Jackson, Memorandum, 9 December 1911; complete lists were submitted by the assistant district commissioners concerned. See Newman to PC Jinja, 7 September 1911; Jervoise to PC Jinja, 7 September 1911; and Adams to PC Jinja, 11 September 1911.

[3] See E.S.A., A/10 Vol. 4, No. 177, Watson to Boyle, 3 November 1904; No. 31, Boyle to Acting Commissioner, 27 February 1905; P.R.O., CO536/18, Hesketh Bell to CO, 27 February 1908; CO 536/21, Bell to CO, 11 September 1908.

to increase their salaries.[1] It was the governor who minuted, "after reading these reports I am more convinced than ever that the Baganda agents should be withdrawn at once." In fact, he ordered an immediate withdrawal of all the agents from Lango.[2] In the event, the extreme position taken by the governor was modified as a result of correspondence at several levels. The final policy statement appeared in the governor's memorandum of 9th December 1911. It called for an immediate start in reducing the number of agents employed. Jackson refused to accept that the local chiefs had no ability to exercise control and suggested that the protectorate authorities had become so accustomed to using agents that they were unwilling to try another system.[3]

And so the reductions began. Four new assistant district commissioners were appointed to the staff of the Eastern Province to compensate for this reduction.[4] At first progress was slow. After almost a year only six agents were gone, leaving 111 still at work -- 50 under Mbale, 38 under Kumi and 23 in Lango.[5] Jackson issued a sharp rebuke concerning the speed

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[1]For this and the rest of the correspondence quoted here, see E.S.A., SMP 519/09. The reference here is Haldane to Knowles, 6 February 1911.

[2]E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Jackson, Minute, 27 April 1911; also Jackson, Minute, 28 April 1911.

[3]E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Jackson, Memorandum, 9 December 1911.

[4]E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Wallis to PC Jinja, 20 December 1911.

[5]E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Wallis to CO, 28 October 1912. There is some conclusion over these totals, as it was reported by Jackson himself that 18 agents had been dismissed. See Jackson to CO, 18 June 1912.

of the retrenchment program which seemed to be the necessary catalyst for its implementation.[1] The rate at which the reductions took place is shown in Table 5.[2]

Table 5. Reduction of Baganda Agents in Eastern Uganda, 1911-1919.

	Mbale	Kumi	Lango	Total
on 9 December 1911	52	39	26	117
on 30 September 1912	50	38	23	111
reduced 31 March 1913	40	18	5	63
reduced 31 March 1914	3	7	1	11
reduced June 1915	1	-	-	1
reduced 31 March 1917	-	6(?)	3(?)	9
reduced 1918	-	1	1	2
reduced 1919	-	1	-	1
Total remaining	6	5	13	24

In addition to the agents themselves, their followers, described by one protectorate authority as equivalent to county police in Buganda, were also to be withdrawn. They numbered 438, and were divided as follows: Mbale 116, Kumi 122, and

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Jackson, Memorandum, 6 January 1913.

[2] This information has been culled from several sources. See E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Newman (ADC Kumi) to PC Jinja, 7 September 1911; Adams (ADC Mbale to PC Jinja, 11 September 1911; Jackson, Memorandum, 9 December 1911; Wallis to CO, 28 October 1912; PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 11 March 1913; Cooper to Chief Secretary, 5 August 1914; PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 5 August 1915; PC Jinja to Treasurer, 12 April 1917; PC Jinja to Treasurer, 23 April 1917; Special Warrants, 14 May 1918; 15 June 1918, 4 July 1919. See also P.R.O., CO 536/59, Jackson to CO, 11 April 1913.

Lango 200.[1] By 1919, the number of jobs available in the lower levels of local administration was very large. In Teso alone, they numbered almost 500. (See Table 6).[2]

Table 6. Posts Available in the Teso Administration, 1919

Post	Number available
County chiefs	5
Sub-county chiefs	44
Sub-county chiefs' secretaries	44
Parish chiefs	144
Village chiefs	294
Township headman	5
TOTAL	536

Implications for Education

Agents and their followers were being reduced in substantial numbers throughout the second decade of the century. As a consequence, opportunities were opening for those indigenous to eastern Uganda. However, access to those opportunities required participation in an essentially alien political culture, for in carrying out the jobs in the local administration, all were subject to the expectations of protectorate authorities which had been determined largely by the standards set in the native administration in Buganda. This imperative

[1] E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Wallis to CO, 28 October 1912.

[2] Soroti Archives, XNAF/4 - MP 45, Adams, DC Teso to PC Jinja, 24 October 1919.

was suggested by previous research on political development in the area. One scholar noted "the 'Bakedi' who replaced the Baganda agents as the colonial rulers of Bukedi were 'Baganda' in all but birth. Not only were the chiefly offices that they enjoyed constructed on the Baganda model, but the manner in which they maintained these offices was largely dictated by Baganda political behaviour."[1]

At the lower levels of the local administration, the colonial authorities had initially attempted to invest authority in local notables who, it was hoped, could rely on a store of traditional respect over a limited area to carry out their duties. For example, in Bugisu, the governor decided "to provisionally appoint, as chiefs of clans, a dozen men who appeared to have some authority in their own neighborhood."[2] In Bugisu, where these clans were associated with a particular territorial unit, those who were recognized by the colonial authorities as chiefs of territorial units, were, in fact, men recognized by the local people as clan leaders. Therefore incorporation into the protectorate's administrative hierarchy did not initially alter their relationship with their villages. So long as few new demands were made on these chiefs, which was the case during the years of pacification in the area, there was no reason for establishing new criteria for recruitment.

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[1] Twaddle, Politics, pp. 273-74.

[2] D.A. Low, "Uganda: The Establishment of the Protectorate 1894-1919," History of East Africa, V. Harlow and E.M. Chilver, Vol. IX, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 91.

Only in Teso, where the government had embarked on a program of economic development, did the administration make an effort to train the new chiefs. As early as 1909, we saw that the administration in Teso had shown keen interest in training for future chiefs by supporting the school for sons of chiefs at Ngora.

As the opportunities for jobs in the local administration increased, and as the demands of the administration became more complex, this early interest in training chiefs in Teso spread to other areas. The nature of the duties which these appointed chiefs in the Mbale area were called upon to perform after pacification bore less and less resemblance to traditional duties and obligations. They were now asked to collect taxes, recruit labor, build roads and conduct courts. In the face of such changes, it is evident that the personal qualities and traditional position of the former appointees would no longer meet the requirements of the job. The administration wanted men with at least some education. So important were the skills of literacy and numeracy to the work of the new chiefs that the provincial commissioner, in his instructions to the district commissioners, stressed that in the first instance an illiterate chief from whom an agent had been withdrawn was expected to employ a native capable of acting as his clerk for the purpose of writing letters and keeping accounts.[1] The pressure for gradualism which led to a

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 519/09, PC Jinja to DC's Kumi, Mbale and Nabieso, 22 August 1911.

modification of the governor's original demands for the agents' immediate withdrawal were based on just this need for time so that "chiefs can be educated up to the work required of them."[1] Thus, the indigenizing of the personnel of a system which remained essentially alien, brought in its train criteria for recruitment which were also alien. Education was basic to this new system of recruitment.

Only in Karamoja was this pattern not followed. Here, in the 1910's and 1920's, the military, and later, civil administrators clung to the former system of appointing administrative chiefs on the vague notion that a particular person enjoyed a local reputation as an elder or notable. These men were only called upon to assist in the program of pacification -- to help in the collection of firearms, to supply food and labor for the construction of camps for the administrators. An attempt was made to invest these appointees with the necessary authority to carry out their duties by recognizing councils of elders as advisers to the chiefs. However, as Barber points out, it was "impossible to disguise that a new authority, a new source of power, had been established, and insofar as chiefs accepted recognition from this new authority they became identified with it."[2] Such an identification worked against the ability of the chiefs to

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 519/09, Jackson to CO, 18 June 1912.

[2] J. Barber, Imperial Frontier (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), p. 145.

act effectively as the policy which they were asked to help implement was non-developmental and "cattle blind," and thus opposed to the interests of the Karamojong.[1]

Yet no effort was made to strengthen these chiefs through training. As there was to be no economic development, indeed, no energetic administration at all, there was apparently no justification for expenditure on educating chiefs through resident agents, or their probable successors through a school for the sons of chiefs on the lines of the one at Ngora. The only deviation from this policy of strict non-involvement came in 1923, when one appointed chief was murdered while trying to carry out administrative orders. At that time, the government asked the CMS to send teachers to the district, and the district commissioner suggested that some of these teachers be assigned to chiefs' compounds.[2] By 1930, however, those few teachers that had come were no longer present, and the district was once again without any schools.[3] The lack of any economic incentive for efficient administration must be seen as the basis for this lack of interest in training chiefs.

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[1] C. Welch, "Pastoralists and Administrators in Conflict: A Study of Karamoja District 1897-1968" (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of East Africa, 1969), p. 72 ff. The brief synopsis of attempts at development comes from this source, as well as from Barber, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

[2] Church Missionary Outlook, (1925) pp. 92-94; see also, CMS, "Historical Record," 1924/25 (MSS in C.M.S. Library, London), p. 77.

[3] Uganda Protectorate Education Department, Report, 1930, p. 49.

The Karamoja Security Committee of 1961 summed up the connection between limited administration and this negative view towards education in its comment that "it was only the system that was introduced and not the drill and discipline that goes with it which Kakungulu and other Baganda agents inculcated into other tribes. It has, therefore, not taken root and the chiefs have not acquired the same authority, respect and prestige that the chiefs in the other parts acquired."[1]

The need for some sort of training for those to be employed in the local administration was clear. Yet, by 1914, the course which aimed directly at preparing students for these sorts of jobs was confined to the few elitist schools for sons of chiefs described in the previous chapter. With the expansion of administrative posts, the need for a large number of people with training in literacy and numeracy also grew. Yet, the number of people gaining access to the elitist schools remained small. Increasingly, therefore, the protectorate authorities were forced to look for people whose education had been limited to that available in schools other than those for sons of chiefs. As a consequence, those sections of the school system that had not been previously geared toward preparing people for work in the administration were called upon to perform that function.[2]

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[1] B.K. Bataringaya, Report of the Karamoja Security Committee, 1961, as cited in Barber, op. cit., p. 214.

[2] Such importance did this function of schools assume in the eyes of the local population that one of the main grounds for opposing girls' education was that, as they could not hope to become chiefs, there was no need to allow them to be educated.

Positions in the chiefly hierarchy were not, however, the only jobs which became available at that time. As the involvement of the protectorate authorities in eastern Uganda increased, and as the concerns of the administration grew and became more complex, the number of posts in what is called here the specialist services within the administration also grew and provided a widening choice of job opportunities for people with certain minimum standards of schooling. Oftentimes before getting a post as a chief, school leavers worked at one of these specialist jobs for some years. They were many and varied. Already at the start of the period under consideration, the range of such jobs was great. In submitting estimates for 1911/12, the D.C. at Mbale itemized posts for many types of clerks, interpreters, headmen, a market master and ferryman.[1] The estimates from Teso were even more detailed. In addition to those jobs just mentioned were messengers, one native letter-writer, one native hospital boy, one carpenter, one assistant surgeon and one thatcher.[2]

See Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 164, statement by Ezekieri Kageni, 15 May 1969; No. 160, statement by Misaki Kidimu, 9 May 1969; No. 121, statement by Mrs. Faisi Maderu, 8 April 1969; No. 125, statement by Miss Lea Dagada, 12 April 1969; No. 124, statement by Rev. Yokoyasi Katewu, 10 April 1969; No. 123, statement by Mrs. Susan Somoka, 9 April 1909; No. 127, statement by Andereya Kirya, 15 April 1969.

[1]E.S.A., SMP 1131, Newman, ADC Mbale to PC Jinja, 20 September 1910.

[2]E.S.A., SMP 1131, Morris, ADC Kumi to PC Jinja, 18 September 1910.

It was at the same time that the first steps were taken to ensure that those who took up these jobs were properly trained. One government official wrote a long minute in which he set out a detailed scheme for providing "a plentiful supply of material from which the subordinate clerical staff can be drawn." He felt that the training provided in mission schools was only theoretical, and though this might form a basis for subsequent training, it was in and of itself inadequate. What was needed, he suggested, was a clerical school under government supervision.[1] In 1913, a committee had been appointed, which included the man who had put forward the initial suggestions, "to consider the question of permanent employment of native clerks, interpreters, etc. in government service." One of the main recommendations of this committee was the establishment of a technical training school for clerks.[2] With the outbreak of war, however, a decision was taken not to pursue these schemes for the duration of the war.[3] As no government scheme was undertaken in the pre-war and war years, government departments, faced with ever-growing demands for skilled employees, had no option but to look to the mission

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 2351, Lyall to Chief Secretary, 15 January 1912. Such suggestions were the first steps toward the foundation of both Makerere College and the Native Civil Service.

[2]E.S.A., SMP 2351, Perryman, Minute, 20 January 1921. This minute is a historical resume of the main stages in the development of a Native Civil Service.

[3]E.S.A., SMP 2351, op. cit., citing E.S.A., SMP 3597, Governor to CO, 15 September 1915.

schools to supply their needs. In reporting on progress made at Nsambya and Namilyango in 1912, the Bishop noted that "a great incentive to both these schools is the constant demand on all sides from Europeans for youths who are at least capable of minor clerkships or for the work of interpreting."[1] Though the number of such schools in eastern Uganda was limited, they too were called upon to supply leavers to fill these specialist posts.

In 1913, the D.C. in Teso proposed to the missions to keep at his office a register of all those from Teso District receiving education at mission schools. "It is desirable," he wrote, "that a native, after completing his school training, should not be lost sight of and that employment benefiting the District should be found for them." His register was to include the names not only of those then at the school, but also of those who had left since the school opened.[2] Receiving no response, from the missions, he feared that they objected on principle to the employment of their school leavers in government service. He then wrote a reminder, asking once more for the required information, and attempting to convince the missions of their duty. He argued, "where the object of your society and of the local administration are one--of the former to give the mental and moral training that will fit its pupils

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 1050/09, J. Biermans, "Report on Native Education in the Upper Nile Vicariate," 27 December 1912.

[2]Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 165/13, Acting DC Teso to Superiors, CMS and MHM, Ngora, 30 June 1913.

to find uses for the intellect and character so formed--it would be a great misfortune if they should not be allowed to find out their purpose through any misapprehension or misunderstanding."[1]

The responses were interesting. The C.M.S. representative expressed total accord with the policy followed by the administration.[2] Fr. Hurkmans, of M.H.M. Ngora, was more cautious. He forwarded a list of only the names of those pupils who were sons of chiefs. He then explained that the mission authorities were pleased to see baptized Catholics working in government positions, only if the missions were able to maintain some control over their school leavers through their guaranteed and frequent access to the mission station.[3] Assurances in this regard were readily given by the authorities.[4] But the differing responses indicate a more conservative approach within the Catholic circles. Only the names of those students who, by virtue of their parentage, were inevitably directed toward non-ecclesiastical employment, were voluntarily offered to the D.C. for inclusion in his register. But the fact that the government authorities were willing to accede to certain conditions placed by the missions on the employment of

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[1]Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 165/13, Rubie, Acting DC, Teso, to Superiors, CMS and MHM, Ngora, 24 October 1913.

[2]Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 165/13, Kitching to DC, Teso, undated.

[3]Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 165/13, Fr. Hurkmans to Rubie, 26 October 1913.

[4]Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 165/13, Rubie to Fr. Hurkmans, 3 November 1913.

their adherents in government service indicates the government's need for their skills and its continued dependence on mission schools to produce them.

MISSION SCHOOLS AND THE ADMINISTRATION

To what extent did the missions meet the increasingly job-specific demands of the administration? Did mission schools prepare their students for the jobs available?

The schools for sons of chiefs which had emerged during the first decade of educational development in eastern Uganda continued to grow throughout the following decade. These schools aimed specifically at teaching practical skills to their students. At the same time, they deliberately tried to recruit as students, sons of chiefs. By design, therefore, these schools were elitist, aimed at perpetuating what was perceived as rule by chiefly families, through giving those thought to be in succession a kind of training unavailable to the mass of the population. As late as 1914, the three schools for sons of chiefs (that at Kalaki had closed) stood as solitary examples of job-specific education within the mission. Education for peasants was still confined to the largely undifferentiated church schools where the catechists had responsibility both for teaching during the week and holding church services on Sundays.

In the years after 1914, however, there was an increasing differentiation within the broadly based church school system to which the peasant population had access. This

trend reflected the patterns being worked out in other parts of Uganda. Its importance for eastern Uganda was that it opened to the peasants a channel of secular education.

Emphasis on Teacher Training

The main efforts at differentiation in eastern Uganda focussed on teacher training. In Buganda the earliest teacher training had been that informal supervision given to catechists by Europeans in charge of mission stations. In 1898, a formal system was established which reflected the missions' increasing concern for the need of trained teachers for their church schools. At that time, supplementary classes were added to the central schools at the mission stations which aimed at providing a specialized teacher training. Simultaneously, a full-time theological tutor was appointed to carry on the supervision of the work of those catechists already in the field. These developments were the start of a growing distinction between those church teachers (catechists) who had received little or no training and those who had received at least a rudimentary training. This emerging occupational stratification was further reinforced by the establishment of an even higher level teacher training institution, the Normal Class at Namirembe. Subsequently, no matter what some missionaries attempted to do to reverse what to them was an undesirable trend, this stratification continued until a completely horizontal division between school teachers and church teachers entrenched itself. Thus, the introduction of specialized

teacher training was effectively the beginning of the decline of the catechist who had been so important in the early penetration of Christianity into remote areas. Two separate and unequal job categories were growing out of the one that had previously existed.

In eastern Uganda, a similar distinction grew up, though the pace and sequence of events were somewhat different. Here, the influence of events in Buganda was crucial. In the earliest period in the east, the vast majority of teachers came from Buganda and brought with them the notions of stratification which had developed there. Thus, the existence of rudimentary occupational stratification within the teaching profession in eastern Uganda actually preceded the opening of any local training institutions. All those institutions which existed for producing teachers with specialized qualifications were outside of the area. This situation was symptomatic of the dangers which Crabtree had foreseen back in 1901, growing out of what he considered Mengo's myopic view of missionary work. The existence of such institutions as Nsambya and Nazigo (MHM), Mengo and Mukono (CMS), all located in Buganda, to which the missionaries in eastern Uganda could look for recruits to staff their schools actually retarded the growth of similar institutions in eastern Uganda.[1]

At the same time, by being an area of secondary penetration, eastern Uganda automatically took over many features of

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[1]Bishop Willis of the CMS called for the establishment of training institutions similar to that at Mengo in order to make available sufficient opportunities for training. One was suggested for Mbale. See Willis to Wallis, Chief Secretary, 18 July 1912.

the system which had emerged in Buganda. Models for training imported from Buganda were available, and these models influenced the growth of a local teacher training system.

Pressure came from several sources for a remedy to the lack of teacher training locally. The schools themselves began to request teachers trained to the level of those they saw in certain schools. It was this kind of request which prompted the directive to limit the posting of certificated teachers to important centers.[1] Also, the increasing number of candidates coming forward from eastern Uganda itself required a training locally which equalled the training given in Buganda. One of the most common complaints by the missionaries was that their teachers were continually leaving their work so as to go back to Buganda for further training, causing a rapid turnover in available staff.[2] These arguments, along with the fact that many untrained teachers recruited from Buganda and elsewhere could not speak the local languages, gave substance to the plan to introduce teacher training into the area.

The first of such efforts was at Ngora (Teso) where the justification for opening what came to be called the Ngora Missionary College, was couched in just such terms. This Missionary College was somewhat extravagently named, as in reality it merely paralleled the supplementary classes that

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[1] "Lines of Policy as laid down by the Board of Missions (CMS) 2 April 1913," Uganda Notes, May, 1913.

[2] C.M.S., A7/O10, H.G. Dillistone, Annual Letter, 1912.

had been introduced at Mengo Central School as early as 1898. It was, in effect, the introduction of "tops" on the already existing mission station school at Ngora. It was, nonetheless, significant as the first institution in eastern Uganda designed especially for training teachers.

Kitching has left a detailed description of the projected character of this college. In it, Baganda and Basoga volunteers were to be trained along with evangelists who came from the areas only recently reached, such as Teso, Bugisu and Lango. This close association was aimed both at fostering trust and understanding between different groups and exposing everyone to the language of the others. In this way, it was assumed, the Baganda would be able to master the local vernaculars in order to teach more effectively, while the people indigenous to the area would learn enough Luganda to allow them to refer to the literature in that language.[1] This dual language policy conformed to a broader directive from the mission authorities that Luganda was to be taught in all missionary colleges throughout the Protectorate.[2] The actual curriculum of the college included Theology, hymn leading, preaching, reading aloud in foreign languages and some instruction in writing and easy arithmetic. The course was designed to last one year, divided into three terms of three

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[1] C.M.S., A7/09, Rev. Kitching, Circular Letter, 7 August 1912.

[2] "Lines of policy...," Uganda Notes (May, 1913).

months each, with one month's work in village schools between terms. The course followed at Ngora was, in fact, similar to that taken by all candidates for the first certificate throughout the diocese.[1] The teaching of the local vernacular was the only significant difference between this course and others taught in Buganda.[2]

But Kitching's description went further. "At the same time," he noted, "we shall endeavour to teach these evangelists how to make themselves generally useful to the chiefs to whom they are sent and who are responsible for their maintenance, and to be ready to turn their hands to building, planting, first aid and so forth, as occasion demands."[3] Herein lay a conception of the work of the teacher which included far more than simple evangelizing. The allusion to developing a special relationship with the chief was not suprising since, as we saw in an earlier chapter, it was thought to be crucial to the success of the initial work at the village level. Furthermore, the references to manual labor and especially to planting, relate to the leading role played by the church in the economic progress of the surrounding district of Teso. The recognition that teachers in training for work in village schools were well advised to familiarize themselves with the political and economic realities of their new environment was significant

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[1]Diocese of Uganda, Theological Board, Minute Book, 1 March 1916 (MSS in Makerere University Library).

[2]"Ngora Missionary College," Uganda Notes, (November, 1913).

[3]C.M.S., A7/09, Rev. Kitching, Circular Letter, 7 August 1912.

in that it introduced into the teacher training curriculum a secular component which reinforced the imported distinction between certificated and non-certificated teachers. Of even greater significance, however, was the fact that such training could itself be turned to other uses. It was not solely ecclesiastical in character; on the contrary, it had the potential for developing those very skills and attitudes which were basic to the duties of chiefs.

Rudimentary programs of teacher training also appeared in other places in eastern Uganda at about the same time, though they did not achieve such a high degree of formality as at Ngora. At Mbale (CMS), a course for candidates wishing to train for the diocesan first certificate started in 1916. At the beginning of that year, twenty such men came in to a newly built compound to begin their year's course.[1] This course seems to have been transferred to Nabumali at the same time that the school for the sons of chiefs moved there from Mivule in 1919, as the next record of its work placed it at Nabumali. It was noted then that there was need for someone to take charge of this teacher training class full-time as there were still very few certificated teachers among the many hundreds of untrained men.[2]

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[1] H. B. Ladbury, "Diaries of Mission Work," entries dated 10 April 1916, and 7 May 1916. (MSS in Makerere University Library).

[2] Namirembe Archives (Makerere University Library), N3/2, Minutes of the Theological Board, 14 January 1921.

The process of training church teachers for work within the Roman Catholic church was parallel to that outlined above, though it developed in eastern Uganda some years after the Protestant initiatives. In 1914, at Nazigo in Buganda, a catechist training school opened to give advanced training to candidates for the highest levels of responsibility, opened to catechists.[1] Such an institution reflected a hierarchical organization of catechists, with those trained at Nazigo working at the highest levels. It also assumed that more rudimentary training existed for those catechists who were to have narrower responsibilities lower down in the hierarchy. As with C.M.S., however, the personnel for church work in eastern Uganda was imported from Buganda. These early catechists had received their training in Buganda before going east. In the early period, therefore, there was no need for such rudimentary training in eastern Uganda itself. It was not until 1921 that any concrete proposals were made to launch any kind of catechist training locally. At one of the periodic meetings held that year, which called together all the missionaries working in the area still inaccurately called "Bukedi," it was decided to start catechists' instruction at each of the missions, that is, at Budaka, Nyondo, Ngora, Nagongera, Dabani, Soroti and Lwala. The course was to last only three months and was to include an intensive study of a

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[1] St. Joseph's Advocate (Spring Quarterly, 1914), cited in H.P. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers (London: Macmillan, 1959), p. 302.

limited number of religious topics as well as training in methods of teaching.[1] At the next meeting of this group, all the missionaries reported that they had started a course, but as none had yet finished it, no evaluation could be made.[2]

Fortunately, however, the work at one of these centers, that at Nagongera, has been recorded in some detail by the missionary in charge there for 36 years, Fr. Willemen. After his retirement from mission work, Fr. Willemen travelled extensively in an attempt to raise both the church's consciousness regarding the usefulness of catechists in mission work and the money to organize some kind of universal training for these men. While at Nagongera, he implemented the directives of the "Bukedi Fathers" vigorously. By 1923 he had 145 catechists organized in a hierarchy which ranged from 110 village catechists, at the bottom, to one head catechist. For every eight or ten village catechists, one district catechist assumed responsibility for examining their candidates and keeping accounts. Both village and district catechists were trained at Nagongera mission station. In 1923, 30 boys came to Nagongera after their own baptism for such training. Of these, only 15 were expected to complete the course successfully. After some time working in the villages, the best of them would continue on to Nazigo

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[1] Nyondo Archives, Minutes of the meeting of the "Bukedi" fathers held at Lwala, 9 June 1921.

[2] Nyondo Archives, Minutes of the meeting of the "Bukedi" fathers held at Nyondo, 29 December 1921.

for further training. Those who did not would, of course, remain in their village catechumenates. Those who did succeed, however, would, after their training at Nazigo, return to Nagongera and work as central catechists, teaching candidates who had been sent in to the central catechumenate from the villages. At this stage, condidates were given a more detailed study of the catechism and the Bible. They also learned to read and write and do simple calculations. In 1923, there were three such catechists at Nagongera who had completed their training course at Nazigo.[1]

Included in this system of catechists was also another group of workers, usually posted at the mission station itself, who were in effect school teachers, "charged with giving higher primary education at the school." These people, given the title of "catechiste de la mission," to set them apart from central catechists (catechistes centraux), were also in charge of those candidates who came to the mission for their initial three months' course to train as catechists.[2] These teachers, following recommendations by mission authorities, would continue to be trained at Nsambya High School in Buganda until such time as a proper teacher training institution appeared in eastern Uganda.[3]

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[1]Nagongera Archives, Fr. Willemen, "La Revue des Catechistes," January, 1923; also, "Half-yearly Report of the Mission, Nagongera," September, 1923. See also Mill Hill Archives, London, M.H. 27, Fr. Kirk to Mill Hill, 3 April 1944.

[2]Nagongera Archives, Fr. Willemen, "La Revue des Catechistes," January, 1923.

[3]Nyondo Archives, Minutes of the meeting of the "Bukedi" fathers held at Ngora, 15 July 1919.

Thus, though some teacher training emerged in the period under discussion, it was limited to the lower levels of training. Because the more specialized institutions already existed in Buganda, they were not immediately duplicated locally. Nonetheless, the emergence of even a rudimentary system which introduced specialized classes into a previously undifferentiated system was significant in that institutions appeared which were no longer merely an amalgam of literacy and religious characteristics of the church schools in the early period. In both MHM and CMS, the pupil-teacher classes held at various mission stations were distinct from the catechetical classes also held at the missions. In them, a specific skill was taught. Thus, this initial institutional differentiation, while not making available a full range of extant educational possibilities, did parallel the earlier example of Buganda by opening up to the peasant population of eastern Uganda an avenue of secular training. If someone who was not a son of a chief wanted to continue schooling after baptism, he had no option but to train as a teacher.[1]

The status of these teacher training institutions was thus determined by the fact that they opened up to the peasant population a training which was parallel to that offered to

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[1]There was a precedent for this option, for as we saw, as early as 1912, a small number of those pupils at the sons of chiefs schools who were not sons of chiefs, but normally servants on the mission station, were trained as teachers. This training reached only a handful of boys in the short period before the Ngora Missionary College opened.

the sons of chiefs. This status was greatly enhanced when, starting in 1915, and following another precedent set in Buganda, the teacher training courses and the courses for the sons of chiefs were gradually amalgamated.[1]

In 1915, Syson, the missionary in charge of the boarding school (CMS) at Ngora, was asked to do all he could to cooperate in the training of teachers at the Missionary College.[2] These instructions led to the start of a growing cooperation which culminated in 1921 in the incorporation of the class for schoolmasters within the boarding school. In the same year at Nabumali, twelve candidates for teaching were trained in the

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[1] In Buganda, the availability of specialized teacher training had led to an increasing gap between the occupation of teachers and of catechists. Based on the fear that "catechists as a body were becoming intellectually inferior," attempts were made in Buganda, starting in 1915, to coalesce the training of teachers and catechists which had been effectively divided in 1909 with the establishment of a Theological Board separate from a Board of Education. See Diocese of Uganda, Theological Board, Minute Book, 12 May 1915 (MSS in Makerere University Library). At the same time, an effort was made to up-grade the position of teachers by aligning their training with that given to sons of chiefs at Budo. In accordance with an attempt to get into teaching "boys of superior social position instead of leaving the education in all the village schools entirely in the hands of the poorest peasants in the land," it was resolved at the Education Conference in 1915 that certain categories of schools should be manned by teachers who had done their training at Budo. See J.J. Willis, "The Educational Problem in Uganda," Church Missionary Review, November, 1915, p. 658. The article appeared as a series in November and December, 1915, and was the verbatim report of the Education Conference held at Budo, 17-26 April 1915.

[2] C.M.S., A7/011, Millar to Syson, 6 March 1915.

high school side by side with the sixty other boarders.[1] A similar up-grading of local teacher training facilities did not occur within the M.H.M. until 1928, though it had been envisaged as early as 1919, and was once again strongly recommended in 1923.[2] That the amalgamations within C.M.S. were inspired by similar moves at Budo is clearly evidenced by Syson's explanation of developments at Ngora. "In the past," he wrote, "teachers were looked down upon by chiefs and schoolboys, partly on account of their being peasants, or "bakopi," and partly on account of their lower standard of education. Now there is no difference, the same classes contain both future chiefs and teachers, both have the same condition of school life...By this we raise the status of the teacher or schoolmaster to the same level as that of a chief, and in time we should be able to draw from these lads the future clergy an schoolmaster of Teso.[3]

Mission policy in eastern Uganda after 1912 tried consciously to raise the status of teacher training. By upgrading the standards of this training, they produced an education for peasants that was similar to that for sons of chiefs. This equalization of training for chiefs and teachers had two implications: i) it opened up the possibility that students

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[1] C.M.S., Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1921/22.

[2] Nyondo Archives, Minutes of the meeting of the "Bukedi" fathers held at Ngora, 15 July 1919. See also Minutes of the Education Committee meeting, Nyondo, 11 January 1923.

[3] C.M.S., Proceedings, 1921/22.

trained for teaching might not in fact take up a career in teaching but would seek a job in the administration as either a chief or a specialist; ii) because of the increase in the number of qualified teachers, it encouraged the growth of a fully calibrated school system, still based on the village school, but rising in stages to include central and boarding schools. Ultimately it led to the decision in 1926 to admit at Nabumali Boarding School anyone who could pay the fees, rather than limiting admission to sons of chiefs.[1] Immediately the village and day schools became channels by which peasants could hope to gain admission to Nabumali. These aspirations were supported by the increasing prosperity, still based in Teso on cotton, but also in Bugisu after 1922, on the growth of coffee cultivation, which allowed peasants to find such fees. Such a development meant that more peasants had a greater chance of obtaining training in skills that qualified them for government employment. Both of these implications suggest clearly that mission initiatives in education during the period under consideration had the potential for meeting the increasingly job-specific demands of the administration. As the demands on schools were mediated via demands on Africans for certain qualifications before being employed, such potentially useful schools would encourage a positive response from those anxious to gain such qualifications, and then employment.

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[1] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 140, statement by Rev. Stanley Wangubo, 21 April 1969.

Education for Employment

The success of the schools for sons of chiefs was shown in Table 4, page 133. There is a strong correlation between the early and vigorous interest in, and response to, educating future chiefs in Teso and the fact that by 1920, most of the newly gazetted county and sub-county chiefs were Christians. The first part of Table 7 shows this clearly.[1] The much slower response to educational initiatives in the Mbale area which was described in the previous chapter meant that the correlation was not as strong by 1920 in this part of eastern Uganda as was the case in Teso. The second part of Table 7 shows the weaker numerical position Christian chiefs had as late as 1920 in this area.[2] But the table also shows the definite trend toward the appointment of Christian chiefs. The big advance made in this direction between 1921 and 1923, when the number of Protestant chiefs doubled, reflected the reopening of Mivule High School in 1919 and the increasing prosperity of Bugisu after 1922 when the colonial authorities began to focus attention on coffee.

Two documented careers illustrate the close links between these schools for the sons of chiefs and jobs in the administration. Nasanieri Iporiket, who was the first mission pupil to pass through such a school, left Ngora High School

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 2070 II, PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 1 May 1920.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 2070 II, PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 2 May 1921; 1 May 1920; 4 May 1923. The large figure for Muslims comes mainly from Bugisu where all but five of such chiefs were working in each of the three years for which this table provides information.

Table 7. Religion of County and Sub-county Chiefs in Teso and "Bukedi," 1920-1922.

I. Teso county and sub-county chiefs, 1920

Year	Protestant	R.C.	Muslim	Malakite	"Pagan"
1920	35	2	1	4	9

II. "Bukedi" county and sub-county chiefs, 1920-22

Year	Protestant	R.C.	Muslim	Malakite	"Pagan"
1920	13	6	19	2	39
1921	17	4	17	2	36
1922	34	5	13	1	22

(CMS) in 1913, in response to a request by the district commissioner in Teso for an interpreter in the district office and with a very strong recommendation from Syson, the missionary-in-charge at Ngora. After serving for more than four years as an interpreter, he was appointed sub-county chief at Kumi.[1] Yoana Angoes started his studies at Ngora (MHM) School in 1912. After six years there, he left to become a clerk in the district commissioner's office in Soroti. He soon worked in the capacity of interpreter. In 1920, he was sent as katikiro to the country chief at Katakwi; the following year, he became a sub-county chief at Nariam, and in

[1] Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 165/13, Syson to Cox, DC Teso, 17 August 1913; Acting DC, Teso, 2 January 1918; E.S.A., SMP 2070 II, PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 12 July 1920.

1926 he was appointed county chief at Ngora.[1]

Yet only a minority of those competing for jobs had the advantage of attending these schools. Those who were ineligible for attendance had to look to the other existing schools for their training. These schools too showed a steady progress. At the Ngora Missionary College, after three months, there were fourteen students. By the end of the first year, ten students had been examined and another twenty were already embarked on the course.[2] Statistics were inconsistently kept, so that it is difficult to trace the growth of these schools year by year, but by 1924, the enrollment in the two CMS normal classes was 76.[3] Likewise, the Mill Hill Mission did not report annually on all their normal classes, but Fr. Willemen reported in 1923 that thirty candidates had entered his class at Nagongera.[4] In 1925, Budaka had 27 students, Nagongera 43, and Nyondo 23. The following year, Ngora reported an enrollment of 32.[5]

The most dramatic growth came, however, in the formerly undifferentiated village school system. With the increase in

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[1] Soroti Archives, XNAF/4 - MP 95, Fr. Kiggen, Ngora to D.C. Teso, 14 February 1926.

[2] C.M.S., A7/010, H.G. Dillistone, Annual Letter, 1912. "Ngora Missionary College," Uganda Notes, November, 1913.

[3] P.R.O., CO 613/24, Uganda Blue Book, 1924.

[4] Nagongera Archives, Fr. Willemen, "Half-Yearly Report of the Mission, Nagongera," September, 1923.

[5] P.R.O., CO 613/25-26, Uganda Blue Book, 1925, 1926.

the number of qualified teachers, the number of these schools grew, but also a distinction emerged between the simple village school and the more advanced central or senior day schools. The CMS did not record the statistics on these schools consistently, and so therefore it is difficult to juxtapose one year's figures with another's. By 1924, however, in addition to the boarding schools and normal schools, there were four senior day schools with 497 students, and 431 elementary or village schools with 39,905 pupils.[1] The year by year progress can be seen by reference to MHM statistics. See Table 8.[2]

Table 8. Growth of the Mill Hill Mission Schools, 1911-1924

	Senior Day Schools		Village Schools	
Year	No.	Pupils	No.	Pupils
1911/12	2	133	*	*
1912/13	3	608	59	2083
1913/14	3	655	101	3636
1914/15	4	987	121	7472
1915/16	6	1139	138	7446
1916/17	6	1730	198	9224
1917/18	6	1090	220	8507
1918/19	6	1099	217	10446
1919/20	6	1380	239	9451
1920	7	1940	306	12196
1921	7	2372	352	15347
1922	7	2307	486	24132
1923	7	2620	530	26238
1924	7	2951	621	21235

[1] P.R.O., CO 613/24, Uganda Blue Book, 1924.

[2] P.R.O., CO 613/11-24, Uganda Blue Book, 1911-1924.

These increases in both normal classes and the village and senior day schools represented a positive African response. This response reflected the secular potential of the mission schools. Thus, though one missionary cited above hoped that from the up-graded normal classes would come future clergy and schoolmasters, these classes produced relatively small numbers of teachers. As late as 1922, for example, of the 337 teachers in the Mbale District (CMS), only 31 had even one year's training.[1] Where had those who passed through these classes gone?

The fear had been expressed as early as 1912, by Bishop Willis, that as the terms of service for schoolmasters were so poor within the mission, few of those trained remained in the schools long enough to fully repay the cost of their training.[2] This flow of trained teachers was also an issue for the Catholics. Fr. Willemen at Nagongera reported that many boys had gone out from the normal class to become clerks in the government service.[3] One such example was Ezekieri Kageni who was appointed parish chief at Jami in Bugwere in 1918. He had been for baptism classes at Mbale and then had trained at the Ngora Missionary College prior to receiving his diocesan first letter. After only two years of teaching, however, he entered government service.[4] The career of Leubeni Madaba who

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[1] C.M.S., "Historical Record," 1922/23.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 1912, Willis to Wallis, 18 July 1912.

[3] Nagongera Archives, Fr. Willemen, "Half-Yearly Report of the Mission, Nagongera," September, 1923.

[4] Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 164, statement by Ezekieri Kageni, 15 May 1969.

ultimately became a sub-county chief in Bugisu tells the same story. After training at Nabumali and teaching for many years, he worked as a clerk, first for the Bugisu Coffee Scheme and then in the district commissioner's office. He then became an interpreter and was finally appointed a muluka chief in 1934. It is significant that his experience as a teacher was considered an important asset by those recommending him for an administrative appointment.[1]

For some, schooling in the senior day schools or even village schools was sufficient for employment. It is clear, for instance, in 1927 in Bugwere, that the majority of chiefs at the lowest levels had had some schooling; as well, more than half were Christians.[2] (See Table 9.) Obviously not all of these had gone to either Ngora or Nabumali for the specialized training given to sons of chiefs, or to the normal classes at the same locations. Israel Kabazi, a parish chief at Budaka, who never went to either Ngora or Nabumali is such a case. He spent his initial four years of schooling at Budaka (CMS) mission station school; he then went on to Mbale Senior Day School, and finally finished class six at Budaka Central School before beginning his career in government service.[3]

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[1]Mbale Archives, NA/8, E. Kabiri Masaba and Enoka Zake, (Buhugu) to DC Bugisu, 29 March 1935.

[2]Mbale Archives, Series 4 No. R4A, DC Bugwere to PC Jinja, 20 March 1928.

[3]Bukedi Historical Texts, No. 135, statement by Israel Kabazi, 18 April 1969.

Table 9. Religion of Chiefs in Bugwere District, 1927/28

Office	Christian	Muslim	"Pagan"	Total
Sub-county chiefs	20	2	1	23
Parish chiefs	68	9	23	100
Village chiefs	163	19	91	273
TOTAL	251	30	115	396

The mission schools at every level were clearly successful in preparing their students for the jobs available and thereby in meeting the increasingly job-specific demands of the administration. In fact, the success with which the missions' schools met these demands was the subject of a certain degree of criticism from the provincial commissioner, Jinja. He felt that the schools were performing this function to the exclusion of other equally important ones. In a report, he observed:

> Each year shows an increase in the number of natives educated sufficiently to be able to render useful service as writers in government departments, clerks to the various councils of natives and to individual chiefs. This class of education in a general way is a great help to the country at the present time and will be later, it is hoped, in providing candidates for the Native Civil Service....But what the country needs and the large majority of the natives should receive is practical instruction in the production of exportable products.[1]

[1]Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, 1914/15, p. 11.

This quote is of interest as it contains within it the core of the controversy that was to grow up over the question of academic versus practical education. This controversy was, however, the subject of a later period and will be discussed in the following chapter. It also suggests that the schools in the Eastern Province were very rapidly taking on a new dimension which increasingly freed them from their ecclesiastical orientation and widened their utility within the colonial environment. This change was recognized by the Catholic mission authorities as significant since it introduced a competition with the Protestants which would not be decided solely on religious merit. The Bishop wrote, "In this educational work....Protestants as usual are to the fore, and we must have an order of Teaching Brothers to give our young men a chance, or all important offices will go to the Protestants."[1]

The protectorate authorities increased their demands for skilled people to fill posts in the administration and yet at the same time they put off taking up any responsibility for training those people. This combination of conflicting policies created expectations which could only be fulfilled through the agency of mission schools. Thus, these schools assumed a secular posture, not as a result of government interference, but specifically because the protectorate government refused to do the job. It was not until 1919 that the government initiatives of the first half of the decade were once again taken up with enthusiasm. At that time proposals for

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[1] J. Biermans, "Report," St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, IX, 3 (1922) p. 66.

establishing a Native Civil Service as well as an advanced institution for training people for posts within this Civil Service extended to technical and mechanical skills as well as clerical skills which had been emphasized at the outset. It was clear from the references made to mission schools in these proposals, that they were considered the basis for recruitment for students first into the government training school and from there into the Civil Service.[1] The government intended explicitly to monitor the course of instruction and terms of apprenticeship in what it started to call "mission technical schools" in order to ensure that the right kind of students would come forward for admission into the government technical schools. These moves were only the first in a series of initiatives taken by the government to bring under its control the education offered in the protectorate. The ultimate stage in this development was the establishment of a Department of Education in 1925 which operated on a basis of cooperation between government and mission which was not so very different than that proposed in 1919. The significance of the period which has been considered in this chapter was that during it the mission system in eastern Uganda had been transformed from a largely undifferentiated church school network into one which included several different and specialist institutions which were basically secular in their content and orientation, and which successfully responded to the job-

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[1] P.R.O., CO 536/99, "Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Terms of Service of Native Civil Servants," 30 December 1919, forwarded with Acting Governor to CO, 15 January 1920.

specific demands for education that had resulted from the expansion of the colonial administration.

CHAPTER V

ELITE vs "ADAPTIVE" EDUCATION

The 1920's saw the protectorate authorities in Uganda assume more direct responsibility in the field of education than had hitherto been the case. The recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1923, which called for greater governmental involvement in the provision of education, had an immediate effect on policy in Uganda. A Department of Education was established in 1925. This department implemented the growing cooperation between government and mission authorities which was described in detail in an earlier historical study on education in Uganda.[1]

ISSUES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN UGANDA

The main feature of the new arrangement was a shared responsibility for initiatives in education. The will of the administration in matters of educational policy directly influenced mission schools because of the government's power of subsidy and inspection. Consequently the missions were no longer able to formulate policy for their schools independent of government concern.

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[1] F. Carter, "Education in Uganda 1894-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1967), pp. 148-182.

Pressures for Mass Education

Shared responsibility did not mean, however, that there was agreement on the policies to be pursued. For the government, the main aim in setting up the Department of Education was to exercise control over schools. For the missions, the main aim continued to be to reach as many people as possible in order to convert them. Control and expansion, while not always mutually exclusive, do tend to work against each other. At their most compatible, they represent two discrete phases in a strategy for orderly development. As a consequence, the cooperation of government and missions broke down over the question of mass education. The missions wanted the continuation of their system of mass education. The government authorities, however, were critical of the uncontrolled, and possibly uncontrollable, expansion which brought in its wake large numbers of low quality schools. The status, indeed the existence, of these mission village schools became the focus of major controversy.

As early as 1923, in presenting their views to Eric Hussey, newly appointed Director of Education, at least two mission representatives stressed their interest in the education of the peasant population. The Mill Hill spokesman reminded Hussey "that in all the districts of the Mill Hill Mission there are no Catholic chiefs of any standing except a very few minor chiefs, and consequently we have to deal with peasant children only."[1] This claim was exaggerated, but he

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 7914, Mill Hill Memorandum for Hussey's Inquiry, 12 October 1923.

obviously feared that a government system would cater for those likely to be subsequently engaged in some form of government service to the disadvantage of those with little likelihood of such employment. The C.M.S., though much more in step with the administration in terms of producing chiefs, was also concerned about the possibility that the government would not commit itself to the education of the masses. "A system that leaves this out of account," argued H.T.C. Weatherhead, headmaster at Budo and C.M.S. spokesman, "makes an unbalanced nation with glaring class cleavages."[1]

Hussey's recommendation left no room for doubt as to where he stood on the issue. In his preliminary notes, read to a committee made up of protectorate authorities as well as mission representatives, his first criticism of the existing schools was that the standard of the majority of them was extremely low. In considering how to deal with these numerous low-grade village schools, he emphasized his opposition to government involvement. He argued, "it would be a mistake I think if the government were to do anything which would limit the number of such schools, but I would class them as subgrade, and I do not think it would be wise for the government to attempt at present to influence their organization or growth."[2] His alternative suggestion was a system of govern-

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 7914, H.T.C. Weatherhead's Memorandum for Hussey's Inquiry, forwarded with Ladbury to Chief Secretary, 23 October 1923.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 7914, "Notes read to the Committee assembled at Kampala on 18th January 1924 to consider the Future Educational Policy in Uganda Protectorate," forwarded with Tomblings to Chief Secretary, 18 January 1924, p. 3.

ment-run elementary vernacular schools which would gradually take the place of mission schools at this level. These schools would be non-denominational, but opportunities for religious instruction would be guaranteed.[1]

Missionary opposition to these proposals was immediate. In a joint response from the Catholic mission societies, the bishops pressed the government to help the village schools as, they pointed out, it would be impossible to bring the thousands of pupils reached by these schools into larger centers which would presumably qualify for government subsidy. This problem was accentuated in eastern Uganda where high population densities had favored the growth of day schools serving very localized areas. As people paid taxes, the bishops argued, they had a right to some assistance for education, even at these low levels. Furthermore, these schools were the basis of the system in which was provided the education that enabled candidates to enter higher education. They concluded their remarks by reminding Hussey "that the education of all grades in the country is not only to furnish employees for the government, but also for the Natives themselves, and for all classes of the Community."[2] The implication of this statement is clear; missions were convinced that the government's grant-aided system was designed to train a few people for employment in government service and to do nothing else.

At the same time, however, the strategy of the missions which appealed for assistance for village schools with the argument that these schools provided the basic education

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[1] Ibid., p. 3.

[2] E.S.A., SMP 7914, Mill Hill and White Fathers' Joint Response to Hussey's Proposals, forwarded with Biermans to Chief Secretary, 10 February 1924.

which enabled candidates to enter higher grades indicated the importance these schools had assumed for the mobility of the peasant since higher levels of education had been opened to them in the preceding decade.

The opposition which surfaced over this issue of support for village schools had some effect on government thinking. At a conference held to consider Hussey's proposals, less than one month after he had presented his original notes to another meeting, his reliance on a system of elementary vernacular schools run directly by the government had vanished. In its place came a proposal to select from among the vast number of village schools fifty of the best and to give each of those selected schools an annual grant of £50 in order to raise them to the required standard of elementary vernacular schools. This standard would be fixed by reference to the six or eight government elementary vernacular schools to be erected in populous districts.[1] At mission urging, the government once again considered the future of the thousands of village schools passed over by this selection process, and once again reiterated its policy excluding them from any government educational system. However, a possibility was held out that there might be a block grant of £1000 per annum for three years to go toward the development of these schools.[2]

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[1]E.S.A., SMP 7914, "Proceedings of the Government Committee appointed to consider the Educational Policy, 12 February 1924," forwarded with Tomblings to Chief Secretary, 16 February 1924, p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

In both his interim report, distributed one week later, and in his final report, Hussey detailed his scheme in terms not very different from those discussed in committee. The selection of fifty schools, the establishment of six government schools and the grant-in-aid of £ 50 per school per year were all included. Also included was an unallocated grant of £1000 for a period of three years to the mission societies, "to help them reorganize their educational system on the new basis especially in the lower grades."[1] That he was aware of the inadequacy of this grant, spread as it would be over about 3000 village schools, and that he was also aware that this issue was the main point of controversy between mission and government authorities was clear from his introductory remarks:

> When a Department of Education is formed, it must at first direct its attention to creating a definite standard of educational values in certain grades of schools, and this can only be done by limiting the scope of its activities and subordinating quantity to quality.[2]

This position was further emphasized by the governor, who, in forwarding the copies of the interim report to London, reiterated that "education of the masses is not contemplated."[3] By selecting only a small portion of the existing educational system for aid, while leaving the bulk to private resources, the administration was unequivocally sponsoring education for a narrow elite.

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 7914, Hussey to Chief Secretary (Interim Report), 23 February 1924, pp. 8-9.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

[3] E.S.A., SMP 7914, Archer to Chief Secretary, 14 April 1924.

Pressures for "Adaptive" Education

Simultaneous with the controversy between the colonial authorities and the missions over the question of subsidies was another pressure exerted from the colonial office in London to adapt education to the rural environment of the protectorate, by placing emphasis on agricultural training.[1] In this pressure can be discerned the influence of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's Report of 1923.[2] The Tuskegee model was thought to be appropriate to the colonial situation in Africa. The guiding principle was a desire not to divorce Africans from their traditions and life styles.

Hussey himself was not so explicit on this issue in his recommendations, though he was well aware of the prevailing attitudes. Thus, in his original presentation, he mentioned as one ideal on which he based his notes, the need for educational policy to keep pace with the economic development of the protectorate.[3] Elsewhere in the report he praised the work of

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[1]The move to adapt education in Africa to the rural environment is too well documented to need much discussion here. The several documents which form the basis for this policy approach toward education are not easily accessible. Important excerpts from these documents can, however, be found in D.G. Scanlon (ed.), Traditions of African Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1965); also L.G. Cowan, J. O'Connell and D.G. Scanlon (eds.), Education and Nation-Building in Africa (New York: Praeger, 1965); also L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Nelson, 1954). F. Carter deals with this policy and its implementation in Uganda in her dissertation cited above.

[2]For the most comprehensive discussion of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's work and recommendations, see K.King, Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). See also E. Berman, "Education in Africa and America: A History of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Teachers College, 1969).

[3]E.S.A., SMP 7914, "Notes read...," p. 1.

the C.M.S. for its inclusion of various forms of manual work in its school curricula.[1] The most direct reference to such an adapted program was the recommendation to emphasize in the elementary vernacular schools "scientific teaching of agriculture by lectures in the classroom and practical demonstrations in the school plot."[2] This orientation in the elementary vernacular schools was designed in part to keep pupils in touch with their own environments, but also to form a basis from which candidates for the technical branches of the higher levels of education would be drawn.[3] Each of these points was reiterated more formally in his final report. One notable addition was a specific reference to the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commission as a basis for consideration of the ideals of African education.[4] The first definitive line of policy which followed from such considerations was that education "should be based on the customary life of the ordinary peasant with local variations to suit local conditions."[5]

The theme of adapting education was not dominant in Hussey's program. Such a lack of emphasis probably indicated Hussey's major concern with establishing an efficient organization before focusing attention on internal details. Nonetheless, the pressures persisted and increased in the 1930's.

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[1] Ibid., p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

[3] Ibid., p. 5.

[4] E.S.A., SMP 7914, Hussey to Chief Secretary (Final Report), 10 June 1924.

[5] Ibid., p. 4.

As a consequence, the policy of the Department of Education under both Hussey and his successors recognized these pressures. Agricultural training, as well as training in those technical skills which were essential for development of the agricultural sector, all received attention.

The success of "adaptive" education depended upon several preconditions. "Adaptive" education implied that the Africans for whom such programs were designed had aspirations defined in terms of the agricultural sector. Two factors become important, therefore, in analyzing response to "adaptive" education. First, for whom were such programs designed? Second, what were the realities of the occupational structure which shaped the aspirations of those Africans exposed to "adaptive" education?

These issues were universal throughout British colonial Africa. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to show how they operated in eastern Uganda. It will be argued that the programs of "adaptive" education undertaken after 1925 failed because first they were directed towards those people who had already entered an elite educational stream - a presumptive elite, and second, this presumptive elite shaped its aspirations in light of the conditions of the peasant cultivator and the extant occupational structure. By and large, aspirations were defined outside of the agricultural sector.

THE EXPANSION OF ELITE EDUCATION

The administration's initial decision to eliminate many schools from subsidy was based on the exigencies of finance. The aim was to get control of the educational system, but the exercise of control had to be done at the smallest possible cost. The administration took the risk that the missions would continue to support the sub-grade schools themselves, with or without its help. As a consequence, the financial burden imposed upon the missions was great. This burden led the missions into a protracted struggle aimed at diverting some government money to their village schools. The outcome of this struggle was an expansion of the elite educational system that had existed in the form of schools for sons of chiefs.

This struggle can be divided into two phases: i) a period of compromise in the district boards of education; ii) a period of concession from the administration.

Compromise in the District Boards of Education

In his initial meeting with the newly constituted District Education Boards of Bugisu and Bugwere districts, Hussey apprised the members of the government policy toward existing village schools. He made it clear that government subsidies would be available only to a suggested number of four village schools selected for up-grading to elementary vernacular standard, and to mission normal schools in which teachers for these up-graded schools would be trained. Furthermore, the bulk of the money collected by local boards was also to be devoted to elementary vernacular schools. At the

same time, he announced that the village schools and evangelizing centers should continue as they had been to receive the same grants that were in force.[1]

The implications of government policy for these boards was clear. However, in the first years of operation, these boards showed themselves much more sympathetic to the needs of the sub-grade schools than the letter of the law allowed.

Mission attack was relentless. In the first meeting of the Bugisu Education Board, both mission representatives joined voices to insist that they would like to see full support given to existing village schools. The Board agreed that some of the money raised by what turned out to be a premature educational levy would be devoted to village schools.[2] A small sum was allocated annually to each mission for these schools, but the missions continued to express the view that the grants were insufficient. Fr. Terhorst of Nyondo, supported by Archdeacon Mathers of Nabumali, argued that such an inadequate sum "eliminates all room for advance in this branch of the work."[3] The tenacity which characterized the position of the missionaries seemed assured by a resolution taken in the meeting of

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[1]Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 5M, Minutes of the Initial Meeting between Mr. Hussey and the District Boards of Education of Bugisu and Bugwere, 11 August 1925.

[2]Mbale Archives, Bugisu District, Board of Education, Minutes, 15 October 1925.

[3]Mbale Archives, Bugisu District, Board of Education, Minutes, 6 April 1927; and 16 July 1926. Four schools were chosen to be raised to elementary vernacular standard: Nyondo and Budadiri (MHM) and Buhugu and Bubulo (CMS). See DC Bugisu to PC Jinja, 9 November 1926.

the "Bukedi" fathers of the Mill Hill Mission prior to their respective board meetings. To ensure unity of action in questions of education, each father bound himself "to uphold the decisions of the Fathers' meeting, regardless of his private convictions...the Government policy is not to subsidize the sub-grade schools; whereas we have decided to stand for a subsidy for all our sub-grade schools."[1]

The mission representatives kept the issue alive by deliberately blurring distinctions between schools and catechetical centers. The D.C., Bugisu had pinpointed this problem in noting that "the whole crux appears to be that sub-grade schools and evangelizing classes are looked upon as one and the same thing." He attempted to distinguish between them by setting aside smaller plots for church classes and larger plots for schools.[2] But he failed to come to grips with the real issue -- how to decide which was which. The missions did nothing to help establish these guidelines. On the contrary, they continued to encourage confusion. Thus, one missionary declared that "any distinction between school and church plots was arbitrary as there would be sub-grade schools on nearly all plots designated as church plots, and the buildings erected on them would sometimes be used as schools."[3]

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[1] Nyondo Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the "Bukedi" Fathers, held at Ngora, 17 May 1926.

[2] Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 S.S.P., DC Bugisu to PC Jinja, 20 February 1928.

[3] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, E/8/1, Mill Hill Mission to Chief Secretary, 26 September 1930.

Archdeacon Mathers (CMS) took the position that though the classes were primarily catechetical, they also started young people on the path which led to higher schools, and eventually to employment in government service. For this reason, he concluded, these classes deserved subsidies.[1] Mathers was again clouding distinctions, but in taking this position he also reminded the authorities of the part which these village schools played in the mobility of some peasants.

This view had been expressed by a mission spokesman at the time of the negotiations prior to the establishment of the Department of Education. Its repetition in the debates of the district boards of education was significant because it represented a divergence from the argument based strictly on the principles of mass education. This view emphasized that one of the values of the village schools was as a base for subsequent selection into higher grades of education. Such an emphasis implied a need for certain minimum standards in the schools, and imposed on the missions the obligation to maintain those standards. A recognition of this obligation encouraged accord on the question of the need for selecting some of those village schools and focusing improvements there. This position was articulated by Bishop Campling of the Mill Hill Mission who insisted that "it <u>is</u> the policy of the government to assist the sub-grade schools...it will be advisable for us to see that our sub-grade schools are not merely

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[1] Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. SC, Archdeacon Mathers, Memorandum, n.d. (probably 1927 or 1928).

catechumenates."[1] He reiterated his position some years later when he wrote candidly, in defense of the government's selective support of mission schools, "some of the Bush Schools, with five or six children attending occasionally, do not deserve a single cent."[2]

The missions' tendency toward compromise was matched by a loosening in the administration's position. The main support for this flexibility came from the Provincial Commissioner in the Eastern Province who wrote that the grants for sub-grade schools should be "fairly liberal so that it cannot be said in the future that all money is being spent on a few elementary vernacular schools and that the widespread sub-grades, which after all do a lot of spade work of a useful character, are left with a mere pittance."[3]

The main manifestation of this loosening of attitude was an agreement by the D.C., Bugisu in 1933 that the annual grant for sub-grade schools was entirely insufficient. He was not in a position to support the whole system, which he

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[1]Nyondo Archives, Campling to "Bukedi" Fathers, 19 August 1926.

[2]M.H.M. Archives, London, M.H. 27/16, Campling to Mill Hill, 7 February 1930. There were, of course, exceptions to this spirit of compromise. In one case the mission representative, Fr. Kirk, refused to accept any money from the Board even for his elementary vernacular schools, unless a portion of the grant was allocated to sub-grade schools. The chairman refused. On being put to a vote, the question was decided in favor of the mission view, but the chairman recorded his disagreement. See Mill Hill Archives, Jinja, Bugwere District, Board of Education, Minutes, (1927?).

[3]Soroti Archives, XEDU/1 - MP 20, PC Jinja to District Board of Education, 19 September 1926.

continued to describe as inefficient and uneconomical, but his suggestion to select one school from each denomination in each suitable area for subsidy represented a big advance over the initial scheme for subsidizing only fifty schools throughout the protectorate.[1]

Concessions from the Administration

After 1933, the administration was much more amenable to expansion of the missions' sub-grade schools. One scholar, in a study of education policy between the wars in Tanganyika has explicit evidence which linked the administration's emphasis on vernacular education in that territory, starting in 1933, with the financial constraints imposed by the world economic depression.[2] For Uganda, no such explicit evidence has been discovered, but the guidelines laid down by the Department of Education at the beginning of 1934 indicated a new, enlarged interest in the sub-grade schools. The relevant sections of this circular are cited here as a clear indication of the lines of future government policy:

> Whatever the future of these minor sub-grade schools may be, it is certain that development must be gradual, and the majority will necessarily retain their present status as mainly baptismal and catechistical classes for some years. Our present aim should be to provide a fuller education than can be attempted in these scattered schools to a

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[1] Mbale Archives, Bugisu District, Board of Education, Minutes, 12 January 1933.

[2] M. Wright, "Missions and Education Policies between the Wars in Tanganyika" (Paper read at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 22 January 1966, London). (mimeographed)

> continually widening circle...It is proposed, therefore, to select for development in each district from the existing sub-grade schools, a certain number which appear to be most suitable, owing to their location in regard to the incidence of population. These selected schools will follow the syllabus of the first two classes of the Elementary Schools, and should be staffed by certificated Grade "C" masters.[1]

The element of selection was still a feature of the administration's program for these schools. The Director of Education underlined this position in his directive to the local boards in the Eastern Province. "It is our purpose to regard all sub-grade schools, not selected, as being catechistical centres, and as such they will not in future appear in our Blue Book returns as schools."[2] But the guidelines on this issue of selection were decidedly generous. Repeating the idea that consolidation was essential, the circular continued, "at the same time extra financial assistance may be available from central revenue, and the actual needs of the district should be given paramount consideration, if necessary a minute to the effect that the full needs cannot be met from local funds should be recorded, but the actual requirements of the district should be set out."[3]

Thereafter, the number of schools put forward by the missions for subsidy was very high. The Bugisu Board of Education established as a working base a limit of 150 schools

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[1]Mbale Archives, Series 4 D1, Director of Education, Circular Memorandum No. 1/1934, 2 January 1934.

[2]Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/54, Director of Education to Chairmen, Boards of Education, Eastern Province, 25 August 1934.

[3]Mbale Archives, Series 4 D1, Director of Education, Circular Memorandum, No. 1/1934, 2 January 1934.

to each mission. Fr. Willemen at Nagongera submitted a case to the Budama Board of Education for support of 150 schools. In Teso, the Board voted Shs. 5000/- for "bush schools other than those selected for improvement."[1] All of these proposals exceeded the government's original intent, and each in turn was modified.[2] But in 1938, a new category of schools appeared -- nursed sub-grade schools -- which, though not yet up to the standard of sub-grade schools, qualified for grants from the boards.[3] By 1939, these nursed sub-grade schools were receiving more money from each of the boards in the Eastern Province than the selected sub-grade schools.[4]

Implications for Mass and "Adaptive" Education

As a result of these compromises and concessions, that part of the mission education system which had been deliberately

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[1]Mbale Archives, Bugisu District, Board of Education, Minutes, 20 April 1934; Series 8 No. 7/54, Fr. Willemen to Budama District Board of Education, 1 September 1934; Series 8 No. 7/47, Director of Education to PC Jinja, 17 March 1937.

[2]Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/54, Director of Education, Circular Memorandum, 17 August 1934; also, DC Budama to Director of Education, 11 October 1934, referring to the meeting of the Budama District Board of Education held 4 October 1934; Director of Education to DC Budama, 25 October 1934; DC Budama to Director of Education, 16 February 1934.

[3]Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/47, Ouseley, Inspector of Schools, Eastern Province to DC Budama, 6 March 1938; also, 29 November 1937.

[4]Namirembe Archives, "Statement of Accounts, 1939." For MHM, see Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/48, "1939 - Recurrent Grants as presented and approved by Budama District Board of Education, 24 February 1939; see also, Mbale District, Board of Education, Minutes, 13 February 1939.

omitted from the plans of the Department of Education -- the village schools -- was partially incorporated into the government scheme by the late 1930's. The incorporation favored neither the missions nor the government completely. The gradual increase of monies available to a growing number of village schools in the years from 1925 to 1939 met only a portion of the initial demands of the missions. Likewise, it represented a substantial modification of the government's strict rule of consolidation. The incorporation of more village schools into the subsidized system was not a reversal of Hussey's original lack of commitment to mass education. These selected schools were not the venue of mass education, for the process of selecting schools was, in effect, the process of selecting students. In the colonial situation, such selection meant access to higher grades of education and eventual employment.

The mission efforts to obtain broad subsidies for their village schools represented a continuation of the policy evolved after 1912 of making available to peasants the possibility of entering and passing through the school system. With the expansion of opportunities for peasants, these village schools had increasingly been seen as the point of access to higher education and employment. The government's efforts at selective subsidies were a turning back to the period prior to 1912 when only a small minority, the sons of chiefs, had access to the highest grades of school, and thus, jobs. The eventual compromise, which admitted the principle of selection, but widened its parameters, merely enlarged the selected minority. Whereas before 1912 the selected minority was confined to the

sons of chiefs, after 1925 it stretched to include those peasants who had access to the subsidized schools. However, it effectively excluded the majority of peasants and created from those who went to subsidized schools a special category, an elite.

Since the key to government's influence on education in Uganda after 1925 was its power of subsidy, these subsidies meant a lessening of the government's ability to directly influence policy outside of the subsidized sector. As a consequence, the government's ability to dictate policy for the non-subsidized village schools was severely curtailed. In articulating policies for adapting education to the rural environment, therefore, the Department of Education focussed its attention on the elementary vernacular schools, and the normal classes, not on the village schools. By so doing, they were aiming at pupils who, by virtue of their attendance at these schools, were a presumptive elite.

WORK IN EASTERN UGANDA

The economic prosperity of eastern Uganda was based on cultivation of the land. And yet this prosperity encouraged the emergence of an occupational structure which rejected work on the land as the main source of income and status. The conditions which surrounded peasant cultivation in the inter-war years were partly responsible for this seeming paradox. At the same time, the opportunities available outside of the agricultural sector, which had emerged in large numbers in the second decade of the century, continued to offer access to income and status.

The Peasant Cultivator in Eastern Uganda

The peasant economy of eastern Uganda, based as it was on cotton and, to a lesser extent, coffee, showed a remarkable resilience to the world economic depression of the 1930's. Though the average price per pound for both cotton and coffee declined throughout the period, production increased markedly. In 1929, cotton production for the whole protectorate measured 203,000 bales, as compared to 424,000 bales in 1938. Coffee exports over the same period jumped from 41,000 cwt. to 280,000 cwt. The main reasons for these increases were probably not market factors. Rather, improved communications and advances in such fields as crop studies, disease control, and anti-erosion measures influenced production. The railway reached Soroti in 1928, making transport of ginned cotton to the coast much easier and less costly. Also, the program of scientific agriculture introduced by J.D. Tothill, the new Director of Agriculture, led to more efficient methods of cultivation.[1]

Despite this growth in production, the condition of the peasant cultivator was not particularly desirable. The demands for quality control and the attempt to divorce market factors from production imposed restrictions on the activities of the producers, thereby stifling peasant initiative and limiting the profit any peasant could hope to gain from his

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[1] C. Ehrlich, "The Uganda Economy 1903-1945," History of East Africa, eds. V. Harlow and E.M. Chilvers, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 455-58.

production. Ehrlich has described this situation as the "non-market" approach to development. Peasants were subjected to restrictions on transporting their goods to market. The Cotton Zone Ordinance of 1933 divided the country into discrete zones for the sale and processing of cotton. As no seed cotton could be moved out of these zones, this ordinance opened up the peasant producer to abuses by cartel buyers in the form of ginners' associations. By 1938 the Trading Ordinance restricted Africans from trading in scheduled areas, reserved for "non-natives." Throughout the period, little encouragement was given to the development of producers' cooperatives. Without any assistance, the few societies which were formed were universally unsuccessful.[1]

Within eastern Uganda itself several factors were operating which further reduced the desirability of a commitment to cultivation. Peasants were still subjected to the burden of up to one month's unpaid labor (luwalo) on local public works. Though this labor was particularly disliked by educated Africans, "it was not bitterly resented," Ehrlich suggests, "perhaps because the chiefs enforced it mainly upon the less articulate peasants."[2] It was especially burdensome in Teso where the infrastructure needed to cope with the growing cotton production demanded enormous labor resources. After 1930, it was possible to avoid this obligation by paying a commutation fee,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 458-68.

[2] Ibid., p. 493.

but even with this possible option, the number of peasants subjected to luwalo labor was significant, as shown in Table 10.[1]

Table 10. Compulsory Labor (Luwalo), Teso District, 1936

Roads and Rest Camps	17,348
Special Work	11,378
Tree Plantation	4,378
Grain Stores	3,941
County Headquarters	2,578
Court House	2,041
Chief's Houses	2,368
Government Messengers	1,907
Guards	1,516
County Messengers	726
Agriculture	511
TOTAL	48,692

Pressure on land was another important factor influencing an individual's commitment to the agricultural sector. In southern Teso, where the population numbered 200 people per square mile, the deterioration of the soil was marked. Famine in 1928 and again in 1938 emphasized the need for a solution to this problem. The notable increase in the number of ploughs in use in the district exacerbated the problem because a plough enabled one man to open up a much larger area than had hitherto been possible. From a mere 200 in 1920, the number of ploughs in Teso rose to 2971 in 1927 and a phenomenal 40,000 by 1955.[2]

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[1] F.G. Burke, Local Government and Politics in Uganda (Syracuse: University Press, 1964), p. 175.

[2] J.C.D. Lawrance, The Iteso (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 241; also, p. 30.

The traditional system of land tenure in Teso, which recognized the right of inheritance by the eldest son, compounded the difficulty. It was the responsibility of the heir to subdivide the estate as far as practicable among his brothers, but he had the right to keep enough land for his own needs. If there was no land left over for brothers, they were required to seek it elsewhere. Such a system presented a real dilemma when the definition of how much land the eldest brother needed altered as significantly as it did after the introduction of the plough. In northern Teso, there was land in abundance, but it was covered with thick bush, water was scarcely available, and communications were non-existent. The Teso Informal Committee, forerunner of the district team, considered ways of tackling the problem and a Teso Resettlement Scheme was mooted, but never fully implemented. No organized removal of families from southern Teso took place.[1] As a consequence, many young men were motivated to define their future off the land.

In Bugisu, the pressure on the land was even greater, as it was the most densely populated district in the protectorate. Before the profitable cultivation of coffee was highly organized, the Bagisu made up a substantial portion of the migrant labor force working in Buganda and as far afield as Mombasa and Tanganyika.[2] Even after the profits from coffee

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[1] Ibid., p. 31.

[2] See P.G. Powesland, "History of the Migration in Uganda," Economic Development and Tribal Change, ed., A.I. Richard (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1952), p. 21. See

increased, Bugisu continued to export labor.[1] It can justifiably be assumed that someone willing to travel long distances to work a stranger's land would cultivate his own land if that were possible. However, the combination of a burgeoning population and a system of land tenure which discouraged the sale of land diminished this possibility for many young men. As in Teso, land was transferred mainly by inheritance. The significant difference was that land was automatically divided among a dead man's sons. No power in this respect resided with the eldest son. Eventually plots became too small to be economically viable. And yet sale of land was rare, being the last resort in adverse circumstances. As a consequence, young men who had insufficient land found it almost impossible to buy land. Systems of leasing and loaning did exist as possible ways of obtaining land, but both arrangements were recognized as temporary and did not last more than two or three seasons.[2] The continued willingness to emigrate in search of work must be seen as symptomatic of this shortage of cultivable land in Bugisu.

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also, E.S.A., SMP 1929 A, Spire to Chief Secretary, 20 September 1912; SMP 1929 F, Spire to Chief Secretary, 5 March 1917; SMP 1371, Eden to Chief Secretary, 18 January 1918.

[1] Powesland, op. cit., p. 43.

[2] J.S. LaFontaine, The Gisu of Uganda (London: International African Institute, 1959), pp.18-19.

Jobs in the Modern Sector

The changes of the first two decades of colonial overrule in eastern Uganda, which had focussed first on developing a viable cash crop economy and then on establishing an efficient administration, leveled off during the inter-war years. R.C. Pratt has called these years "the period of tranquil and accepted British rule, of stable and manageable relations between the Protectorate government, the native government and authorities and the people."[1] There was what might best be characterized as a consolidation of the gains made during the expansion of the preceding years. Within this context of gradual development, opportunities for employment in both the native administration and the specialist services continued to be available and in increasing numbers. Few useful statistics exist to help us determine with any precision the number of such posts available. These data either pertain to dates which are too early or too late for our needs, or they are aggregated figures which do not provide information on specific areas. Nonetheless, the early or late statistics do suggest trends which are useful, while the aggregate data is relevant since employment opportunities were opened protectorate-wide, not defined by district boundaries.

As an example, the census of 1911 showed 1935 chiefs and sub-chiefs in the Eastern Province, including Busoga. In

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[1] R.C. Pratt, "Administration and Politics in Uganda 1919-1945," History of East Africa, eds. V. Harlow and E.M. Chilver, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 541.

1921, this figure had risen to 2737. Unfortunately, the 1931 census did not break statistics down by occupation, so that the upward swing in the number of jobs available in the native administration is difficult to plot graphically.[1] If, however, we combine this aggregate information for the whole of the Eastern Province with the later statistics available for Bugwere District, one small section of the province, we can posit a continuation of the expansion of opportunities in the native administration. In 1928 in Bugwere, the total number of chiefs and sub-chiefs was 397, broken down as follows: county chief 1; sub-county chiefs 23; parish chiefs 100; village chiefs 273.[2]

Similarly, the opportunities in specialist services grew substantially. Again available figures are aggregated for the entire protectorate. But the figures in Table 11 are suggestive of the scope of the protectorate government's position as an employer by 1939.[3] The implication of these spotty and uneven statistics is that opportunities for employment outside of the agricultural sector continued to be available in significant numbers in Uganda.

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[1] Uganda Protectorate, Census, 1911, 1921, 1931.

[2] Mbale Archives, Series 4 No. R4A, DC Bugwere to PC Jinja, 20 March 1928.

[3] E.S.A., SMP 7828, "Count of Asiatics and Natives in Protectorate Service," 1923; Uganda Protectorate, Estimates, 1939.

Table 11. Comparison of Posts Available for Africans in Government Departments, 1923 and 1939.

Job Description[4]	1923	1939
Clerks, Interpreters, etc.	153[1]	528
Agricultural Instructors, Gardeners	141[2]	-
Agricultural Assistants	-	40[2]
Veterinary Assistants	-	15
Ass't. Inspectors of Schools	-	6
Teachers in Schools	4	22
Assistant Medical Officers	-	34
Medical Assistants (Compunders, etc.)	295	347
Telegraphists, Linemen	-	175
Foresters (Rangers, Guards)	21	92
Printers, Bookbinders	33	29
Drivers, Mechanics	100	130
Surveyors, Draughtsmen	4	50
Headmen, Overseers	33	56[3]

[1]This figure includes storekeepers.

[2]There is some discrepancy in the nomenclature used here. The inflated figure for 1923 would seem to indicate that the category was far more inclusive than that used in 1939.

[3]This figure includes road inspectors.

[4]For some major categories of jobs, comparable statistics were not available. For example, the 1923 survey included 545 masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and sawyers while no statistics for these jobs were in the 1939 estimates. The 1939 estimates included statistics on civil security personnel as follows: police inspectors, 20; detectives, 57; head constables, 9; sergeants, 36; corporals, 72; constables, 787; prison warders, 356. No comparable statistics appeared in the 1923 survey.

Throughout the 1930's, teaching increasingly came to occupy a respectable position as employment. It will be recalled that in the 1910's, teaching had not been competitive with the administration in attracting candidates. At that time, people used teacher training programs as a way into

other jobs. Thus, in 1921, there were only 31 trained teachers in the C.M.S. schools in eastern Uganda.[1]

In later years, as a result of the introduction of substantial perquisites, teaching became increasingly popular.

In 1929, the government introduced a system of normal certificates to standardize the differing church certificates that had been awarded over the years. The government established guidelines for the content of the course, its length and the number of students to be admitted from each district.[2] Financial assistance was to be given by the local boards. Those schools which trained teachers for the elementary vernacular schools awarded Grade "A" certificates. The course was to last three years. Those in which teachers for the selected sub-grade schools were awarded Grade "C" certificates. In 1936, this Grade "C" certificate became the minimum qualification which rendered its holder eligible for an exemption from payment of poll tax.[3] This exemption was, in fact, a rebate to the missions to cover the amount paid out in poll tax for their teachers. As a consequence, even though the wages paid were small and not competitive with other jobs, there was an increase in the number of people opting for teaching. By 1940,

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[1] C.M.S., "Historical Record," 1922/23.

[2] See Soroti Archives, XEDU/1 MP 20 II, PC Jinja to DC Teso, 4 April 1931, in which he refers to his own letter, No. 2055 of 30 July 1929, which outlined the above scheme. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find a copy of this very important document, so my only information about it comes from subsequent reference to it, such as the one cited here.

[3] Mbale Archives, Series 16 ED/9, Director of Education, Circular Memorandum, 17 January 1936; Circular Memorandum, 11 March 1936.

no schools categorized at least as nursed sub-grade were without at least one grade "C" certificated teacher, and the balance between qualified and unqualified teachers had shifted dramatically, as shown in Table 12.[1]

Two other issues which arose in the late 1920's and 1930's had the effect of broadening the appeal of teaching and thereby establishing it as an important part of the occupational structure. The first was the question of commuting the labor obligation which we saw was a burden to the peasants throughout eastern Uganda, and the second concerned plots given to the missions for construction of churches and schools.

Table 12. Qualifications of Teachers in the Upper Nile Diocese (CMS), 1940.

Levels of Training	Numbers of teachers With certain levels of training				
	Masaba	Budama	Teso	Lango	TOTAL
Makerere	7	-	-	1	8
Primary*	7	2	-	2	11
Grade "A"	28	12	20	15	75
Vernacular	24	12	12	8	56
Grade "C"	67	17	48	29	161
Other qualifications	2	-	-	-	2
Unqualified	18	6	3	1	28

*This was a new certificate that had begun to replace the Grade "A" certificate.

In 1927, the authorities in the Eastern Province confronted the entire question of replacing luwalo labor by the

[1] Namirembe Archives, Staff List, 1940.

payment of a commutation fee (busulu). A long correspondence ensued which raised, among many other issues, the problems such a commutation would present to the teachers employed and paid by the missions. If all of these teachers were asked to pay this fee of Shs. 6/-, it was pointed out, the financial burden to the missions would be enormous. Almost immediately in the negotiations, the principle of refunding this amount to the mission was accepted. The most difficult problem arose in trying to decide which teachers were eligible for this refund.

Initially, only those teachers who held a diocesan certificate or a certificate from the Department of Education, but who were not in receipt of an adequate salary from any grant or other source were thought to be eligible.[1] The missions had assured the government that they would only expect this refund to be paid to "teachers holding a diocesen certificate, or some equivalent document...not unqualified teachers in the so-called Bush Schools."[2] However, the Inspector of Schools recognized that such a selective refund, which would probably not reach more than 170 teachers in the whole of the Eastern Province, would not alleviate the severe hardships to the missions. He suggested, as an interim solution, to hold an examination for all teachers and to issue local certificates to

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[1] Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 219, Perryman (Ag. Chief Secretary), to Secretary (NAC), and Secretary (MHM), 9 September 1927; Perryman to PC Jinja, 10 September 1927, forwarding the above letter. See the same correspondence in Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 C.T.O.

[2] Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 219, Perryman to PC Jinja, 4 January 1927. See the same correspondence in Mbale Archives,

those who passed, thus qualifying them for a refund. The period of four or five years would then be allowed to assure that all teachers in the sub-grade schools had obtained at least an elementary leaving certificate.[1]

The government's final decision was a generous compromise with these suggestions. All catechists recognized by the missions as teachers were exempted from luwalo labor,[2] and the refund of busulu was to be paid in respect of all such teachers in charge of schools on plots with temporary occupation licenses. The one limitation was that the grant would be made only up to 1933. From 1934 onwards (subsequently this time period was extended to 1936) monies would be available only for schools in charge of teachers with an Elementary Vernacular Leaving Certificate.[3]

A great deal of confusion surrounded this question as the Elementary Vernacular Leaving Certificate mentioned by both the Inspector of Schools and the Chief Secretary did not exist.

Series 12 No. 18 C.T.O. See also Soroti Archives, XMSN/3 - MP 86A, Phillipps (DC Teso) to PC Jinja, 25 July 1927.

[1] Soroti Archives, XMSN/2 - MP 215, Morris, Inspector of Schools to PC Jinja, 8 March 1928; PC Jinja to Morris, 31 March 1928. See the same correspondence in Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 C.T.O.

[2] Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 C.T.O., PC Jinja to DC's, Eastern Province, 12 December 1928.

[3] Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 C.T.O., PC Jinja to DC's, Eastern Province, 17 April 1929. See also, Diocese of the Upper Nile, Board of Education, Minutes, 1 May 1929 (MSS in Makerere University Library); DC Bugisu to Fr. Terhorst, 9 August 1929; Chief Secretary to PC's, 5 June 1929. For extension of the time, see Mbale Archives, M/1 (1930), PC Jinja to DC's, Eastern Province, 6 September 1934.

It was later pointed out that the idea had been that pupils who had passed successfully through at least four years of elementary school would be granted the refund while employed "as catechists". Such a training did not qualify the holders as teachers so there could be no other meaning.[1] The government's intention, in setting this training as a minimum, appears to have been merely to ensure that the refund went to literate catechists. As a result, the refund of busulu was paid to those church teachers who did not necessarily possess a diocesan certificate of any kind, but had only completed at least the first four years of the elementary vernacular schools. In 1929, in Bugisu district alone, a total of Shs. 2088/- was paid to the missions as a refund of busulu to teachers in respect of 222 teachers working with the Mill Hill Mission and 126 teachers working with the C.M.S.[2]

Another advantage of teaching as a career followed from the system of allocating plots for church work. One anthropologist has observed that in Bugisu this system gave rise to confusion because, though land could be given on loan to another party, no buildings could be built on borrowed land. Such action signified the intention not to return the land to its rightful owners.[3] The implication here is that teachers, once

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[1] Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/47, Director of Education to PC Jinja, 25 March 1937. Emphasis in the original.

[2] Mbale Archives, M/1 (1930), DC Bugisu to Fr. Terhorst, 22 April 1930; DC Bugisu to Archdeacon Mathers, 22 April 1930.

[3] LaFontaine, op. cit., p. 19.

allocated a plot for church work, could see it not only as a way of getting land to cultivate, but also, following upon construction of the necessary buildings, as a way of claiming ownership of the land. It is in light of these possibilities that the controversy over the size of plots to be allocated becomes significant.

Initially, both schools and churches were allocated five acre plots on temporary occupation licenses. In 1929, the D.C. Bugisu suggested that a distinction be made between schools which would be allocated five acres and evangelizing classes which needed much less.[1] Such a distinction represented a threat to those church teachers who wanted also to maximize the land at their disposal. Opposition from the missions was immediate. One missionary argued that although clear distinctions might exist between teachers of differing qualifications, the size of the plots ought to remain identical, otherwise the status and size of the plots would continually change, as certificated teachers who left might be replaced by non-certificated teachers.[2]

In the end, a distinction did emerge, and church plots were allocated only two acres while school plots were allocated five. Yet, in practice, confusion continued as most of the plots registered thereafter were classified as church/school

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[1] Mbale Archives, Series 12 No. 18 S.S.P., DC Bugisu to PC Jinja, 20 February 1928.

[2] M.H.M. Archives, Jinja, E/8/1, Mill Hill Mission to Chief Secretary, 26 September 1930.

plots, thus qualifying for the five acre allocation.[1] As a consequence, most teachers, with or without a certificate, could count on at least five acres of land for their use. In areas where land was scarce, such an allotment represented a significant emolument for service as a teacher.

Both the refund of busulu and the allotment of five acre plots on the basis of minimum qualifications were perquisites which made church teaching competitive. As a consequence, a channel of occupational mobility which did not require advanced training opened up.

What emerged, therefore, in eastern Uganda was a three-tiered occupational structure. At the top were those jobs in the native administration or central government departments which were highly competitive and required advanced education. At this same level, and competitive with government jobs because of the supplementary benefits which they entailed, were posts as schoolmasters which required at least a Grade "C" certificate. The second tier consisted largely of those church teachers who had not proceeded further than the elementary vernacular schools, but who nonetheless enjoyed substantial perquisites accruing to their job. Finally, there were those who remained in the agricultural sector as peasant cultivators.

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[1] Mbale Archives, "Register of Mission Plots on Temporary Occupation Licenses for Churches and Schools." In this register are listed plots registered from 1911. The distinction between church and school plots began in 1912.

Implications for the Schools

The establishment of minimum standards of certification for employment in certain kinds of schools was the formalization of a situation which had come to exist earlier, that is, that certain jobs needed a particular kind of education. With the increasing complexity of colonial administration and with the growing number of jobs available which required more than minimal literacy, people had for some time seen education in terms of job-specific qualifications. In the years after 1912, as teacher training was the highest form of schooling available for the peasants, it was often used as a channel to jobs outside of teaching. For the people of eastern Uganda, at that time, these facilities were not limited in their usefulness to what they were intended for. They were looked upon as the point of access to the new wage sector in its broadest sense. The developments of those years alerted the peasants to the utility of specialist education as distinct from the learning of basic literacy and numeracy.

With the selection of only a small number of schools for subsidy, new limitations on access to specialist education were introduced. Prior to this selection pupils in all schools had more or less the same chance to reap the benefits from school attendance. Just as these benefits became more lucrative, however, the possibility that pupils attending their first classes in remote, unaided bush schools would ever attain them became as remote as their schools. With the siphoning off of only a few schools to receive subsidies, first the

elementary vernacular schools, and then widening to include selected sub-grade and nursed sub-grade schools, these schools became the sole entry point into the wage sector. No longer could anyone hope to gain access to teacher training classes, high schools or jobs if he failed to get a place in one of these grant-aided schools. In this way, selective subsidies returned education in eastern Uganda to a situation which paralleled the pre-1912 situation in which distinctions were made between specialist schools for sons of chiefs and the undifferentiated literacy classes for peasants.

Given the awareness of the utility of specialized education in getting jobs, the continued availability and appeal of these jobs, and the narrowing point of access to specialist education, it was likely that once pupils succeeded in getting places in the subsidized schools, they aspired to either a vacancy in a higher school upon the completion of the elementary vernacular course, or an immediate job.

THE FAILURE OF "ADAPTIVE" EDUCATION

The Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province had suggested as early as 1923 the formation of schools for sons of peasants where instruction would focus on training the ordinary peasant to improve his agricultural efforts.[1] In fact, for many years before the establishment of the Department of Education, many of the mission schools had

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[1] E.S.A., SMP 7914, PC Jinja to Chief Secretary, 29 December 1923.

attempted to lay emphasis on practical training in agriculture and handicrafts. It will be recalled that both of C.M.S. boarding schools for sons of chiefs in eastern Uganda had started out with a strong agricultural bias; at Ngora, this activity centered on cotton-growing, while at Nabumali, coffee was the main crop. These traditions continued well into the period under discussion. A School Handicraft Exhibition at Nabumali became an annual event of some importance in Bugisu district. At it were exhibited the results of the boys' industrial training department as well as contributions from many day schools in the region. In 1926, more than 300 such schools' exhibits were displayed.[1] A description of the preparations for one of these exhibits indicates the interest taken in practical training:

> All the material for these handicrafts is obtained in the district and even some of the cotton for spinning and weaving. Two or three boys are kept busy sewing the school garments. More than one and a half hours are spent each morning in planting and tending foodstuffs and cotton. In addition to all this each boy has a plot in which, in his spare time, he may cultivate any plant or vegetable.[2]

At Ngora, afforestation, ploughing, weaving, brickmaking and cotton growing were all part of the school curriculum. In addition, the boys were called upon to grow the food necessary for supplying the school kitchen.[3]

However, when the Department of Education did finally take steps to implement a program of agricultural education,

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[1] C.M.S., "Historical Record,"1926/27.

[2] C.M.S., Proceedings, 1924/25, citing Archdeacon Mathers.

[3] C.M.S., "Historical Record," 1927/28; 1928/29.

it could not count on support from the many day schools around the districts which had been so supportive of the Nabumali program. Instead, its plans focussed on those schools and those pupils who had made it to the elementary vernacular schools. The Department of Education had abandoned any direct influence over the bulk of the village schools operated by the churches by refusing to subsidize them. As a result, it was limited to planning for those in the subsidized system. In this way it was forced to focus its initiatives in agricultural education on the presumptive elite.

Programs were designed at three different levels. When asked in the Legislative Assembly what steps the Department of Education was taking to train Africans in the "skilled processes incident to the farming and planting industries," Hussey replied that in the new syllabus of the elementary vernacular schools provision was made for practical training in agriculture. Also, he pointed out that a special course had been drawn up under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture which would form part of the curriculum in the normal schools for elementary and village school teachers. A third element of the Education Department's program which he also mentioned, aimed at higher grade schools and at Makerere where an Agricultural Section had been established.[1]

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[1] P.R.O., CO 685/18, "Summary of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Uganda," 28 May 1926.

At all levels, close cooperation with the Department of Agriculture was maintained. For example, in Teso, the Board of Education considered that one of the most important duties of the 32 agricultural instructors employed in the district was to teach and demonstrate agriculture in the schools. Both missions were asked to submit lists of schools in which such instruction was to be given. Syson from Ngora (CMS) asked for assistance both at Ngora High School, with its 200 acre plot, and at five elementary vernacular schools throughout the district. Fr. Thyssen of Ngora (MHM) handed in a list of some eighteen schools, some of them were bush schools. This prompted instructions from the district commissioner that the agricultural instructors only give lessons in schools where there were more than twenty pupils.[1]

If such efforts in the schools were to be successful, however, it was important that the teacher, in addition to these special instructors, be trained. The acting governor complained in 1930 that practical agricultural training in the schools was being retarded through a lack of properly qualified teachers.[2] Some kind of rural training and orientation for teachers had been discussed in 1925 when Hussey

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[1] Soroti Archives, XEDU/1 - MP 20, Teso District Board of Education, Minutes, 31 December 1927, forwarded with Mackenzie (DC Teso) to PC Jinja, 7 January 1928; PC Jinja to Teso Board of Education, 16 January 1928; Syson (Ngora CMS) to DC Teso, 26 January 1928; Fr. Thyssen to DC Teso, no date, forwarded with Mackenzie to Senior Agricultural Officer, Serere, 27 February 1928.

[2] P.R.O., CO 536/163, Perryman, Acting Governor to CO, 2 September 1930.

directed that the designated supervisor of technical training at Makerere, Mr. Savile, visit the technical school at Kabete in Kenya. His visit was to include a close observation of the Jeanes School which had been established there, and which Hussey thought to be parallel to his proposed normal school for elementary school teachers at Makerere.[1] In fact, however, the Jeanes School was aimed at training teachers for the village school situation and the lessons to be learnt from a visit to Kabete would have been more relevant to those teachers destined to teach in sub-grade schools. There is a record that a few such teachers actually went to Kabete from eastern Uganda.[2]

The main effort at preparing teachers for their role as agricultural innovators, however, came once again through cooperation with the Department of Agriculture. A course was designed, in conjunction with the normal course. This course was to be held at the Agricultural Stations at Bukalasa in Buganda and Serere in Teso. It included instruction in the development of school gardens and in simple demonstration work and usually lasted three months after completion of the normal course.[3] The design of this course was a compromise with what

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[1] E.S.A., SMP k576/08, Hussey to Chief Secretary, 21 December 1925. For a discussion of this Jeanes School, see R. Heyman, "The Initial Years of the Jeanes School in Kenya, 1924-1931," Essays in the History of African Education, eds., V. Battle and C. Lyons. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), pp. 105-123.

[2] Diocese of the Upper Nile, Minutes of the Board of Education, 14 December 1932.

[3] Mbale Archives, Series 16 ED/9, Director of Education to Educational Secretaries, CMS and MHM, 10 September 1930; see also Series 16 ED/4, Circular No. 12, Director of Education, 27 April 1933.

the Department of Education had considered ideal. As the number of places available at either Bukalasa or Serere was inadequate to accommodate all the teachers-in-training, it had been thought advisable to place such agricultural training in the normal schools themselves. A scheme had been thus worked out for establishing a model holding at each normal school.[1] No record exists, however, that these model farms were ever developed. On the contrary, at Buwalasi, for example, as late as 1937, the Agricultural Officer visited the school to discuss what might be done with the unused 45 acres of property.[2] Yet another problem which surrounded this course was finance. The district boards of education had money to be spent only on the normal course, and though the mission representatives argued that the agricultural course was actually a continuation of the normal course, the boards were reluctant to vote money for the purpose.[3] By 1940, it was clear that many sub-grade and elementary vernacular teachers in eastern Uganda had not done their course at Serere.[4]

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[1]Mbale Archives, Series 16 ED/4, Circular No. 12, Director of Education to Mathers, Wheeler (Buwalasi) and Fr. Van Gilles (Nyondo), 27 April 1933; Director of Education to PC Jinja, 25 January 1933.

[2]C.M.S., "Historical Record," 1936/37, p. 108.

[3]See, for example, Mbale Archives, Bugisu District, Board of Education, Minutes, 28 April 1932.

[4]See Mbale Archives, No. S.S., Miss A. Robertson, School Inspection Report, 7 August 1940.

Serere was also used for other types of courses. In 1934, a fourteen day course for chiefs was inaugurated. The following year witnessed the start of the small holders' course which was of two years' duration. Little information is available on the chiefs' course. For each course, twenty candidates were taken. Instruction covered such subjects as anti-erosion methods, manuring, ploughing, maintenance of fertility and prevention of soil deterioration. It was hoped that these men, once trained, would act as catalysts in their own areas.[1]

The small holders' course was more important. Its purpose was to turn out potential farmers who knew how to work their farms intelligently. It was designed for boys who had done some training in the elementary vernacular schools. Stress was laid on the fact that the course was essentially for those willing to return to their own villages. No hope could be held out that any of the candidates would be given employment in government service. Thus, the Superintendent of Agricultural Education reminded those selecting candidates that no certification would be issued on completion of the course. "It is considered," he argued, "that the giving of certificates might tempt them to seek for 'jobs' afterwards, rather than to become cultivators."[2]

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[1] Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/60, DC Budama, Memorandum, 12 February 1937. See also, J.D. Tothill (ed.), Agriculture in Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 59.

[2] Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/60, Superintendent of Agricultural Education to DC Budama, 23 November 1936.

This course seems to have foundered over the question of the ability of its participants to actually take up farming. It had been an explicit assumption that those selected for the course should have some capital with which to start their farms after completing the course.[1] However, little cognizance was apparently taken of the problems consequent upon the systems of land tenure. As we saw earlier, there was a growing pressure on the land in both Bugisu and Teso as a result of the new prosperity and new methods of cultivation. In Bugisu, the system of land tenure discouraged the buying and selling of property, and, more important, there was little land available. In Teso, where the system of inheritance worked in favor of the eldest son, younger brothers could establish a holding elsewhere, but the available land was largely unsuitable. The governor, in reviewing this course, complained that no thought had been given to these problems of land tenure.[2] After two years of operation the official in charge at Serere lamented the fact that the past students had made no attempt to settle themselves. One had found employment in the shops at Soroti. The only one who seemed to have a sincere inclination to establish his own holding had no suitable land on which to do so.[3]

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[1]Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/60, Superintendent of Agricultural Education to DC's, Eastern Province, 11 October 1934; see also DC Budama, Memorandum, 12 February 1937.

[2]P.E. Mitchell, "Diaries, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, etc. 1927-1959," entry dated 1 May 1936. (MSS in Rhodes House Library, Oxford).

[3]Mbale Archives, Series 8 No. 7/60, Watson (Serere) to DC Budama, 11 May 1937; Maidment (Agricultural Officer Mbale) to DC Budama, 16 June 1937.

Though it had been established as an East Africa-wide institution, and it attracted large numbers from Uganda, Makerere was not very successful in attracting students from eastern Uganda. An analysis of the college roll for 1941 showed that of 158 students, 94 were from Uganda. Of these, only 14 were from eastern Uganda.[1] Among the few who did go, the agricultural course was not popular as shown in Table 13.[2]

Table 13. Distribution by Courses of Students from Eastern Uganda at Makerere, 1941

Course	Number of Students from Eastern Uganda		
	Central	Teso	TOTAL
MAV*	3	-	3
Education	5	3	8
Medical	1	1	2
Agricultural	1	-	1
Veterinary	-	-	-
Engineering	-	-	-
TOTAL	10	4	14

*MAV was a preliminary course for those who would subsequently select either the medical, agricultural or veterinary course.

These figures represent the entire enrollment for the period from 1937 to 1941. The lack of enthusiasm for the Agricultural course was a cause of concern to the Agriculture Department. One officer wrote,

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[1] Mbale Archives, MP EDU/10/2, Ouseley, Inspector of Schools, Eastern Province to PC Jinja, 3 July 1941.

[2] Mbale Archives, loc. cit.

> I am concerned at the lack of Eastern Province students coming on at Makerere...We urgently want two or three Teso for Teso District and Serere, one Teso or Mugwere for Central and possibly one or two of the Budama [Padhola] tribe. There are no Teso at all coming on...If the material is available I would like to do something to encourage recruitment. Baganda are quite plentiful, but are distasteful to the local people and are not so suitable for our purposes owing to lack of local knowledge.[1]

It is clear, therefore, that even at the highest levels, agriculture was not chosen as a priority by those students who could choose. This failure of initiatives in agricultural education in eastern Uganda to make much impact paralleled a similar failure in other colonial areas. The source of this failure was the contradiction in a policy which was based on assumptions valid for one set of circumstances and which was aimed at a situation in which assumptions were quite different. In establishing his criteria for effective resistance to mission education throughout Africa in the 1920's and 1930's, Terence Ranger has expressed this contradiction more generally:

> As it became clearer that economic opportunity would be rather in entering the system being created by whites, and as it became understood that the technological skills offered were not capable in themselves of reproducing white material mastery but were rather skills which equipped men only for subordinated positions, the demand for improved education came to concentrate almost exclusively on literary and clerical education. In a situation where a newly exclusive demand for literary education ran into a European insistence on technical and agricultural instruction of 'relevant' kinds, there was widespread expression of African criticism of educational provisions in the 1920's and 30's in many areas where it had not previously been heard.[2]

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[1] Mbale Archives, MP EDU/10/2, Hayes (Ag. Senior Agricultural Officer) to PC Jinja, 23 June 1941.

[2] T. Ranger, "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa 1900-1939," Past and Present, XXXII (1965), p. 69.

In eastern Uganda, no vocal or violent opposition surfaced. There is no indication that any independent school movement appeared in the area. But the inability of the government to launch any effective or widespread program of agricultural education must be seen as indicative of the opposition of the people for whom such a program was intended. By their silent reluctance to allow those schools which had been designed as recruitment mechanisms into the new wage sector to be diverted from that purpose in the interests of adapting them to the rural environment, the people of eastern Uganda successfully thwarted the aims of the protectorate and mission authorities. Literary, and not agricultural, education characterized the growing school system of eastern Uganda in the period up to 1939, and, indeed, up to the present.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The history of educational development in the early colonial period in eastern Uganda exemplifies the complex relationship between external educational initiatives, the social changes of the colonial situation, and indigenous responses to the initiatives. The observation of uneven indigenous responses in eastern Uganda to what were broadly similar external initiatives supports the idea of an intervening variable. In this study, the crucial variable was the diverse nature of local colonial environments. As the economic and administrative changes related to colonial overrule were neither uniform nor simultaneous in all parts of eastern Uganda, they affected response to education differently from place to place and from time to time.

Three chronological periods were loosely defined. Initially, the missions established a broadly based, largely undifferentiated system of village schools which were predominantly religious in their organization and content. In these schools little more than literacy and numeracy was taught. The only notable development beyond this undifferentiated system was the emergence of schools for sons of chiefs which were generally confined to a small segment of the population. During the years from 1912 up to the time

when the government assumed an official role in the direction of education, the missions continued in their dominant role. Their main efforts during this period focussed on teacher training. As a consequence, there emerged an increased availability of channels of education beyond baptism for those who were not necessarily sons of chiefs. In the initial years of government involvement after 1925, the missions and the government shared responsibility for education. For the first time, conflict surfaced over what sort of educational posture should pertain. The missions demanded subsidy for all their schools and teacher training classes while the government favored a system of selective subsidy whereby only a limited number of schools would receive grants. The rest were to fend for themselves. At the same time, the government wished to introduce an agricultural bias into those schools which came under its influence.

Within each of these periods, indigenous response from one area to another was uneven. Thus, for example, at the time when mission education exhibited minimal differentiation, it engendered a more vigorous response in Teso than in other parts of eastern Uganda. This positive response came despite the fact that the missions carried over into Teso many of the Baganda-inspired preconceptions which had resulted in failure in the Mbale area. The significant difference between Teso and the other areas was the economic prosperity which followed from the protectorate authorities' campaign to establish cotton as a cash crop. The success of the campaign and its attendant prosperity depended partly on geographical factors

but it also depended upon the economic history of pre-colonial Teso which, at the time the colonial authorities undertook their search for a cash crop, was undergoing a radical change from pastoralism to agriculture. This transition rendered the Iteso more open to new crops and new techniques than people who were still immersed in their traditional patterns. The choice of cotton combined with the physical and historical suitability of Teso to make it the center of early economic activity and prosperity.

In contrast, in fact, as a consequence of Teso's prosperity, both Karamoja and the Mbale area were thrust into positions of subsidiary importance in colonial development plans. The focus on cotton blinded the authorities to the potential for trade which had surfaced in Karamoja in the last years of the nineteenth century. The Mbale area too suffered from the inevitable decline of the trade in ivory as its early prosperity, confined to Mbale town, had been based on its location astride this trade. As the surrounding areas were not particularly suited to cotton cultivation, they received little attention. Then, with the construction of a transport network centered on Lake Kyoga and aimed at Teso, this area became more of a backwater. For both areas, however, the greatest disadvantage stemmed from the authorities' demand for law and order. Neither of these two areas met protectorate standards in this regard. The lawlessness of Karamoja had resulted from the administrative neglect of the area in the last years of the nineteenth century. By the

time administration was extended to the area, the situation had seriously deteriorated. The official response was a full decade of military expeditions and stringent measures against trade and traders who had been responsible for escalating the situation by importing guns in return for ivory. In the Mbale area, the program of pacification which characterized the first decade of colonial rule was necessitated by a fragmented, but firm, opposition to the imposition of a protectorate government based in Buganda and using Baganda personnel. In both areas the early colonial presence was dominated by pacification not economic development.

The uneven response to educational initiatives in the first years of colonial rule in eastern Uganda can be explained by reference to this contrast in the early colonial environments of Teso, Karamoja and the Mbale area. In Teso, with its new-found prosperity, opportunities were opening up outside of the traditional sector for large numbers of people. However, these people could not easily divorce themselves from the traditional society which continued to impose on them obligations of several kinds. It was in this transitional situation that the early mission schools, undifferentiated, and offering little more than basic literacy and numeracy, became useful. Through their schools, the missions offered both an ideological base and an institutional refuge for those trying to maximize their individuality in opposition to the traditional communalism of village life. It was as a result of this protection factor that the missions gained an immediate and firm

foothold in Teso. Without these opportunities, and the consequent need for such protection, the response elsewhere in eastern Uganda was less enthusiastic.

In a parallel way, the one institution that did appear in this early period which was qualitatively different, the schools for sons of chiefs, also engendered a more immediate and enthusiastic response in Teso than elsewhere. Inevitably, the protectorate administration looked to the chiefs in Teso to rally support and cooperation for their cotton campaign. Consequently, these chiefs were judged by how well they performed tasks set for them by the administration. Though the authorities liked to pretend that they were traditional chiefs, these men in fact depended for their position on the support and favor of the administration. If such men wanted to continue to be chiefs, or if they wished their sons to carry on after them, it became crucial that these successors qualified under the new rules, which included schooling. In neither Karamoja nor the Mbale area did the chiefs occupy such a crucial position in colonial plans during the first years of the century. As a consequence, the utility of the schools for sons of chiefs was not as immediately apparent, and the school at Nabumali (sometimes at Mivule) appeared later and progressed far more slowly than the ones at Ngora.

Whereas the most significant contrast during the first period was between Teso, on the one hand, and Karamoja and the Mbale area on the other, in the years after 1912, the locus of contrast shifted. During this second period the gap between Teso and the Mbale area closed while Karamoja continued to

trail well behind. During these years, the crucial variable, which gave direction to the schools and thus established the context for indigenous response, was a change in the system of administrative control in eastern Uganda. Starting in 1913, the system of using Baganda agents throughout the administration was reversed; along with the agents went their followers. These departures created a large number of job opportunities in the local administration. At the same time, the growing size and complexity of the administration increased the number of jobs available in the specialist services such as interpreters and clerks. The demands made by officials on the men who took up these jobs were shaped by their experiences in Buganda. The chiefs as well as the clerks and interpreters were expected to be literate. The importance of schooling to a higher level than had hitherto been available, except to sons of chiefs, became increasingly obvious.

Only in Karamoja did this shift in administrative control fail to materialize. Baganda agents had not been used to any great extent there. In fact, few new administrative roles had been created at all in light of the strict adherence to an official policy of limited involvement in the area. A colonial system of local chiefs did exist, but the responsibilities which these men shouldered were far less onerous and far less crucial than in other areas. When even these responsibilities proved too difficult to carry out, an official appeal was made to the missions to undertake schooling, at least in part directed at chiefs, but without any vigorous effort at establishing a responsible native administration, these educational

efforts met with little success, and were completely abandoned after a few years.

The emphasis on up-grading teacher training during this period, with the establishment of the Ngora Missionary College (CMS) and a similar institution at Nabumali, was a successful initiative because it made available to sons of peasants the possibility of an education after baptism which paralleled the education formerly confined to sons of chiefs. In fact, the missions' aim was to so train prospective teachers that they would have the same status as chiefs. In doing so, however, they opened up the possibility that students, once educated, would become chiefs and not teachers. As teacher training was the only channel of high level schooling available to the sons of peasants, it was often used by them as a point of access to jobs either in the local administration or the specialist services within the district administrations. What had begun as an effort to equalize the status of church teachers and government workers had resulted in a widening gap between the bulk of church teachers who remained untrained or minimally trained, and the few who, once having been trained, were tempted to abandon teaching in favor of more highly paid government jobs. In this way, the educational initiatives of the missions suited the colonial environment of the period which had broadened opportunities for young people with some schooling.

The period after 1925, when the missions were called upon to share responsibility for education, witnessed, for the first time, a debate over what educational policy was to be.

The clash between mission and government over the question of subsidy pitted efforts to continue wide access to advanced levels of education for all the children of peasants regardless of where they started their schooling against efforts to restrict access to higher education in accordance with the probable number of openings available, and consequently to bar from any hope of access those who started their schooling in unsubsidized schools. The access, it is true, was to be broader than had been the case during the first decade, when only sons of chiefs could hope to have such educational opportunities; but, it was narrower than during the period, after 1912, when the missions had developed a school system obviously with the interests of sons of peasants in mind. As all schools had been more or less equally dealt with (efficiently or inefficiently), all had the possibility of passing through them and into the teacher training classes. As a consequence, the introduction of selective subsidy forced on students at an early age the notion that attendance at a particular school meant membership in a select body, apart from others. Having entered subsidized schools, boys came to expect that they would continue their schooling to higher levels. By this process, a presumptive elite was formed.

It was precisely this presumptive elite which was the target of government efforts to establish programs of agricultural education. The government was only in a position to impose its decisions on those schools and those students which it helped to finance. It was, of course, only subsidized schools into which government-sponsored programs could be

introduced. Thus, it was at these schools and their students that efforts at agricultural education were directed. And yet, by virtue of the selective subsidy, the students in these schools were already members-elect of the educated elite. Their resistance to agricultural education reflected a realistic assessment of the relative opportunities of a career in agriculture as opposed to employment in the wage-earning sector.

This brief summary of the study illustrates the dependence of indigenous response on the congruence at given times between external educational initiatives and economic and administrative environments. It also highlights the fact that in eastern Uganda the indigenous contribution to educational development took the form of "response" not "demand." Much of the history of education in Africa written in the past decade has focussed on the notion of African demand for education of one kind or another.[1] In eastern Uganda, this factor of demand came almost totally from external agents. The missions, and later the government, both formulated and implemented educational policy in the area without any significant pressure from the indigenous population. Initially, this policy was shaped primarily by mission experiences in Buganda. After the government's entry into the arena of policy-making and implementation, educational policy was designed with reference to the demands made on the Department of Education by the Colonial Office in London, and the protectorate authorities in Entebbe.

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[1] See for example T. Ranger, "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa 1900-1939," Past and Present, XXXII (1965), pp. 57-85. Also, P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

The indigenous contribution to educational development in eastern Uganda lay in interpreting how the schools that appeared could best be used in light of the new opportunities available within the colonial context. Thus, for example, initially, when church schools in the villages were the only kinds of schools available, they were used as places of refuge from communal obligations for those seeking new economic opportunities. When teacher training institutions developed as the only form of higher education available to peasants, they were used as points of access to jobs outside teaching, in one or another branch of government. In both cases, the schools grew up as a result of the design of external agents. In both cases, however, though the schools retained their original appearance, they in fact performed functions quite distinct from what had been the designers' original intent. Only in the schools for sons of chiefs were the original intentions and actual functions identical, but even here the initial demand came from the protectorate authorities, not from the chiefs of eastern Uganda.

In all cases, the schools succeeded because there was a congruence between them and particular economic and administrative environments. But the existence of such congruence was not self-evident. It was in determining its existence that the Africans of eastern Uganda played a significant role. It was they who assessed whether or not the type of education available was suited to their needs and who responded in accordance with this assessment.

In the years after 1925, when educational options were available for the first time, the importance of this process of assessment was most evident. At that time, the colonial authorities attempted to impose on the Africans of eastern Uganda an education adapted to what the authorities perceived as the environment of the area. Their perceptions were based on the assumption that as economic prosperity in eastern Uganda was grounded on agricultural productivity, it was desirable for educated people to return to the land. However, the economic prosperity, though based on the land, had also spawned opportunities for wage-earning employment in government and teaching. The result was the emergence of a class of people who defined their aspirations away from the land. It was these same people who concluded firmly that there was no congruence between "adaptive" education and their newly formed aspirations. As a consequence, "adaptive" education was rejected.

In conclusion, let us return to an observation with which this study was introduced. In discussing the transfer of institutions from one society to another, Daniel Lerner observed, "The controlling component of this sequence is internal to the traditional society. The initial intrusion comes, it is true, from the outside. But its impact depends upon the reaction of the indigenous people."[1] This statement has two relevant implications. First, it supports the notion

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[1] D. Lerner, "The Transformation of Institutions," The Transfer of Institutions, ed., W.B. Hamilton (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), pp. 8-9.

that "demand" can be -- indeed, normally is -- an external factor. Second, it advances the idea that "response," that is, indigenous response, is a significant determinant ("the controlling component") of the success of such intrusions or initiatives. Nowhere does this observation posit the need for an internal demand as a pre-condition for success. The process of educational transfer in eastern Uganda followed this observed pattern. Though there was little evidence of an indigenous demand for education in eastern Uganda, in contrast to what had occurred in Buganda and elsewhere, the contribution of Africans to educational development in the area was nonetheless real. Indigenous response to external initiatives, as opposed to indigenous demand, gave scope for a less dramatic, but remarkably effective, influence to be brought by Africans on the growth of schools during the colonial period.

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Bible Churchmen's Mission Society (BCMS)

This collection is housed at the Society's headquarters, 157 Waterloo Road, London. The relevant material concerns the Society's work in Karamoja. Most of the documents are letters from missionaries in the field, and very little material survives from the period prior to 1950.

Church Missionary Society(CMS)

This collection is housed at the Society's headquarters, 157 Waterloo Road, London. Material here is accessible subject to a fifty-year limitation. All documents relating to the Uganda Mission from 1898 to 1934 are classified under the reference "A7." A7/01 to A7/012 indicate letters arriving at headquarters from the field between 1898 and 1920. A7/L1 to A7/L4 indicate letters sent from headquarters during the same period. A separate reference - "A10" - was established for the Upper Nile Mission in 1927, but this material is still closed to researchers.

District Administration - Bugisu (Mbale Archives)

Though housed presently at the headquarters of the District Commissioner, Mbale, this collection does include documents from the area of present Bukedi District. The numbers and letters used to identify specific documents correspond to the once existing system of classification which has left its legacy in the form of marked boxes. There is, however, no order to this collection, so that boxes cannot be located easily by using these identification references.

District Administration - Teso (Soroti Archives)

This collection is housed at the headquarters of the District Commissioner, Soroti. It is completely classified and catalogued. The main sections which were of use for

this study were: XEDU (Education), XNAF (Native Affairs), XADM (Administration), and XMSN (Missions).

Entebbe Secretariat Archives (ESA)

This collection is located at the Ministry of Public Service, Entebbe. Material here is accessible subject to a flexible fifty-year limitation. Prior to 1906, documents were classified according to broad subject areas, and were given a group classification, e.g., A22 indicated "CMS-In," and A23 indicated "CMS-Out." After 1906, documents relating to the same issue were filed together and bore the file number (Secretariat Minute Paper), e.g., SMP 1923/09 referred to the file entitled "Elgon District - Fighting by Bakigai."

Mill Hill Mission Archives, London (MHM)

This small collection is found at St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London. Only two boxes - M.H. 17 and M.H. 27 - contain documents which were relevant to this study.

Mill Hill Mission Archives, Jinja (MHM)

This small, but useful, collection was located at the diocesan headquarters of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Jinja. All the relevant documents for the period 1902 to 1939 are included in a file numbered E/8/1.

Nabumali High School Archives

The few documents which make up this collection are found in a trunk which is stored in the school library.

Namirembe Archives

This collection is housed at the Provincial Offices of the Church of Uganda. There is no system of numbered classification. As a consequence, files are identified throughout the text only by their title. Much of what was once part of this collection has been distributed to many different places throughout Uganda. The most important repository for this dispersed material is the Makerere University Library. Here two series of numbered boxes are located. Most of the documents for the period before 1941 are contained in boxes numbered N3/1 to N3/14. Later material is found in boxes numbered N35/1 to N35/11. Material cited in the text is found at the Provincial Offices unless otherwise specified.

Public Records Office (PRO)

These official government documents are located at either Chancery Lane or Portugal Street, London. Much of this material lacked the detail necessary for a local study.

Roman Catholic Mission, Dabani (Dabani Archives)
The records at this parish included detailed baptismal, birth and death registers, and a parish account book for the 1930's.

Roman Catholic Mission, Budaka (Budaka Archives)
The records at this parish only include baptismal, birth and death registers.

Roman Catholic Mission, Nagongera (Nagongera Archives)
In addition to baptismal, birth and death registers, this collection included a substantial amount of correspondence of Fr. Willemen, as well as a catechists' book of minutes.

Roman Catholic Mission, Nyondo (Nyondo Archives)
This was the best collection of local material in a Catholic parish. In addition to the normal material, there were account books, and several files of correspondence.

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