

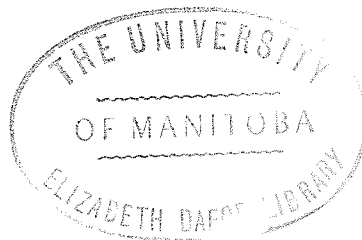
A STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF AN AFRICAN SECONDARY SCHOOL FROM A PIONEER
MISSION STATION TO A SECULAR GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION

A Dissertation
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE PENETRATION OF CENTRAL AFRICA	7
III. A PIONEER STATION	29
IV. PROBLEMS OF EXPANSION	79
V. AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	121
VI. YEARS OF MATURING	193
VII. YEARS OF TENSION	232
VIII. EXPANSION INSPITE OF POLITICAL UNREST	273
IX. END OF AN ERA	324
X. POST INDEPENDENCE GROWTH	362
BIBLIOGRAPHY	401

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the length and breadth of Africa during the later decades of the 19th Century European missions established their work. As Christian evangelism prospered, more and more pioneer mission stations were established, often in the frontier regions of the land. These outposts of Western Christian civilization have evolved over the years into the main educational institutions of their respective countries, and today remain as possibly the greatest heritage left by Christianity to the developing nations of Africa. The purpose of this study is to consider how one such station, Nabumali, in the Eastern Province of Uganda¹ on the slopes of Mount Elgon, evolved from being the pioneer missionary station in Bukedi² into one of the

¹Modern Uganda is located in central-east Africa some 500 miles from the Indian Ocean and borders on Kenya, Ethiopia, the Sudan, the Congo, Ruanda, Tanzania and Lake Victoria. Its population of some 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ million are mostly of Bantu, Hamitic and Nilo-Hamitic stock. Uganda does not have a history of European settlement and therefore traditional land tenure has been maintained. Its area of 91,000 square miles (approximately twenty per cent water and swamp) provides adequately for the population though the birth rate is increasing annually by two and a third to two and a half per cent and some of the coastal regions of Lake Victoria, the hills of Kigezi, and the slopes of Mount Elgon are densely populated. Staple foods are maize, plantain, millet, casava and groundnuts, while cash crops are mainly cotton, coffee and cane. Kampala is the capital city, and Jinja, Mbale and Entebbe are the only other sizeable urban centres. Industrial development is very limited and most of the commerce and business is Asian controlled. Uganda received her Independence from Britain on October 9th, 1962.

²Bukedi region, the early name applied to that part of Uganda

leading senior secondary boarding schools of Uganda. It was a Protestant mission station under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society of London³ and consequently this study will be very 'C.M.S.' oriented, though relevant contacts with other mission work will be referred to.

A study of this nature will not only provide an historical account of the development of this one institution, but it will also have a much broader significance. A large proportion of the secondary schools of Africa have had a mission origin like Nabumali, and the pattern of evolution at Nabumali with its stresses, strains, successes and failures will assist the reader to understand the development of the greater African secondary school.

To understand the evolution of such an evangelizing-educating centre like Nabumali it is necessary to be constantly considering the changing policies of the missions, the Government, and the African and

Protectorate east of Lake Kioga and the Mpologoma River, is now subdivided into various districts. The three districts in 'Bukedi' with which Nabumali has had most contacts are Teso, Bukedi, and Bugisu. Teso District lies to the north of Mount Elgon, is inhabited by the Hamitic Teso tribe, and was originally pastoral, but now much cotton is grown there. Bukedi District is inhabited by five Bantu tribes - the Bagwere, Banyuli, Badama, Basamia, Jopadhola - and scattered settlements of Tesots. Like the Bagisu these peoples are agriculturalists depending mainly on plantain, while Teso District, a much drier area, has as its staple maize. Bugisu District, in which Nabumali is located, is inhabited by the Bantu Bagisu. They are usually divided into north, central and south Bagisu and considerable linguistic and personality differences exist between these groups. The slopes of Mount Elgon are very fertile and coffee is the main cash crop.

³The abbreviation C.M.S. will be used in all future references to the Church Missionary Society.

British public towards education in particular and colonialism, religion, and politics in general. To understand the growing involvement of Government in education it is necessary to consider the wide variety of legislation, planning, and studies carried out during these years. In considering documents and reports which deal with the whole educational picture, the writer usually dealt in greater detail with those aspects which treated with the level of education being offered at Nabumali at the time, be it primary, teacher training, or secondary, or several at one time. And then at the same time, in order not to lose touch with the life and work at Nabumali, the writer attempted to draw the reader back as often as possible to the daily routine and developments which took place there while policy and planning were being enacted at high places. As much as possible this study attempts to portray the evolution of Nabumali High School in the light of this broad spectrum of attitudes, documents, policies, persons and events.

In the chapters which follow the evolution of this school is divided into nine periods: 1850-1900 - the background to the establishment of an European Christian influence in the Kingdom of Uganda, and the pushing back of the frontier to the north-east of Lake Victoria; 1900-08 - the establishment of a pioneer mission station at Masaba and the first attempts to educate and Christianize the local Bagisu; 1909-20 - extension of the work from Masaba to surrounding areas and the development of medical and higher educational services; 1921-33 - entry of Government into Uganda education and the development of Nabumali as an industrial-teacher training-boys and girls educational

complex; 1934-43 - Bottomley's headmastership and the reorganization of Nabumali as an independent, self-governing senior secondary institution; 1944-50 - a period of tension between missions' and Government educational policies complicated by partial mission withdrawal from education and local Bagisu post-war nationalism; 1951-60 - a major development of facilities at Nabumali High School and reorganization into a senior co-educational boarding school; 1961-63 - pre-independence problems and the end of Bottomley's headmastership and another major expansion of facilities; 1964-68 - post-independence education policy of the Government with rapid expansion and student unrest.

The material for this research was collected through general reading at Makerere College, Kampala, and the University of London libraries, through reference to the archives of Makerere Library Africana Section, the C.M.S., the Mill Hill Mission, Nabumali High School, and various private collections of correspondence and records in Uganda and England, through interviewing a wide selection of persons in Uganda and England who were connected with the institution, church, and community at Nabumali as well as the District Government at Mbale, and through three years of teaching experience at Nabumali High School.

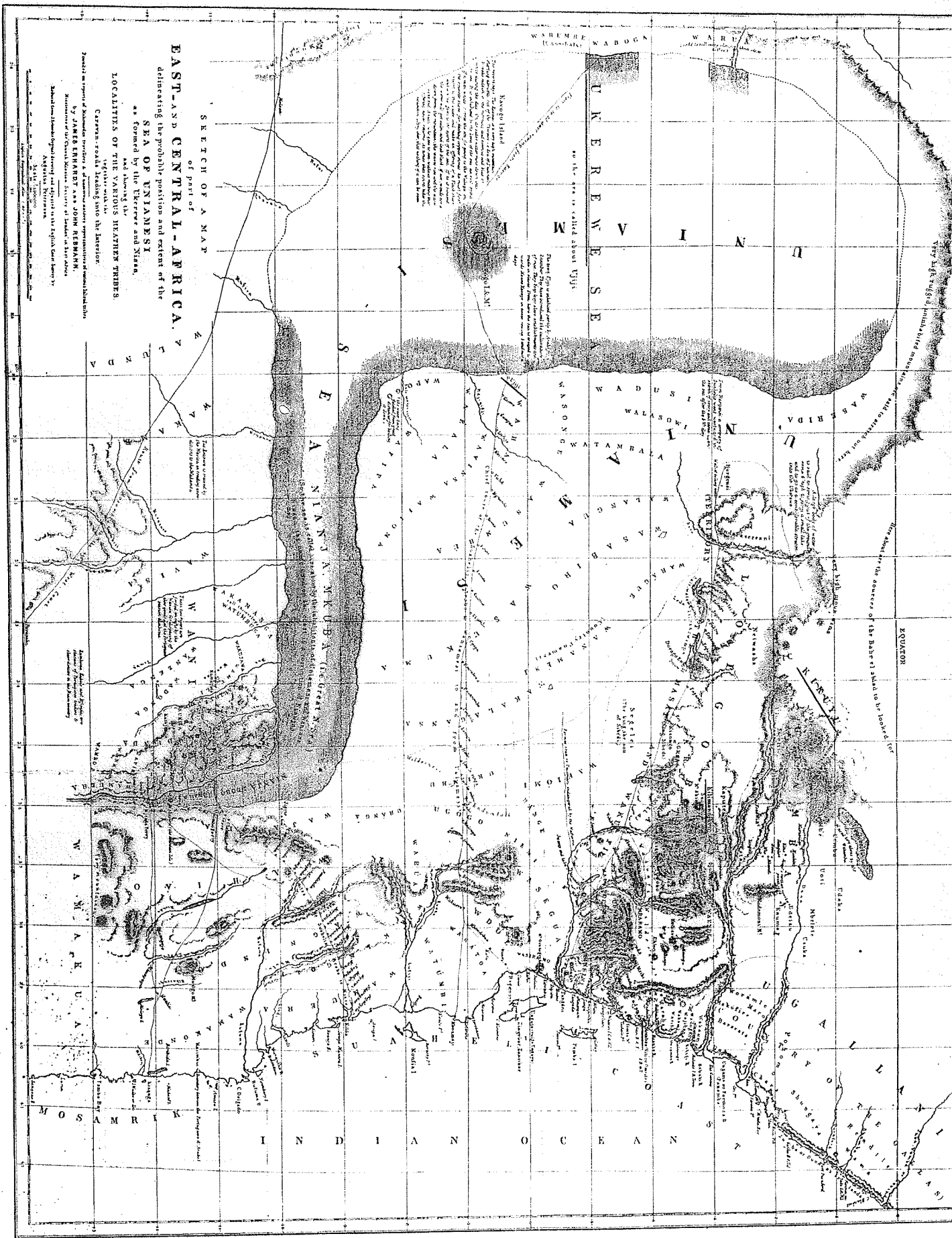
CHAPTER II

THE PENETRATION OF CENTRAL AFRICA

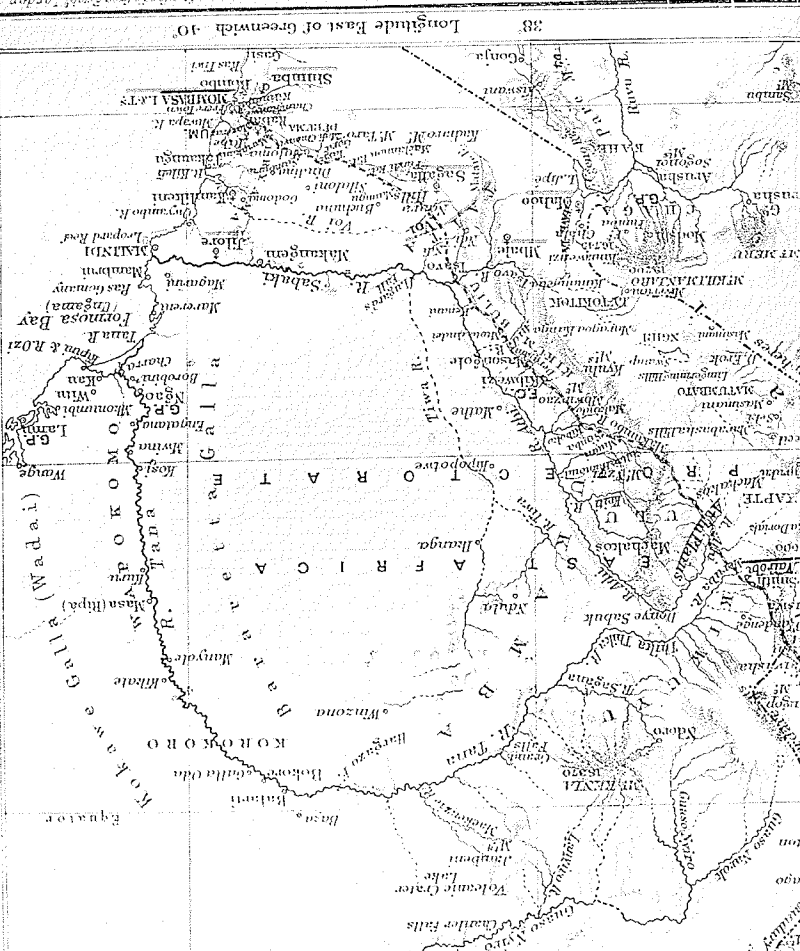
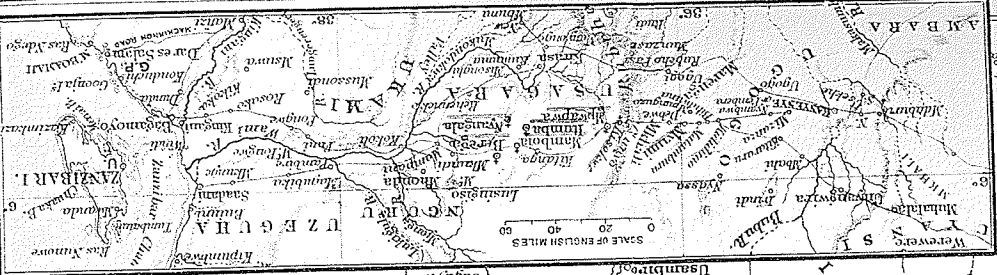
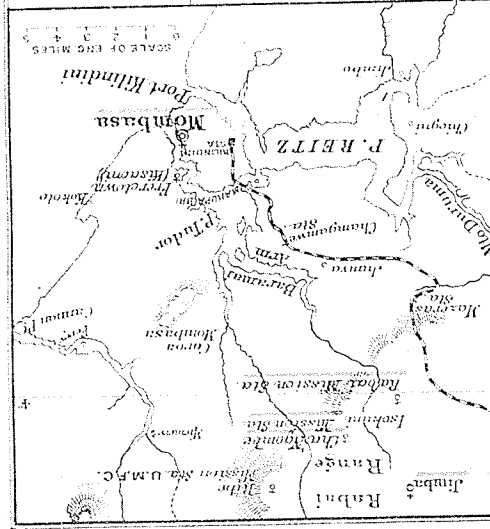
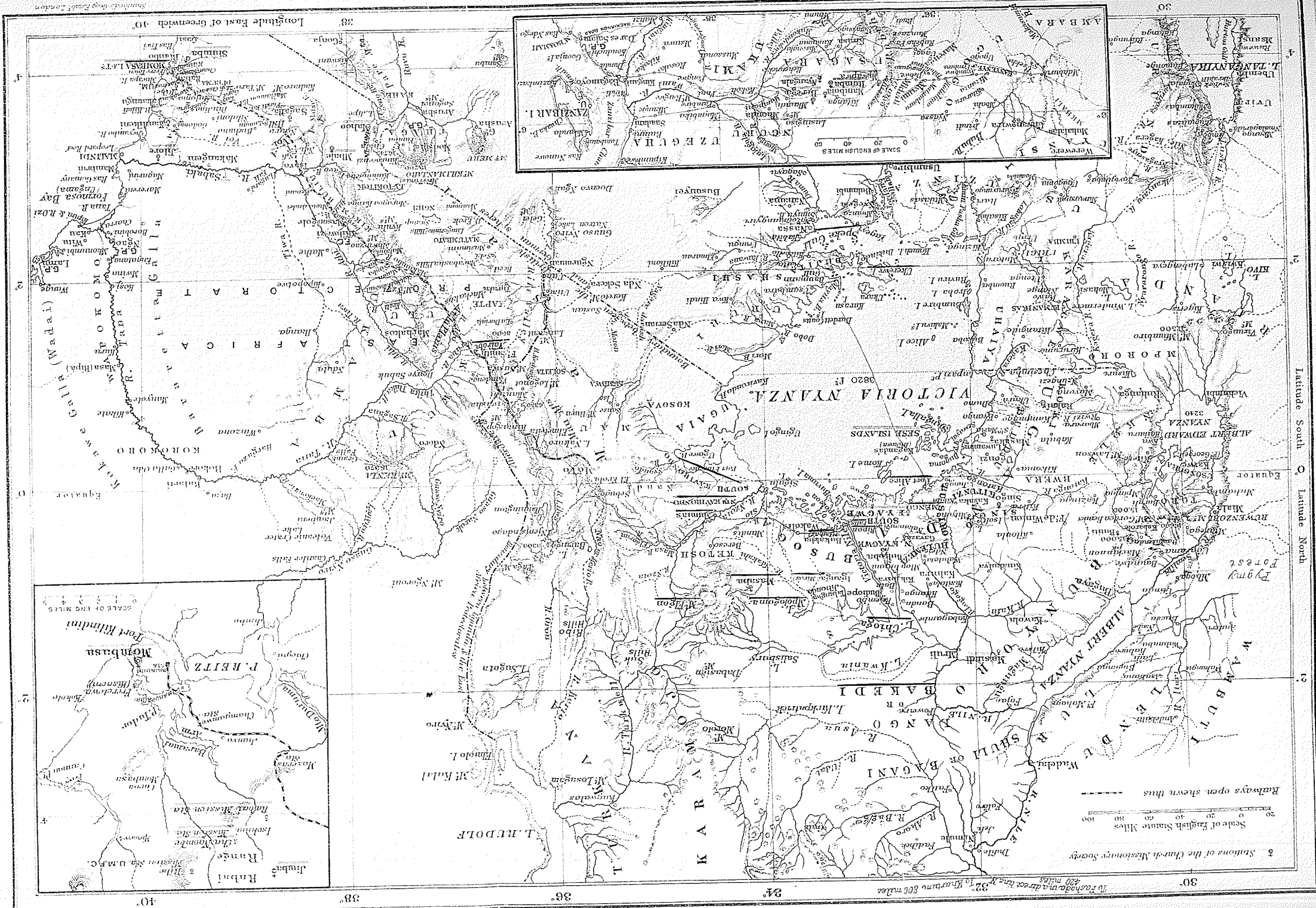
Far to the inland, many weeks along the slave caravan routes, lay the sea known as Uniamesi. Its probable position and extent were known only through fragmentary reports gleaned from survivors of slave caravans or their tight-lipped Arab masters. It was reported that Uniamesi was composed of the Ukerewe (so called around Ujiji) and the Nianja Mkuba and Nianja Ndogo. James Erhardt and John Rebmann, missionaries of the C.M.S. of London in East Africa, found it difficult to be accurate, but in August 1855 they compiled a sketch map of East and Central Africa from information they gathered in their work along the Indian Ocean coast and from inland journeys. Soon this map became known as the 'Slug' map because it showed a great slug-like sea, the potential source of the Nile of Egypt.¹ Coupled with this strange map came stories of towering snow mountains, one near the 'heathen tribe' called the Kikuyu, and the other called 'Kilimandjaro'. The first, Mount Kenya, had been sighted in 1849 by J.L. Krapf, the first C.M.S. missionary to the east coast of Africa. Mount Kilimanjaro had been visited in May 1848 by Rebmann himself. The reaction of the Royal Geographical Society in London was incredulity at there being snow mountains on the equator!

During the last decade of the 18th Century a number of missionary

¹See 'Sketch of a Map of part of East and Central Africa' on p.6. Compare this 1856 map with the 1900 C.M.S. map of Eastern Central Africa on p.7.



EASTERN CENTRAL AFRICA.



Church Missionary Stations are indicated by blue dots, and stations are not as a rule indicated.

Longitude East of Greenwich 40

Latitude South 30

Latitude North 0

Equator

Scale of English Statute Miles

Stations of the Church Missionary Society

Railways open shown thus

Scale of English Statute Miles

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societies had been formed in England. The first was the Baptist Missionary Society established by William Carey in 1792. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed and the following year the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies.² On April 12, 1799 twenty-five English gentlemen assembled in a London Hotel founded the Church Missionary Society. For several years no missionaries could be found because no bishop would ordain a man for work abroad, and the sending out of laymen to evangelize was considered wrong. Women received very little education in those times and no woman missionary was employed by the C.M.S. until the 1870's. Unable to find recruits in England, the Society went to Germany from where for some years most missionaries were drawn.

In 1837 John Ludwig Krapf went to Abyssinia under C.M.S. auspices, but was driven out by hostile tribes and so went south along the coast to work among the Gallas.³ With the permission of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyid Said, Krapf settled near Mombasa in May 1842, and it was here that he first heard of the great inland sea.⁴ Several years later he was joined by John Rebmann and together they established Christian mission work at Rabai, the later site of Frère Town, the famous anti-slavery

²C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London: 1955), Vol.III, p.97.

³The Gallas are a Hamitic tribe in the costal regions of north-east Kenya and in the Tana River valley.

⁴Portugese interest and involvement along the east coast of Africa dates back several centuries. Fort Jesus at Mombasa was their main coastal stronghold.

outpost.⁵

By the time Livingstone had crossed the African continent from Angola to Mozambique in 1856 and Speke had discovered the Victoria Nyanza (Lake Victoria) on July 30, 1858, the Christian missionary influence had not reached much inland from the coastlands. In the early 1860's Speke returned to the south shore of the Victoria Nyanza and this time circumnavigated the lake, discovering not only the Ripon Falls (now the site of the Owen Falls Dam at Jinja) where the Nile River begins its long journey to the Mediterranean, but also visiting the Kingdom of Uganda⁶ where he was received in the court of Kabaka (King) Mutesa on February 19th, 1862. Speke returned to England via Egypt and soon the wonders of this Central African kingdom, civilized and powerful, thrilled the imaginations of the English.⁷

In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and British authority in India and East Africa was considerably strengthened. For some years little had been heard from David Livingstone and in 1870 Henry Stanley set

⁵"Centenary of the Arrival in East Africa of J.K. Krapf," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.69 (April-September 1944), pp.62-5.

⁶At first the name Uganda referred specifically to the Kingdom, but with the extension of the Protectorate of Uganda to surrounding countries the name 'Buganda' referred to the country under the Kabaka and 'Uganda' to the greater Protectorate.

⁷For much of the above information I am indebted to E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: 1899), Vol.II; (London: 1899), Vol.III; (London: 1916), Vol.IV and G.K. Baskerville, "The History of the Uganda Mission of the Church Missionary Society," unpublished MS (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

out from New York under the auspices of the New York Herald to find this legendary man and bring back news. The mystery of the Uniamesi, largely clarified by Speke's exploration, was still strong enough to draw Stanley back in 1874-5 to carry out further exploration and to visit Kabaka Mutesa at his capital at Rubaga.⁸ While at Mutesa's court, Stanley wrote to the Daily Telegraph on April 14th, 1875 and in his letter he challenged English Christianity to establish a Mission among the Baganda of Uganda - a people with a great potential of being Christianized and civilized, a nation which could evolve in Central Africa into the Christian Jews of the Roman Empire. Starting from Rubaga, the Christian message carried by the converted Baganda could capture the entire African continent. The letter was published on November 15th; the C.M.S. received donations of £10,000 by the 17th to undertake such a Mission, on the 23rd the Nyanza Mission challenge was accepted by the Society; on March 11th, 1876 Lt. G. Shergold Smith sailed from Teignmouth for Uganda; the caravan inland started from Mombasa on July 14th; on June 26th, 1879, some two years later, Shergold Smith and Wilson were anchored off Ntebbi⁹

⁸The capital of the Kabaka of Uganda was situated on the present-day site of Kampala. Kampala is a city of hills with each hill having its own name - Rubaga, Mengo, Namirembe, Kololo, etc. Different names are used by different writers. In the early records Rubaga ('Mtesa's' capital which was later transferred to Mengo) and Mengo are used synonymously, but in later years Rubaga became the hill on which the Roman Catholics built their cathedral, with Namirembe being the location of the Protestant cathedral, and Mengo the centre of the Kabaka's residence and legislative buildings.

⁹Entebbe, chosen by the British Government as its administrative centre during the Protectorate years, located eighteen miles south of Kampala on Lake Victoria. Also called Port Alice in early years of the Protectorate.

in the 'Daisy' after having crossed the Victoria Nyanza from Ukara Island (Ukerewe Island at the mouth of Speke Gulf) at the south-eastern corner of the lake in thirty hours. And so the Nyanza Mission began its work of language study and evangelization among the Baganda, to be joined in February 1879 by members of the Society of the White Fathers.¹⁰

What were the motives which drew men from Europe to such distant places to begin a work of Christianization? The slave trade of East Africa, the forced labour in South African gold mines, and the exploitation of the African by white and Arab traders appalled the conscience and offended the sense of justice of the English, who were proud of their self-imposed commission to bring law, government and Christian character to peoples who were cruel, superstitious, backward and heathenish. Missionaries also came because they were filled with gratitude for the Christian message of redemption and sought to glorify God by being obedient to the Divine Commission to go 'into the world'. And then too, where could be found greater opportunities for adventure than in the depths of the Dark Continent!

¹⁰The Society of the Missionaries of Africa (the White Fathers) was founded in 1868 by Archbishop C.M. Lavigerie of Algiers with the headquarters of the Superior-General near Maison Carree in Algiers. It is an institution of secular priests whose consecration is mission work in Africa. In addition to the priests there are lay-brothers for instruction in agriculture and technical subjects. This Society is found throughout Africa but is particularly active in Tunis, Algeria, French Sudan, and Equatorial Africa. The White Sisters and Sisters of the Society of Maria Reparatrice are associated. Their activities are medical, educational and evangelistic. The Society is attached to the Congregation of the Propaganda of Rome.

Lord Palmerston, in 1859, had described English responsibility in the Indian portion of the Empire in these words: "it is not only our duty, but it is our interest, to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the whole length and breadth of India."¹¹ Just a few years earlier, Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department in the Lord John Russell administration of 1846-52, defined Britain's duty to civilize the backward areas of the world.

The authority of the British Crown is at this moment the most powerful instrument, under Providence, of maintaining peace and order in many extensive regions of the earth, and thereby assists in diffusing amongst millions of the human race, the blessings of Christianity and civilization.¹²

The missionary and explorer of Victorian England was inspired by this sense of duty, a trust and a high goal to carry out two tasks, usually considered inseparable, Christianizing and civilizing.¹³

Stanley's transcontinental expedition in 1874-7 had led to the entry of the C.M.S. into Central Africa, but it contributed significantly toward an even greater transformation of the peoples of Africa. Prior to 1875 approximately ten per cent of Africa was under European control. Neither Italy nor Germany held any part of Africa. In 1830 France had gained Algeria and then in 1854 most of north Africa. Spain controlled only the island of Fernando Po. Portugal had a centuries old interest

¹¹E. Stock, "Missions and the Government," Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.LII, New Series No.26 (July 1901), p.504.

¹²M.A.C. Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History (London: 1965), p.60.

¹³Ibid., p.12.

in portions of the Barbary coast, the west coast and the east coast. British possessions included enclaves like Lagos, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Cape Colony, and the Niger Delta, as well as Basutoland and Natal Colony. But fifty years later by 1925, of the vast African continent, only Abyssinia remained as an independent state.

The division of Africa by European governments nearly always occurred after the missionary had begun his work.¹⁴ What had the C.M.S. succeeded in doing during its first years in Uganda prior to the advent of British administration? The first converts were baptized on March 18, 1882. There were seventeen C.M.S. missionaries and seventeen African lay-agents under church auspices in 1884, and by 1897 this had increased to eighty three European workers plus some 742 African lay-agents and clergymen. In June 1884 James Hannington was consecrated the first Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission (formerly called the Nyanza Mission). As early as February 1885 Protestant Church Councils were set up in Uganda to take over in the event that the missionaries would be obliged to leave Uganda by Kabaka Mwanga.¹⁵ By May 1885 the Protestants alone had baptized some 108 converts, many of them being pages from the Kabaka's court.

Active persecution of these Christians followed, but rather than weakening the Christian church in Uganda, it served to strengthen the body of believers. Mwanga, very conscious of the growing influence of

¹⁴R. Oliver, How Christian is Africa? (London: 1956), p.14.

¹⁵Kabaka Mtesa died on October 10th, 1884 to be succeeded by Mwanga.

these foreign societies, was determined to control their power to his own advantage. Inter-mission rivalry, which had led to the 1882 departure of the Roman Catholic missionaries from Uganda for several years, now provided Mwanga with the weapon he needed to control the influence of the white man among the Baganda.

Mwanga's suspicions and fears were further aroused by a series of events which coincided with the increasing number of Christians. The recognition by Queen Victoria of the newly formed Imperial British East Africa Company in September 1884 had strengthened the hand of the British C.M.S. and its Protestant followers. Mackay, a C.M.S. missionary who had just come back from the coast, was rumoured to have communicated with Mwanga's rivals to the Kabakaship about his overthrow. A certain Mr. Thomson¹⁶ had visited Kavirondo (a region to the east of the Kingdom of Uganda) in 1883-4 and rumours of his threatened approach reached Uganda. News also came to Mengo that the newly formed German East Africa Company had acquired control over portions of the coast. And then in mid 1885 the new leader of the Protestants, Bishop Hannington, decided to come to Uganda via the north shore of Lake Victoria.

An old prophecy of the Baganda claimed that "when a white man came in by the 'back way' to Uganda the supremacy would depart from them" ¹⁷

¹⁶ J. Thomson, a private explorer, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society of London, visited Mount Elgon in December 1883.

¹⁷ E.C. Dawson, James Hannington - First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa (London: 1887), p.366.

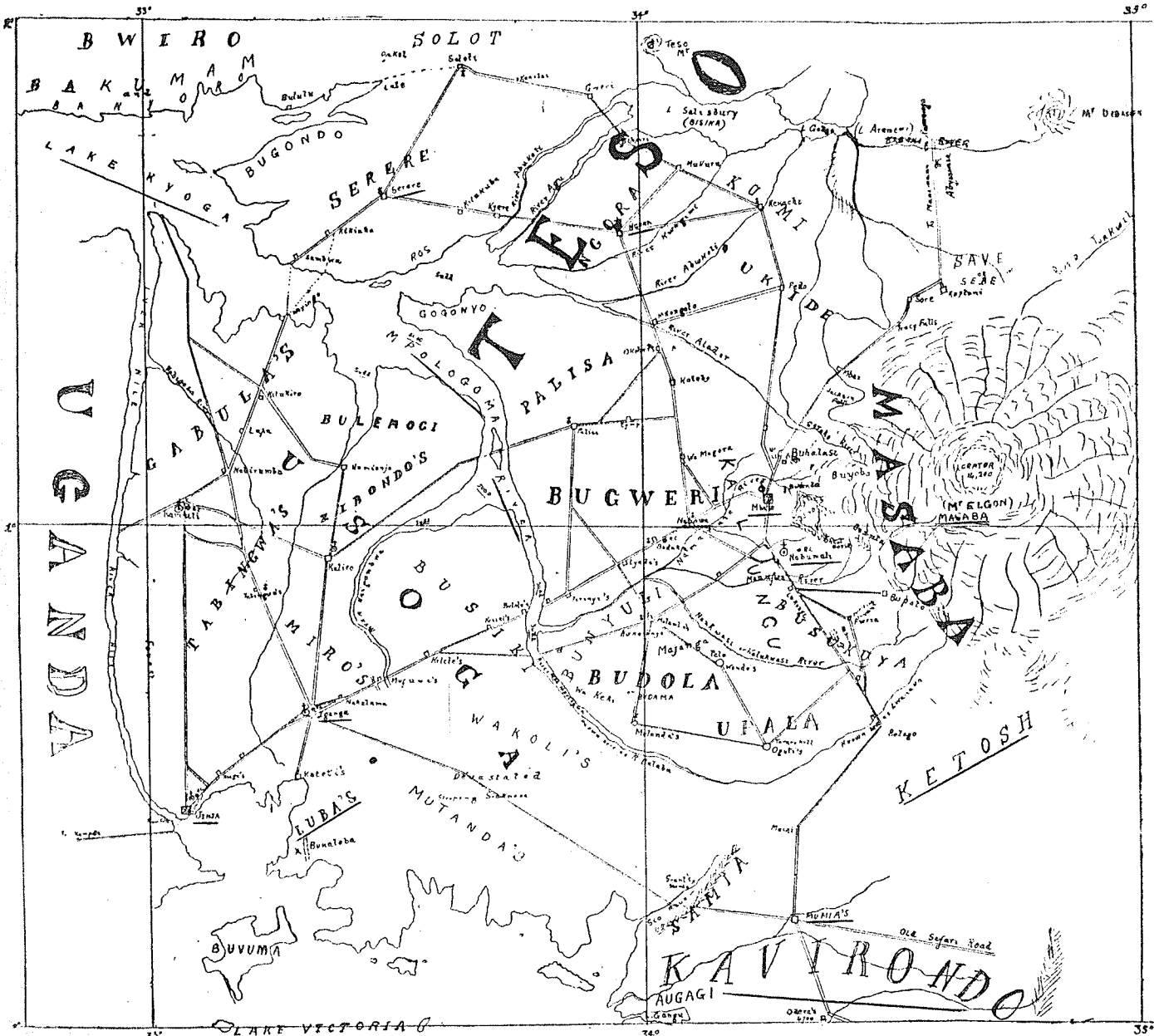
The chiefs of U-Ganda have always looked upon an approach to their country from the north or north-east with extreme suspicion and dislike. They regard the lake as a natural barrier against invasion from the south; they do not as yet entertain any great fear of danger from the west, though the new Congo State may probably before long excite their alarm; but they are very nervous about any advance of another nation from the east or north. When Egypt was enlarging her borders southward they were in a state of panic. A single white man is looked upon as a host in himself, and as such to be most rigorously excluded if he should make his appearance from the two forbidden quarters. Even Mutesa used sometimes to twit the white men at Rubaga asking them if they would like to see the country behind U-Soga, and assuring them that they should not. Mr. Thomson escaped even more narrowly than he at the time realized. Perhaps he owes his safe return to the fact that he reached the borders of U-Ganda about the time of Mutesa's death¹⁸

As a consequence of these Baganda fears and also because the land of the Masai, Kikuyu and Nandi tribes (reputedly very aggressive)¹⁹ lay right across the routes between Kavirondo and the coast, the Kavirondo, Ketosh and 'Bakedi' areas²⁰ to the north north-east of Lake Victoria were never visited by Europeans from Uganda and rarely by Europeans from the east. It was into this isolated, little-known area that Bishop Hannington ventured in October 1885 on his way to Uganda. When he reached Luba's (near present-day Jinja) he was taken captive with his party of some fifty porters, and shortly after the order came from Mwanga that he should

¹⁸L. Chadwick, "Narrative of 1895 Journey (from Mombasa to Uganda) and Early Years in the Mission," Papers and MSS of Miss L. Chadwick (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.167, pp.1-2.

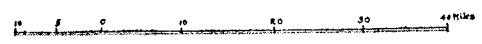
¹⁹R. Hardy, The Iron Snake (London: 1965). Mr. Hardy contends that the aggressiveness of these tribes was deliberately exaggerated by traders in order to discourage competitors and missionaries from settling in these areas.

²⁰See 'Rough Map of Usoga and Elgon Districts Showing the Opening Up of the Central Province', p.16.



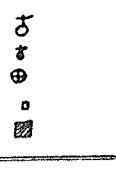
ROUGH MAP OF USOGA AND ELGON DISTRICTS SHOWING THE OPENING UP OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCE.

Scale approx. 1 inch = 17 miles.



REFERENCES.

- C.M.S. European Stations
- C.M.S. Stations. Native Teachers
- Other Mission Stations
- Rest Houses
- Government Stations
- Roads



be murdered.

In order to survive and retain his kingdom Mwanga had to play the white men off against each other. Following Hannington's death an uneasy period of persecution and tension ensued, but then in 1888 the feared rivalry among potential heirs to the Kabakaship broke out and led to the expulsion of all the Christian missionaries from Uganda, including Mwanga, and Kalema was placed on the throne by his Moslem supporters. The following year the cunning Mwanga was restored to the throne by none other than a Christian army led by Apolo Kagwa, a leading Protestant. Kwanga then strengthened his hand against the Mohammedan Party and acknowledged the superior political strength of the Protestant Christians by appointing Apolo Kagwa to be Katikiro (Prime Minister) and by accepting the Imperial British East Africa Company flag sent to him late in 1889 by Jackson, a company officer.

Paradoxically, the next person after Bishop Hannington to approach Uganda from the east via the northern shore of Lake Victoria was Dr. Karl Peters, an officer of the German Colonial Trading Company, a man ambitious in establishing a German Empire in East Africa. Here was the real person to fear, and not the Protestant Bishop. But Mwanga, encouraged by the Roman Catholics, concluded a treaty with Peters in February 1890. When Jackson and Gedge of the I.B.E.A. Company,²¹ (having broken their journey to Mengo at Mumias to collect ivory to finance their expedition)

²¹The abbreviation I.B.E.A. Company will be used from this point.

arrived at Mengo in April to finalize Mwanga's agreement with the I.B.E.A. Company, they found that Germany had won the first round in the scramble for Uganda. But unknown to either party, the Treaty of Berlin in July of the same year was to delineate the spheres of British and German influence in East Africa and Uganda fell under I.B.E.A. control.²²

In the last days of 1890 two important figures came to Uganda- the newly consecrated Bishop Tucker came to take over the Protestant work which up to now had concentrated mostly on the capital but early in 1891 had extended east into Busoga, and, Captain F.D. Lugard, sent by the I.B.E.A. Company, came to offer Mwanga the Company's protection and administrative services in return for a treaty. Lugard's presence removed the Mohammedan threat, but gave opportunity for Protestant-Roman Catholic rivalry to re-develop with Mwanga siding with the Catholic party and Lugard obliged to support the Protestants in order to maintain a power balance. Throughout these months of threatening religious civil war, Lugard was able to keep his forces on the thin edge of impartiality. In actual fact he had been ordered to withdraw from Uganda in mid 1891 because the I.B.E.A. Company found itself unable to continue to finance the administrative responsibility of such a vast area as East Africa, but Lugard (having received this order in late December 1891 when he had arrived back at Kampala with Nubian reinforcements after a very successful

²²The 1890 Anglo-German Treaty gave Britain the Uganda Territory in return for the island of Heligoland. See K. Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda (London: 1958), p.43.

expedition into Toro and Ankole) decided against withdrawal because of the explosive situation at the capital. Shortly after his decision he received news that the personal intervention of Bishop Tucker of the C.M.S. with the famous appeal made at the Gleaners' Union²⁵ Anniversary meeting at Exeter Hall in England had resulted in donations being received which would enable the I.B.E.A. Company to remain in Uganda for an additional year. In January 1892 the uneasy peace broke into civil war. Mwanga and his Catholic supporters were forced to flee, first to Bulingwe Island, and then later to the Sese Islands. After several attempts, Lugard finally persuaded Mwanga to return with his Catholic chiefs in late March, and, true to form by late April Mwanga had been 'converted' to Protestantism.

Lugard went to England late in 1892 to plead the case for Uganda that the British Government should accept protective responsibility for Uganda when the I.B.E.A. Company withdrew. The British Government was reluctant to accept the responsibility for this distant African territory, but the C.M.S. and public opinion exerted strong pressure claiming that the geophysical significance of Uganda in combatting the slave trade was extremely important,²⁴ that other European countries would simply "take the place of British influence at the source of the Nile,"²⁵ and that British honour was at stake.²⁶ Finally the Government agreed to finance

²³The Gleaners' Union was a stewardship organization of the C.M.S.

²⁴G. Furness Smith, Uganda: Its Story and Its Claim (London: 1892), p.44, citing a Mr. Bosworth Smith to the Times, October 18, 1892.

²⁵Ibid., p.47, citing the Scotsman of Edinburgh, October 1892.

²⁶Ibid., p.50, citing the Times, September 24, 1892.

the I.B.E.A. Company in Uganda until March 1893 pending the report of Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Sir Gerald Portal, who arrived in Uganda in March 1893. With suspicion still rife between the denominations, Bishop Hirth of the Roman Catholics and Bishop Tucker of the C.M.S., with Portal's mediation, agreed to define their respective spheres of activity. On April 1st, 1894 Portal raised the Union Jack over Uganda declaring it to be a provisional protectorate of England.

With the advent of British administration in Uganda the role of the missionary changed considerably. With protectorate status came taxes, road-building, a cash economy, government appointed chiefs, secular standards of right and wrong, the influence of non-Christian Government administrators, enforced law and order, and materialism in many very obvious forms. The missionary, having established a close contact with the people prior to the entry of Government, very often found himself in the capacity of a moderator to settle disputes or to ease transitions.²⁷ Furthermore, the missions were the sole providers of education, that all important commodity by which the benefits of Government employment, the English language, a regular salary, and luxuries like bicycles, clothes, and books could be enjoyed. The Government depended greatly on the missions and their civilizing influence, and some officials considered the establishment of a mission station "to be generally as efficacious for the extension of European influence as the opening of a government station."²⁸

²⁷Oliver, Op. Cit., p.14.

²⁸C. Eliot, The East African Protectorate (London: 1905), p.241.

On the other hand the missions also benefitted. Sir Gerald Portal declared the Uganda Protectorate in August 1894, and Bishop Tucker, in commenting in 1911 on the influence of British administration, was able to say:

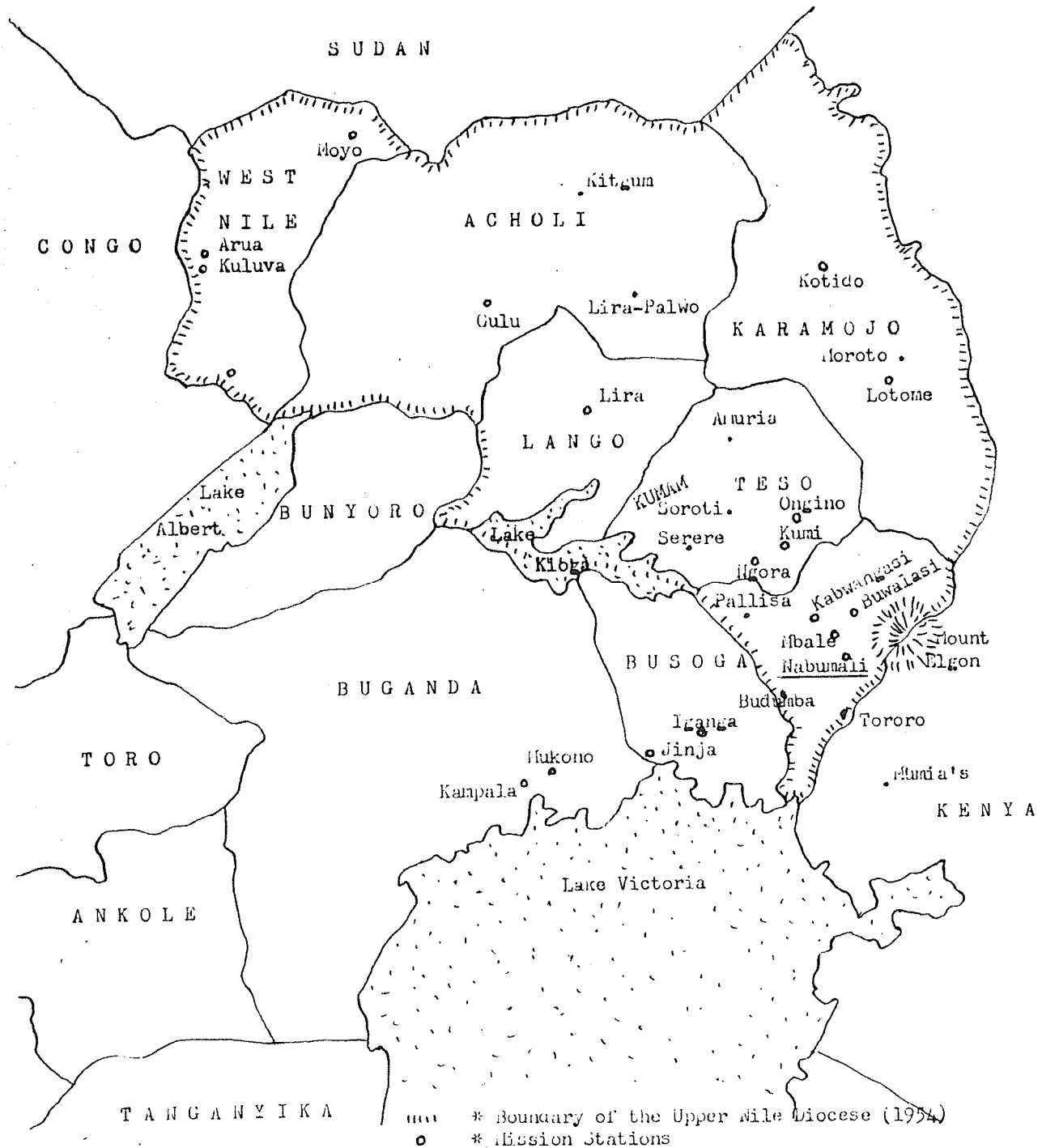
The power of that moulding force has been very largely what it has been through the wise and judicious way in which from the very beginning it has recognized and striven to work in harmony with those stronger moral and political forces exerted by the Christian Missions, which by strenuous labour had for well nigh sixteen years been preparing the way for that unifying and consolidating influence commonly known as 'Pax Britannica.' Under its aegis, law and order have been established, and economic forces, being allowed fair play, are gradually doing their work, and the Baganda are surely, and not slowly, working out their own future.²⁹

While the political future of Uganda was being worked out at Kampala, the region to the east of Lake Kioga and the Mpologoma River remained an untouched frontier, untouched insofar as British administration and mission evangelization was concerned. Bukedi or Kavirondo,³⁰ as it was called, had for centuries been protected from the slave trade by the

²⁹Alfred R. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa (London: 1911), p.336.

³⁰During the late 1890's and the early 1900's these two names were used almost synonymously to define the vast area east and north of Lake Kioga and the Mpologoma River. (See map p.16.) Kavirondo usually referred to the southern portion of the region around Kisumu and Mumias; Bukedi referred to the northern portion which stretched from south of Mount Elgon across the north of Bunyoro to the Sudan. More precise definitions of these names were given by Crabtree and Purvis of the C.M.S. in the early years of this century. After this Kavirondo referred to that region of British East Africa which lay along the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, and Bukedi referred to a great crescent-shaped region which included present day Acholi, Lango, Teso, Bugwere, Bunyuli, Budama, Samia-Bugwe and Bugisu. (See maps of 'The Protectorate of Uganda', p.22, and 'Map Showing Bugisu District and Six Sub-Divisions of Bukedi District', p.23.)

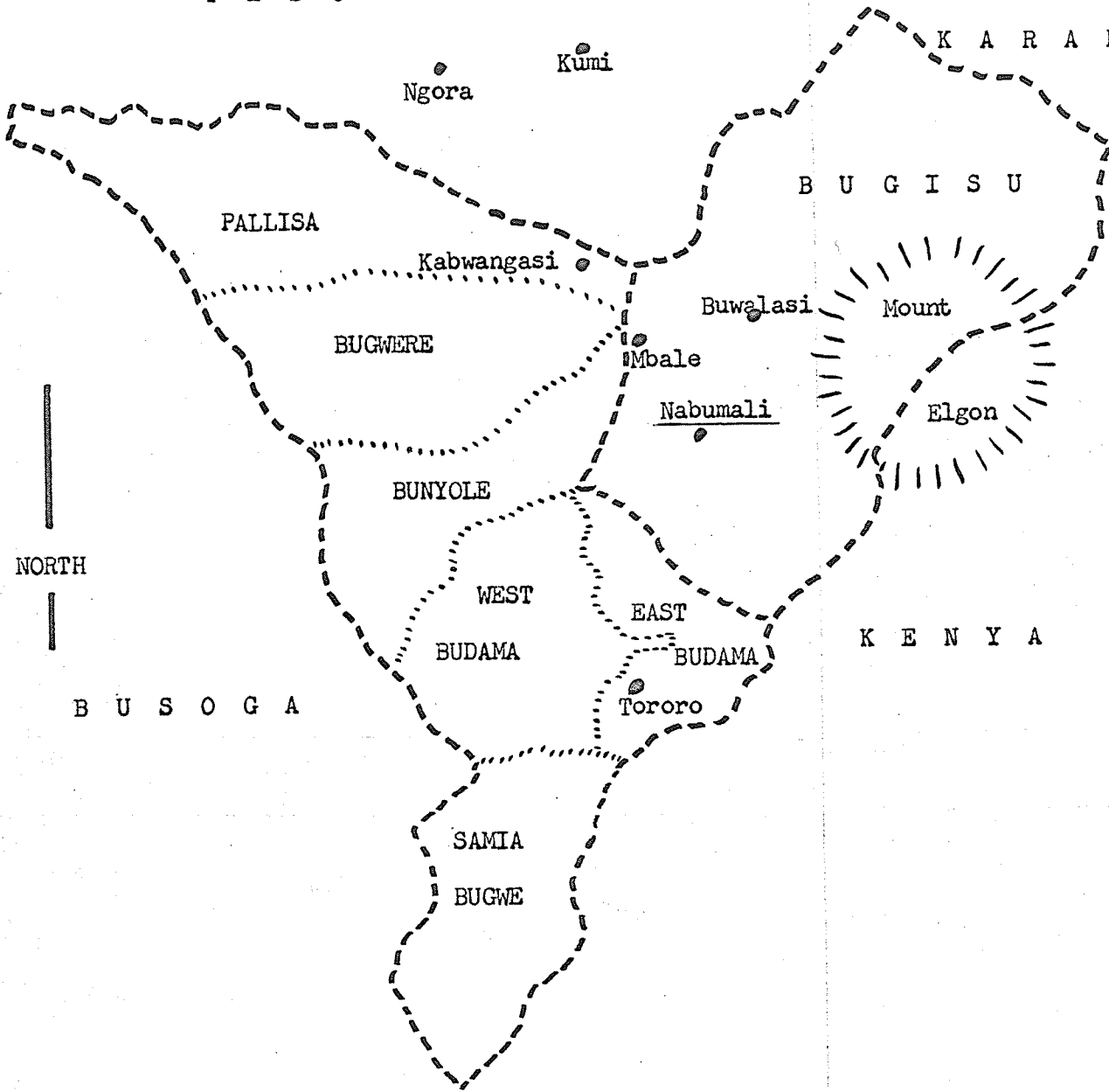
THE PROTECTORATE OF UGANDA
showing the UPPER NILE DIOCESE



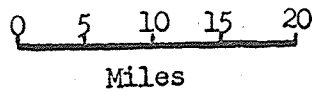
--- * Boundary of the Upper Nile Diocese (1954)
 ○ * Mission Stations

T E S O

K A R A M O J A



MAP SHOWING BUGISU DISTRICT
AND
SIX SUB-DIVISIONS OF BUKEDI DISTRICT
(circa 1950)



power of the Masai and Nandi tribes to the east, by the vast extent of the Victoria Nyanza to the south, and by the powerful and developed kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro to the west and north-west. Penetration from the north was prevented by the sudd in the Sudan and the mountain-desert barriers of Turkana and Abyssinia. This isolation was not a recent phenomenon because the people of this area over the past centuries had never developed a feudal form of leadership like the kingdoms of the west, but had remained a patriarchal, segmented tribal conglomerate. Very little is known about this region prior to the beginning of the 20th Century (and even in the 1960's relatively little has been written about it compared with Buganda).

The first European to reach through to the Mount Elgon area was J. Thomson, a private explorer, who came through Masai-land and went north from Mumias to Mount Elgon in December 1883, apparently following the recently established ivory caravan route which reached north into ivory-rich Karamoja. The next venture into Kavirondo was by the newly concentrated Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, James Hannington, who 'bought the road to Uganda with his blood.' Almost five years elapsed before Karl Peters and then Jackson and Gedge followed Hannington and actually reached Uganda. After that a steady stream of I.B.E.A. Company officials and soldiers³¹ explored various parts of southern Elgon and Busoga regions on their journey to Mengo.

³¹I.B.E.A. Company personnel passing through the regions north of Lake Victoria were A.F.E. Smith in April 1891, J.R.L. Macdonald in 1891-4, H.H. Austin in 1893, and Lieut. Arthur in July 1893.

Once the northern route became a safer and much shorter route from the coast to Uganda (rather than south of Lake Victoria) exploration parties struck north into the Elgon, Karamoja, Rudolph and Turkana regions. During 1896 C.W. Hobley, a British official from British East Africa (Kenya) toured round Mount Elgon and crossed over the Elgon-Nkokonjeru saddle near Busano and prepared a map of Mount Elgon.³² Then during 1897-8 J.R.L. Macdonald led a British military expedition into Karamoja, to be followed in October 1898 by R.T. Kirkpatrick who went into north Karamoja, and H.H. Austin who went from Mount Elgon to the Rudolph Region.³³

But there were several other very important visits to Kavirondo and Bukedi during the 1890's by the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, visits which did much to determine the pattern and pace of pacification and development of these areas during the early part of the 20th Century. In 1892 the first C.M.S. caravan of missionaries from the coast to take the northern route into Uganda passed through Mumias.³⁴ One of the members of this party was the Reverend W.A. Crabtree. His interest in this relatively untouched region, as far as mission work was concerned, was intense. Here he noticed an open mission field, a completely new language group, a spiritual frontier,

³²C.W. Hobley, "Notes on a Journey Round Mount Masawa or Elgon," Geographical Journal, Vol.IX, No.2 (February 1897), p.248.

³³B.W. Langlands, "Early Travellers in Uganda: 1860-1914," The Uganda Journal, Vol.26, No.1 (March 1962), pp.180-82.

³⁴W.A. Crabtree, "Kavirondo," Mengo Notes, Vol.II, No.6 (September 1901), p.82 and Vol.II, No.7 (October 1901), pp.87-88.

and being a man of far-reaching visions, it is not surprising that only two months later, together with G.K. Baskerville, he opened a mission station at Kyagwe, east of Mengo, and then in February 1894 he opened a station at Mumias with the Reverend F. Rowling, right in the heart of Kavirondo country. As mentioned earlier, Mumias was an important junction and stop-over place for the ivory trade caravans to the north. Mumias had been opened by the I.B.E.A. Company several years earlier, but its development had been hampered by the aggressive Nandi to the south. The missionaries were soon forced by conditions to retire westward to Luba's and then to Miro's (present-day Iganga), where the Reverend Skeens continued the work at this dangerous, but highly successful, mission station when Crabtree was recalled to Mengo. By 1900 Crabtree again left Uganda, this time to begin work at Masaba in northern Kavirondo.³⁵

In September 1895 a second Roman Catholic order, the Mill Hill Mission,³⁶ arrived in Uganda. For some time the White Fathers had been hampered by their French association and the Protestants had benefitted

³⁵Baskerville, Op. Cit., Part III, p.180.

³⁶The Fathers of St. Joseph's Missionary Society, a congregation of secular priests, was founded in 1866 by Cardinal Vaughan with its headquarters at St. Joseph's, Mill Hill, London. The Right Reverend Bishop Henry Hanlon, the first Vicar Apostolic, arrived in Uganda in 1895 to establish the Upper Nile Vicariate. The Sisters of the Franciscan Order from St. Mary's Abbey, Mill Hill, are associated. The work of this Society includes medical, educational and evangelistic institutions.

much from their unofficial affiliation with the British company and Government administration.³⁷ The Mill Hill fathers under Bishop Hanlon were given jurisdiction over the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, consisting basically of that portion of Uganda, stretching from Kampala east to Kisumu, in which Bishop Hirth had agreed the White Fathers would not begin work. "This of course as the foreign office pointed out in a letter to the C.M.S. brought to an end the concordat arranged between Bishop Tucker and Monseigneur Hirth in April 1893."³⁸ Stations were established by the Mill Hill Mission at Nsambya, Nagalama and Nkokonjeru in Uganda, and in late 1898 and early 1899 Father Kestens toured Busoga and established a station at Bukaleba. In the following year Bishop Hanlon and Father Kestens went as far afield as Kakungulu's fort at Mpumude or Masaba and made plans for a station among the Bagishu³⁹ of Mount Elgon.

The stage was now set for work to begin in Kavirondo but the conditions and demands of such an undertaking would daunt even the most dedicated missionary. Father J. Biermans of the Mill Hill Mission described the situation facing the potential worker in these rather devastating terms:

³⁷In later years Baskerville was able to write: "It is certain that the advent of Cardinal Vaughan's Mission of Mill Hill priests went a long way towards removing any still existing tendencies towards a 'wa Fransa' party in the country." Baskerville, Op. Cit., Part III p.195.

³⁸Ibid., Part III, p.194.

³⁹The Bagishu are a Bantu tribe found on the southern, western and northern slopes of Mount Elgon. Their name was spelled with an 'h' until pre-independence years, late 1950's and early 1960's.

In reality, the tribes in Bukedi and Kavirondo were so very primitive and were ridiculed to such an extent by natives of more advanced tribes, that work was begun among them more as an experiment. They were centuries behind the Baganda in every way. Such was their state of ignorance, and so wanting in ambition were they that it was decided to work solely among the children. But even the children would have to be removed permanently from their evil surroundings, if the work was to be a success.⁴⁰

This work would be a challenge which only the most persistent would see through!

This chapter concerned itself with a background survey of how European explorers, missionaries, and administrators of the second half of the 19th Century made their early contacts from the coast with Central Africa in general, and the Kingdom of Uganda on the north-west shore of Lake Victoria in particular. From this relatively civilized kingdom the spread of Christian-civilizing influences reached eastward along the north shore of Lake Victoria into the Bukedi-Kavirondo region which up until the late 1890's had remained an isolated frontier. Several attempts were made to establish permanent stations in this area but these were all short-lived until the first permanent outpost was begun at Masaba in 1900 by W.A. Crabtree. The next chapter will describe how the pioneering work of Crabtree, and then the Reverend J.B. Purvis, gradually won the confidence of the Bagishu inspite of the conflicting elements of mission work, Baganda colonialism, and British administration.

⁴⁰J. Biermans, A Short History of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile (Kampala: n.d.), p.29.

CHAPTER III

A PIONEER STATION

On December 25th, 1899, Sir H.H. Johnston¹ entered Uganda to replace Lugard. He came through Busoga and at a spot near where Bishop Hannington had been murdered some fourteen years earlier Johnston met with Basoga chiefs. He had just come through the region of Kavirondo and therefore the thoughts upper-most in his mind were those of a region virgin and unspoiled by commerce in a modern sense and open to influence. His message to the Basoga chiefs had a simple moral. "Long ago we English were like the Kavirondo people and wore no clothes, and smeared our bodies with paint, but when we learned Christianity from the Romans, we changed, and became great."² His advice to them was that they should do the same.

Some four and a half months earlier Archdeacon Walker of the C.M.S. in Mengo had suggested to Bishop Tucker that an appeal for men for Kavirondo should be made. Walker used the following words:

Kavirondo has special needs, being a thickly-populated country lying near here, and where no sustained effort has been made to reach the people. Kavirondo offers special advantages just now for the opening of Mission work. There is peace in the country, and owing to the government stations, order and prosperity. Communication is regular and easy now either by canoe or by road. The Waganda³ Christians are willing to go there and help a European missionary to open work. Kavirondo is being brought in

¹Sir H.H. Johnston came as Special Commissioner and Commander in Chief of the Uganda Protectorate to draw up the Uganda Agreement in 1900.

²E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.IV (London: 1916), p.46.

³Same as Baganda. The Bantu prefixes 'Wa' and 'Ba' both designate

touch with Europeans and with a kind of civilization, but not at all with Christianity. There are no Missions there at all. If we do not begin at once I am sure we shall find it much more difficult after the Natives have seen another side of European life other than that which the missionaries try to show them. There is no reason for not opening work in Kavirondo tomorrow, except that there are no men that can be spared from the work here.

I think the needs of Kavirondo are greater now than they have ever been, owing to the approach of the railroad⁴ and to the establishing of European stations. The opportunity will never again be so favourable, and now there is no hindrance of any kind in the way of opening work in Kavirondo.⁵

This was a challenge to the pioneer missionary, couched in an optimism which was usually almost totally unfounded.

What actually was the situation in Kavirondo and Bukedi in the years 1899 and 1900? As early as 1896 Semei Kakungulu, a proven and respected Baganda general, a Protestant, and a misfit in the political scene at Mengo, had established his headquarters in north Busoga. From here he had crossed Lake Kioga into Bukedi to begin a programme of pacification and conquest, but the Bakedi had repulsed him.⁶ He was a person of considerable influence with a recognized potential as a leader, but there could only be one Protestant Katikiro, and that position was held by

the people of a certain tribe as a whole e.g. the people of the Ganda tribe are known as Baganda, the people of the Gisu tribe are known as the Bagisu. A single member of that tribe is called a Muganda or a Mugisu and he speaks Luganda or Lugisu.

⁴The Uganda Railroad (built through the British East African Protectorate) reached Port Florence (Kisumu) on December 20, 1901.

⁵H.R. Walker, General Reports on the Uganda Mission, Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.L (December 1899), p.1007.

⁶H.R. Walker - I. Walker, May 3, 1896, Papers and MS of Archdeacon Walker (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.88.

Apolo Kagwa. Kakungulu either had to be given some specific sphere of responsibility and influence or else he would prove to be a threat and a liability to the limited British military authority in Uganda. The opportunity came in 1897 when Mwanga again rebelled, was defeated and fled to take refuge with Kabarega, the rebellious King of Bunyoro. Also that year the Sudanese soldiers under British leadership mutineered at Eldoma Ravine and moved against Kampala. By 1898 all these rebellious elements had escaped to the wild, uncontrolled region of Bukedi and thus the combined threat of two rebel kings and the well-armed Sudanese mutineers hung over the Protectorate until April 1899 when Kakungulu, together with Lieutenant Evatt, pursued Mwanga, Kabarega and the mutineers into Bukedi and captured or dispersed them.

The time now seemed right for Kakungulu to extend systematically "his activities"⁷ in Bukedi. For Kakungulu this meant the Kabakaship of Bukedi, but for the British it meant the 'pacification' of the Bukedi and the establishment of Government administration. Here was a task, and a kingdom, fit for Kakungulu, and so on June 15th, 1899 with a Government commission and his Baganda followers he left Entebbe for Bukedi to establish what some writers later called the Sultanate of Bukedi.⁸ Walker wrote his appeal in August 1899, less than two months later, and this is what he called peace, order and prosperity!

⁷M. Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi, 1900-1939" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1967), p.78.

⁸Bishop Hanlon called Kakungulu the Sultan of Bukedi. See H.P. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers (London: 1959), pp.211-12.

Kakungulu made his way from Bululu through the Teso country, establishing forts at Naboa, Budaka, and then at Mpumude (present-day Nabumali). The strongest opposition came from the Bagishu and so Kakungulu established himself right among this aggressive tribe at Mpumude in order to control them. Early in 1901 he moved further up the slopes of Mount Elgon to Busano, and it was here in April 1901 that Uganda's Special Commissioner, Sir H.H. Johnston, visited him and planned with him his future role among the Bakedi.⁹

What about the people of Kavirondo who were the prime object of Walker's appeal for men? Sir H.H. Johnston wrote: "Amongst the naked Nilotic negroes of the eastern half of the Protectorate missionary propaganda seems at the present time absolutely impossible."¹⁰ The Church Missionary Society Intelligencer described them as "the strange wild race called the Bakedi."¹¹ The Government Collector, Watson, referred to their condition as "savagery pure and simple."¹² Walker himself had said that

⁹The name Bakedi is a general term to designate the people of Bukedi, while in actual fact there is no tribe known as the Bakedi. During the years of Kakungulu's pacification, the name Bakedi was used in a derogatory sense, meaning 'the naked ones', or the primitive ones. In modern times the name Bukedi has remained in use to designate the district occupied by the Bagwere, Banyuli, Badama, Basamia and Tesots (around Tororo), and administered by the Bukedi Local Government in Tororo.

¹⁰T.F. Victor Buxton, "Sir Harry Johnston in Uganda" (a review of Sir H.H. Johnston's 'Preliminary Report by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda'), Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.LI (November 1900), p.842.

¹¹General Reports on the Uganda Mission, Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.LI (July 1900), p.527.

¹²Watson (Mbale Collector) - A. Boyle, April 5, 1904 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), A/10/3.

Bukedi is where Mwanga would go because it was outside British rule.¹³ It was to Bukedi that the Nubian mutineers had escaped, and here also came all who were discontented or refugees. Often they attached themselves to Kakungulu who was generous in his patronage and offered them great latitude in the methods they employed in carrying out their duties.

Bukedi was a land of great potential for the freebooter because it controlled most of the ivory trade from the north; it was a land where authority was there for the taking because the indigenous tribes were hopelessly segmented into clan or family units. In this land gun-tax, hut-tax, and British trade regulations were unknown because the thin arm of British authority was inadequate to reach this distant frontier; it was the land where the Baganda armies, not the British, had captured the outlaws, Mwanga and Kabarega. This was a land of opportunity with an unmoulded future! Who would do the moulding?

Walker's appeal for men went forth!

The men who first go to Kavirondo must be men of much faith, for there will be many difficulties to overcome; they must believe in the possibilities of these poor degraded people being made members of Christ -, and they must believe in the power of the message they have to deliver. The pioneers must be men of much hope.... They will have to live in depressing surroundings, and will meet with much to discourage them. They must be men of much love, that they may work together in large hearted sympathy, and in order that they may so patiently deal with the natives that they may win their confidence and affection.¹⁴

¹³H.R. Walker - B.W. Walker, May 15, 1898, Papers and MSS of Archdeacon Walker (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.88.

¹⁴H.R. Walker, "An Appeal for Kavirondo" (unpublished MS dated January 1901), Papers and MSS of Archdeacon Walker (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.88, pp.10-11.

These were the words of a C.M.S. appeal, yet another C.M.S. appeal, the words of which stirred the imagination and challenged the sense of adventure and faith of the religious community of late Victorian England. From the curacies of England, particularly southern England, came strongly individualistic parsons whose self-centred anonymity was readily transformed by the hardships of missionary life into patriarchal eminence. From various corners of industrial life came agents who felt that life consisted of more than routine effort and being part of an industrial machine.

Even before this appeal Kavirondo had been entered by C.M.S. missionaries, but these visits had not led to permanent stations being established. The Reverend G.R. Blackledge on an itineration in Northern Kyagwe met the Bakedi early in 1899. Though a wild, naked people, they welcomed him, and some 500 assembled and discussed the subject of a white teacher and came to the conclusion that as the Gospel had been so good to the Baganda, they too wanted to be taught, and would welcome a teacher. Even at this early stage the ambition of the Bakedi was to emulate the Baganda. This desire to emulate was a strange mixture of the appeal of the Gospel and the appeal of material change.

In January 1900 the Reverend T.R. Buckley (C.M.S.) visited Bukedi for several weeks and discovered that in two places¹⁵ Christian evangelism was going forward. There were some sixty people under instruction and more teachers were required. The two teachers at work had no special

¹⁵In all probability Kakungulu's fort at Nabowa was one of these places.

training. Buckley is reported to have said that if two or three more teachers were sent at once this would prepare the ground for a European. Bishop Tucker planned to send Buckley back to Bukedi after his return from furlough in 1901, but for the moment the C.M.S. had no person to spare.

In January, while Buckley was touring Bukedi, a large contingent of Mill Hill fathers from England were met at Mumias by Father Kestens who had just completed a safari through Busoga and had established a new Roman Catholic station at Iganga on a grant of land from Chief Miro. With his staff thus enlarged Bishop Hanlon of the Mill Hill Mission, together with Kestens, undertook a tour of the eastern region of Uganda to spy out possible extension work. They left Luba's on December 5th, 1900, crossed the Mpologoma River on the 9th, reached Nabowa on the 10th, and Mpumude Fort¹⁶ on the 11th. Here they found Kakungulu in difficulties with the local Bagisu. When Kakungulu first arrived at Masaba in October 1900 he was unmolested, and for several weeks he proceeded with the construction of Mpumude Fort. But as the weeks passed the Bagishu realized that he was intending to stay, and so they sent him a 'departing' gift of three cows with a request that he should leave. Kakungulu refused to accept the gift and he refused to depart. The local chiefs met and decided that they would have to drive away this foreigner, and aided by the Masai they

¹⁶ Mpumude is Kakungulu's name for his Masaba Fort - the name meaning 'I have rested' in Luganda. It was used only occasionally by Crabtree and is found in C.M.S. records only during the very early years of this century (1900-02). Masaba is a name which refers to the Mount Elgon area but was used specifically for the C.M.S. station once Kakungulu withdrew and a Luganda name was unacceptable to the local people. Masaba is one

carried out attacks on his followers and on the stockade.¹⁷

In early December 1900 the Bakedi were thoroughly roused and determined to rid themselves of Kakungulu. On December 5th Kakungulu's Kangao, Finakasi, was killed as well as some messengers on route from Iganga. The Bishop and Father Kestens heard of this when they got to Iganga and sent a message advising Kakungulu of their intended visit and an armed escort was waiting for them at Nabowa. According to Kakungulu the people of Masaba were in open rebellion and seven or eight of his men were killed in one attack on Mpumude Fort. When the Bishop arrived the evidences of war were to be seen throughout the deserted countryside, but upon closer examination the Bishop discovered that Kakungulu seemed to have over-stated the problem, and so he asked to speak to the local chiefs. Hanlon made it clear to the chiefs that their resistance was futile as they had not fully understood Kakungulu's strength nor his position among them as a representative of the British Government. In the course of the following two to three weeks a number of chiefs submitted to Kakungulu and by the end of the month Kakungulu reported that all was peace and

of the names given to Mount Elgon by the local people, and therefore was used for the Bagishu tribe as well - the Bamasaba. The name Bamasaba was discontinued in official use, but not in local use, when it was realized that a number of tribes lived on the slopes of the mountain. See map on p.16.

¹⁷The euphorbia stockade which Kakungulu erected round his Mpumude compound was still in evidence as late as the 1920's. It consisted of an inner stockade enclosing the present-day area of the girls' hockey pitch, the Chapel and tennis court area, the upper classroom block areas, and reaching down the slope almost to Aggrey dormitory. The outer stockade demarcated the fields and grazing lands surrounding the fort, enclosing much of the upper slopes of Nabumali ridge from Nabumali Corner to beyond the parish church and reaching down to the swamp area on the south.

quiet.¹⁸ Kakungulu promised the chiefs justice and as a sign to them of his good faith he returned the cattle which his men had captured. In return for the Bishop's good offices, Kakungulu and the Bishop chose a site at Masaba and a roughly sketched map was signed by Semei Kakungulu and given to the Bishop. After the Bishop's return to Busoga the Bishop informed the Government collector at Iganga that he was very pleased with Bukedi, but because of the disturbed state of the land he decided not to establish a mission at Masaba just then.

Bishop Hanlon had only just left Masaba one week when the Reverend W.A. Crabtree and his wife arrived on December 21st, 1900. Crabtree, an ardent linguist, had for many years wanted to establish mission work in Kavirondo. This extension to Masaba was not part of a deliberate plan by the C.M.S., rather it started out as a holiday trip. The Crabtrees wanted to visit their friend, Kakungulu, at his residence in north Busoga (Kakungulu, Bugerere District), but not finding him at home they followed him into Bukedi.

Crabtree was very much like the discontented Baganda who followed Kakungulu into Bukedi because for the past few years he had had repeated disagreements with Bishop Tucker about the nature of his work, the organization of the mission, and the work of the translation committee of which Crabtree was the chairman and Bishop Tucker a committee member. Crabtree had for many years been working on a Luganda Grammar and he and Bishop Tucker found it hard to work together and agree on translational differences. The diplomacy and patience required for a committee of four

¹⁸For much of this information about Hanlon's first visit to Masaba I am indebted to H.P. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers (London: 1959), pp.211-212.

or five veteran missionaries to agree on spelling, place names, and the interpretation and translation of key passages of scripture were more than Crabtree could endure. Also, having Bishop Tucker, a blunt, dogmatic man, as a member of that Committee led to Crabtree offering his resignation. Further unhappiness resulted from Bishop Tucker's not allocating to Crabtree the type of work, namely linguistic, which Crabtree felt the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. in London had designated to him. The result was that Crabtree, frustrated and embittered with Tucker's sending him to Gayaza to work under two lady missionaries selling books and keeping church accounts, became more errascible than he usually was, and once in Bukedi, far from the domination of Mengo, Crabtree applied to the Bishop that he be allowed to remain to work among the Baganda Christians in Kakungulu's army, to do translation work and prepare a 'mateka' or first reader.¹⁹

The actual journey had begun in November from Nakanonyi, following a north-easterly direction from Gayaza. Together with his wife, some Bahima herdsmen and cattle, and his interpreter, Kassingirizi, Crabtree travelled making notes and studying the languages of the areas through which they passed. The news of the death of Kakungulu's Kangao reached him on December 9th, but he decided to press quickly through to Mpumude in spite of the difficulties involved in keeping his porters with him in the face of danger.

On December 22nd Crabtree recorded in his diary: "A fine day with lovely view of the hills. Talked with Kakungulu about the visit of the

¹⁹A. Tucker, "A Journey to Mount Elgon and the Bukedi Country," Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.LV (April 1904), pp.258-9.

R.C.'s here and their request for a sight [site]: but do not see yet what I ought to do. Have visited the neighbouring mutala, crossing over the 'kibanja' chosen by the R.C.'s."²⁰ Apparently he had second thoughts about his establishing a C.M.S. station so close to the proposed R.C. station. In the light of this reaction it is interesting to consider his reaction in September a year later when Father Kestens attempted to start a station at Nyondo. Apparently, during the following week, Crabtree came to a decision, because on December 27th he recorded:

This afternoon visited proposed site with Kakunguru²¹: this has resulted in his finding a better site for the fort and one nearer to our proposed site. To my surprise the R.C. site is not immediately adjacent to the one proposed for us: and it is this intermediate mutala which Kakunguru proposed to take. The R.C. mutala and the one proposed for us form as it were a 'V' and this new site for fort lies at the point of the 'v'.²²

Kakungulu decided not to move from Mpumude until the end of the dry season, and when Commissioner H.H. Johnston visited him in April he was in residence at his new fort 'Balimwozerako' at Busano. But the Busano position was considered vulnerable because of the densely populated environs, so Grant ordered Kakungulu to remove to Budaka, his original capital. A few days after his departure on June 11th, the Busano fort was burned to the ground by the Bagishu, and Crabtree was established in the Mpumude fort.

²⁰ W.A. Crabtree, Diaries covering the years 1894-1904 (microfilm), (Makerere Library Africana Section, Kampala), MIC 916.761 CRA.

²¹ Variant of Kakungulu - 'l' and 'r' often interchangeable in Bantu spelling.

²² Crabtree, November and December 1900, Op. Cit. Apparently Crabtree first considered a site for the C.M.S. station further up the slopes of the Nkokonjeru north-east of Kakungulu's fort at Busano but later remained at the deserted Mpumude site.

Crabtree's application to the Bishop to remain in Bukedi and establish a station was, according to the Reverend A.J. Leech, "Readily accorded."²³ Crabtree remained long enough at Mpumude to prepare a tentative translation of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and a 'mateka' and then return to Mengo for supplies. In May 1901 he returned and with him came Andereya Batulabude, just recently ordained by Bishop Tucker.²⁴

During the first months of Crabtree's residence at Mpumude in Kakungulu's old fort the local people did not readily come to visit the missionary. They feared the Baganda, and even when Kakungulu moved to Busano, he kept a number of Baganda soldiers at the Mpumude Fort. It was only after Kakungulu's withdrawal to Budaka that his soldiers were withdrawn, and then the Crabtrees were able to begin winning the confidence of the Bagishu.

The work at this pioneer missionary station fell into several spheres: 1) contacting the traders who frequently passed through on their way north, 2) working among the Mohammedans (Crabtree considered this station to be an outpost by which the advance of Islam from the north could be stemmed), 3) providing for the spiritual needs of the

²³A.J. Leech, "Nabumali," Mengo Notes, Vol.14, No.11 (November 1913), p.261.

²⁴It is interesting to note that both Crabtree and Batalabude were men who found it hard to accept a centralized authority. Crabtree resigned from the C.M.S. in 1904 largely because he could not carry out his work in his own way. Batalabude, after many years of service in Bukedi, was suspended from pastoral work and joined the African Orthodox Church under Reuben Spartas, only to be dismissed again. Both were discontented rebels.

Baganda Christians, 4) extending C.M.S. work south to Mumias as Chief Mumia was considered a friend of Kakungulu and would therefore allow the extension of Protestant work into Kavirondo proper, 5) evangelizing the Teso people to the north. Crabtree realized that he could not succeed without help, and so he wrote to Buckley, who was on furlough in England, asking him to come and work among the Teso people. In many ways Crabtree's early concern was more for the Teso than for the Bagishu, partly owing to the fact that the Bagishu had withdrawn up into the hills during Kakungulu's occupation, and also due to the fact that the language of the Mumias area of Kavirondo, where Crabtree had been earlier, and that of the vast Teso area north of Mount Elgon seemed to be the same. For Crabtree this meant the opening up to mission work of a vast area which seemed to be unilingual. Only after several months of residence and itineration work did he realize that the situation in Bukedi-Kavirondo was very different. The people were divided into many, relatively small, pre-feudal segmented tribes, and the Teso-speaking people around Mumias were simply a small group of Teso emigrants. Another disappointment for Crabtree came when Buckley, rather than being stationed at Mpumude, was sent by Bishop Tucker to Budaka, a station while only some fifteen miles from Mpumude was considered by Crabtree to be outside of Bukedi and in a different language area.

But, inspite of disappointments, Crabtree, an explorer and visionary at heart, allowed his linguistic interests and imagination free flow. He saw Mpumude as the centre of a great missionary expansion programme reaching to the Lango in the north-west, Abyssinia and Khartoum

in the north and north-east, the Gallas of Tanaland in the east, and Kavirondo and the Nandi in the south. A.G. Fraser's comment was: "Crabtree too has at his finger ends the histories and leading characteristics of the tribes for a 100 miles round."²⁵ He was also very concerned that the Roman Catholics would outpace the C.M.S. and the spread of Islam from the Arab north had to be checked. Strangely enough, though Islam never became a force to be reckoned with except among the Asian population of modern Uganda, even as late as 1912, when Mbale High School was established, it was partly financed with funds from the Pan Anglican Fund which was specifically ear-marked to be used to check the advance of Islam. For the Christian societies of the early 20th Century Islam remained an arch-enemy and C.M.S. policy reflected this. Also, this argument carried a lot of weight and brought good results in fund and recruit appeals to the English public.

As can be imagined, Crabtree's boundless and out-spoken expansionism did not help his relationship with Bishop Tucker and the Parent Committee in London. Though he had the will to enter pioneering situations, his non too robust physique prevented him from having the practical skill so necessary for a missionary to survive in an unfriendly environment for a longer time. Coupled with these two defects was his rhapsodizing on the dire and urgent needs of the frontiers of Christianity. There were constant requests to Mengo that he should be provided with a house

²⁵A.G. Fraser, "Cycle Trip in Usoga and Kavirondo," Mengo Notes, Vol.3, No.12 (December 1903), p.83.

rather than his having to build one himself, a task which Crabtree claimed took him from his language work and one for which he was not suited.²⁶ But the Missionary Committee in Mengo and Bishop Tucker did not provide funds for any permanent structures at Masaba until 1904 (when it was decided that Masaba would be developed as a permanent station), and so throughout Crabtree's three-year residence at Mpumude the comfort of adequate housing was denied him.²⁷ But Crabtree's concern for his physical well-being was not only a reflection of his impractical nature and sense of self-importance, but rather it reflected a hard fact that Mpumude was a very malarial station. As early as April 1901 Crabtree was suffering his first bout with blackwater fever; these attacks frequently recurred, had severe debilitating effects, and led to his eventual return to England in 1903. As late as the 1920's and 1930's missionary personnel were regularly being invalided home from the Elgon area suffering from malarial fever.

Most of Crabtree's time was spent on translation work. With the

²⁶In 1904 when the C.M.S. Committee in London was in correspondence with Crabtree about his future plans, Crabtree laid down the conditions for his return to the Uganda Mission. One of these conditions was that he would go to Mumias to do linguistic work only if the C.M.S. provided him with a pre-fabricated house from England. The C.M.S. even went as far as to price such a house and plans were under foot to ship one to East Africa when Crabtree offered his resignation. See Minutes of the Executive Committee, September 27, 1904, Uganda Mission Precipis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P1.

²⁷An anonymous account of the early days at Nabumali written for the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of 1950 describes Crabtree's first house as a two-room mud and wattle hut near the school flag-pole in front of the present-day chapel. It is recorded that Crabtree began teaching in the open under the holy tree which even in the 1960's is used for similar purposes.

help of students living at the station and teachers like Andereya Batal-abude and Alexander Lakula, he carried out the translation of some hymns, prayers, and part of St. Marks Gospel into Lugishu or Lumasaba.²⁸ When both of these teachers left with Kakungulu for Budaka, Crabtree had to rely on his Bahima herdsmen who served the dual role of looking after his increasing herd of cattle and teaching the children and adults who attended Mrs. Crabtree's school. By June 1901 Crabtree had also completed a Teso mateka, but it had not been circulated because with Kakungulu at Budaka, Crabtree was not able to get in touch with the Baganda at the various forts in Teso country through whom the beginnings of school and reading work were being carried out.²⁹

This dependence on Baganda agents illustrates a truth which came home to Crabtree, and other missionaries in the Bukedi area, through frustration and bitter experience. Most missionaries had come from Uganda where there was a well developed feudal system of authority through which the missionary could work. In Uganda the C.M.S. had been particularly successful in reaching the masses by reaching the chiefs, but what method should be adopted where, as in Bukedi, chieftainship was ill-defined and almost totally lacking in authority except over a few clan members. Furthermore, once Kakungulu, with the blessing of the British authority, began to establish a system of client chieftainship throughout Bukedi it meant that the missions were very dependent on his good-will if they

²⁸See footnote No.16, p.35.

²⁹W.A. Crabtree, "Bukedi," Mengo Notes, Vol.II, No.11 (June 1901), p.58.

intended to evangelize through the chiefs. Fortunately for the Protestants, Kakungulu was considered one of their best Christian men, but for the Roman Catholics this meant much bitterness and suspicion.

Kakungulu's identification with the Colonial Government, as a paid employee and an accredited administrator, led to a complex picture of loyalties, alliances and dependencies. The Roman Catholics felt that the Protestant Kakungulu and the British Government were united in their opposition to Catholicism because the religious warring of the 1890's had identified the British with the Protestants in the minds of the African.³⁰ The Baganda and Kakungulu knew that they were dependent on the British for their legal authority in Bukedi but they were unwilling or reticent in instituting British administrative authority there because their free-booting would then end. The Protestants wanted to stay on good terms with Kakungulu so long as Kakungulu had more power in Bukedi than the British Colonial Government. At the same time the Protestants wanted to be identified with British law and order and justice, but not so identified with Government that the native would associate missions with hut-tax and punitive expeditions. The Protestants also wanted to use their 'in' with the Government and Kakungulu to gain an advantage over the Roman Catholics. The local natives, on the other hand, wanted

³⁰ During the religious wars of the early 1890's the Protestants were known as the Wa-Englesa (the English) and the Roman Catholics as the Wa-Fransa (the French) because the C.M.S. missionaries came from England and the White Fathers from France. Since the Government was also English, an automatic connection was supposed by the African. This connection was very slow to disappear.

the material advantage of Christianity, also the prestige value of being identified with the Baganda, and the spiritual well-being of Christian fellowship, but he did not want to accept the responsibility and hard work which went with learning to read, or the discipline of daily school and catechumenate attendance, or the tax price of a firmly established administration.

The Colonial Government was dependent on Kakungulu to administer the Bukedi area. Had Kakungulu decided to physically oppose British Colonial authority in Bukedi and hold Commissioner Johnston to his promise reputedly given to Kakungulu in April 1901 during the Busano meeting³¹ the British would not have been able to withstand his forces. Kakungulu, however, placed great value on his connection with the Government and knew he would retain this connection only as long as he administered Bukedi according to British justice and plan.³² The Government was willing to support the free-booting Baganda only so long as they did not

³¹Reputedly Johnston had climbed the Nkokonjeru with Kakungulu during their meeting at Busano, and from this high vantage point they surveyed the vast plains of Bukedi lying below them, and Johnston told Kakungulu that one day he would be Kabaka of Bukedi. Such a reaffirmation of a personal ambition was hard for Kakungulu to forget, but Johnston seemed to have found it more convenient to forget his promise that he would get official Colonial Office approval when he returned to England later that year.

³²When reports of excessive free-booting reached Entebbe, the Government sent Walker, the Government collector, to Budaka to check on Kakungulu and his followers. Both Walker and Kakungulu were official Government administrators but Walker, in a show of strength, challenged Kakungulu's right to fly a Union Jack at Budaka. It was only through the mediation and good offices of Father Kirk of the Mill Hill Mission and the Reverend Buckley of the C.M.S. that Walker's bluff worked without a resort to arms.

free-boot too openly, and they were willing to support punitive expeditions by Kakungulu and other Government officers against the recalcitrant tribes of Bukedi so long as it did not become a public issue by being reported in the press.³³

Crabtree did not consider himself to be a regular missionary. When he came back from furlough in April 1898 the Parent Committee in England had written to him

. . . the Committee hope that you will make the most of your opportunities in this matter, & do all that lies in you to carry forward translation and literary work as it may be required. The Finance Committee will understand from these Instructions that they are at liberty to arrange for you to give your whole time so far as is needed to work in this direction³⁴

In spite of explanatory letters Crabtree took this to mean that all his time, wherever he was located by Bishop Tucker, would be spent on translation and literary work. This is why he took strong objection to having to build his own house, keep books and accounts, correspond with the C.M.S. secretary in Mengo, sell books to natives, train Africans in official and domestic work, or even the work of paying mission servants.³⁵ An attitude of this nature isolated him from the friendship of most other missionaries and contributed to Bishop Tucker refusing to locate Crabtree to a station where any other missionary would be living. If we understand this about

³³ Twaddle, Op. Cit., p.240. See also p.73.

³⁴ F. Baylis and D.H.D. Wilkinson - Crabtree, April 22, 1898, W.A. Crabtree Papers and Correspondence (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.27.

³⁵ Rough copy of a letter apparently written by Crabtree to Bishop Tucker circa 1899, W.A. Crabtree Papers and Correspondence (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.27.

Crabtree, very much of his time at Masaba between December 1900 and September 1903 will make much more sense. He did not undertake pioneer missionary work other than basic translation work. He was not a builder, as most missionaries must be to establish a station. He was not interested in local itineration work other than to study and relate linguistic patterns. He went to Mumias in September 1901 with Masaba chiefs primarily to find out what languages were spoken in the areas through which they passed. He did not administer to the needs of the Baganda Christians in Bukedi. He did not involve himself in the political developments taking place among the segmented tribes of the Elgon-Kavirondo area under Kakungulu's authority.

In a letter to the Reverend J. Roscoe³⁶ Crabtree outlined what he considered to be his calling:

The part I feel most called to is the routing up of long forgotten or little known works in these languages [of the Nile Valley and the Rudolph Province up to Abyssinia] & getting them reprinted in English in some sort of a series. This would not interfere with my work in the Kavirondo-Bantu dialects. If I may speak of myself, I feel that my training has fitted me for dealing with these

And about his itineration plans he continues in the same letter:

The exploring journey that is laid on my heart is from here to Gondokoro - it is the key at present to understanding what languages are used immediately north of us and the Teso. But the journey is a long one and would need great tact - probably a strong armed escort As I do not know Nubian, I shd. either have to learn it or find an interpreter into Luganda We ought at

³⁶The Reverend John Roscoe had come to Central Africa under the C.M.S. in 1884 and his great interest in anthropology made him a pioneer in that field after his retirement in 1911. His anthropological studies of East African tribes have only partially been superceded by more recent research.

present to ascertain that form of Arabic which is most widely used for trade purposes between Khartoum and Uganda and get a literature in it³⁷

Just two weeks later Crabtree again wrote to Roscoe:

. . . the Abyssinian frontier has to be settled . . . I have been wondering whether I shd. gain by going to Karamojo from Mumia's following one of the trading parties. Though the road to Mumia's is a trifle risky.

. . . It now seems pretty clear to me that we have an equally important route to work out along Lake Rudolph to Kaffa on the boundaries of Abyssinia, where we come upon more or less well known ground. Say the distance is 400 miles . . . The work here does not take all my time: & my choice of a new study lies between Nubian for the Nile Valley or some medium useful for extension by Lake Rudolph. Galla commends itself to me.

At the same time I have been struck with the amount that has been written on Galla: evidently Gallas are mixed up with Abyssinians in some places. & so I think it is well worth while making a preliminary study of Amharic. D.V. these are the languages I want to study till my furlough - Galla, Kaffa, & a little Amharic³⁸

These are the plans and intentions of a pioneer missionary living among the Bagishu at Masaba just beginning the study of Teso and Lugishu. It is not hard to understand why Bishop Tucker and the Parent Committee in London grew impatient with what they called Crabtree's "scrappy" translation work.³⁹ Especially irksome was Crabtree's repeated pleading that new fields should be opened and not ignored by the Committee in Mengo. Crabtree seemed to do more planning and recruiting for the Uganda Mission

³⁷Crabtree - J. Roscoe, February 6, 1902, W.A. Crabtree Papers and Correspondence (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.27.

³⁸Crabtree - J. Roscoe, February 19, 1902, W.A. Crabtree Papers and Correspondence (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.27.

³⁹Baylis - Tucker, March 20, 1903, Uganda Mission out-Correspondence 1898 - 1934 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), G3/A7/L1.

than did Bishop Tucker, and Tucker was not one to allow his authority to be usurped. Crabtree knew he was treading on dangerous ground, but justified himself on one occasion by simply saying ". . . these great needs are very much on my heart" ⁴⁰

As the Bagishu got used to the white man's presence, many came to visit the mission compound which was still surrounded by the double kraal of euphoria which Kakungulu had erected for defensive reasons. But these people did not wish to read, in fact they "hardly knew what reading is" commented Crabtree. Usually missionaries had convinced the masses through the chiefs, but here clan leaders rarely had more than four or five men attached to their household. This meant that much effort to win that clan elder would, if successful, mean only four or five scholars or potential converts. Crabtree was helped a great deal by an influential clan leader by name of Mandali who brought people to visit the missionaries and work for them, but it seemed that Mandali himself never joined the reading classes. Inter-clan suspicion and enmity further restricted the work at Masaba almost totally to the immediate clan on whose land the station was located. The clans just to the south practically never visited though they had only a few miles to come. Crabtree concluded that ". . . Kavirondo then is a land of clans, and can only be occupied by visiting from clan to clan, and village to village." ⁴¹

⁴⁰ Crabtree - Walker, October 16, 1901, W.A. Crabtree Papers and Correspondence (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.27.

⁴¹ W.A. Crabtree, "Annual Letter dated November 4, 1901," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries. (London: 1901), p.250.

There were many other problems for the missionary brought on by the fragmentation of authority. 1) It was difficult to get porters for itineration work, carrying of mail, and building. 2) Construction work was largely dependent on women labour. 3) There were no local markets for supplies because local natives rarely travelled more than five miles from their homes for fear of being attacked by other clans. 4) It was difficult, if not impossible, to expect members of different clans to meet together under the same roof for a Christian Service or reading lessons. 5) Members of the same tribe, but from a different clan, often had significant language differences (north, south and central Bagishu variations).

As mentioned above, missionaries coming from Uganda had to adopt a totally new method of work. Crabtree considered the situation so unique that in 1904, while on furlough, he requested in a special interview with Mr. J.W. Rundall of the C.M.S. of London that a " . . . separate Mission, to be run upon its own lines independent of the E.C. [Executive Committee of the Uganda Diocese in Mengo] . . ." be established.⁴² For Bishop Tucker this meant primarily one thing - Crabtree, unable to get along with Mengo, was trying to go his own way again. But for Crabtree it meant much more. Mr. Baylis tried to summarize Crabtree's feelings after an interview with him on the same subject:

I think, in Mr. Crabtree's mind, this [mission inability to work

⁴² Baylis - Walker, June 10, 1904, Uganda Mission - Letter Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/11, No. 458-9.

through the chiefs] implies that an increase in staff would be justified in this Field [Bukedi-Kavirondo] with much less promise of early result than is the case in other directions, and that methods of work and the selection of native workers may be differently guided by the facts of the case in Kavirondo.⁴³

The minutes of the E.C. meeting of September 27th, 1904 record that Tucker, Purvis (Crabtree's successor at Masaba) and Willis (Tucker's successor as Bishop) disagreed with Crabtree's suggestion that Kavirondo should be separated from the Uganda Diocese. Both Willis and Purvis were convinced that there was a close connexion in languages between Uganda and the Elgon area as the latter was considered the original home of the Baganda and Banyoro.⁴⁴ Only time was to prove to Purvis and Willis that Crabtree's diagnosis of the situation was valid, given the situation as it existed in Crabtree's time at Masaba. Until approximately 1909 the results from missionary work at Masaba were very slow in coming in, and then the results which followed were largely due to the fact that Kakungulu and the British Government had succeeded in imposing a system of client chieftainship onto these tribes which had previously been governed by weak clan elders.

By November 1901 there were ten boys being taught the alphabet, hymns, the Lord's Prayer, and simple explanations of Scripture passages in the morning and afternoon sessions of Mrs. Crabtree's school.⁴⁵ By

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Minutes of Missionary Committee, September 27, 1904, Section 167, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P1.

⁴⁵W.A. Crabtree, "Annual Letter dated November 4, 1901," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1901), p.250.

February 1902 singing was being used to teach and draw attention to reading. Crabtree had put Psalm 95 into a chant form, and "There is a green hill" had been translated into Lugishu.⁴⁶ By October 1902 it had been found necessary for regular instruction to board the boys at the school. There were eighteen boys and the oversight of these was becoming difficult with the limited staff. There were also three Bagweri girls living at the station - working and being taught to read.⁴⁷ Since fees could not be charged or collected, the students in residence were essentially all workers on the compound - cooking, running messages, cultivating, repairing, building, and so on. In his annual letter of 1902 Crabtree described the educational work at Masaba in these terms:

. . . they have an hour in the morning and an hour in the afternoon. Five are nearly able to read, and one of the girls, who is far quicker than all the boys. The others are in various stages of reading. Experience shows that after a certain age they are well-nigh incapable of learning the letters They learn from the Catechism which the Bishop drew up for elementary teaching in Buganda, and now know about twenty answers correctly, and many of the texts of scripture attached to them

Singing my wife regards as much superior to that of the Baganda; and so did Mr. Fraser, who called here recently. We have eleven hymns and the children's service as drawn up for Baganda. Scripture stories they learn as far as possible from pictures, in which they take a keen interest.

My wife has also added drilling, writing, and the Tonic Sol-fa scale, which latter they learn very quickly. A few adults and

⁴⁶Crabtree - Roscoe, February 6, 1902, W.A. Crabtree Papers and Correspondence (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.27.

⁴⁷W.A. Crabtree, "Annual Letter dated October 14, 1902," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1902), p.190.

other children come in occasionally, but not regularly. An average of thirty may be said to be the number in school.⁴⁸

Dispensary work had been started very early and by June 1901 was advancing slowly, but beginning to be appreciated. By October 1902 the people were still very shy, and the children were the main patients. An out-station had been established some ten miles to the north where the beginnings of school work and dispensary work were being attempted. Crabtree was convinced that

Dispensary work will be the backbone of what is done in Kavirondo amongst adults; and I say this confidently despite the poor attendance here. Nothing else can so permanently draw the people to the mission station or the camp of an itineration, or cope with the clannish, disintegrated Kavirondo elements.⁴⁹

When Crabtree first arrived at Masaba he seemed to have had serious second thoughts about starting a station at Mpumude, especially since the Roman Catholics had already chosen, and been granted, a site there. In September 1901 Father Kestens acting on Bishop Hanlon's instructions revisited Masaba via Budaka. With a Baganda escort he arrived at the C.M.S. station on the 17th only to find Crabtree away to Mumias. So he went to the hill granted to them by Kakungulu and by the 19th he had begun work on building. Crabtree returned on the 20th and immediately wrote to Grant at Jinja, strongly protesting that "a member of the Catholic Mission at Bukaleba, Mr. Kesten I believe, has come here and apparently

⁴⁸Ibid., p.190.

⁴⁹Ibid., p.190.

intends to build."⁵⁰ Crabtree felt that the little unity and cohesion which he had achieved at Masaba would be disrupted by a competitive element and so "retard the peaceable settlement of the district."⁵¹ He also urged that the local chiefs, two of whom had apparently come to him personally, did not want a newcomer.

In the meantime Kestens' construction work came to a halt because the people had been ordered by their chiefs through Crabtree to stop working, or supplying food. Kestens in his diary even recorded that Crabtree had accused him to the natives of coming to take their country, and that he had many arms. Kestens managed to continue his construction with the help of women, a chief and a few men. Crabtree's anger increased and again labour and food were not forthcoming. On the 22nd Kestens visited the C.M.S. station but again found Crabtree away. On the 30th and October 1st work started again. By October 7th Kestens had a grass hut as a residence. On the 9th a letter came from Grant:

H.M. Acting Commissioner and Consul General has reason to believe that your presence at Masawa is likely to lead to trouble with the natives and that you are to withdraw to Budaka for the present.⁵²

Kestens withdrew to Budaka but explained to Grant that Crabtree had spread

⁵⁰H.P. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers (London: 1959), p.217 citing Crabtree - Grant, September 20, 1901, Busoga (in) Correspondence August 1901 to December 1902 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe).

⁵¹Ibid., p.218 citing above.

⁵²Ibid., p.219 citing Grant - Kestens, October 5, 1901, 'in extenso' from Kestens' 'Diary of Bukeddi Mission', October 9, 1901.

"valsche geruchten" (false rumours).⁵³ A chief had told Kestens that Crabtree was trying to convince the natives that he was 'the ruler of the country' because he had taken over the fort of Kakungulu. At Bukada Kakungulu in kingly fashion granted Kestens a site and so the first Roman Catholic station in Bukedi was established there. No further work was to be done at Nyondo, the Roman Catholic Masaba station, until October 1903 when a similar exchange occurred between the Roman Catholics and the Reverend J.B. Purvis, the then C.M.S. resident at Masaba. By this time, however, the Roman Catholics had carefully registered their site with Entebbe to prevent a similar expulsion.⁵⁴

⁵³Fr. Kallen, General Report, Annalen van het Missiehuis te Rozendaal (May 1904), p.18.

⁵⁴For much of this analysis of the first contacts between the Protestants and Roman Catholics at Masaba I am indebted to H.P. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers (London: 1959).

When Bishop Hanlon and Fr. Kallen arrived at Masaba in October 1903, just shortly after Purvis had replaced Crabtree, Purvis wrote to Bishop Tucker expressing his amazement that the R.C.'s should now begin work within 500 yards of the C.M.S. station when there were no other mission stations " . . . for a hundred miles to the south, some hundreds of miles to the east, and thousands of miles to the north, all teeming with population." (J.B. Purvis, Through Uganda to Mount Elgon (London: 1909), p.305.) Purvis rather philosophically concluded " . . . but we laid ourselves out to understand each other, and as a result became fast friends." (Ibid., p.305.) One of the reasons why this friendship was much easier to form was that the 'trade competition' which Purvis feared did not develop because the R.C.'s did not begin a permanent work until 1906, and during 1910 to 1914 Nyondo was closed. Personally, however, Purvis recalled with pleasure the good-will and kindness which he received from the hands of Father Kirk at Budaka when he was being invalided to Mengo in May 1907 with blackwater fever, and also the kindness of Father Spere to his wife and Mr. Holden during his absence when Mr. Holden went down with a temperature of 104°. "Without trespassing on private judgment and opinions, we learn to know and respect each other's work for something like its true value." (Ibid., p.306.)

In November 1909 when Governor Hesketh Bell implied that the Protestants very often followed in the steps of the Roman Catholics in

In June 1903 Bishop Tucker and Dr. and Mrs. A.R. Cook left Mengo on a journey to Mount Elgon to visit the Crabtrees at Masaba and Kakungulu at the newly established Mbale. In six days the distance from Iganga to Masaba was covered by the party. Crabtree's absence from Mengo must have mellowed his relationship with Bishop Tucker, and for the first time the Bishop saw at first hand the situation as it was in Bukedi.

Mr. Crabtree, I am thankful to find, has done very valuable linguistic work. He has given us a start in Ki-Kavirondo⁵⁵ which was hardly possible at the hands of anyone else. He has a printing press at work and has published reading-sheets, hymns

For years I have contended that our true line of advance into Kavirondo must be by way of Busoga. I could see no possibility of its coming about. But now in the most natural way possible, by Jinja, Iganga, Budaka, and Masaba, we are actually in the land where for long we have wished to be

I do not know of any instance of guidance to a station or a work which seems to me so truly Divine as our leading and guiding to this place⁵⁶

The visitors were genuinely impressed with the way in which the Crabtrees

establishing stations, Bishop Tucker defended his mission strongly by listing a number of stations where the Protestants preceded the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholics move to re-establish their station at Masaba in 1901 and 1903 Tucker called "clearly an act of aggression on the part of the R.C.'s." (Baylis - Hesketh Bell Interview, November 19, 1909, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P2, No.460-2; Extract from Tucker - Baylis, December 14, 1909, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P2, No.478.)

⁵⁵Bishop Tucker probably meant the language of the Teso tribe. The confusion of language groups in the Bukedi-Kavirondo area had still not been sorted out sufficiently for Tucker to realize that there were Tesots in different parts of Bukedi and Kavirondo. The prefix 'Ki' was also used to denote the language of the Swahili coastal people e.g. Ki-Swahili, but in modern times this prefix is no longer used.

⁵⁶General reports on the Uganda Mission, Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.LIV (October 1903), pp.766-7.

had "won the love and confidence of the people"⁵⁷ through the medical work and their personal concern.

From Masaba the Bishop and the Cooks went to meet their 'old friend' Kakungulu at Mbale. Mbale had been established 'Mengo' style with Kakungulu's residence⁵⁸ at the centre of a flourishing trade centre. The energy and influence of Kakungulu was evident in the orderly, purposeful lay-out of the town. A large church had been built and Andereya Batalabude, who had originally come out with Crabtree, was ministering to the Baganda. The Bishop challenged the Mbale Baganda to reach out, beyond their colony and evangelize their surroundings. As will be seen, in the course of the next few years this church was to make both men and funds available.

And so by late 1903 the first attempts to pacify and civilize the Bukedi had been made by the combined efforts of Kakungulu and his Baganda 'police force', by Grant and his widely scattered Government collectors, by the Reverend and Mrs. W.A. Crabtree, by Buckley and Chadwick at Budaka, by Fathers Kestens and Kirk at Masaba and Budaka. Very tentative roots had been established on this frontier for the evangelist, administrator and trader. Bukedi was still considered to be several centuries behind Uganda, but civilization, which prior to 1900 had been reaching across Lake Victoria and by-passing Kavirondo, was now attempting to integrate the eastern portion of the Protectorate with the developing countries of Buganda, Busoga and Bunyoro.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.766-7; A.R. Cook, "A Journey to Mount Elgon and the Bukedi Country," Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Vol.IV (April 1904), p.259.

⁵⁸ Kakungulu's residence was located on the present-day site of Mbale Government Secondary School where a monument is to be found.

Changes were coming rapidly to Uganda. April 1900 the telegraph line connected Mengo with the outside world, a cycling road had already been completed between Entebbe, Kampala and Jinja, a light railroad was soon to connect Lake Victoria with the capital, and Marseilles could now be reckoned to be only about three weeks removed from Uganda. Traders and goods were flowing into Uganda from the coast via the newly completed railroad to Kisumu and the "Wm. Mackinnon" on the Lake between the railhead and Port Bell. Rest houses had been constructed along the main roads and guards were stationed at each. Taxes were being collected in cowrie shells, but the rupee was to become the official currency in late 1901. The first attempts to organize industry and train tradesmen was underway in Mengo. The eastern portion of Uganda, reaching as far east as Naivasha and north to Lake Rudolph and west to the present Uganda-Kenya boundary, was handed over to British East Africa on April 1, 1902. And over this all hung the pall of the sleeping sickness epidemic which began in the summer of 1901.

The C.M.S. were very conscious of the impact which materialism would have on the Uganda native. The mission had made the first impact on Central Africa, and as Special Commissioner Johnston pointed out in his first report " . . . the difference between the Uganda of 1900 and the blood-stained barbarous days of Mtesa and Mwanga is really extraordinary, and the larger share is due to the teaching of Anglican and R.C. missionaries."⁵⁹ In spite of mission success Bishop Tucker feared for the moral tone of the land because along with the material invasion came many new

⁵⁹Victor Buxton, Op. Cit., Vol.LI (November 1900), p.842.

and exciting temptations: a money economy, salaried work, greater individual freedom in earning and buying, the secularization of morals, freedom for women, the dilution of Christian authority. "The Christianity of Uganda, having survived the horrors of barbarism, had now to be tested by the enticements of civilization and trade."⁶⁰ Bukedi, however, remained sufficiently remote to retain its mission orientation until as late as the 1920's.

In September 1903 the Reverend and Mrs. J.B. Purvis began the long journey from Mengo, through Jinja and Iganga, across Lake Kioga to the district of Serere, then south and east past Lake Salisbury to the spur of Mount Elgon, the Nkokonjeru. Purvis was impressed with the heartiness of the welcome which they received from a people so frequently described as the wildest people to be found anywhere in the Protectorate. Their long journey ended on a seemingly insignificant hill where their future home was surrounded by great fences of menacing thorn trees. The Crabtrees, broken in health, were speedily sent off with porters to the Kisumi railhead some hundred miles away for their journey to England.⁶¹

In typical Crabtree-fashion quarters had been prepared for Purvis and his wife - a hut which had been constructed to serve as a shelter for a visitor's tent. Purvis, an industrial agent and a man intensely practical in his ways, reacted in these words:

⁶⁰Stock, Op. Cit., p.83 citing a C.M.S. Committee report.

⁶¹After endless correspondence and interviews Crabtree and the C.M.S. were unable to come to a mutual agreement about his future work, location and conditions of service, and so his resignation was accepted on June 6th, 1905.

I have never yet dared to ask my wife what she thought when on that first evening I led her into that shed and told her we should have to live there for some little time. My own feelings were somewhat intense, for what I had treated as a joke when I heard that an application had been sent to headquarters for one rupee (1s.4d.), the cost of my house, I now realised was grim reality . . . my wife . . . went down with a temperature of 103°.

We removed her to the Crabtree's house, a small mud and thatched affair, bequeathed to Mr. Crabtree by a native chief Kakungulu.⁶²

The first thing Purvis did was to cut down the euphorbia fence, an act which quickly won for them the good-will of the Bagishu. Then the clearing of the ground for a mission station began. Crabtree had been living in the former compound of Kakungulu's fort and had done little to develop it as a permanent mission station. Admittedly the Executive Committee in Mengo had not voted any money for the permanent development of the station, but Purvis immediately set to work, with or without Mengo money grants, procured the help of a large number of natives, who readily came once they realized that they would be paid for their labour,⁶³ and construction began. Bringing together workmen from different clans quickly led to open dispute, but Purvis welded their differences with an historically proven method - he refused to pay them their small white beads. A second bird was killed with the same stone, because bringing different clans together often helped overcome unfounded suspicions, and within a matter of a few years the Sunday services numbered well in the hundreds.

⁶²Purvis, Op. Cit., pp.299-300.

⁶³Until 1904 beads were the official currency used at Masaba while in the central parts of the Protectorate the rupee had been introduced in 1901 to replace cowrie shells.

Eventually a large clearing was made, roads laid out, and a mission station planned which would contain a church, schools, dispensary, teachers' houses, house for boarders, house for European ladies, and house for second European man. . . . when the first brick house was built, some three hundred Bagishu went to Jinja, a distance of a hundred miles, with a native headman and brought the corrugated iron for the roof.⁶⁴

Even while this construction was in progress, Purvis and his wife had been gathering people together in a small shed for instruction and worship. These facilities were soon too small and, with the kind help of Bishop Tucker, funds were made available and a church was built large enough to hold four hundred people. The Bishop himself came in July 1904 and consecrated it when he visited Masaba with Archdeacon Walker and the Reverend Buckley. This building then became the scene for short morning services and the "morning and afternoon school at which reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and sewing"⁶⁵ were taught.

Purvis in his dealings with the Bagishu was determined not to have a 'no blanketi no Hallelujah' type of Christianity at Masaba. While supervising construction work in Kyadondo Province in 1897 he had had some 200 workmen who as soon as some became Christians stopped working, dressed in their finery, and began attending classes in the church all day because work was beneath the dignity of the Christian. This lack of proportion was partly encouraged by the church, and Purvis did not

⁶⁴ Purvis, Op. Cit., pp.308-9.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.312.

want this repeated.⁶⁶

For almost two years Purvis and his wife were the only Europeans at Masaba. In this time several out-stations, including some in Teso, were begun and staffed by Baganda teachers.⁶⁷ There were nine lay-teachers working with Purvis, and at Masaba some fifty boys and ten girls were receiving instruction. Alexander Lukula, a Baganda lay-reader who had travelled with Kakungulu for several years, was one of the teachers who was preparing readers for baptism.⁶⁸ The dispensary work begun by Crabtree continued to grow. Translation work took up much of Purvis' time and by the time he left Masaba in April 1907 he had completed a Lumasaba Grammar, a Dictionary, a Service Book with hymns, portions of the Prayer Book, a Catechism and a Reading Book.⁶⁹ And, when Purvis

⁶⁶It is interesting to note how early and how readily the 'white-collar' mentality was accepted by those who received education. In spite of endless attempts to introduce industrial and agricultural emphases into education, and in spite of warnings from both Europeans and African leaders, the students of Uganda still hold this attitude in the 1960's.

⁶⁷As early as 1905 Purvis had tried to establish out-stations. He reported having three teachers in Teso, contacts with the Acholi (an Acholi was baptized before a Mugishu), some contacts among the Baganda of Mbale with a schoolmaster named Zakayo there, and a Muganda teacher, David, at Nabowa. (J.B. Purvis, "Annual Letter dated November 1905," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1905), p.79.)

⁶⁸Preparing readers for baptism consisted of basic literacy in order that the convert could read the Scriptures for himself. All education at this stage was intended as preparation for baptism, and so the term 'reader' and 'Christian' were almost synonymous.

⁶⁹Report on work at Masaba and Purvis' being invalided to England, Mengo Notes, Vol.VIII, No.6 (June 1907).

was not involved in one of the above tasks, he was supervising the endless construction projects. During his time at Masaba he was responsible for a brick house for the missionary in charge⁷⁰, the above mentioned church, a boys' school, a brick dispensary, a house for women teachers and boarders, a brick house for a second European missionary and one almost completed for lady missionaries. In addition a site was prepared for the permanent parish church and a football field was cleared.⁷¹

Compared with Crabtree, Purvis was much more the ideal missionary.

⁷⁰The first brick house was a great source of wonder to the Bagishu, not only because this type of construction was so new to the natives, but Purvis' house at Masaba was described by one observer as being, next to the Governor's mansion in Entebbe, the largest house in the Uganda Protectorate. The corrugated roof of this house was transferred to Mbale in 1916 when Nabumali station was closed, but later the house was rebuilt when Banks re-established the educational work at Nabumali when Mbale was declared unfit for European residence following the 1918-19 pestilence. This house served as the headmaster's residence until as late as 1934.

⁷¹A temporary church was erected in 1904. It served the Nabumali community until 1915 when Banks and Balubuliza built the first brick church which is now being used as the main building of the Nabumali Primary School.

The boys' school was a mud and wattle structure situated in the space between the present library and the upper classroom block.

The dispensary is at present used as the school shop and matoke store - the oldest remaining building on the school site.

The house for women teachers and boarders was located in the open space south of the present school shop.

The brick house for the second European missionary has not been exactly identified, but in all probability it was located across the road from the present Nabumali Primary School, or else near the house of the Vicar of Nabumali Parish.

The house for lady missionaries is the house opposite the old dispensary site near Mr. Kiondo's residence.

The church site is the present Nabumali Primary School site.

The football pitch was either the present girls' hockey pitch opposite the chapel, or else the quadrangel and classroom area which until the mid 1950's was used as a football pitch.

His many-sidedness enabled him to undertake and successfully carry out most of the activities with which a pioneer missionary is confronted. He knew that he would have to have a central station from which to develop the work. By and large the basics of such a central station had been completed by Purvis as early as mid 1904 - only a year after his arrival. He knew that he would have to contact the local people, win their confidence, and overcome their animosity and mutual suspicions (both towards the white man and each other). This he achieved, as mentioned above, by employing large numbers at the station. Purvis knew also that he would have to begin school and medical work at out-stations and continue the existing work at the Masaba site. The former he undertook while on itineration and the latter he left largely to his wife. The educational work, the training of readers for baptism, had to be left to Baganda lay-teachers (supported by Kakungulu) and Basoga lay-teachers who were in residence at the station. With most of the teachers in residence at the central station it was possible to supervise their work carefully, and for the more responsible and experienced, out-stations were started but usually near enough for these teachers to continue living at Masaba.

Itineration work proved to be the most difficult and least successful of Purvis' work as a pioneer missionary. He knew that in a society without a ruling élite the masses had to be reached directly by the evangelist in the vernacular. The result was that evangelistic work at Masaba was in Lugishu, and remained in Lugishu long after the surrounding stations and out-stations were using Luganda as the 'lingua franca'.⁷²

⁷²Interview with Bishop E.K. Masaba, May 22, 1968, at Mbale.

When the Reverend H.B. Ladbury came to Mbale in 1909 to start C.M.S. work there, a far-reaching system of out-stations and school were established using the Uganda method - native Baganda evangelists from the Baganda colony of Mbale working in Luganda through the imposed client chieftainship system of Baganda agents in order to reach the masses. It is interesting to note that the work at Masaba was quickly out-stripped by the work at Mbale where a mass movement to Christianity was evident by 1914-17 (only to be interrupted by the severe drought, famine and pestilence of the years 1918-19), while at Masaba, only eight miles from Mbale, a mass movement was experienced only in the mid twenties, and by that time Luganda had become the 'lingua franca' there as well.⁷³ It would be an over-simplification to say that the mass movement was the result of the language employed, but it would be justifiable to say that the rate of out-reach of missionaries and native evangelists was much more rapid in the areas where the evangelisation of the masses was carried out through the chiefs using Luganda.

In many ways Purvis' choice of language became a matter of identification - whether to use Luganda and identify himself with the invaders (and this included the British Colonial administration) and have available evangelists and lay-readers from Buganda and Busoga, or to identify with the Bagishu, use Lugishu, and risk establishing a work which was very local in scope. Both Purvis and Holden his successor

⁷³All Nabumali missionaries prior to 1916 learned and spoke Lugishu.

chose to identify themselves most closely with the tribe immediately around Nabumali.⁷⁴ This meant that they cut themselves off from the neighbouring tribes, the Bagweri, Banyuli, Badama, and even the Baganda at Mbale, but it did enable them to play a mediatory role between the Government and the Bagishu during the unrest of the first decade of the century.⁷⁵ But by 1910 this mediation was no longer needed because Government authority had been firmly established and accepted. Masaba's slow development between 1910 and 1916, compared with Ladbury's work at Mbale, was largely due to the missionaries having adopted a method which had finished serving its purpose but continued to be used. The local inhabitants around Nabumali, rather than rebelling against Government control, were now seeking to become a part of its activities and values. Purvis' identifying himself with the Bagishu got him into difficulties with the Colonial authorities.

Kakungulu had left Busano in June 1901, returned to his former capital at Budaka, and soon reports of lawlessness and free-booting

⁷⁴After the opening of Mbale and Ngora in 1908-09 it became necessary to use a more exact name than Masaba, and so the local name Nabumali was used to describe what was formerly known as Masaba or Mpumude. The origin of the name Nabumali appears to come from the name of a woman, Nabumati, who owned the land which Kakungulu had confiscated for his fort. She apparently lived near the present Banks-Apolo dormitory. (Interviews with Messrs. Lasto Busiku and Jonah Buyi, May and June 1968 at Nabumali.) Another origin for the name Nabumali was suggested by Mr. Washumo, a Muslim resident at Nabumali Corner, who claimed that his great grandfather was a chief called Wamumali. In either case the name Nabumali implies that the site once was the land belonging to Nabumati or Wamumali, as the case may be. (Interview with Mr. Washumo, May 1968 at Nabumali.)

⁷⁵Purvis' co-worker and successor, Mr. W. Holden, was once described as the Deborah of Nabumali, because he used to sit under a great tree across from his house and hear the cases of the local inhabitants.

reached Kampala: hut and gun taxes had not been collected by Kakungulu's chiefs, many Baganda were leaving the Capital to join Kakungulu in the land of opportunity, Kakungulu himself with a personal bodyguard of a hundred askaris was selling cows in the 100's and sending elaborate orders to Mengo. Acting Commissioner Jackson requested Grant to investigate and so Walker was sent to reside at Budaka. Kakungulu was unwilling to yield his authority to Walker, and so, when directly challenged, resigned, or as he later wrote, was dismissed. He asked for a site of land onto which he could retire and twenty square miles were granted him at a mutually agreeable site - Mbale. Kakungulu wisely chose this strategic site which in 1902 was a deserted piece of no-man's land between the Teso and mountain tribes. At first the Government station remained at Budaka for 1902 and 1903, but then followed Kakungulu to Mbale where a flourishing caravan supply centre had established itself with many Gujerati traders. Even as early as 1903 Mbale had a population of over one thousand Baganda and was the third largest urban centre in the Protectorate.

Grant continued to use Kakungulu, inspite of his demotion, to control and punish the recalcitrant Bagishu with punitive expeditions. Grant reported to Commissioner Hayes Sadler that Kakungulu had done more to assist the Government during troublesome times than any other chief in the country.⁷⁶ When Hayes Sadler visited Mbale in December 1903 he

⁷⁶W. Grant - Hayes Sadler, November 13, 1903 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), SMP/1760/1908/1. For this material from the Entebbe State Archives I am indebted to M. Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi, 1900 - 1939" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1967).

was so impressed that he re-instated Kakungulu but only as saza chief of his own people in the Mbale area. Kakungulu interpreted this as a re-instatement to his former ambitions of Kabaka of Bukedi. At the same time Walker was replaced by the inexperienced and much weaker Watson. As a consequence Kakungulu appointed twelve saza chiefs in the Mount Elgon area. The Colonial Administration accepted that it would be better to have a Kakungulu-controlled Baganda chieftainship than to have none.⁷⁷ The price the Colonial Government paid in order to extend 'its authority' was to have administrators whose method of tax collection and control were sure to create resentment and rebellion among the governed. Purvis soon found himself at the core of this situation.

In June 1905 Purvis wrote to the Mbale Collector about the tax collection procedures of Kakungulu's agents.

The industrious man who has gathered together a few cows, and trusting in the protection of the European Government, has moved down from the hills, given up war-fare, is willing to pay a reasonable tax, has helped to make roads, is raided by Baganda in the name of H.M. Government for hut tax, and loses a number of cows. The result is retaliation; and stray Baganda are murdered when they go again to demand labour from the very people who have had cows taken as hut tax.⁷⁸

The logic of the native regarding tax payment was simple. They told the collectors that they had for three years paid tax in cows. These

⁷⁷Watson did not restrict Kakungulu's appointment of chiefs as he was dependent on Kakungulu to administer the area in depth. Without Kakungulu Colonial Government control of Bukedi would consist of a few islands of authority with the bulk of Bukedi returning to its former savagery.

⁷⁸Purvis - Dashwood (Mbale Collector), June 22, 1905 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), A/27/6. (See footnote No.76.)

cows have borne calves and so they don't see why they should continue to pay tax every year.⁷⁹ The situation became so bad that in July 1905, just a few weeks after two Baganda teachers from Masaba were killed when the local natives raided the fort in which they were staying, Purvis reported to Bishop Tucker:

Believe me, every Muganda and the whole of Mbale has for some time been living on the edge of a volcano. The lack of combination on the part of the natives has alone saved you from receiving a much more severe shock than the massacre of 80 or 100 men, women and children at Budama has given you.⁸⁰

In the same year Sydney Ormsby, an experienced East African who had few illusions about how to deal with rebellion and who despised the weakness of missionaries, was appointed Mbale Collector. The situation in Bukedi seemed to be on a collision course!

Even before Purvis' letters to Dashwood and Tucker the clans around Elgon had reacted to the presence of Baganda agents. In September 1904 Kakungulu had carried out a punitive expedition against the Baligenyi and Bayobo during which eighteen were killed. The following January a 'police action' was carried out in retaliation for the murder of a Baganda agent. After early 1906 the frequency of such expeditions increased significantly. In February 1906 an expedition was carried out in the Managwa area and on May 18th the notorious Katsonga punitive expedition was carried out a short distance from the Masaba C.M.S. station.

⁷⁹Dashwood - Jinja, July 10, 1905 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), A/27/6. (See footnote No.76.)

⁸⁰Purvis - Tucker, July 17, 1905 (copy at Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), A/27/6. (See footnote No.76.)

Angered by this increasing policy of violence⁸¹, J.B. Purvis took up the cause of the native against the administration. On May 18, 1906 Purvis wrote to the Acting Governor about the Katsonga Expedition, charging Ormsby with committing injustice against the natives. Purvis described the Affair as follows: Ormsby was encamped near Katsonga some four miles from the C.M.S. station. A Muganda Sedulaka Sempa quarrelled at a drinking party with a Mugishu. The Mugishu's wife called for help and men came and speared Sempa. The next morning Ormsby ordered all cattle in the neighbourhood seized. The men resisted and seven were shot - including three women. A girl was wounded. The houses in a radius of more than a mile were fired. Sheep, goats, and some 100-150 cattle were driven to the Government station. Of these seventy one were returned. The Government interpreter and his man took some thirty five cattle. Purvis charged that 1) no effort was made to find the murderer, 2) the cattle taken did not belong to those from whom they were supposed to be taken, 3) the murder of the Muganda was not the fault of all the people living there - especially as they represented more than one clan, 4) innocent people and their property were destroyed, 5) no compensation was paid to the innocent, 6) no regret was expressed

⁸¹Other punitive expeditions were carried out after May 1906. In September the Kususwa-Nakimoro expedition, in January 1907 an expedition against the Busukuya, in February against the Belago, the Bambo, and Bapoto, in March against the Batandiga and Bakigai, and at the end of 1907 against the Basano, Bamakaka, Bagitimwa, Bamasifwa and Balucheke. (Purvis - Hesketh Bell, January 20, 1907, copy in unsorted correspondence marked Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR/N3/1.)

by Government about the women and children who were killed.⁸²

Commissioner Hesketh Bell ordered Judge Carter to carry out an investigation, and when it was submitted Carter supported Ormsby's action but Purvis condemned Carter's method of inquiry because he carried out the inquiry through Ormsby, the object of the inquiry.⁸³ In another report submitted one month later Carter justified punitive expeditions with these words:

. . . these people are very primitive and in many ways like children and I consider that the mere presence in the district of a body of troops would have little more effect from a disciplinary point of view upon the BAGISHU, than would the stationing of a regiment in a town in England upon the school children there. It is the school-master wielding his rod on occasion who impresses the children with the advisability of behaving, and the BAGISHU are more likely to be impressed in a similar way by the Collector who uses police.⁸⁴

Not only did the Protectorate Government accept such a policy of heavy-handed paternalism, "so too . . . would the Liberal government then in power in England" Large punitive expeditions were most distasteful, but the Colonial Government was "tacitly prepared to tolerate any number of small 'police actions'."⁸⁵

On January 20th, 1907 Purvis wrote to His Excellency the Commissioner again.

⁸²File on Katsonga Affair dated May 18, 1906, unsorted correspondence marked Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Carter - Entebbe, December 27, 1906 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), SMP/C/76/06. (See footnote No.76.)

⁸⁵Twaddle, Op. Cit. For much of this analysis of Dashwood's and Carter's involvement in the Bagishu punitive expeditions I am indebted to Dr. M. Twaddle.

When about to retire this evening, messengers came in from some chiefs in Busukuya to say that the soldiers of the punitive expedition, sent to Batunduwi, had attacked their people . . .

In the name of justice I protested to you, through the Archdeacon of Uganda, against this punitive expedition . . .

On Monday January 21st Purvis continued:

From early morning until mid-day, the houses of the Bamula and Babwala have been burning. These are at a distance of about 6 miles from this house; and I am amazed that a punitive expedition would go among a people so near, and without a word of warning, or, so far as we know, any reason, devastate the district, and throw our work back some years . . .

Through the Venerable Archdeacon Walker and His Honour Judge Carter, I made know to you Mr. Ormsby's threat last May, after the police had shot some innocent men and women, to advise that more severe measures be taken with the Bagishu. It almost seems that this expedition is the carrying out of that threat, since, without notice of any kind, it is reported to have begun operations on people other than those who were reported to have 'murdered' some Baganda; but who, so far as I can gather, fought with and beat the Baganda armed hut tax collectors, who were misusing their position, and against whom on July 2nd I laid a complaint, and warned the officer in charge of Mbale that their conduct was a menace to the peace of the district.

I leave it to the officer to tell you what reception my letter received. With very great regret I now propose to send this letter, and a copy of the statement made by me to His Honour Judge Carter, about the taking of women prisoners during the first punitive expedition the Budola affair, fighting at Manafwa in February last, the shooting of men and women in May, the Kususwa-Nakimoro affair in September, the sending of armed police, alone, to deal with the people on this hill near, the shooting of an old man by the police in September, and of the affrays in Teso and Koromojo to the press.⁸⁶

The Commissioner received the letter while on safari in Ankole and was sufficiently annoyed and concerned to write to Archdeacon Walker

⁸⁶Purvis - Hesketh Bell, January 20, 1907, copy in unsorted correspondence marked Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

enclosing a copy of Purvis' letter and adding:

It is a pity that he cannot temper with a little discretion his evident zeal for the people among whom he is working. I can quite understand his taking up the cudgels for his protégés, but he does not seem to realize the difficulties with which the Government has to contend in so wild and undeveloped a district. No one deplures more than I do the necessity for punitive operations among these unsophisticated natives, but as you know, nothing but force appeals to them It appears to me that Mr. Purvis is a gentleman who is rather inclined to be carried away by his feelings, and apt to write, on the spur of the moment, in a tone which after reflection, he would not adopt. . . .⁸⁷

In May 1907 Purvis was invalided to England with blackwater fever, and the matter seemed to have died after Purvis had an interview with Mr. Fox of the C.M.S. Committee, and Baylis wrote to Tucker warning him that "we are always very anxious to avoid anything like unnecessary interference in political matters."⁸⁸ The C.M.S. did not take up cudgels against

⁸⁷Hesketh Bell - Walker, February 19, 1907, in unsorted correspondence marked Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

But even after two years of reflection, Purvis reviewed his experiences in Bugishu in his book Through Uganda to Mount Elgon.

My memories of the troubles between the Administration and the people of Masaba are altogether painful, for in almost every instance my sympathies are with the native . . .

These armed Baganda hut-tax collectors, many of them of the very worst type, distributed throughout the district and working on the percentage system, could be no other than a menace to peace and prosperity; and I am firmly convinced that they and their methods were responsible for at least two of the troubles for which the natives were punished by the expensive and deplorable method of a punitive - I had almost written 'primitive' - expedition. . . . a hundred pounds worth of rubber trees sent to an erring clan, with a sensible man who could teach them how to plant and rear them, would do far more good to them and us than all the punitive expeditions in the world. (Purvis, Op. Cit., pp.360-1.)

⁸⁸Baylis - Tucker, July 4, 1907, London to Uganda Letter Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/L2, No.273-4.

Purvis or the Uganda Government, but withdrew to allow the issue to die. Purvis, very conscious of the restricted freedom of expression which a missionary could exercise in such matters, resigned from the C.M.S. in September 1907 on 'health and family' grounds.

While all this was going on, how was the work at the Masaba station progressing? In November 1905 Mr. Walter Holden and Miss Eliza Pilgrim arrived to join the Purvises. Holden came to take charge of the boys school and Miss Pilgrim to work among the women and girls as well as to develop the dispensary work as she was a qualified nurse. Holden was fresh from England, but Miss Pilgrim was one of the original five first ladies who had arrived in Uganda via overland caravan in 1895. The school work made promising advances during 1905-6 and forty five boys and twenty girls were recorded to be attending.⁸⁹ Holden had divided the boys into five classes depending on the level of each boy.⁹⁰ Miss Pilgrim and her

⁸⁹C.M.S. Annual Report 1905, Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (London: 1905-06), p.102.

The growth of the school work may be judged by the following statistics taken from the C.M.S. Annual Reports of the relevant years.
Pupils recorded in Attendance at Masaba Station:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Lay-teachers</u>
1904	50	10	9
1905	45	20	n/a
1906	39	35	7 (including two female)
1907	84	98	9 (" " ")
1908	25	70	4 (" " ")
1909	24	125	7 (" " ")
1910*	155	275	10 (" " ")
1911	211	241	33 (" one ")
1912	1,509	574	55 (" " ")

* From 1910 on the figures include the numbers in attendance at out-stations. Prior to 1910 the figures represent Masaba station only.

⁹⁰W. Holden, "Annual Letter dated November 23, 1906," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1906), p.272.

Muganda teacher, Salome, went out each morning to 'hunt them up'⁹¹ and then when they had enough they would begin lessons. There was very little genuine desire for education until as late as 1912-16,⁹² and so very much of the success of education among the Bagishu during this time depended on the determination and doggedness, and ingenuity, of the teachers. Purvis, during his first years at Masaba, had a man named Wataka and some askaris who daily went around collecting students by force.⁹³ Some rather amusing stories are told of how Mr. Leech⁹⁴ wrapped his bicycle tires with raw-hide so that he could pursue escaping truants along slippery footpaths, and how parents would fill their houses thick with smoke to prevent the missionary from entering, but Mr. Leech valiantly plunged in and dragged out the offender.⁹⁵ Another means of encouraging regular school attendance was the handing out of a ration of salt on Sundays, after the church service, to those who had attended during the week. Also students who had been faithful in their attendance and work over a longer period would be given clothing.

⁹¹E. Pilgrim, "Annual Letter dated December 29, 1905," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1905), p.80.

⁹²The relative backwardness of the natives of Masaba area was frequently commented on by the missionaries who worked with them. Miss Pilgrim claimed that it was almost impossible to make any impression on the older people. Miss Morris said that they were very, very slow in all that they learned.

⁹³Interview with Mr. Washumo, June and July 1968 at Nabumali Parish Vicarage and at his home at Nabumali Corner.

⁹⁴Leech was resident missionary at Masaba 1909-13.

⁹⁵Interview with Mr. Lasto Busiku, July 13, 1968 at his residence, near Nabumali.

The aim of 'education' or 'schooling' during these pioneer years was to prepare the student for baptism. One of the chief conditions for baptism was the ability to read, in the vernacular, those portions of the scripture and catechism necessary for a 'clear' understanding of the new faith. Though frequently singing, arithmetic, and agricultural work were part of the syllabus, the primary purpose was to prepare the prospective convert. The vast majority of students until as late as the 1940's and 1950's never went beyond this cathetical instruction stage.

It was soon realized that adult education stood very little chance of being successful, and Miss Pilgrim wrote in her annual report of 1905, "Our work at present lies mainly with the young boys and girls, and our great hope is in them."⁹⁶ It would certainly be true to say that the work at Masaba until 1916 remained with the children because the adults were very reluctant to read or to risk coming to the dispensary for fear of being cursed or bewitched. But under the guidance of Misses Pilgrim and McNamara the girls' and dispensary work progressed. The natives slowly discovered that even though they spent much time with the white missionaries, and had listened to their talk, they had not been harmed. The crowning reward of six years of work came on Christmas Day, 1906, when the Reverend J.B. Purvis baptized the first seven readers: Andereya Polo, Yusufu Wetanya, Simeoni Wanatye, Johana Bakidawo, Malyamu Mudondo, Elizabeth Namulere, and Salome Nakaima.⁹⁷ This success, however, was

⁹⁶E. Pilgrim, "Annual Letter dated December 29, 1905," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries, (London: 1905), p.80.

⁹⁷Nabumali Parish Marriage and Baptismal Records: 1904 to present, courtesy the Reverend Charles Shilimi, Vicar.

short-lived!

The years 1907-8 were hard years. Four missionaries were invalided out of Masaba suffering from blackwater fever: Purvis to England in May 1907, Miss McNamara to Ndeje in October 1907, Miss Jacobs (a replacement for Miss Pilgrim while she was on furlough) early in 1908, and Holden when he left for furlough later in 1908. Holden's report for 1908 summed up the situation: "To judge by ordinary standards the work at Masaba during the past year would stand as a complete failure."⁹⁸ He lists apathy, fighting, sickness, famine, changing staff, and the extra efforts needed to produce food as the chief causes. School attendance fluctuated greatly and, through bitter experience, it was realized that the development of out-stations from Masaba had been pre-mature because the natives would not respect and listen to Baganda and Basoga lay-teachers when they were on their own. Miss Pilgrim, a person undaunted and positive in her attitude to her work and the people with whom she worked, found it easier to accept the situation, but she was particularly troubled by the lack of receptivity shown by the Bagishu.

On the whole, one cannot feel that the work has made much progress, the older men and women are so indifferent. We get them to come to church on Sundays, but to come and sit down and learn to read seems impossible, and when one contrasts this country with Uganda, where the men and women are so anxious to be taught, one is apt to feel a little discouraged, and one longs to see the same eagerness to learn⁹⁹

⁹⁸W. Holden, "Annual Letter dated November 30, 1908," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1908), p.161.

⁹⁹E. Pilgrim, "Annual Letter dated November 30, 1908," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1908), p.161.

CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS OF EXPANSION

During the 1903-20 period the work of the C.M.S. in the Elgon district expanded from Nabumali to Mbale and Ngora. So rapid was the growth at Mbale that it quickly became the C.M.S. administrative and higher education centre but various problems resulted in Nabumali becoming by 1920 the centre for higher education and teacher training in the Elgon Mission. It was also in this period that first attempts were made by missions and government to define a protectorate-wide policy of education.

The year 1908 was a turning point for the Protestant mission work of the Teso-Bukedi region in terms of new staff, extension, peace and quiet, and the wide-spread acceptance of the Christian message. Miss Agnes Morris replaced Miss Jacob; Mr. Holden returned to Nabumali late in the year; the Reverend and Mrs. Herbert Clayton arrived in nearby Mbale to begin systematic work among the Baganda there; the Reverend and Mrs. Arthur L. Kitching arrived at Nabumali from the recently closed station at Patigo to begin work at Ngora among the Teso. Andereya Batalabude, who had been working at Kumi, transferred to Ngora as soon as Kitching established the station there. In Mbale, Eria Aliwali, a Muganda, had been running a school even prior to the arrival of Clayton. At Nabumali, Petero Daki, a former resident of the Masaba area who had become a teacher, now returned to his own land where his people welcomed him and the chief immediately began to build

a school and teacher's house for him.¹ By 1910 Omw. Lubwanna and Saulo Balubuliza were regular teachers at Nabumali and were soon followed by Henry Lule and Andereya Polo. Balubuliza, who came as a lay-teacher, later became the head-teacher of Nabumali and the whole Bagishu area. He and Henry Lule continued the educational work during the difficult 1915-19 period when there were no resident missionaries at Nabumali. In 1924 Balubuliza returned to the Nabumali Parish after his ordination at Mukono and remained there until 1954. Omw. Andereya Polo was one of the group of first converts of 1906 and for many years exerted a strong Christian influence in the community.²

It was also in the 1907-10 years that the Reverend H. Mathers' 1907 visit to Bukedi began to bear fruit. Just after this visit, Mathers, a man whose outstanding impact on the Elgon area was still to come, requested Bishop Willis to allow him to consider Bukedi to be the mission field of the Basoga at his station of Kaliro.³ In 1908 the first evangelists 'cum' teachers from Basoga reached Mbale-Nabumali, and by 1914 over 100 had come to serve a year of 'apprenticeship' in

¹E. Pilgrim, "Annual Letter dated November 30, 1908," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1908), p.161.

²Polo married Malyamu Mudondo, another of the first group of converts. He was present at the 1950 Golden Jubilee Celebration of the establishment of Nabumali Station and gave a report of the early days. He is now deceased. Omw. means Mr. in Luganda.

³A station some twenty miles north of present-day Iganga, formerly known as Wakholi's.

the unevangelized areas of the frontier.⁴ Though it never became official policy of the C.M.S., it was widely recommended and practised that Christians who were preparing for confirmation were asked to go and work for one year either in their own country, or in a foreign country, as a missionary. This was to test the genuineness of their faith and to train them as future lay-evangelists. Most of these temporary missionaries returned after a year of service to their homes, but a good proportion returned to be ordained, and then went back to these mission fields. It must be borne in mind that by far the largest proportion of the evangelisation of Uganda and the surrounding countries was carried out by African clergy, lay and trained evangelists, and teachers, working under the auspices of, and paid by, the Native Anglican Church.⁵

This increase in lay-staff in the 1908-10 period corresponded

⁴H. Mathers, "The Early Days at Nabumali as I Knew Them," an account compiled in the event of the 1950 Golden Jubilee Celebration (Nabumali High School Archives), uncatalogued.

⁵The name "Native Anglican Church" was the official name of the Anglican Church in Uganda until 1961 when a Uganda Anglican Province was established and the name "Church of Uganda" was adopted. In April 1909 the Native Anglican Church of Uganda (N.A.C.), at its fourth synod, adopted its constitution as a self-governing, self-supporting institution. Following this the European missionaries worked as part of the Uganda Synod, and C.M.S. funds or grants were used only to pay for the stipends and equipment of these missionaries. African teachers' salaries and church and school expenditures were financed purely by the N.A.C. (E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: 1912), Vol.IV, pp.98-99; Minutes of the Standing Committee (Uganda), January 7, 1915, Vol.I (October 2, 1911 - March 4, 1915), (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued; Report of Sub-Committee on C.M.S. Memorandum on the support of Native Churches in the Mission Field, March 29, 1915, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/O, Article No.42.)

with the development of cotton as a cash crop. In 1904 J.B. Purvis had introduced cotton into the Eastern Province; by 1909 its production was firmly established and by 1910 over 1,000 tons were produced. In 1914 38,000 porters were required to carry out 5,000 tons of cotton to Lake Victoria from Teso. Only the lack of transport facilities prevented cotton from developing on an even larger scale.

The year 1909 saw the end of a period of famine, and life began to return to normal.⁶ Plague, which had hit Budaka so severely in 1907, and had then reached Mbale and Nabumali in 1908, was controlled as rains ended the drought and food became plentiful. As late as August 1908 Governor Hesketh Bell had to be accompanied by the K.A.R. contingent of Indian soldiers on his tour of Elgon, but in 1909 only two punitive expeditions were recorded against the Basikai and Mbai, and in 1910 there was none. The establishment of the Kumi Ploughing School in 1910 could be said to illustrate that the Bakedi were beating their spears into ploughshares and turning to cotton production.

The rapid extension of missionary work to out-stations in these years not only meant that Baganda and Basoga teachers were available, but they were also being accepted by the resident tribes.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Nabumali</u>	<u>Mbale</u>	<u>Ngora</u>	
1909	-	6	3) Number of Out-stations
1910	2	18	14	
1911	13	42	25	

⁶The next disastrous famine came in 1918.

These figures⁷ illustrate a very significant change which was taking place in the Elgon-Teso districts. At Nabumali the missionaries were still using the method of approaching the Bagishu using the vernacular and contacting the people directly rather than depending on the system of chiefs. Development was slow, and in 1910, for the first time, Holden sent out resident teachers to out-stations. At Mbale, however, Clayton and Ladbury⁸ both worked among the Baganda and through the Baganda. Luganda was the 'lingua franca' and the church in Mbale provided many of the lay-workers. Ladbury, a tireless itinerator, reached deep into North Bugishu, Bagweri and Bunyuli from his headquarters at Mbale, and by 1910, just two years after the Mbale work had been begun, had nine times as many out-stations as Nabumali.

In Mbale regular church and school work had been carried out since 1905. In that year the Mbale Church was supporting four teachers in Bugishu. In 1906 there were forty boys registered at the Mbale School which had a staff of four teachers, and by 1908 this had increased to twelve lay-teachers and thirty boys and thirty six girls. When the Claytons came they took charge of this work as well as the women's work which Miss Pilgrim had been supervising from Nabumali. The C.M.S. were given a grant of 40 acres in Mbale by the Government for the development

⁷C.M.S. Annual Report 1909-10, Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (London: 1909-10), p.74; C.M.S. Annual Report 1910-11, Ibid., p.76; C.M.S. Annual Report 1911-12, Ibid., p.65.

⁸Ladbury replaced Clayton when the latter was invalided to Mengo in June 1909.

of a mission station, and in 1909 Ladbury already had a house built and the foundations for a church laid. The school which was in a very run-down condition was being rebuilt by the chiefs' sons who were in attendance. Mbale was obviously much better suited to reaching out to a multi-racial and multi-tribal society because on its streets one could find Indians, Arabs, Ethiopians, Swahilis, Bagishu, Bakavirondo, Baganda, Banyoro, Bateso, Bagweri, Badama, Banyuli as well as Europeans from missions, government service and commerce.⁹

The Ngora development under Kitching and Dillistone closely followed the Mbale pattern. Here also Luganda was the 'lingua franca' even though Kitching did remarkable work in putting the language of the Teso into writing. The development of out-stations depended on the Baganda agents, but in comparison with Bugishu the agents were replaced much more quickly by Teso chiefs because Teso clan-heads and elders had a more established tradition of authority.¹⁰

In spite of the fact that regular European supervision started in Mbale and Ngora only in 1908-09, both stations quickly over-shadowed Nabumali by 1910 and continued to do so for the next decade. Had Nabumali been started as a pioneer station in 1908 instead of 1900, there

⁹H.B. Ladbury, "Annual Letter dated November 16, 1909," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1909), p.260.

¹⁰H.B. Ladbury, "The Teso District," Uganda Notes, Vol.14, No.11 (November 1915), pp.252-6. This article gives an excellent picture of mission work in Teso during the pioneering years.

is little evidence that it would have developed less slowly. Much of the work of these first eight years was concerned with struggling against Bagishu apathy towards education and even medicine, with functioning as a station in the face of general unrest, and with putting into writing the vernacular which a few years later was no longer used by the church or schools.¹¹ It would, of course, be unfair to dismiss the efforts of eight years in one sentence. What had been achieved was an immense amount of good-will and confidence without which the work among the Bagishu could not have prospered in the 1920's, and this, as Purvis suggested, did much more good in pacifying and bringing under law and order the Masaba area than did all the punitive expeditions of the British administration. Above all a spring-board was required in order that mission work might be started in Kavirondo and Bukedi. Nabumali proved to be the outpost from which the work among the Baganda in Mbale, the Teso in Kumi and Ngora, as well as the tribes in Bugwere, Budama and Bunyuli was started.¹²

In the first week of September 1909 a series of violent storms

¹¹Much of Holden's time had been spent translating into Lugishu the four Gospels and the Book of Acts. These were ready for publication in October 1909.

¹²Purvis, Holden and Pilgrim all visited Mbale regularly and worked in the church there. Andereya Batalabude, who had come out in 1901 with Crabtree, was under the direction of Purvis while he worked at Mbale and Kumi. The Ngora site was chosen by Holden, Buckley and Kitching in late March 1908 using Nabumali as a base. The work among the Bugweri and Bunyuli began with Crabtree's early contacts. After Budaka Station was opened the work was continued from there, and when Budaka was closed in 1902 supervision was provided from Nabumali. Purvis had an out-station at Nabowa in Bugweri in 1905. In 1907 Holden sent out the first teacher to Budama from Nabumali.

did much damage to the buildings at Nabumali. The church was struck by lightning, but fortunately no one was in the building at the time, but the girls' school, normally held in the church, had to be moved into the new hospital. Attendance had increased to approximately seventy and two Bagishu girls had been baptized - the first girls to be baptized. Sunday service attendance was around 130, but adult involvement in the work of the mission still did not include a sense of responsibility or voluntary labour.¹³ The people " . . . are slow to learn and very loth to give up their old ideas and customs."¹⁴

At the dispensary the Misses Morris and Pilgrim reported growing demand for treatment and there were over 7,000 attendances in 1909. A small hospital had been built approximately a quarter of a mile from the main mission compound.¹⁵ The difficulty was that too many people came, or were brought, when it was too late and only after native medicines and charms had failed. When the patient died the mission was blamed. At first nearly all the in-patients were Baganda and Bagweri, but by 1910 even a few Bagishu were willing to stay in the hospital.

As far as educational work among the boys was concerned, Mr. Holden illustrated the difficulty of work among the Bagishu with this story.

¹³Letter from Miss E. Pilgrim dated September 6, 1909, Uganda Notes, Vol.I, No.10 (October 1909), p.166.

¹⁴E. Pilgrim, "Annual Letter dated November 29, 1909," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1909), p.266.

¹⁵It was located on the south side of the road between Nabumali Corner and the High School. Medical work was developed until approximately 1938, and then in more recent times the buildings were used by the Reverend Wesonga as a Bible School or Theological Training Centre. At present there is a private primary school housed there.

This year opened rather brightly for us in that we saw a change from the apathetic state of an important clan some distance from the station, to know and take advantage of our efforts on their behalf. The Basakuyu, the clan in question, have been visited regularly during the last four years, and I have lived among them as long as a fortnight at once. The chief finally consented to some of the boys belonging to his household coming to be taught. So that he might not be frightened at the expense or make that an objection, I promised to feed and house as many as he would send, hoping that the boys would get attached to us and the place, and the cost equitably settled afterwards. Two of his sons came first, then their cousins joined them; a neighbouring chief, not to be behind the times, sent his sons also, till the number mounted up to thirty-four. Of course, special houses had to be built and the food question became an important one.

Some of the bigger boys were wishful to continue their drinking habits, which to the Bagishu are no disgrace, but could not be allowed as a matter of discipline. Apparently this was no rule at a place for boys some distance away, and accordingly the drinkers went there. An outbreak of small-pox in the neighbourhood, a case of plague close by, and then one of the boys themselves being seized with a slight epileptic fit during prayers in church, was sufficient for a panic, all of them leaving without so much as saying good-bye.¹⁶

In the girls' school the regular, very simple, instruction continued. The girls would sit around the reading sheets, usually cotton print, and with reeds point to the letters singing them out to each other. Because this was rather noisy, a separate room, sometimes called the 'shouting room' was used. After the alphabet had been learned the work would progress to diphthongs and simple words, nearly always selected from a verse of Scripture or a portion of the catechism. Singing also occupied a place in the syllabus and the hymns learned would then be used at the Sunday services.

When Bishop Tucker visited Mbale in March 1909 the strategic position of Mbale, compared with Nabumali, must have impressed itself

¹⁶W. Holden "Annual Letter dated December 1909," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1909), pp.266-7.

on his mind. Mbale was the third largest urban centre in the Protectorate; it was a trade and caravan supply centre connected by roads with Mumias in the south, Jinja in the west, and Serere and Bululu in the north. It was a well watered and fertile location. Admittedly, it was a Baganda town, but now that the Baganda were being accepted by the surrounding tribes as the class to be envied and emulated, Mbale was coming more and more into contact with the countries around it. As far as the mission was concerned, Mbale was a key Christian out-post in a heathen land. In it was an established church having both finances and recruits available for missionary out-reach; its members spoke Luganda, the potential 'lingua franca' of the whole Protectorate, and they were educated. In 1904, a writer waxing eloquent about the Baganda, compared them with the Jews of the First Century Roman Empire. What those Jews did for the Christian faith throughout the Roman world the Baganda were to do for the Central African world. Such an attitude was fairly easy for the tribes and missionaries in the Eastern Province to accept during the first decade of the 20th Century, as long as the Baganda really were the aristocrats of the Protectorate, but there came a time when this 'Mengo-domination' and 'Mengo-mentality' led to bitterness and accusations of favouritism.¹⁷

¹⁷Crabtree and Purvis both rebelled against the centralized control of the C.M.S., but little notice was taken by Mengo of these protests until cotton wealth gave the Eastern Province an economic basis for greater independence. The church in Mengo over the years came to realize that Crabtree's early assessment that the Bukedi-Kavirondo situation was unique and had valid claims for independent status. Why should Luganda be the language of the Teso? Why should Lango missionaries have to travel to Kampala for annual missionary conferences? Why should an ordinand from Bugishu learn and be ordained in Luganda when all his work was to be in Lugishu?

Since Mbale was proving to be such a superior site, why had Nabumali been developed? The main reason would be that prior to 1910-12 the fear of the Baganda exceeded the desire to emulate them. But after the first decade of administration the local native wanted to learn Luganda or English when he went to school because he had seen the wealth and power which came with these skills. He now wanted to 'become' a Muganda because that meant he would be a Christian having clothing, a salaried job, access to a multitude of goods introduced by the foreigners, and with either of these languages and an education he would have the necessary 'in'. During the 1910-20 decade it was often hard to distinguish whether the native wanted to become a Christian or become affluent through his Christianity. The identification between Christianity and materialism was very close, and frequently the missionaries or lay-workers used this connection sub-consciously in order to lure the convert into the fold. Throughout the Protectorate the governing class was largely Christian, and often Protestant, and so the Christian and Baganda cultures became the admission requirements to material and political success.¹⁸

Shortly after his arrival in Mbale in May 1909 Ladbury received instructions from the Missionary Committee in Mengo to establish an agricultural school at Mbale.¹⁹ As early as August 1904 a "proposed

¹⁸J.B. Purvis, Through Uganda to Mount Elgon (London: 1909), pp.199-200.

¹⁹H.B. Ladbury, Journals of Missionary Work, Vol.2 (October 1904 - August 1909), May 31, 1909 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

boarding school for young boys from each chief" was being considered.²⁰ But at the time conditions were not considered ripe for such a 'Uganda-style' institution. In 1910 Ladbury asked the Government for a free grant of 200 acres of land on which to start an institution intended to give the sons of chiefs, the future leaders, a thoroughly sound and useful Christian education. For Ladbury such an education meant both spiritual and mental development, for unless these two went together the future of the people would be worse than their past.²¹ In December 1910 Mr. Coote of the Bukedi District Administration promised a site some two miles north-west of Mbale at Muvule.²²

This school was to be specifically for the sons of chiefs - so ran the instruction from the Board of Education of the N.A.C. in Mengo. During the first decade of the century higher education for future leaders had become increasingly important to the C.M.S. (and N.A.C.). In January 1905 Mengo High School was opened with the help of a Government grant for boarding expenses to enable sons of chiefs from Buganda and Busoga to be educated. On March 24th of the same year Gayaza High School for girls and on the 30th King's School, Budo, for boys were opened - both intended as higher education centres for the daughters and sons of the Baganda

²⁰J.B. Purvis, "Masaba and its People," Uganda Notes, Vol.V, No.8 (August 1904), p.121.

²¹H.B. Ladbury, "Annual Letter dated December 1910," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1910), p.236.

²²H.B. Ladbury, Journals of Missionary Work, Vol.3 (August 1909-June 1928), December 5, 1910 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

aristocracy.²³ The White Fathers and Mill Hill Mission tried to establish similar institutions, but neither were ever as effective as the Protestants in capturing the leadership positions of the Protectorate. In 1916 the Reverend D.M. Mangan of the Mill Hill Mission reported in the St. Joseph's Advocate:

The Baganda chiefs in Basoga are gradually being replaced by Basoga chiefs. When a chieftainship becomes vacant, a boy who is fairly well educated is selected by the Government for the post. Since the Protestants have a high school here for the sons of chiefs, they have a larger number of educated boys, and these are chosen with the result that very few Catholics get a chance.²⁴

And even as late as 1923 Bishop Biermans of the same mission complained that in all the districts occupied by the Mill Hill Mission there were no Roman Catholics of any standing.²⁵ Miss F.V. Carter in her thesis "Some Aspects of Education in Uganda" argues that Protestant control of chieftainships led to a built-in self-perpetuation. Chiefs had more money to educate their children who would then be the new chiefs. And even greater incentives were offered to Protestants because the control of patronage within the native administrations lay within Protestant hands.²⁶

²³This Baganda landed-aristocracy was both created and defined by the 1900 Agreement which gave 'mailo' land grants to certain chiefs, and these in turn would, in the future, be able to pay the relatively high fees of the above-mentioned schools.

²⁴Report on the work in Uganda, St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate and Annual Report (Winter 1916), p.410. This was the official English publication of the Mill Hill Society.

²⁵F.V. Carter, "Education in Uganda, 1894 - 1945" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1967), p.414 citing Biermans - Jarvis, December 10, 1923 (Entebbe State Archives, Entebbe), 7914.

²⁶Carter, Op. Cit., p.415.

This development was the result of an intentional and planned educational philosophy on the part of the C.M.S. and Native Anglican Church. The Reverend John J. Willis, who became Bishop of Uganda in 1912, the year that the agricultural school planned by Ladbury was opened at Mbale, recalls how he formulated his educational policy at Maragoli and then later at Maseno.²⁷

At Maseno we had the immense advantage of working from the first on a definite plan. I had had no definite plan in my mind when I started at Maragoli. Now a plan of action had been thought out. It was based on Iona, and the early evangelistic effort in our own country. The support of chiefs was eminently desirable, where it could be had; but in Kavirondo at that time it was not to be had, and it was useless to expect it. The best thing, in the circumstances, was to attempt to create a body of Christian chiefs in the days to come. . . . we planned to start a boarding school at Maseno, in which we hoped to train the sons of chiefs, in a Christian environment and a Christian atmosphere, to make Maseno be to Kavirondo something of what Iona at one time had been to northern England, a Christian centre in a pagan land, from which Christian missionaries might go forth to evangelize, civilize and Christianize a pagan country.²⁸

" . . . the good will and the active co-operation" of the chiefs was im-

²⁷ Willis was one of the pioneer missionaries of the C.M.S. in the Kisumu area, starting a station at Maragoli, and shortly after moving it to Maseno where a high school was started as early as 1906.

²⁸ J.J. Willis, J.J. Willis MS (original) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.120, p.51. (This MS gives an historical account of the writer's experiences in East Africa between 1900 and 1934, as well as evaluations of the methods used by the missionaries and the policies pursued by the Uganda Mission.)

In 563 A.D. St. Columba left Ireland and eventually established a monastery on the Scottish island of Iona. From here he took journeys which led to the conversion of the Northern Picts and the spread of Christianity throughout Scotland and even to the Shetland, Orkney and Iceland inhabitants. (L. Russel Muirhead (ed.), Scotland (London: 1949), p.345.

perative because they built the schools, brought the pupils, made suggestions for improvement, and offered incentives by identifying themselves with education. If you converted the chief, you converted the tribe; if the chief fell, he did not fall alone!²⁹ This is the philosophy of education which the C.M.S. at Mengo accepted and imposed onto the Eastern Province, and on this basis Ladbury, and the Reverend H.K. Banks who came to Mbale in 1911 after a few months at Nabumali, organized the Muvule High School, the forerunner of Nabumali High School.³⁰

The work in the Mbale environs under Ladbury had been progressing very rapidly during 1910-12, and an adequate supply of teachers from Uganda plus the money from the Pan Anglican Fund³¹ had enabled him to establish many out-stations, even reaching as far afield as Mbayi (Sebei) on the eastern slopes of Mount Elgon. For the work in Mbale he found that his time just did not allow too great an involvement. Ladbury had plans for a girls boarding school, but no European woman was available for supervision; a dispensary was built, but without qualified staff; considerable building had still to be done to establish the station on a permanent basis; the establishment of the agricultural school for chiefs' sons had so far been delayed by the lack of both funds and a

²⁹J.J. Uganda, "Christianity and Native Government of Uganda," Church Missionary Review, Vol.LXXII (1921), pp.299-300.

³⁰The school was known as either the Muvule High School or the Mbale High School - located two miles south-west of Mbale near Musoto.

³¹The Pan Anglican Fund was established to finance any projects which countered the spread and influence of Islam.

qualified European educationist and builder.³²

In late 1911 Iadbury could report that a 200 acre planter's lease (which required that twenty acres be developed on each 100 acres within a certain time, following which the land could be purchased at current rates) had actually been acquired with the help of some European friends.³³ A 'goodly' portion of this was put under cultivation in 1911 and by July 1912 a small principal's house, huts for the native masters, six huts for boys accommodation, and a schoolroom had been erected by the Reverend H.K. Banks. A cycling road to Mbale was prepared as well as a football

³² H.B. Iadbury, "Annual Letter dated December 1910," Extracts from Annual Letters of the Missionaries (London: 1910), p.236; H.B. Iadbury, Journals of Missionary Work, Vol.3 (August 1909 - June 1928), November 1911 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued; Report of Educational Work that has been done in this Protectorate by the Anglican Church of Uganda during the year April 1911 to March 1912, found in file marked C.M.S. General Correspondence, Native Anglican Church (Uganda) (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

³³ Apparently Iadbury had trouble getting this land from the Government as it was becoming increasingly aware of the amount of land controlled by the missions. The local Roman Catholics had apparently objected to this large grant of land to the Protestant Church. Iadbury never got along well with the Roman Catholics and this could account for this difficulty with the "sadly misguided Roman Catholic brethren." (H.B. Iadbury, Journals of Missionary Work, Vol.3 (August 1909 - June 1928), February 16, 1910, December 5, 1910, December 8, 1910 and November 1911 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.) The work of the Mill Hill Mission had not been strong in Bukedi prior to 1912 except for a strong station at Budaka under the very able leadership of Father Kirk. In 1912, however, Bishop Biermans succeeded Bishop Hanlon and this new leadership resulted in a large number of recruits coming out and many were located to Bukedi and Budama districts. By 1914 there were six permanent Mill Hill stations in Bukedi at Budaka, Nyondo, Ngola or Ngora, Soroti, Lwala, and Nagongera. (J. Biermans, A Short History of The Vicariate of the Upper Nile, Uganda (Kampala: n.d.), p.33.)

pitch. Twenty five boys, representing five tribes, paid fees of Rupees 5 per three month term and school work began.

Bishop Willis, who had visited Mbale while the school was under construction, returned for the official October 19th opening. All the Europeans of Mbale, thirteen in number,³⁴ plus a large number of chiefs and residents turned out, and Mrs. Perryman, the wife of the acting District Commissioner, broke a chain of flowers across the doorway, and the party entered. Mr. Perryman in his speech spoke of ". . . the school as being a considerable step forward in the civilization, and a considerable asset in the promise for the future welfare of the people."³⁵ The speeches were followed by tea for the Europeans, a feast for the native guests, and a march-past by the school boys in the presence of the dignitaries, chiefs, parents, and spectators. (A typical colonial manner of celebrating an occasion.)

The first 100 acres were purchased in 1913 and at that time the C.M.S. at Mbale had established extensive plantations of 2,000 coffee trees, 2,500 Ceara rubber trees, and an additional 10,000 coffee seedlings were ready for planting as soon as the dry season ended in March. By 1915 a large timber plantation had been established as well and the school boys were growing all the food requirements of the school.

³⁴Mr. and Mrs. Perryman (Acting District Commissioner), Mr. A.H. Cox (Acting District Commissioner), Mr. Warner (District Commissioner), Mr. and Mrs. Skinner of the Police, Messrs. Horbury and Milliken (traders), the Reverend and Mrs. H.K. Banks, the Reverend and Mrs. H.B. Ladbury, and Bishop Willis.

³⁵H.B. Ladbury, Journals of Missionary Work, Vol.2 (August 1909 - June 1928), August 1912 and October 19, 1912 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

As more high schools were opened by missionaries in the Protectorate, the C.M.S. at Mengo realized that its meagre resources could not finance their development. A boys' school had been opened at Ngora, for example, and in order to attract pupils had not charged fees. After three years the school was still not self-sufficient and the Missionary Committee informed Dillistone, the Ngora resident missionary, to either make his school self-supporting or close it.³⁶ Under Bishop Willis the C.M.S. in Uganda did not have available the amount of money which Bishop Tucker had been able to raise³⁷ and so Banks at Mbale High School was given specific instructions that the school at Mbale must use its estate to become self-supporting.³⁸ But this meant that a large proportion of the missionary's time had to be spent supervising the development of the plantations rather than teaching or evangelizing. And even then money was needed to develop such an estate to make it productive.

Banks informed the C.M.S. in London that at one point he had hired fifty coolies to cultivate the fields in order that the planter's lease might not be lost, and he himself spent as much as three quarters of his time working the estate.³⁹ The Mbale Estate scheme, however, was doomed

³⁶R. H. Walker - Dillistone, February 7, 1912, found in file marked C.M.S. General Correspondence, Native Anglican Church (Uganda) (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

³⁷R. H. Walker - S. Jarvis (Acting Secretary, Entebbe), August 22, 1912, Ibid.

³⁸R.H. Walker - Banks, February 19, 1912, Ibid.

³⁹Memorandum of an Interview between Banks and Manley regarding the Muvule and Kiryanga Schemes, December 14, 1917, Uganda Mission - File (1917) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/O.

to failure. Banks had not been consulted when Ladbury and Bishop Willis had chosen the school site but he had to live there and organize the work. The price of coffee dropped from 5d to 2½d per pound during the war and no one would buy the 2,000 pounds the school had in storage. Even as late as 1917 the coffee receipts from school plantation production only added up to £130.⁴⁰ The rubber experiment failed utterly. Food production kept the school going but did not pay for the teachers' salaries and school equipment. The Mbale District, however, was beginning to develop economically and fees were being paid. The future looked promising, and the Mbale Agricultural School would have survived had not the 1918-19 drought and famine forced its evacuation to Nabumali.

Next to finance, staffing the school proved to be a problem. The Reverend Banks and Timoseo Kabirango, the first native headmaster, got the school off to a good start in July, but by November 1912 Banks' furlough fell due and the work was handed over to Ladbury who already had the supervision of the entire Elgon area, and then during 1913 there were no African clergy or lay-readers to assist in the Mbale-Nabumali area. In the greater Mbale area there were forty five fewer teachers in 1914 than in 1913. The training college at Ngora had been closed because there was no European to staff it (though financially the school

⁴⁰H.K. Banks, "Report on Mbale High School," Uganda Notes, Vol. 18, No.10 (October 1917), p.126.

Earlier in 1917 on May 10, Banks prepared a financial statement for Mbale High School covering the first five years of operation and submitted it to the Sub-Committee of the Missionary Committee at Mengo which was studying the relationship between the C.M.S. education system and the Government. This statement shows to what extent the school had

could afford to continue). In May 1913 Ladbury's sphere of work was extended still further when the Reverend Leech⁴¹ left Nabumali to return to Mumias. Banks returned in December 1913, but Ladbury went on furlough early in 1914. Kabirango left shortly after to read for his lay-reader's licence and the school was left in the hands of a first letter 'Musizi',⁴² who could not manage the school so that the students dwindled from thirty five to eighteen. In November 1914 the Junior Assistant Master at the school died when a small pox epidemic affected the Mbale area.⁴³

Still a third problem presented itself at Mbale in 1914. Some of

failed in becoming self-supporting, as well as the small sums which Banks had available in developing the estate and school.

Mbale High School Expenditures Jan. 1912 - Mar. 1917:

<u>Revenue:</u>		<u>Expenditure:</u>	
Pan Anglican Grants	£202	Bldgs., Playing Fields, Roads,	
Bishops' Diocesan Grants	150	Water Supply	£225
Fees	140	Agricultural Department includ-	
Gifts	164	ing School Food	387
Sale of Produce	225	Upkeep, Furniture, Books, etc.	140
	£881		£752
Less Cash on Hand	129		
	£752		

(Mbale High School Expenditure Jan. 1912 - Mar. 1917, Uganda Mission - File (1917) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0.)

⁴¹The Reverend A.J. Leech came to Nabumali from Nassa station in October 1909 when the C.M.S. handed this isolated station on Speke Gulf over to the Africa Inland Mission.

⁴²Musizi means 'sower' in Luganda. See pp.111-12.

⁴³"Missionary Districts - Mbale," Uganda Notes, Vol.15, No.9 (September 1914), pp.216-18.

If the Banks would reside at Mbale, then Miss Pilgrim would have to leave Nabumali as another single lady missionary was not available and she could not remain at a station alone. The marriage took place at Nabumali on December 11th, 1914 and in March 1915 the Banks, now resident at Nabumali, re-started the agricultural school in temporary facilities at Nabumali pending the Bishop's decision about the future of the C.M.S. in the Elgon area. Either Mbale or Nabumali would have to eventually be closed because the work had been over-expanded. Banks obtained a new African headmaster, from Budo, Nasanaeri Gavamukulya, and work started again. Extra care was taken to collect fees from all boys though this meant that some peasant sons had to leave school, but the total number did not decrease and forty one boys were in attendance.

In September Bishop Willis, faced by the need for a less expansionistic type of policy, ordered Banks and the school back to Muvule and Miss Pilgrim to Mbale. Willis had visited Nabumali and Mbale in July and August and had concluded that Mbale must be developed because Nabumali was not a centre from which the whole of Bukedi could be reached.⁴⁵ The Nabumali work was put into the hands of African workers including Henry

⁴⁵Minutes of Missionary Committee, August 5, 1915, Section 9, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P2, Article No.124.

Millar, the C.M.S. Secretary in Mengo, described Nabumali in 1915 as a place where "There had never been much work done outside the station & the people are not responsive, but Miss Pilgrim has a large girls school & many come to the dispensary. It has been suggested more than once that it might be well to give up this station as Mbale only 8 miles off is a much better centre" (E. Millar - Manley, August 9, 1915, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P2, Article No.125.)

Lule and Saulo Balubuliza. Once again a building programme was undertaken at Muvule, including a permanent school-room and increased dormitory accommodation. Seventy five acres of land were put under cultivation, but coffee still did not have buyers in Mbale and Banks, once again faced with Mengo demands to be self-supporting, admitted the educational value of such a school estate, but sadly added, ". . . we cannot have any industry that is not also a financial success."⁴⁶

Now that Mbale had a concentration of European staff, Ladbury instructed a new recruit, the Reverend J.E.M. Hannington, son of the martyred Bishop, to begin training teachers at Mbale rather than the Elgon area having to depend on a supply from Buganda and Busoga. By December 1916 some twenty junior teachers were in training for their 1st Certificate and this training centre continued until March 1918 when famine forced it to close down. In 1920 it was re-opened at Nabumali, and teacher training remained a regular part of the educational work at Nabumali until 1933 when the normal classes moved to Buwalasi where a training centre for the new Upper Nile Diocese was being built.⁴⁷

A new native headmaster, Tito Mulale, joined the Mbale High School in May 1916. In August 1917 there were over seventy pupils at the school when the Reverend S.B. Latham took over as headmaster during Banks' furlough. Instruction was all in Luganda and this meant that the first few

⁴⁶H.K. Banks, "The Mbale High School," Uganda Notes, Vol.16, No.11 (November 1915), p.534.

⁴⁷A similar institution was begun at Ngora in October 1911, closed in 1914 for lack of staff, re-opened and then merged with Nabumali in the late 1920's.

years of a pupil's education were spent learning this language.⁴⁸ Rather than being a waste of time, Banks considered these language-learning years as a vital character-training period. The boys spent three hours each day working on agriculture as well as doing all their own domestic chores like food production, cooking, sanitation and dormitory care. On Sundays the pupils attended the Mbale Church in the morning but had their own school service in the evening.

But this concentration of staff at Mbale was short-lived. Banks went on furlough in mid 1917; Iadbury was called to Namirembe⁴⁹ to become secretary of the Diocese; Hannington was removed to Entebbe; Pilgrim went on furlough in December 1916. During the second half of 1917 and the first half of 1918 the whole Mbale-Nabumali area was in the care of only two men - the Reverend Latham, a newcomer, and the recently ordained Reverend K. Bekabye. Leech returned briefly to the Mbale area in mid 1918 and Miss Pilgrim returned for one year prior to her transfer to Kamuli in October 1919.

The staff shortage did not end with the end of the war. The Protestant educational work of the whole Protectorate remained hard hit by the post war staff shortage - only two out of the nine Protestant high schools had European supervision, the work at Gulu, Ngora and Mbale was without general supervision, Miss Allen at Gayaza High School was alone

⁴⁸ Even some of the Baganda of Mbale, having been born away from their homeland, found it difficult to understand and study in their native language.

⁴⁹ The headquarters of the C.M.S. and N.A.C. in Kampala became known as Namirembe, the name of the hill on which the Protestant cathedral was situated.

with over 100 girls, and Miss Welsh at Iganga had to look after the girls school in addition to the general women's work and a twenty-bed hospital.⁵⁰ C.M.S. personnel, both those who had served with the forces and those who remained on the mission field, were due for furlough immediately after the war as leaves had been cancelled during the war years due to staff shortages and the dangers of travelling by sea. And yet, the relative need and scope of mission work had increased phenomenally, particularly in the administrative sectors of education and finance.⁵¹ German East Africa's mission work after the war was now open to the C.M.S. with some thirty eight former Lutheran stations unoccupied; the African clergy had been forced to take charge in various parts of the work during the war and this experience had shown that often the work was ". . . above the limits of their capacity. . . .";⁵² the African population was making demands for better and increased educational opportunities; the regions of Ruanda

⁵⁰Uganda Notes, Vol.21, No.4 (April 1920),pp.36-7.

⁵¹The phenomenal growth of the Protestant work in the Mbale District is illustrated by these figures:

<u>Figures for Mbale District:</u>	<u>1907-08</u>	<u>1917-18</u>
Out-stations	0	98
Native Agents	2	184
Baptized	154	1,571
Communicants	56	303
Scholars in Village Schools	40	8,313

In 1917 Ladbury reported to the Board of Missions that in the previous year he had a total of 150 teachers and 12,000 readers in the Mbale district. (H.B. Ladbury and J.J. Uganda, "Uganda," pp.7-8, found in Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.9.)

⁵²G.K. Baskerville and A.L. Kitching, "Report on the Uganda Mission," December 20, 1919, found in Annual Letters from the Missionaries file (1918 - 1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Article No.26. The same conclusion was expressed in F. Rowling - G.T. Manley, September 15, 1919, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.110.

and Kigezi were fields not yet entered by the C.M.S. and considered to be 'ripe'; Government was threatening to enter the field of education and such competition would leave the missions in a 'second-best' position.⁵³

The dry season between January and March 1918 was particularly severe and prolonged, and famine conditions soon prevailed. Food prices rose sharply and in March 1918 small pox forced the high school and teacher training centre to close down. In April school resumed under semi-famine conditions with food supplies dependent on what pupils would bring with them from home. Village schoolmasters were dependent on famine relief food, and when this proved insufficient they had to stop work either to undertake better-paying work or travel to other districts in search of food. In October 1918 influenza broke out at the high school and in November all schools, churches and public gatherings were discontinued by request of the medical officer. The famine conditions continued right into 1919 and during April and May the missionaries were responsible for distribution of government relief. The expected food crops in May 1919 were devastated by two waves of caterpillars and following that any remaining crops were destroyed by the desperate searching and destruction of the many unscrupulous famine refugees. Mbale was flooded with refugees who picked, stole, house-broke and thieved. Disease followed in the footsteps of famine as people in their desperate state ate such foods as water lily roots, banana roots, and the seeds off the rubber trees in the school plantation. People protected their property jealously and speared any

⁵³Ladbury and Uganda, Op. Cit.

intruders. The jails were filled with offenders. Everyone was in debt from borrowing in order to buy expensive food.

Early in 1919 Miss Pilgrim could still report progress in the girls and womens work but in December 1919 she reported:

. . . It was a time of great distress & anxiety & thousands of people died, numbers died whilst waiting for the food to be cooked . . .

Many of the older people were more like brute beasts than human beings . . . it was impossible to walk anywhere without coming upon the dead or dying⁵⁴

It was estimated that over 10,000 deaths occurred in the first five months of 1919 in the Eastern Province⁵⁵ and Father Terhorst reported from Nyondo alone that 3,000 people had died.⁵⁶ The mission compounds and buildings were proving hard to maintain due to the lack of able-bodied workers, students and fees.

On July 3rd, 1919 the Missionary Committee asked Archdeacon Kitching to look for a new site for the Mbale High School " . . . in a more healthy part of the District and with a view ultimately to removing the Station"⁵⁷ and six days later Ladbury wrote to Manley saying that

⁵⁴Pilgrim - Manley, January 27, 1919, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article 24. A similar picture is painted by E. Pilgrim, "Annual Letter dated December 4, 1919," found in Annual Letters from the Missionaries file (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Article No.17.

⁵⁵Uganda Notes, Vol.21, No.4 (April 1920), pp.46-51.

⁵⁶St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate and Annual Report (Autumn 1919), p.240.

⁵⁷Minutes of Missionary Committee (Uganda), July 3, 1919, Section 5, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.88.

The whole of the Mbale Township has been condemned, as for European residence, by the Government Medical Authorities, and they have decided to remove the Government Centre to a more healthy site as soon as Funds are available.⁵⁸

Leech, who had returned to work at Mbale for a time before the closing of the station, agreed with the medical authorities' condemnation, but he worded it in the terminology of his moralistic, dogmatic, rigid personality.

. . . Mbale is a very bad place, and therefore a very needy place. Our opinion of Mbale after more extended acquaintanceship has not become any better, but rather we have come to share the prevailing conviction, viz. that there is a badness which pertains to the place, and there is an excessive badness which pertains to the people who live in it. The former has long been recognized by those who have lived on this Mission Station, and by frequent excursions to the hills, or by some other expedient, they have sought to avert the baneful influence on body and mind of the atmosphere of Mbale⁵⁹

The women's work at Mbale, after Miss Pilgrim's transfer to Kamuli, was left in the hands of Damali Tebakumanyisa, but the church and school work for some time ceased altogether. In November 1919 Kitching reported that after much searching the best site found so far for the re-establishment of the high school was at Busiu, some ten miles south of Mbale.⁶⁰ The following day Rowling wrote to Manley in London explaining that since no new staff or money was available it was felt that selecting a totally

⁵⁸Ladbury - Manley, July 9, 1919, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.89.

⁵⁹A.J. Leech, "Annual Letter dated December 12, 1919," found in Annual Letters from the Missionaries file (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Article No.31.

⁶⁰Minutes of Missionary Committee (Uganda), November 6, 1919, Section 16, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.157.

new site was meaningless, and the only alternative was to move back to Nabumali (though even here money was needed to repair the one house there and erect buildings for a school).⁶¹ And even staff was not available until January 1920, when, after a long delay in South Africa recovering from influenza, pneumonia and heart complications Banks returned to take over the work of the whole Elgon area with the help of the Reverends Kapere and Bekabye and the new high school headmaster, Iginatio Manyolo. On this rather tired note, the high school work was returned to the Nabumali site to remain there until the present day.

During these years Government interest in education increased, and as both Roman Catholics and Protestants appealed for Government financial assistance, all parties concerned were under pressure to define their respective policies of education. For the Protestants the situation was complicated by the financial embarrassment of the parent body in London between 1912 to 1920. By as early as 1912 the missions had realized that a Protectorate-wide mission-sponsored education system was beyond mission means.⁶² The C.M.S. stressed self-support and established a number of abortive church estates to supplement finances.⁶³ It was difficult to distinguish between an agricultural school which should be subsidized

⁶¹Rowling - Manley, November 7, 1919, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/O, Article No.158.

⁶²Carter, Op. Cit., pp.50-53.

⁶³The Government had given grants of some forty square miles (later reported as fifty two) to the N.A.C. Further grants for church development were being withheld because the previous grants had not been developed. These lands could not be rented to the peasantry except in fragmented plots. If the church was to operate them then headmen had to be trained. For this purpose agricultural schools had been established on some of these estates

(like Mbale High School), and a church estate which should not only be self-supporting, but a means of supplementing the local church. What further complicated the issue was whether a missionary like Banks should spend most of his time administering an estate rather than evangelizing.⁶⁴

What was the missionary's 'raison d'etre' - pure evangelization or a broader involvement in the life of the people? In 1911-12 a confrontation had occurred within the C.M.S. at Mengo when H.T.C. Weatherhead's philosophy of higher education as a process of learning to 'think for themselves' had been challenged by C.W. Hattersley's view that the missionary had come out primarily to evangelize, and any other activity like estate management or advanced education must be seconded to the extension of the spiritual state of the church. Hattersley accused Weatherhead, the headmaster of Budo, of failing to produce evangelists and churchmen and

and subsidization was necessary for these schools and estates until the necessary staff had been trained. Only then could the estates become a source of income to the church rather than a liability, but time was required and a church in desperate financial need could not be patient. The estates in question were at Kiryanga, in Teso, Ngogwe, Nokanyonyi, Mityana and Mbale.

⁶⁴Report of Uganda Sub-Committee on Development of School Estates, October 21, 1918, Uganda Mission - File (1918) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.59. This committee had recommended that the Missionary Committee provide the funds needed to develop the school at Mbale, plus the missionary's salary (Banks), rather than making the school rely totally on its estate earnings. Banks should be freed to do the primary work of a missionary, namely, evangelization, rather than secular, secondary tasks of estate supervision.

⁶⁵H.T.C. Weatherhead was the headmaster of King's School, Budo and C.W. Hattersley was headmaster of Mengo High School. Weatherhead was supported by the more liberal section of C.M.S. staff (the Reverends C.H. Casson and E.S. Daniel) while Hattersley had a following of conservatives (Archdeacon Walker, G.K. Baskerville, Dr. A.R. Cook). The division threatened for a while to split the whole Protestant Mission.

resigned in protest in February 1912. He did not oppose higher education, as he himself was the headmaster of Mengo High School, but he did oppose what he called the 'free thinking' and 'higher criticism' attitude of Weatherhead.

Weatherhead defended his concept of higher education by comparing it to medical work. He argued that you dare not refuse advanced medical knowledge to the sick and dying.

Even so it is with education missions; our mission is to the whole man, spirit, mind and body, and as a primitive nation becomes Christian, the awakening mind must be educated, both for the individual's sake and for the sake of the church.⁶⁶

In 1920, speaking as the diocesan Secretary of the Board of Education, he reiterated this same conviction in more explicit terms.

The Missionary is out for the extension of Christ's Kingdom . . . This belief soon leads beyond the gathering in of the individual . . . The Nation must be Christianized . . . In gathering out a 'church' with this wider object in view, it is obvious that the Missionary is bound to teach his converts, and that, not only in the dogmas of Christianity, but to 'educate' them in the highest sense - just because Christianity is not a matter of dogma, but of life.⁶⁷

Weatherhead realized that this argument carried to its logical conclusion meant that the mission and missionary would find the educational system growing beyond its means and scope and Government involvement was essentially a matter of time.

⁶⁶H.T.C. Weatherhead, "The Church in Uganda: Part V - Secondary Education," Uganda Notes, Vol.14, No.7 (July 1913), p.162.

⁶⁷H.T.C. Weatherhead, "On Education," Uganda Notes, Vol.21, No. 10 (October 1920), p.145.

The C.M.S. and N.A.C.⁶⁸ accepted the need for higher education, but what was the official definition of education which the Protestants would present to Government and the public? The Report of the First Education Conference of the N.A.C. gave this terse definition:

Instruction, Conversion, and the Training of Character.
The first is an intellectual, the second a spiritual, and the third a moral process.⁶⁹

The high school headmaster, like H.K. Banks, was chiefly concerned with the first and the third aspect of this definition. Pupils coming to an institution of higher education had usually already been instructed in reading and thereby converted. Banks outlined his philosophy as a teacher and Protestant headmaster in these very realistic terms.

. . . missionaries can only conduct schools in order to influence the lives and character of their scholars and through them their friends and countrymen

. . . we teach him to keep himself, his house and clothes clean; by means of agricultural work we try to make him thorough, no light task!! We try to give each boy some task of his own which teaches him to take responsibility and become self-reliant

⁶⁸ After the 1909 Synod which accepted a constitution for the Uganda Church, the C.M.S. was separate and distinct from the Native Anglican Church in administrative, financial and recruitment details. C.M.S. personnel were acting as supervisors within the N.A.C., paid by the Parent Body in London, and responsible to London through the Bishop. The Bishop served the dual role of being head of the missionary personnel and the native church, and therefore the policy of the C.M.S. and N.A.C. in education were basically the same.

⁶⁹ Report of Educational Conference, Uganda (King's School, Budo: 1915), Section 31, p.14. Also available in Uganda Mission - File (1915) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.122.

In drill, sports and school life the boy has to learn how the individual belongs to the community, and his well doing is needful to all, he transgresses and the boys' council try him and he takes his punishment, and endeavours to do better next time; from this we progress to higher things, the knowledge of failure in following God, the need of a Saviour, and a Master, and doing all for Him with all his might.⁷⁰

Possibly the most significant contribution of the Budo Educational Conference of April 1915 (referred to above) were its attempts to define a Protectorate-wide scheme of Protestant education to be based on the church system which had been built since 1875. 1) Each village was to have a village day school. 2) Each sub-district with a mutala church was to have a junior day school. 3) In each pastorate there was to be a senior day school. 4) Each missionary district or rural deanery was to have a central school (boarding facilities may be provided at such a school). 5) Each country was to have a high school (a boarding school intended for chief's sons who could afford the higher fees). 6) There would be central diocesan institutions like King's School, Budo, the Namirembe Normal School, Gayaza Girls' School. The first type of school would offer three years of primary education and the second type four. The senior day school would provide six years with some instruction in English. This was the elementary system. In the secondary system the path lay through the central schools, the high schools, and on to the diocesan institutions.

⁷⁰H.K. Banks, Report dated August 25, 1917, Uganda Notes, Vol. 18, No.10 (October 1917).

To tie in with this system, the Conference defined four grades of teachers. 1) In the day schools, the brighter students would be given preliminary training as pupil-teachers called Babezi while still in training, local schoolmasters when in charge of a village school, and Musizi when in a regular teaching position. 2) From being a pupil-teacher he could progress to a larger school at a mission station and receive the Junior Schoolmaster's Certificate (the grade intended for village day school teaching). 3) While the whole of the training costs for the first two grades was borne by the church, the third grade, or Senior Schoolmaster's Certificate, training was at private expense in a central or high school, and sometimes combined with training at a place like Namirembe or Mukono. Junior and senior day schools were to be taught by this grade of teacher. 4) A Budo master was at the top of the teaching profession, having passed through high school and Budo. Boarding and Central schools were to be staffed by such masters. These latter two grades, because they were completely free from church connection, could demand a high salary and greater social recognition. The system of schools and certification seems, according to the 1915 Conference, to be highly organized, but in actual fact it was little more than an ideal until as late as the 1950's, but it was an objective, and therein lay its value.

Where did the Government stand in relation to education after the First World War? During the 1910-15 years the Colonial Office had frequently refused to grant permission to the Uganda Government to begin work in education because the missions had been satisfying public demand,

and so long as England was subsidizing Uganda's revenue it was felt that social services should be kept at a minimum. Once the Protectorate was self-sufficient, then education should be supported financially as well as morally by the Government.⁷¹ Self-sufficiency was achieved in 1915⁷² but public pressure for increased educational opportunity did not make itself felt until the post war years.

The war also had a vital role to play in the attitudes of the British public and colonial administration. During the war in 1917 John Ainsworth, colonial officer in the British East African Protectorate, could still wave the Union Jack and write:

. . . If we are to be true to our traditions we must recognize that we are absolutely committed to the work, a grand and noble work, of regenerating and uplifting these people If, however, we have a belief in our superiority and in our destiny as a race, we shall see it through. To allow of us realizing these ideas we must not be actuated or influenced by ideas of personal gain. Our intentions must be guided by a sincere wish

⁷¹Carter, Op. Cit., p.65.

⁷²Revenue and Expenditure of the Uganda Protectorate: 1908/09 -

1919/20

<u>Year</u>	<u>Grants-in-aid</u>	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
1908/09	£ 95,000	102,572	256,337
1909/10	103,262	165,145	240,140
1910/11	96,000	191,094	253,374
1911/12	65,000	203,492	283,689
1912/13	45,000	238,655	292,147
1913/14	35,000	265,559	290,180
1914/15	10,000	282,831	289,213
1915/16		287,025	285,072
1916/17		315,458	289,308
1917/18		326,366	285,389
1918/19		351,835	323,692
1919/20		495,549	465,118

(K. Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda (London: 1958), p.115, 158.)

to prove worthy of our trust and show to the Native People that the advent of the White Man and especially a Britisher can be and will be, in so far as is humanly possible, a blessing to them.⁷³

But in the sombre years of post war reflection the glory of western civilization as an export commodity had waned. The mood towards philanthropic imperialism and Christian civilizing and western values had become critical. The C.M.S. found it hard, if not impossible, to recruit personnel or collect financial support from the British public. The demands for education in Uganda were not strong enough to counter-act this change, and so Uganda Government involvement in education did not come until the mid 1920's, by which time British post-war reaction had worn off and public interest in the colonies agreed with Lugard's 'dual mandate' concept of control and development.

The 1915 Conference at Budo deplored the lack of support given to the missions by Government in the field of education. But, did the missions want Government involvement? In November 1916 the Executive Committee of the C.M.S. in London recorded the following minute in reference to Government aid:

There is no Director of Education. The Mission authorities would deplore the setting up of a rival system of schools by the Government and do not think the latter would be possible. On the other hand they would not regret the appointment of an Inspector . . . Endowments in land would be useless, owing to the difficulty of making them pay

If the Government were pressed they might possibly give more

⁷³J.M. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza 1883-1945" (Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1964), p.138 citing J. Ainsworth, "Memorandum: General Political and Domestic Conditions - Natives," February 6, 1917 (Rhodes House, London), MSS AFR. A382.

support towards the cost of the High Schools⁷⁴

The vagueness of this position is obvious and only as the staff and financial situation grew worse would the request for assistance become clearer.

In August 1917 a study was carried out by an education sub-committee of the C.M.S. Board of Education to determine the relationship between the education system, the Government, and the demands made on missionary staff by the schools. It was discovered that the chief drain on funds and staff was the high schools. These schools depended on having an European in charge because it was felt that

There is no native master as yet who can realize the value of character as a school necessity. Sustained discipline, time detailed accuracy, scrupulous honesty, conscience and spiritual anxiety for others are more than we expect at our present stage in our young inexperienced school masters.⁷⁵

Since these schools prepared the future administrators of the land, since the Government want their employees to be educated, of sound character and efficient, and since the Government was making great use of the products of the mission schools, particularly during the war years (clerks, interpreters, head men, special corps like the medical and carrier corps which most high schools sent to the front, including Mbale School), no war-time excuse would be accepted. Aid must be forthcoming! The report concluded that:

⁷⁴Minutes of Education Committee (London), November 29, 1916, Uganda Mission - File (1916) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.131.

⁷⁵Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Missionary Committee on Education in Uganda, August 13, 1917, Uganda Mission - File (1917) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.102, p.2.

The Government here have the greatest appreciation of our work but the grant sanctioned to help us is most inadequate. There is immediate need for largely increased grants and because of the War with its demands on our boys the need is urgent and present.⁷⁶

On September 27, and 28, 1917 Acting Governor H.R. Wallis called an education conference under the chairmanship of Mr. Jarvis, Acting Chief Secretary. The purpose for calling this conference was not mission requests for assistance, but rather to deal with charges of Lango Administration and the C.M.S. that chiefs were using 'luwalo' labour⁷⁷ for the construction of churches and mission schools. The Conference represented all societies and Government, so Bishop Willis suggested that the whole problem of education be considered. As a consequence the Government defined its education policy, a permanent Advisory Board of Education was formed, and organized appeals by the Societies led to a proposed increase in the monetary grant by Government.⁷⁸ Baskerville in his History of the Uganda Mission of the C.M.S. called it a "great step forward" and admitted that it was "inevitable that sooner or later the time would come when the Government would have of necessity to take a leading part in educating the natives of the Protectorate." The pastoral

⁷⁶Ibid., p.2.

⁷⁷One month compulsory unpaid labour on Government projects.

⁷⁸Report of the Educational Conference called by Acting Governor, H.R. Wallis, September 27-8, 1917. This conference was the forerunner of the Advisory Council of Native Education in Uganda. Carter, Op. Cit., p.88.

supervision of education seemed to be to Baskerville the future role of the missions in education because the "first and principle" object of the Societies was evangelistic work.⁷⁹ The Government had prior to 1917 been giving a grant of £850 to the Protestant education system but this had been carefully ear-marked for specific purposes and institutions.⁸⁰ In 1918 the increased grant was £2,000 to be divided among the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. The C.M.S. portion was spread thinly over the system and Mbale High School received £20. A 'great step forward'!

It has been seen how the C.M.S. defined its educational policy, and how the Government had good intentions, gratitude, but a hesitant policy of co-operation. What was the attitude of society in Uganda towards education, or the lack of it, in the immediate post war years? When war was declared the Missionary Committee wrote to the Provincial Commissioner and offered all her staff, European and African, for the war effort. All travel by missionaries ceased and construction was to be halted.⁸¹ Boys at the Central and High Schools were drilled and

⁷⁹G.K. Baskerville, "The History of the Uganda Mission of the Church Missionary Society," unpublished MS (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), Part IV, p.347.

⁸⁰The £850 grant was ear-marked in the following way: £300 for poll tax relief for teachers or native catechists and went straight back into Government coffers, £200 was to be used for scholarships to King's School, Budo for the training of chief's sons from out-lying areas, £100 was to be used at the Namirembe Normal School, £50 went to Mengo High School to the wood work department, £100 to Kamuli (Mwiri) High School for training future chiefs from Busoga, £100 to be used at the Girls' Training Industry in Toro organized by Misses Pike, Baugh-Allen, and Foster Smith. (Report of Educational Conference, Uganda (King's School, Budo: 1916.))

⁸¹Minutes of Missionary Committee (Uganda), October 28, 1914, Section 157, Uganda Mission - Precis Book (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/P2.

medical-carrier corps were organized.⁸² Africans offered themselves enthusiastically and fought side by side with Europeans. They travelled widely and the King's African Rifles proved themselves a "most undoubtable fighting force."⁸³ The impact of such widening experiences was much deeper.

Closer contact with Europeans of all types, particularly during the hostilities . . . has resulted in a definite loss to our [European-British] prestige. While more than ever appreciating our superiority in material civilization, and our command over the resources of nature, the native is under no delusion as to our short-comings, and no longer regards us as superior moral beings. This loss of respect has encouraged him to believe that he can, and will, attain an equality with us in every respect at a not too distant date.⁸⁴

Bishop Willis concluded that the World War had taught the African a sense of unity in that he came in contact with other Africans and negroes from various parts of the world.

And with it [the sense of unity] has come, to many for the first time, a certain sense of resentment, a reaction against Western domination, a sense of injustice in many quarters, the rise of native nationalism. They have met; they have compared notes; they read now the same papers; and the unifying effect of it all is inescapable. A new force of unknown dimensions, and unpredictable effects, has been called into being⁸⁵

⁸²E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: 1912), Vol.IV, p.588.

⁸³G.K. Baskerville and A.R. Cook, "Review of the year 1916," Uganda Mission - File (1917) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/0, Article No.54, p.18.

⁸⁴E.D. Tongue, "The Contact of Races in Uganda," British Journal of Psychology, Vol.XXV (1935), p.363.

⁸⁵J.J. Willis, J.J. Willis MS (original) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.120, pp.158-9.

It was a new force which would make itself felt most in education. The majority of Africans now wanted a knowledge of English by which they could escape manual labour and enter Government clerical employment.⁸⁶ Nationalist feelings revealed themselves through such African organizations as the Young Baganda Association which requested that Government should inspect and finance education in the Protectorate. This was partly an anti-European and partly an anti-clerical attitude because it sprang from the conviction that Africans wanted, were capable of exercising, and should have self-determination.⁸⁷

Government now had a new role to accept - namely that of needing, and having to win the loyalty of, the African populace. Previously it had worked mainly with the European resident, but now in its new role as a 'trustee', it was obliged to consult and work for the persons in its charge. The immediate post war uncertainty of the British people about the worth of Western culture and values was soon replaced with a concern for the welfare and rights of the colonial people and pressure was brought to bear on the Colonial Office to accept fully and implement the policy of indirect rule. This policy was popular because its principles allowed for the backwardness of a people without prejudice as well as providing a

⁸⁶Ingham, Op. Cit., p.160.

⁸⁷S. Wright, Memorandum 'B', Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (London: 1919/20), pp.30-31.

definite policy of development of the native by the native under British supervision.⁸⁸ At the turn of the century and prior to the First World War, the European's paternal feelings were explained in Darwinian terms - a primitive people at an earlier stage of evolution. Immediately following World War I European paternalism took on Freudian terminology - the Africans were children with whom the European must be patient. Development was now thought possible in the lifetime of the administrator or missionary, while before the process of evolution was considered to require almost an unlimited time. Previously it had been possible for Government to sit back and direct development at its own pace and according to its own plan, but now the pace was being set for Government towards a goal defined by the populace. But because 'Victorian confidence' died more quickly in war-torn England than it did in the promising young colony of Uganda, where it was replaced by a tolerant realism, it meant that the whole interbellum period was required before the Government in Uganda would fully appreciate the changed attitude of the African and accept the responsibilities of trusteeship. Both fortunately and unfortunately the African did not take advantage of his new power to influence and demand Government involvement.

⁸⁸ D. Anthony Low and R. Cranford Pratt, Buganda and British Overrule: 1900-1955 (London: 1960), p.168.

CHAPTER V

AN EDUCATIONAL CENTRE

This chapter will analyse how Nabumali, inspite of staff shortages, developed under Archdeacon Mathers into an educational centre. Gradually, with the advent of the Upper Nile Diocese, a diocesan plan of education evolved with Nabumali High School very much the centre and source of educational outreach. In the meantime the Government of Uganda officially stepped into the field of education after the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1924. As may be expected, Government-mission conflicts developed but did not become too significant because the C.M.S.-N.A.C. still provided most of the money and staff for education while the Governors of Uganda, prior to 1935, did not involve Government very deeply and so relative co-operation existed.

Mbale had been declared unfit for European occupation and so the Government left, eventually resettling at Bubulu, and the mission came to Nabumali. On the whole the work of the missionary had usually followed the Government administrator in the Eastern region. Crabtree had come to Mpumude, the headquarters of Kakungulu, the Government administrator, but he did not follow Kakungulu to Budaka because that station had already been established by Buckley and Chadwick, and when Mbale became Kakungulu's place of retirement it was felt that the Buganda were capable of carrying out their own evangelism and pastoral work. But by 1908 Mbale had become sufficiently important as an administrative and trade centre that mission work was begun there.

Bishop Willis' policy was to occupy "the points which are most immediately threatened"¹ rather than moving along the lines of least resistance where immediate and mass results were attainable. It is not that Willis did not realize the advantages of the latter policy as a means of forewarning and forearming converts, and of establishing a Christian bulwark on virgin soil at one's own pace. The policy of development along lines of least resistance had been followed in Uganda in the late 1800's, but the work in the Eastern Region was nearly always handicapped by lack of funds and personnel, and so development here was based on occupation of the points most immediately threatened.²

In 1916 it had been recognized that Nabumali was poorly suited to be a central Bukedi station and had been closed. Now the flourishing Mbale work had to be deserted, and because the Government had not yet found a new place to settle, the mission returned to Nabumali. Leech had stayed at Mbale only long enough to hand over the work when Banks arrived in early March, 1920. Banks had always favoured the Nabumali site and though he had given so many years of hard and fruitless work

¹J.J. Willis, J.J. Willis MS (original) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.120, p.79.

²The threats for the Protestant mission were Islam, Roman Catholicism and the effects of materialism. Even as late as 1926, when the Upper Nile Diocese was established, it was felt that this diocese should be a bulwark against the advance of Islam from the north. The C.M.S. took great pride in the fact that Protestant work preceded Roman Catholic work in Bukedi, and C.M.S. pioneer missionaries did not want to lose this advantage. With the arrival of the railroad at Port Florence, a flood of material temptations reached into Uganda in the form of goods, traders, Government personnel, and secular thought.

to the development of the Muvule school site, he plunged once again into the task of reconstruction. Nabumali, having been closed since 1916, and having been ravaged by the 1918-19 famine, had virtually returned to a pioneer state. Banks was under doctor's order not to undertake itinerant work but to concentrate on developing the education work (high school and teacher training). With Government loans (£200 for each of 1921 and 1922, and £300 for 1923) and the proceeds of the sale of one of the two church houses in Mbale, Nabumali was re-established. Banks also remained responsible for the Mbale Estate which had to be kept under cultivation so that the lease would not be cancelled.³

In July 1920 the boys' high school was re-opened with forty pupils under the native headmastership of Iginatio Manyolo.⁴ Early in 1921 when Bishop Gresford-Jones, Suffragan of Kampala with special responsibility over the work in the Eastern Region, visited Nabumali, he found Banks and his wife quite alone. Banks, singlehandedly, was running a church and all that it involved, a day school, a teachers' centre, a carpenters' training shop, a boys' boarding school, plantations spreading over 200

³In April 1925 the 100 acres of freehold land was exchanged for 500 acres of freehold land at Lira (100 acres), Lango (200 acres), and Bukedi, (200 acres). (Minutes of Missionary Committee (Uganda), April 23, 1925, Minutes of Missionary Committee (Uganda) (Jan.17, 1924 - October 6, 1927) (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

⁴A fortnight later the pupils went on strike, at the instigation, it was feared, of the Muganda assistant master. This reflected the post-war mood of independence and rebellion which was felt through-out Uganda. The next day the Muganda agent brought back the truant majority and gave them some trenchant advice which they followed with meekness. (C.M.S. Annual Report 1920-21, Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (London: 1920-21), p.43.)

acres and carrying out all the building work on the Nabumali station in addition to advising the Roman Catholics with their construction work at Nyondo. The road leading into the Nabumali-Nyondo area was constructed and eucalyptus trees planted.⁵ During 1921 and 1922 the work was hampered by poor cotton crops and only about fifty boys attended the school.⁶ Banks, in poor health and heavily over-worked, suggested "If C.M.S. cannot send out reinforcements immediately to these parts, it ought to invite other societies to come in and help."⁷ In February 1921 plans were made for the construction of a house for the Reverend and Mrs. Henry Mathers who were to move to the Elgon area later that year.

January 24th, 1923 was a great day for the school as Bishop Willis laid the foundation stone of a new permanent brick building (the main school building from that time until the late 1950's when the present administration-dining complex replaced it). Banks had trained boys to make bricks and, using ant-hill mortar (murrum) and timber from Bunyuli, the building was well begun by the time he left in March 1923. Banks left some money for its completion, and at the same time contributions from local chiefs, particularly after 1924, enabled Mathers to complete it as well as begin a number of other structures.

⁵H.G. Jones, Uganda in Transformation: 1876-1926 (London: 1926), pp.102-3. This road was a joint Nabumali-Nyondo project.

⁶A.P. Bottomley, "Our African Schools: Nabumali High School," Uganda Teachers Journal, Vol.II (1940), p.130.

⁷C.M.S. Annual Report 1920-21, Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (London: 1920-21), p.43.

The pastoral work at Nabumali developed rapidly in the early 1920's because the Reverends Zake, Bekabye and Kapere all came there from Mbale during or after the famine.⁸ Banks had also begun training teachers, having a class of 12-20 teachers-in-training residing at the High School. These served both as pupil-teachers while at Nabumali and as the future staff at out-stations. Slowly the Elgon area was breaking away from its dependence on Busoga and Buganda. The close inter-dependence between high school and teacher training work remained until the early 1930's. After Bank's departure the whole work fell on, the new Archdeacon, Mathers, and the three African clergymen. The missionary staff shortage, particularly for the high school, was going to continue right through until 1933. During these ten years a succession of temporary headmasters came to Nabumali, sometimes primarily for the school work, but often having teacher training and pastoral supervision responsibilities as well. Throughout these years the Elgon church work and the development of education relied very heavily on one man, Archdeacon Mathers.

Mathers, or 'Manjasi', as he was called⁹ was a man of unbelievable vigor and determination. The one principle which he considered basic to

⁸The Reverend Kezekiya Musoke Bekabye had been at Mbale prior to his coming to Nabumali in 1919. He returned to Mbale in 1923-4. The Reverend Silwano Butoto Kapere was at Nabumali 1919-23. The Reverend Enoka Zake came to Nabumali in 1921 after he was ordained, then went to Mbale in 1923-4 until circa 1929 when he went to Buhugu. He returned to Nabumali to replace the Reverend Saulo Balubuliza in 1934.

⁹Manjasi High School in Tororo is named in his honour as it originally started as a technical school.

missionary work was "contact with the people."¹⁰ His wife recalled that when he was transferred to Mbale he held it to be a work of great importance to keep in constant touch with the out-stations. His itineration work was first on foot, then by mule, then motor-cycle, and finally by motor-car. His visits were never rushed. Sometimes a little village community, knowing he was going through, would wait by the side of the road and a short service with a Gospel message would be held. He loved, and was at home with, a crowd of people round him and many times he would forget to eat and his boy would have to remind him. Rarely would he stay with Europeans if a camp was available for he considered he was there for the people and they could thus more easily visit him.

His reputation through the Mount Elgon-Tororo area is one of a traveller who built many churches and schools. He had trained as a builder in Belfast and had become a skilfull authority, widely consulted and respected for his knowledge of the building trade. He expected much of himself and treated all he met in a similar way. If there was a task to be done, then it should be done to the glory of God in the best way possible, with no effort spared. The building must be solid and practical, and the accounts must be meticulously kept after buying materials at the best market prices. The churches at Nabumali, Bubulo, Mbale (St. Andrew's Hall), Budaka, Buhugu, Kisoko, and Busia are all his work, plus many schools. Though his personal standard was high and his expectations of

¹⁰H. Mathers, "The Mission Station and District some Twenty Odd Years Ago," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.12 (October-December 1928), p.116.

others equally high, he never expected of 'his'¹¹ people, teachers, or chiefs more than he himself would be willing to do. His practical ability may be seen as the basis of his education philosophy. If there was a tooth to be extracted, Manjasi would do it and enjoy doing it. A broken limb would be set by him and even a minor operation carried out. Church council meetings were to be attended and punctually! He never hurried the examination of confirmation and baptism candidates regardless of the number. If his bicycle tire was punctured far from the station, he would make a barkscloth replacement. His wife was very active among the women, founding and developing the Mother's Union work in the Elgon area. Their home was open to all.

And yet, there was a basic simplicity to the man. In 1928 Mathers wrote:

As one looks back over a period of almost twenty-five years, the little mud school-church stands out with its unlearned and ignorant teacher as the front lights of evangelization together with civilization. The chief, the peasant, the man, the woman, the boy and the girl have joyously gathered their morsels of wisdom, truth and righteousness under the unpretentious direction of the missionary. The missionary's life too in those days may have seemed far from important or eventful, but he and she quietly laid the foundations without which the present standards would have been impossible of attainment.¹²

Mathers never forgot that he was a missionary first and then an adminis-

¹¹The pronoun correctly reflects the patriarch that he was. His influence as to the appointment and dismissal of chiefs and his close contact with Timoseo Mukasa at Lukonge and Daudi Musoke at Budadari gave him a power which was often a source of great annoyance to District Commissioners. Chiefs were frequently consulted by Mathers, and equally they would consult him when in difficulty. (Interviews with Bishop E. Masaba in May 1968 at Mbale, and with Canon Bottomly and Bishop Usher Wilson in December 1968 in England.)

¹²Mathers, Op. Cit., p.117.

trator. His faith was simple and narrow, demanding and strict, but respected and emulated. He was a patriarchal figure, a missionary of the old school. Fortunately he lived when he did and his paternalism rather than creating bitterness gave a sense of direction and purpose to a people who had not yet grown far enough away from their simple past to be critical and independent. In many ways he was to his archdeaconry what Archdeacon Owen was to Kavirondo.¹³

On December 20th, 1922 the first of Mathers' Annual Exhibitions¹⁴ was held at Nabumali High School. These exhibitions continued to be an annual event in the life of the school until the mid 1930's when they were moved to Mbale. Mathers wanted to have a contact established between the many bush-schools and the main institution of the area, Nabumali. He wanted to encourage practical handwork among the natives, handwork which used local materials and expressed traditional skills and styles. To these exhibitions local schools could bring a display of the best articles made by the pupils. These exhibits which some 300 schools brought in 1924 included: 1) woodwork: tables, chairs, basins, spoons, plates and stools; 2) ironwork: hoes, spears, knives, etc.; 3) baskets of many kinds and qualities; 4) pottery of various sorts: storage urns, beer pots, cups; 5) ropes, nets, bags, brushes, mats of sisal, palm or papyrus; 6) skinwork: belts, bags, pouches, garments, shields; 7) hats,

¹³See J.M. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza 1883-1945" (Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1964). Similar ideas were expressed by old residents of the Nabumali community - Busiku, Buyi, Naburufe - during interviews with them.

¹⁴The first exhibition held in the Elgon area was at Nabumali in 1922, but Mathers had organized similar events on a smaller scale in Busoga prior to his coming to Elgon.

waist fringes, sandals, clogs, drums, etc. In 1922 about 4,000 local inhabitants were present on this day and the Provincial Commissioner opened the exhibition while the Bishop of Kampala, Gresford-Jones, was in the chair for the speeches and ceremony. Later in the afternoon sports and prizes created a strong competitive spirit. The usual prizes were footballs and money held to that particular school's credit for equipment.¹⁵

Mathers used these exhibitions to attract public attention (chiefs, local inhabitants, political figures) to education and to explain to the chiefs their responsibility, to the public that education was desirable, and to the people that their skills and crafts were worth preserving. By involving chiefs and public officials the prestige of education grew, and Mathers would then find it much easier afterwards to solicit public help in certain projects. Throughout his years in the Elgon area, Mathers always succeeded in maintaining a close connection between the various educational institutions, whether high or low, and the people and chiefs.

¹⁵H.B. Ladbury, Journals of Missionary Work, Vol.3 (August 1909 - June 1928), December 19, 1922 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

In 1926 the exhibition attracted some 6,000 visitors and the exhibits filled ten rooms at the school. In addition to handwork, exhibits of written work, arithmetic exercises, and drawings were allowed. A fully organized sportsday was held in conjunction with the display, and the handcrafts were put up for sale after the judging. Government offices contributed to the support of the prizes and arrangements, and an itinerant handcraft teacher was to be appointed to encourage the work. By the middle of the 1930's the exhibition had outgrown Nabumali both in size and disruption and so was moved to Mbale where it became more closely identified with Government. In the 1940's it was decided to sub-divide the Annual Exhibition and hold local exhibitions. With Mather's leadership gone after 1945 these exhibitions soon died a natural death.

The degree of influence which he exerted over the chiefs is evidenced by the moneys he was able to collect from them for such projects as Buwalasi College and the Mbale Cathedral, not to mention many local schools and churches.

Even before the division of the Diocese of Uganda into the Uganda and Upper Nile Dioceses in 1926, Mathers planned and developed the Elgon work as an entity separate from the rest of the Protectorate. Educationally his plans focused very much on Nabumali rather than the high school at Ngora, and as a result, after the division, Nabumali became the main diocesan institution of higher education. In 1925 Mathers outlined his development plans in these terms:

. . . In my district we have a central boys' school at Nabumale - a kind of high school with a hundred boarders, many of whom will be future leaders of the country, - three district central schools, and 400 village schools . . .

The boys' high school at Nabumale is the centre of the wheel. There we have a fairly elaborate workshop, and the boys from this school go out as teachers to the more advanced village schools . . .¹⁶

This was the plan, and insofar as the type of education to be offered was concerned, Mathers continued:

I believe, among other things, in maintaining and developing native industries. They are in danger of dying out . . . and in every school from half an hour to an hour a day is supposed to be given to handicrafts. My plan is that the boys and girls should make use of the raw material to be found all round them . . . I have spoken first of industrial work, as that is a side that attracts the attention of visitors and Government officials; but of course our teachers are missionaries first and foremost

This comes dangerously close to admitting that the industrial-practical

¹⁶H. Mathers, Article on Industrial Education at Namumali, Eastward Ho! Vol.35 (October 1935), pp.137-8.

side of education was there primarily to attract attention for evangelizing purposes.

. . . Get Christianity in first before western civilisation, and we need not fear that the African will be knocked off his balance . . . When a man gets a smattering of civilisation he is not anything like the same good to his country as he would be if he were a Christian; he may be smart, but he is not educated in brain or character, and not a healthy product . . . Christianity and civilisation side by side will lead to harmony and brotherhood . . . That there are weaknesses which may easily spell disaster no one will deny. The native, however well trained, quickly deteriorates, unless supervised . . . Given the staff, the two main pillars most urgently needing strengthening are 'Training', and 'Supervision', and with these, by the grace of God, the Church will be the mighty bulwark in this part of Africa . . .¹⁷

Mathers had an intense faith in the African, but he had to be a 'Christian' African. He was paternalistic, but given the degree of development at his time, he was justified in acting as a leader with the answers. Had he stayed longer after the end of World War II (he retired in 1947), he would have been a very controversial figure, and much of his good-will and respect would have been lost in the face of African independence. This was an experience so bitter to many Europeans who stayed on in public service through to the years of 'Uhuru' and after.

Towards the end of 1922 Misses A.E. Baugh-Allen and D.M. Foster Smith came from Toro to Nabumali to begin women's work.¹⁸ For some time there

¹⁷H. Mathers, "Review of the Church's Work in Eastern Uganda," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.4 (October 1926), p.99.

¹⁸In Toro Miss Allen had organized a women's handcraft school, and at Nabumali she quickly introduced spinning and weaving - subjects very much in harmony with Mathers' philosophy of education. But Miss Allen was almost seventy years old and her time at Nabumali was primarily concerned with helping Miss Smith start the Elgon Girls' Training School.

had been a very evident lack of women teachers as the women's work was being built up. There was need for locally trained women teachers to provide continuity and permanence to the women's work which thrived only as long as staff was available to direct it. With a regular supply of women teachers the girls in the villages would receive an education and eventually a girls' boarding school could be established comparable to the boys' high school. For the first six months of 1923 Miss Foster Smith and Archdeacon Mathers visited the surrounding villages to see the girls who were already reading in various bush schools. Those who were baptized they asked to come to Nabumali to be trained as teachers in the Elgon Girls' Training School. Miss Smith reported that

I put before them the advantages of having girl teachers and learning to sew, sing, drill, write and count. The sewing was a great attraction, as many of them were emerging from the banana-leaf frill stage to magyar frocks.¹⁹

During this time of recruitment a site near a well²⁰ was chosen and a large building erected by the local chief out of mud and wattle and the stones which abounded on that side of the hill. In the summer of 1923 the Governor of Uganda, Sir Geoffrey Archer, laid the foundation stone.²¹ At first there were only ten pupil-teachers, but by March 1924 Miss Smith

¹⁹D.M. Foster Smith, "The Missionary's Job: Training Women Teachers," Church Missionary Outlook, Vol.LV (July 1928), pp.139-40.

²⁰The Elgon Girls' Training School was situated on the north side of the Nabumali Corner-Nyondo Road opposite the site later used for the Girls' Boarding School, and presently being used as a Junior Boys Residential site.

²¹Report in Church Missionary Outlook, Vol.LI (April 1924), pp.79-80.

reported having thirty. The difficulty was that while Miss Smith could direct and teach the training school, another European woman was needed to supervise the trained teachers once they were sent back to their villages to begin working among the girls there.²²

The time-table of this training school was very basic.

Every morning they go to the fields to cultivate their daily food, and every girl in turn cooks the two daily meals. It was necessary that they should learn to live clean, healthy lives in the hostel and how to use their spare and play time . . .

Every girl who came could read, but that was her only qualification, so it was necessary to begin teaching them writing, arithmetic, hygiene, simple geography, drill, singing, and nature study . . . Sewing and handwork have a large place in the time table.²³ The whole work and running of the school is so divided that every girl has her job and is responsible for it. They get experience in practical teaching by being in turn in charge of classes in the local day school or in the boarding school.²⁴

After two years of training the teachers were sent out and if after one year they proved themselves able, they would be taken back for an additional two years of training. After this they could sit for the Government Teaching Certificate. The standards would, over the years, be built up, especially once the girls boarding school would provide potential teachers in training. By July 1926 some twenty Bagishu girls

²²D.M. Foster Smith - Iadbury, March 21, 1924, unsorted correspondence marked Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

²³Basketry, weaving and clay-modelling were also included.

²⁴Foster Smith, Op. Cit., pp.139-40.

had been sent out by the school.²⁵ By 1930 there were fifteen girls' day schools staffed by Elgon Training Centre graduates. In 1931 there were sixty girls in training representing the Bagishu, Badama, Bagwere and Banyuli tribes, and in 1932 some Ateso girls as well. During this time an entrance examination was instituted and the examinees had to have a basic knowledge of simple arithmetic, sewing, handwork, hygiene and communal life rather than just reading as they did in 1923. Also in 1931 a kindergarten was started at the Girls' Boarding School and the teacher trainees took turns in caring for these young children.²⁶ Because the training school was located on a narrow strip of land between the Nabumali-Nyondo Road and the edge of the Nabumali ridge, it was decided by the Standing Committee of the C.M.S. in Mengo to develop the work elsewhere. So in 1931 Miss Smith went to Kabwangasi, a site north of Mbale, where a new teacher training institution was begun, and the first students were admitted there for the second term of 1932. The facilities of the Elgon Girls' Training School, now unused, were incorporated with the girls boarding school facilities just across the road.²⁷

In 1924, less than a year after the Girls Training School had been

²⁵ Mathers, Op. Cit., p.95.

²⁶ D.M. Foster Smith, "Elgon Girls' Training School," South of the Sudd and on the Backwaters of the Nile, Vol.1, No.5 (October 1931), pp. 16-18.

²⁷ In April 1928 the Upper Nile Board of Education decided that Nabumali should be the site of the Girls' Normal School for the Diocese, using Luganda, but due to uncertainty about Government policy about the Protectorate's 'Lingua franca' a similar school was developed at Ngora using Ateso. Then later in 1928 the Government's Swahili policy opened the way for the future development of a more central Swahili-speaking Girls' Normal Training Centre at Kabwangasi.

begun, a few small children were admitted to the Normal School as paying boarders to form the first class of a girls' boarding school. They had a large hut on the Normal School compound at first. This arrangement continued until 1928 when a Government grant was made available and Miss Ruth Pavey took over the Girls' Boarding School as a separate institution from the Normal School.²⁸

On November 1st, 1928 Mrs. Kitching, the wife of the new Bishop, laid the foundation stone of the Buxton Dormitory,²⁹ the first permanent building of the Girls' Boarding School. Additional mud and wattle buildings were erected on this new site south of the road, and Miss Pavey, being a trained agriculturalist, tried to introduce dairy work into the school, but met with little support from the Bagishu. She was, however, successful in laying out the school compound and developing food crop production for the school. In 1931 she was replaced by Miss Enid Good. Also in August of that year the Bishop's wife enrolled the first Guides from among the boarding school girls. For many years the 1st Masaba Guide Company was active in the school and district, and from among its patrol members, the prefects and best students were found. Under Miss Good a new staff house, a school chapel, a dining hall, a permanent school instruction block, and a dispensary were erected.

²⁸Nabumali Girls' School Log Book, 1924 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

²⁹This dormitory is still in use in 1968. It was built with a £100 gift from Sir Victor Buxton, a well-known philanthropist and supporter of the C.M.S.

The medical work at the main dispensary of Nabumali station had not been re-developed since Miss Pilgrim went to Mbale in 1916. Dr. A.R. Cook visited Nabumali in February 1924 and it was decided to establish a Lady Coryndon Maternity and Child Welfare Centre there to be staffed by a graduate of the Mengo Maternity Training Centre. Miss Allen, during her two years at Nabumali assisting Miss Smith with the Elgon Girls' Training School, did much to build up the medical work, so that by 1926 some 1,332 out-patients, numerous venereal disease cases, and 1,141 ante-natal and child welfare cases were treated. In 1927 Dr. V. Hunter (resident in Ngora but in charge of the Nabumali medical work) reported that the Nabumali dispensary had treated 13,036 out-patients and eighty four in-patients. Miss Skipper, who had come to replace Miss Smith during her 1926 furlough, stayed on at Nabumali during 1927-28 to supervise the medical work. Under Miss Ritson in 1932-33 a new Maternity Centre was built, a house for the midwife, and two dispensary buildings (one for in-patients and the other for out-patients and dressing and storage).³⁰ But by 1938, due to lack of staff and finances, this work was terminated and cases from the school and community were taken either to the Mbale Hospital or the Roman Catholic dispensary at Nyondo.

During the 1910's and 1920's the Protectorate of Uganda, and particularly the Eastern Province, underwent an economic revolution with the

³⁰M.C. Ritson, "Dispensary Work at Nabumali," South of the Sudd and on the Backwaters of the Nile, Vol.1, No.8 (April 1933), p.24.

development of cotton. J.B. Purvis had introduced cotton at Nabumali in 1904. The amount of cotton produced in Uganda as a whole rose sharply from 180 cwt. in 1905 to 340,000 in 1923.³¹ The value of cotton produced in 1924 was £3,779,000 (compared with a total Government revenue of £1,239,789), and by 1925 there were 98 ginneries to be found in the Eastern Province alone. Government revenue almost trebled between 1919 and 1924 and this enabled the rapid development of road (described as 'the envy of the neighbouring countries'), rail (the line to Jinja was completed in January 1928), and even air (the first aircraft landed at Entebbe on February 4, 1928) communications. But, inspite of rapidly increasing revenue, Government grants-in-aid to missions for education remained relatively small - 1918 grant was £2,000 and in 1925 £10,800.³²

In January 1924 the second Phelps Stokes Commission on Education in Africa came to East Africa. The first Commission had begun its visits to Western and Southern African countries in September 1920. This had created an intense interest in education both among Africans and Europeans. The British Government wholeheartedly accepted the recommendations of this

³¹ Cotton Production in Uganda

1905	180 cwt.
1914	94,000 cwt.
1915	117,000 cwt.
1921	291,000 cwt.
1923	340,000 cwt.

(T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, (London: 1924), pp.146-7.

³² Annual Report, 1926 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.29, Table V (F). See also Jones, Op. Cit., p.155.

first Phelps Stokes Report and in March 1923 it had invited Dr. J.H. Oldham of the International Missionary Council to submit a memorandum outlining possible means of co-operation between the Colonial Office and the Voluntary Agencies or missions. In May 1923 Oldham's and Jones' (Chairman of the Phelps Stokes Commission) memorandum went to Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. By June it was accepted and the permanent Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa was set up to advise the Colonial Office on African educational policy, having in its membership Government, non-official and mission representatives.

Later in the same year, the Uganda Government, realizing its own reticence in entering the education field, requested Mr. Eric Hussey, Chief Inspector of Schools in the Sudan, to come to Uganda and report on the existing system. Largely as a result of the second-Phelps Stokes Commission's visit to Uganda in early 1924, Mr. Hussey was appointed Director of Education in Uganda and an inspectorate was established.

Following these two commissions in 1925 the British Government issued its very significant and first official Colonial Office statement on educational policy in Africa. This Paper remained the basis of Colonial Office education policy throughout the inter-bellum years. This White Paper declared that Government-mission educational relationship was to be patterned on a policy of co-operation rather than competition or separate development. The missions, though wanting Government involvement and grants, were reticent, but Oldham outlined this new policy to the various Protestant missions at the Le Zoute Conference

of 1926³³ and won their support for it.³⁴ The Colonial Office and the various Colonial Governments in Africa had welcomed mission work in education largely because it was cheaper to leave such an expensive social service to a voluntary agency rather than establishing a Government department. Now, however, with co-operation as an expressed policy, the Colonial Governments began supporting the missions not just with gratitude and approval, but also by increased grants and direct statements supporting the principle of religious instruction and Christian character training.³⁵

Mr. Hussey's report on education in Uganda, submitted just prior to the Phelps Stokes Commission's visit, was simple and brief.

³³An international conference of Protestant mission societies organized by the International Missionary Council under Dr. J.H. Oldham, held at Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14-21, 1926. These were triennial conferences.

³⁴R.J. Mason, British Education in Africa (London: 1959), pp. 39-44.

The Roman Catholic missions, though not taking initiative as had Oldham and Jones, by 1927 accepted that Government grants would lead to an improvement of quality, and participating parties would be the ones to develop and expand their work. Mgr. Arthur Hinsley, Papal Visitor from the English College in Rome, toured the whole of Africa between January 1928 and November 1929 and preached: "Collaborate with all your power; and where it is impossible for you to carry on both the immediate task of evangelisation and your educational work neglect your churches in order to perfect your schools." (R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: 1952), p.275.) In April 1929 the Outer-world Catholic News, Fides Service, exhorted its readers: "We welcome the co-operation of the Government, for we have now reached the stage when we cannot do without Government, but on the other hand Government cannot do without us" (Fides Service, April 8, 1929, No.142 - NE: 681.)

³⁵A. Mayhew, Education in the Colonial Empire (London: 1938), pp.43-4.

He welcomed all voluntary effort which conformed to the general policy of Government (undefined as it may have been at the time), and stated that co-operation between Government and voluntary agencies should be promoted. He attached great importance to the teaching of religious and moral instruction (going so far as to say that they should be given equal standing with secular subjects) and encouraged the system of grants-in-aid to voluntary agencies.³⁶ Because the whole educational system prior to 1920 had been built up by the missions, Government could afford to be lavish in its praise and declarations of co-operative endeavour. When the Government appointed this man as the first Director of Education naturally the missions were satisfied and encouraged, and fortunately Government's deeper involvement was slow in coming between 1924 and 1935 thus enabling missions to get used to the idea of Government presence. Government was given the freedom to step into the costly sphere of education more or less at its own leisure.

The Phelps Stokes Report³⁷ on East and Central Africa was published

³⁶ E. Hussey, an unpublished but privately circulated report on education in Uganda which summarized his 1923 visit, copy found among C.M.S. files (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

³⁷ The Phelps Stokes Commission was led by Dr. T.J. Jones. The period September 1920 to August 1921 was spent in West Africa visiting Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Cameroons, Belgian Congo, Angola, and South Africa. In January 1924 the second Phelps Stokes Commission arrived in East Africa to tour Abyssinia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Portugese East Africa, Nyassaland, South and North Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. Members of the commission included Dr. J.H. Dillard, Dr. E.C. Sage, Mr. Jackson Davis, Professor R.L. Buell, and Dr. K. Aggrey, and Mr. Hans Vischer of the Colonial Office joined the second commission. Its terms of reference were to enquire as to the educational work being done at present in

in 1924. The Uganda section analysed the great economic advance in the country, presented the first-ever survey of existing educational services, noted the imbalance in educational development between Buganda and the other provinces,³⁸ noted that the voluntary agencies and local contributions financed almost the entire system, revealed the degree to which a lack of supervision was preventing a large school system from having better results, and concluded that the "chaotic condition" of educational organisation must be alleviated. Of the estimated 157,000 children receiving instruction, some 139,000 were in the 2,000 out-schools or bush-schools. Many of these schools were "educationally futile" but the potential of these institutions lay in the fact that the pupils attending "are under some kind of moral influence and ready to receive instruction when it can be given."³⁹ Beyond these out-schools

each of the areas to be studied. The needs of the peoples were to be evaluated and also how these needs could be met in the light of the existing situation. Plans designed to meet these needs were to be made relative to the resources and demands of the countries themselves. (H.J. Jones, Education in East Africa (London: 1924), p.xiii.) The first commission was financed by the Phelps Stokes Fund. The second was financed by the Colonial Office at Dr. J.H. Oldham's insistence in order that the 1925 White Paper, which depended heavily on these reports, be representative of all of British Tropical Africa. (F.V. Charter, "Education in Uganda, 1894 - 1945" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1967), pp.117-8.)

³⁸Jones, Op. Cit., p.166. This imbalance was particularly evident between Buganda and the Eastern Province. Of the ten higher schools in 1924, all ten were in the greater Kampala area: Makerere Government School in Kampala, King's School at Budo, St. Mary's College at Rubaga, St. Peter's School at Nsambia, Nazigo Normal at Nazigo, Bishop Tucker College at Mukono, Gayaza Girls School at Gayaza, the Maternity School at Mengo, and another maternity school at Nsambia Convent.

³⁹Jones, Op. Cit., p.152.

there were some 100 central schools of which eighty to ninety were no better than bush-schools, thus leaving some ten (including Kamuli, Ngora, Iganga, and Nabumali) to rank as high schools. The ten upper or high schools of the Protectorate in 1924 were all within the greater Kampala area or within a few miles of it.

The growth in school attendance was particularly marked in the Eastern Province because of the cotton boom, but much of this growth was in the bush-school level and financed by local funds and initiative. The great need was for a centralized form of supervision which, the Phelps Stokes Report suggested, could be provided by giving the high and central schools supervisory relationships over the out-schools in their respective districts.⁴⁰ This recommendation, in all probability, resulted from the visit of the Commission to Nabumali High School and the Elgon area.

When the Phelps Stokes Commission visited Nabumali High School it found Nabumali to be the centre of a mass movement in the Protestant work of evangelizing and educating.⁴¹ Archdeacon Mathers had initiated his industrial education plans at Nabumali; the whole of his Archdeaconry had a semblance of order, purpose and progress. The Phelps Stokes Report on Mathers and his work was enthusiastic.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp.154, 164-5.

⁴¹Baptismal and Marriage Records, Nabumali Parish Church, 1906-45, Nabumali, Uganda, by kind permission of the Reverend C. Shilimi.

The chief educational centers at present [of the Lango, Teso, Bugweri, Bugishu, Budama area] are Nabumale and Ngora. In Ngora there is a boys' boarding school in which special attention is being paid to agriculture, and also a central school. In Nabumale, which has excellent boarding and central schools, village industries are being markedly stimulated. Both schools are surrounded by numbers of sub-standard schools. There are between 300 and 400 in the Nabumale area alone.

In this area there is but one man to conduct the boarding school, two central schools and a host of out-schools. As Archdeacon of the Eastern Province he has the ecclesiastical supervision of a vastly larger area. The task seemed hopeless and the educational work might have been in a chaotic condition. But this was far from being the case. The missionary in question is a brilliant administrator; he has created such intense enthusiasm among his subordinates and organized his educational system on such sound lines, that these schools must be regarded as some of the most remarkable achievements in Uganda today. It is not too much to say that the influence of the community ideals lived out in the schools both at Nabumale and Ngora is being felt throughout the Province.

Such a statement makes a powerful plea for adequate reinforcements and government support, so that the work so brilliantly begun may be completed. Girls' work, closely related to village life and industry and with special attention to weaving, has been begun both at Ngora and Nabumale.⁴²

The Le Zoute Conference had defined the aim of Christian education to be "to fashion character after the pattern of Christ."⁴³ Sir Frederick Lugard, a member of the Permanent Advisory Committee on Native Education along with Dr. J.H. Oldham, told this same conference that ". . . education must be a process of evolution based on African modes of thought, tradition and environment and not an attempt to substitute

⁴²Jones, Op. Cit., p.159.

⁴³E.W. Smith, The Christian Mission in Africa (London: 1926), p.59.

an European mind for an African mind"⁴⁴ If missions would take Lugard's definition rather than the purely evangelistic definition and develop a system of education in which character development was "based on religion," in which "hygiene and health should be emphasized," in which "agriculture and industry should be taught in the classroom as well as practised in the field and workshop," which encouraged "the building up of a sound home life," and which "should be set up in the closest possible touch with normal rural communities and not in isolated communities," which would bring the whole school "into intimate relations with the community," in which agriculture "must be far more than a formal lesson on the time table, and never, 'never', a period for 'manual labour'," and in which the school gardens were a place of "joyous work and continuous interest," if such a type of education could be provided by the missions, then a place in the future education system of the Protectorate would be guaranteed them, even in the face of Government financial dominance.⁴⁵ Just such a type of education the Phelps Stokes Commission found at Nabumali and in the Elgon district in 1924.

This was high praise for one individual from an international commission, but it does explain how Nabumali High School survived the desperate staff shortage of the 1920's and early 1930's. Mathers succeeded in maintaining at this higher-level school the close church-

⁴⁴
Ibid., p.151.

⁴⁵
Ibid., pp.64-5.

school identity of a pioneer mission situation. The work of evangelization and education were still essentially the same and remained so until the early 1930's because the village out-school and the central high school were closely identified with each other and involved in each others work. Through his personal determination and energy he kept a massive church organization, a wide-spread system of schools of various levels, a large number of chiefs and teachers, unified in their goal to learn and worship at the same time and through a church-school system.⁴⁶

Mathers deplored that the catechumen so often, after basic education and baptism, returned to his old surroundings no better equipped professionally to begin a new life than before, with nothing "to keep his mind and hand usefully and worthily employed." Mathers knew that "the education that is entwined with the every-day life of the people, is the education that is going to stick and uplift." Should education be only industrial, therefore, or should there be a literary content as well? Mathers recognized that the African resented a purely industrial training, as this categorized him as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, but he did not resent "an education which includes both." The advantages of an industrial-literary blend of training are

⁴⁶ He succeeded in doing this, however, only until the early 1930's. After that his grip on the High School had to give way with the coming of strong-minded headmasters like the Reverend E.B. Bull and his successor A.P. Bottomley. Mathers' influence over the chiefs was maintained until the mid to late 1930's, and in pastoral and development work his impact

many: "dignity of manual work," "continuance of useful native crafts," "self-support in the school," "encourages unselfish habits," "helps the pupil to decide his vocation," "provides object lessons," "gives scope for originality," "enriches the mind with beautiful and useful ideas," "helps in resisting temptation to baser employment," "gives pleasurable interest," "creates variety," and "it goes to complete the round of the general education of the body, mind and soul, to enable man to rise to his full stature as God intends in life and service."⁴⁷

And how was such a philosophy of industrial-literary education being affected at Nabumali?

In this school the boys, including the teachers in training, turn out with their hoes at 6:20 a.m. and cultivate food crops and cotton till 8: a.m., on the regular five working days of the week. Also each boy has a model plot according to his age, in which he may plant or sow whatever he likes, in his spare time, and prizes are given for the best plots

From 2: till 3: p.m. the whole school engages in the following handcrafts:- carpentry of many kinds, brush-making, pottery, brick and tile making in small quantities, smithery, sisal ropes, mats (sisal, palm and plantain), bags, cane work baskets, pouches of home cured skins, dry stick building, and afterwards on their own school, also spinning and weaving.

was felt right through to his retirement in the mid 1940's. His power over the people of his Archdeaconry was still felt when 'Manjasi's' or 'Ssaabadiikoni's' (as he was called) ashes were brought back to Mbale from England for interment in 1952, for it was claimed by some that his spirit had returned to live in Elgon once again.

⁴⁷H. Mathers, "Industrial Education in Mission Schools," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.3 (July 1926), pp.76-8.

A beginning has been made in poultry keeping. All the materials for the handicrafts are obtained in the country around in the raw state, except some of the warp cotton

The teachers, who are in training for one year only, have their class of industry changed each term or at mid-term, unless they show a special aptitude for any one branch, which they can be left to develop. The other schoolboys do not require to be so quickly changed.⁴⁸

Since Mathers considered Nabumali to be the centre of the education system in the Elgon area, similar industrial work had to be introduced outside the boarding school, in the many day schools. Here he found it much harder to establish regular handicraft work because the 3R's were all important to the students, and the teachers considered handwork beneath their dignity. To overcome this, Mathers regularly carried out inspection trips, sent out teachers from Nabumali to check on the out-schools' work, and he organized his famous annual exhibitions of handicrafts at Nabumali where exhibitors were rewarded with prizes and prestige.⁴⁹

During the 1920's the education at Nabumali reflected the strong influence of American educational theories (adapt to conditions, teach the child to control and improve his environment, agricultural and technical bias rather than literary, education should better the living conditions of the community) brought to Africa and Uganda by the Phelps Stokes Commission. Mathers had been to America in 1925-6 at the invitation of the Phelps Stokes Commission to study the educational

⁴⁸Ibid., p.79.

⁴⁹Ibid., p.79.

work among the negro of the southern states. But the American philosophy of education at Nabumali lasted only as long as Mather's influence remained strong. Once Bull and Bottomley took over as headmasters, the school moved towards a more literary and academic British public-school type of education. Industrial and agricultural education just did not have the prestige appeal of a literary training, especially for students who came from a village background of fragmented subsistence agriculture and a heritage of manual drudgery.⁵⁰

What was the reaction of the C.M.S. and N.A.C. to Government entry into education in 1924? The third Triennial Conference of Native School Masters held in August 1921 had unanimously urged the appointment of a Director of Education,⁵¹ but when this happened many questions were asked.

What was to be Government policy? What was to be its attitude towards the existing network of schools, many of them confessedly unsatisfactory if not positively harmful? What were to be its relations with the existing mission boards of education?

Would it [the Mission], in the new regime, be relegated to a secondary position, or even crowded out? Would this policy of co-operation with government involve in the end the supersession of Church schools, and the introduction of a purely secular

⁵⁰ F.V. Carter claims that American philosophies of education were particularly acceptable at this stage in colonial development because the British system of education did not fit into the objectives of indirect rule. English education was primarily concerned with training a select leadership class while the American philosophy stressed everyman's ability to control and transform his own environment. (Carter, *Op. Cit.*, p.136.)

⁵¹ Report of Third Triennial Conference of Native School Masters, (King's School, Budo: 1921). This conference was held August 15-21, 1921.

education.⁵²

Lugard in The Dual Mandate expressed the fear of all Christian educationists in Europe and the mission fields at this time.

Experience in India, China, and Africa seems to demonstrate that purely secular education (including moral instruction), divorced from religious sanctions, produces among races not habituated to the ethics of a monotheistic religion a class which lacks reverence and respect, whether for parents, social superiors, employers, or government. To inculcate this discipline . . . no influence can be stronger with youth - perhaps especially in Africa - than that of religion.⁵³

The mistakes of India in the 1920's could and should not be repeated in Africa. Government had intimated that education must be secular, but Bishop Willis wanted the Government to co-operate with and work 'through' the missions.⁵⁴

But the need for advance was great! The public demand had outstripped the facilities which the missions could provide. There were no new European recruits coming through the C.M.S. channels. The Phelps Stokes Commission had stirred up latent sensitivities by inferring that the existing system rather than evolving into an African system was simply reproducing European-style. Educated Africans were beginning to

⁵² J.J. Willis, "Some Aspects of Education in Uganda," University of London, Institute of Education, Studies and Reports, No. IX (1936), pp.51-52.

⁵³ F.D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London: 1923), p.436.

⁵⁴ J.J. Uganda, "A Question of Responsibility," Church Missionary Outlook, Vol.LI (May 1924), p.97.

formulate their own educational philosophies. By early 1925 Willis had set aside earlier doubts and welcomed the advent of Government involvement - a Director, a central Advisory Council, a large government college, substantial increase in the grants-in-aid - and argued that

The missions brought with them actual experience of educational work in Uganda, knowledge of the language and of the country, the confidence of the people; the existing schools and their staff, European and African, and above all the imponderable but vital asset of moral and spiritual values. The Government brought with it an experience of education gained over a wider field, expert knowledge, financial resources, authority undisputed, and a high ideal of educational efficiency.⁵⁵

Bishop Willis was a man ideally suited to work out this new relationship of co-operation between Government and the Protestant missions, as he was a man of liberal thought, balanced in the face of competition, a person who tended to unity at all costs. For him the N.A.C. must accept the realities of religious differences (as evidenced by Willis' very cordial relations with the Roman Catholic Mission compared with the strained relationship of his predecessor, Bishop Tucker⁵⁶) as well as the fact that with the advent of increasing Government involvement in education the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions were essentially thrown into one camp, sitting side by side on councils and committees,

⁵⁵ Willis, Op. Cit., pp.52-3.

⁵⁶ Bishop Willis wrote:
 With regard to the Roman Missions. Two great churches exist, and will exist in Uganda. Each is firmly established, and for good or for evil will remain. Are they to be regarded as rivals, or as friends? If as rivals, the result must be alienation, incessant friction, and the needless mystification of the native mind. As friends, we may accept the fact that, in matters of religion we do differ, and differ profoundly, though not radically. But personally and socially we may and should give the fullest

striving together to control and direct Government educational grants and policy. Such a gentlemen's agreement to agree in the face of common competition meant that the missions still played a vital policy-making role until as late as the 1950's.⁵⁷

The position of the N.A.C. had changed since the Weatherhead-Hattersley division in 1912 in that there was now a willingness to interpret education to include secular knowledge, but even Willis carefully emphasized and repeated the conviction that ". . . at any cost our schools must be definitely Christian institutions. They exist for the purpose of giving an essentially, though not exclusively religious training."⁵⁸ In 1912 it would have been 'exclusively' religious, but lack of finance and staff coupled with an explosion of demand had softened evangelistic rigidity. Mission education had moved from evangelism to character training, and very soon it was to become 'helping the African and his nation.'

Having now put their hand to the plough, the Colonial Office and

possible expression to the Christian spirit. And in matters moral and educational, for the common good of the people, and the glory of the One Lord, we can and should unite. (J.J. Willis, The Policy of the Uganda Mission (Nairobi: 1913), pp.28-9, published for private circulation and found in Uganda Mission - File (1917) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G3/A7/O, Article No.55.)

Later upon retirement a Roman Catholic Bishop wrote to Willis: "In the fight for our educational principles, in the conflict against the world, the flesh and the devil, in all its various forms, I was ever consoled and encouraged by your hearty co-operation and solid friendship." (Ibid., p.57.)

⁵⁷Interview with K. Sharpe, September 1968, at Namirembe.

⁵⁸Willis, Op. Cit., p.12.

the Uganda Government worked out their involvement in education on the basis of the 1925 White Paper.⁵⁹ This Paper, in almost the same breath, welcomed and encouraged private educational effort (a policy of British education since the 1870 Education Act which established the 'dual', state and church, concept of education) and at the same time asserted the right of Government to direct, supervise, and inspect educational institutions. The Central Advisory Council of African Education in England and its counterparts in the various colonial territories would include native and mission representatives plus Government agricultural, medical, public works and social service figures, and in the territories be under the chairmanship of the Director of Education. First priority in educational development should be given "to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people,"⁶⁰ and then to the provision of trained technicians, administrative assistants, and leaders (chiefs). The type of education provided should be

adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the

⁵⁹ Britain, France and Belgium, all, established a more formal structure for dealing with education in their respective colonies. All issued policy statements in the mid 1920's. (D.G. Scanlon (ed.), Church, State, and Education in Africa (New York: 1966), p.16.)

⁶⁰ Colonial Office, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (H.M. Stationery Office: 1925), Cmd.2374, p.4.

advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service.⁶¹

Further, in order to strengthen the policy of indirect rule which relied on the retention of the tribal system, the Paper stated that "education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community. . . ." ⁶² The work being done by Mathers at Nabumali in the mid 1920's was almost totally in harmony with these definitions of education from the White Paper.

The danger of education as a de-tribalizing, de-culturalizing force was widely recognized, and to prevent a break-down in the social structure religious teaching and moral instruction were to be given to assure that public duty be carried out and moral standards be maintained. Character training was deemed vital, particularly as most educationists, administrators and missionaries considered the African character to be sadly deficient in self-discipline, industry, a sense of social service, truthfulness, and co-operation, and the most effective way of inculcating such values was considered to be

. . . the residential school in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils - entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors - can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid., p.4.

⁶² Ibid., p.4.

⁶³ Ibid., p.5. Lugard was a member of the 1923 Permanent Committee which drew up the 1925 White Paper.

Lord Lugard was more specific, and more British, when he claimed that character training (which he claimed the White Paper made paramount to the training of the intellect) is not only best done in a residential school, but in a school

. . . where the influence of the British staff can be brought to bear continuously. It is in the play-fields and recreation hours more especially that the public-school spirit can be evolved

The English public schoolboy has from infancy been habituated to the standards which 2,000 years of Christian ethics have created in the society in which he lives. . . . Among primitive people this ethical code has to a large extent to be created by the force of example, and hence the necessity, at least in the early stages, of a strong British staff of the right type (meaning Christian), who in the daily social intercourse and in the play-fields will impress on the boys what the school expects of its members: self-respect devoid of vanity, truthfulness, courage, good manners, self-control and honesty - because these qualities are the necessary essentials which make a gentleman.⁶⁴

This essentially meant that the White Paper and the Colonial Office, rather than off-setting the dangers of de-culturalization, was giving official sanction to the already implanted system of English public schools, but as centres of character training rather than academic institutions. In the mid to late 1930's as Nabumali developed from a select primary boarding school into a primary-secondary boarding school the academic and intellectual aspects gradually replaced the emphasis on character training. The latter always remained as a goal of the school, but with fluctuating success. As Mathers's influence declined the advancement of community welfare, native industries, agricultural education and

⁶⁴F.D. Lugard, "Education in Tropical Africa," The Edinburgh Review, No.493 (July 1925), p.9.

health training aspects fell into secondary place and remained as awkward traditions.

The White Paper also made official a system of grants-in-aid to institutions which 'filled a place in the scheme of education'. This distinction made it possible for the Government to select which aspects of education it would support and to what extent. The preparation of texts (in vernaculars), the establishment of an inspectorate, a system of apprenticeship in Government departments, and the establishment of technical institutions were all listed as official Government responsibilities. Finally, and very important to Uganda in particular, was the definition of stages in the school system (elementary, secondary, higher) and a reorganization into a national system to provide a connected system through which pupils could advance or achieve terminal certification.⁶⁵

The Department of Education for the Uganda Protectorate came into being on February 15th, 1925, within the above-discussed background: great economic growth, the Phelps Stokes Report, missions used to being independent but in need of Government assistance, and the 1925 White Paper.⁶⁶ The first year was largely spent allaying the fears of the missions and African parties who were suspicious of Government intervention. In March an Advisory Council was set up to represent all of the parties interested

⁶⁵ Colonial Office, Op. Cit., pp.5-8.

⁶⁶ In the Director of Education Annual Report of 1929 (p.5), Hussey acknowledged the influence exerted by the Phelps Stokes Commission on the Uganda Government decision to establish a Department of Education.

in and involved in education - a phenomenal task considering that there were three Catholic missions, three Protestant missions, four provincial regions, the royal heads of Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro and Toro, various Government departments, the leaders from the main educational institutions, and African leaders, all with definite opinions.⁶⁷

Mr. Hussey's task was to allay suspicions and "to define the sphere of Government in education and to suggest what part Government should play in the provision of educational facilities in addition to supervising and controlling the existing agencies."⁶⁸ His first annual report, drawing heavily on the Phelps Stokes findings, described the Uganda system of schools to consist of: 1) Approximately 2,000 sub-grade schools (unable to conform to Government syllabus) and Elementary Vernacular Schools (able to conform); 2) Approximately 100 Intermediate "A" schools (corresponding to existing High and Central schools like Nabumali); 3) Approximately seven Intermediate "B" schools (corresponding to Budo, Kisubi, Namilyango); 4) Makerere College (a Government financed technical college); 5) Special grades (normal and technical training schools). Hussey estimated there to be 177,100 pupils in the various schools. Luganda was the language used in all the Bantu areas and English in the Intermediate and Higher schools. Teachers were simply classified as being either Intermediate

⁶⁷In 1930 the Advisory Council on Native Education (in Uganda) had become an unwieldy monstrosity, having on it twenty seven members, each of whom had a specific sphere of interest to protect. It is not surprising that the Director saw the need to reduce the power of this body and consider it advisory rather than legislative.

⁶⁸E. Hussey, Tropical Africa, 1908-44, Memoirs of a Period, (London: 1959), p.61.

(meaning English speaking) or Vernacular Teachers.⁶⁹

Many practical problems confronted the new Director of Education. He wanted to develop Makerere College as the first non-denominational, higher technical institution. He had to improve the teaching in the almost countless bush-schools where very often it was impossible to distinguish between an evangelizing station and an inefficient village school. To classify such schools as Government certified, or sub-grade, meant that great tact and diplomacy had to be exercised, and exercised through the mission organizations rather than by fiat. The need for district supervision was great, and again this was best done through the mission bodies. Staff had to be recruited where missions had failed, and these new recruits had to be acceptable to the foundation bodies of the schools in which they worked. Grants-in-aid had to be portioned out according to denominations - at first the simple 50-50 principle was used between Protestants and Catholics. Hussey acknowledged that eventually Government would unify all education endeavour in Uganda into one system, but for the moment it could only be active in the realms of ideas, enthusiasm, nomenclature and grants. The educational authority of Government was almost purely financial, as opposed to experiential, moral, or traditional, and in establishing parallel institutions to the existing mission institutions it had to guard itself against a situation where the mission schools would lose their best staff and pupils to the better paid and equipped

⁶⁹Annual Report, 1925 (Department of Education, Uganda), pp.7-8. (Also referred to was E. Hussey, Preliminary Report of 1925 submitted after the Phelps Stokes Report was published.)

Government schools. For the moment Government had to listen to mission wishes that Government should involve itself indirectly in providing aid to higher, technical, normal and primary education, in supervising, inspecting and co-ordinating the system, but should leave the schools denominational and not establish competitive Government schools for either Africans or Muslims. As it was, Government did not have the will nor the resources to take on a greater portion of the financial-administrative burden, and so harmony prevailed until the mid to late 1930's.

Hussey travelled widely throughout the Protectorate establishing both Provincial and District Boards of Education during 1926. His intention was to establish a few Government schools to set a standard for mission schools to follow and to develop areas as yet untouched by mission work (this meant any area outside of Buganda) but even here the missions objected to his spending money on expensive, competitive Government institutions rather than providing grants for cheaper mission schools. Missions argued for quantitative expansion, but Hussey was more concerned with quality, and throughout the 1925-35 period Government policy was chiefly concerned with establishing a working relationship with the missions (without consulting African opinion) and qualitative expansion.⁷⁰

A number of areas of conflict were going to arise between the missions and Government. The first of these was Governor Sir William Gower's decision that Swahili should be the 'lingua franca' of the Protectorate, thereby reversing the 1912 decision to use Luganda. Both

⁷⁰ Carter, Op. Cit., p.182.

Government and missions had up until this time depended almost totally on the Baganda as evangelizing and administrative agents and their language had been used throughout the Protectorate. Baganda cultural imperialism left its mark wherever schools, Government centres, churches, and dispensaries had been established. The Swahili policy, however, was adopted because it fitted nicely into the Colonial Office scheme for closer union in East Africa. Swahili, however, was purely a coastal language while Luganda was the language of the dominant tribe, a tribe with a reputation of being aggressive and proud towards her neighbouring tribes. Using English as the 'lingua franca' was an unpopular alternative because it was considered a crass form of de-culturalization to an European way of life.

Little clear-cut advice was offered to the Government by the missions in its attempt to clarify the vernacular versus 'lingua franca' language issue. The Le Zoute Conference of 1926 had not been able to come to a firm decision other than recommending the use of the local vernacular for early education and an European language beyond that. The Advisory Council discussed the introduction of Swahili at its November and December 1927 meetings, and finally accepted a modified Swahili policy.⁷¹

Already in 1928 the Department of Education required that Swahili

⁷¹In this modified policy Buganda, Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro, and Busoga could teach Swahili as a subject, but all Government institutions and grant-aided normal schools like Nabumali, Ngora, Arua, Gulu must use it as the medium of instruction. In mixed language areas like the Eastern Province Swahili should be taught even in E.V. schools. (Minutes of the Advisory Council on Native Education, November 28, 1927, December 29, 1927 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

be a subject on its new Elementary Vernacular Normal School syllabus and the Reverend B.A. Charles reported the following year that the Protestant Elgon Mission had Swahili as part of its Elementary Vernacular instruction.⁷² But considerable opposition was voiced by all parties involved in education and many schools silently ignored the Swahili policy. In 1931 the Director of Education, Morris, specifically reaffirmed to the Advisory Committee on African Education that Swahili shall continue to be taught in mixed linguistic areas, like the Eastern Province, with the intention of making it the medium of instruction, and that English, in such great demand by the African, may not be introduced at the elementary levels.⁷³ Much difficulty was experienced by the Upper Nile Board of Education in getting Swahili-speaking teachers⁷⁴ and many qualified teachers had to be failed because they had not passed their Swahili requirements. The Protestant and Catholic bishops protested the Government policy, and in November 1931 the Study Group⁷⁵ reported that "English is already the medium of instruction in Higher Education and should be begun

⁷²Annual Report, 1929, "Progress Report, C.M.S., Elgon Mission" (Department of Education, Uganda), Appendix VI, p.25.

⁷³"Re-affirmation of Policy by the Director of Education," attached to Minutes of the Advisory Council on Native Education, July 29, 1931 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁷⁴Minutes of Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese, May 1, 1929 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued. During the years 1927 to 1930 groups of normal school trainees from Nabumali and Ngora were sent to Mombasa and Tanganyika in order to learn Swahili.

⁷⁵The Education Study Group was established at Dr. J.H. Oldham's suggestion to think out educational policy from the C.M.S. point of view. It met monthly in Kampala between 1931 and 1934. It was later called the Diocesan Advisory Committee on Education.

as a subject in E.V. schools in Classes 3 and 4 where there is a teacher qualified to teach English."⁷⁶ But Governor Gower and Director of Education, Morris, remained adamant in their insistence on Swahili. Morris unconvincingly argued in his 1932 report:

Swahili as a 'lingua franca' is spreading steadily, it is very easily acquired by all Bantu-speaking tribes . . . it is difficult to understand how the protagonists of English can hope to develop an African system of education with an European language as a medium of instruction. Education systems evolved under industrialism are not likely to suit peoples whose future development must depend on their success or failure in developing the agricultural possibilities of their environment.⁷⁷

When Bourdillon became Governor in November 1932 the strong desire in Government circles to promote the closer union idea died down and the Governor told the Advisory Council that 'discretion' could be used in introducing the use of English as a medium of instruction.⁷⁸ Jowitt, Director of Education from 1935-43, unofficially accepted English as the 'lingua franca' and in 1941 the Upper Nile Board of Education spoke of Swahili teaching as being optional.⁷⁹ Nabumali, as an institution, was primarily concerned with Swahili instruction only until 1933-34, as long as normal school instruction was being offered there. After 1933 Luganda was the vernacular used in teaching and church work,⁸⁰ though for many

⁷⁶Minutes of Education Study Group, November 5, 1931 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁷⁷Annual Report, 1932 (Department of Education, Uganda), Part II p.5, Section 7.

⁷⁸Minutes of the Advisory Council on Native Education, June 7, 1933 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁷⁹Ibid., May 6, 1941.

⁸⁰C.M.S. personnel coming to Uganda in the 1930's still learned Luganda rather than Swahili, even if they went to the Upper Nile Diocese.

years it was required that arithmetic be taught in Swahili rather than Luganda or English.

Another area of Government-mission conflict centred around the fact that the missions had been given a considerable amount of land both by the 1900 Agreement and by the regular grants from chiefs and Government over the years. Some of this land had been developed, some not. What was the official ruling as to ownership of both additional and former land grants? Should these lands be registered in the name of the C.M.S. or the N.A.C., or should the Government have a place in the title since it was now providing a considerable portion of the funds used to develop such sites? In later years the church was even charged with alienating the African's land.⁸¹

The missions very jealously guarded their voice on the Advisory Council for African Education. If Government acted without consulting the Council, or changed the representation of the Council without mission consent, then this was very quickly brought to the attention of those concerned. At first the Council was almost legislative in its relationship to the Director of Education, but over the years the Government insisted on its being purely an advisory body. The policy of co-operation had brought together a wide diversity of interested parties, and for the sake of efficiency the Government would almost inevitably centralize

⁸¹See p.240 ff. In later years Dauncey Tongue made this accusation and Mathers, replying for the C.M.S., replied sharply that the Colonial Government could more readily be described as alienating land from the African while the C.M.S. registered all land under the N.A.C., an indigenuous African body.

educational authority in itself especially since educational development became increasingly dependent on Government grants-in-aid.

A fourth area of conflict centred around the classification of schools. Missions guarded their relative position to the other missions very carefully, and the division of Government grants-in-aid, determined by the classification of the schools, was the main measure of a mission's role in the Protectorate education system. As mentioned earlier, missions were against the establishment of Government schools because of their expensive and competitive nature, and insisted on being consulted to ensure that Government expansion was restricted to higher, technical and trade schools. On the other hand the Government objected to the missions using grants to establish denominationally competitive schools which these missions could then not effectively staff, supervise, or even fill with pupils, while in other areas, where neither mission was active, no schools were established. Also some schools developed with Government funds were then used exclusively as evangelizing centres. At times over-zealous catechists and chiefs used 'luwalo' labour to construct sectarian churches or schools. Then in dealing with such cases Government found itself handicapped as very often Boards of Education on Provincial and District levels were dominated by mission representatives. Mission response to this regional dominance was that it was impossible for their staff to carry out effectively their sectarian community life at their schools (a liberty they had been guaranteed) if they could not control administrative and recruitment decisions.⁸²

⁸²Carter, *Op. Cit.*, p.148ff; J.H. Oldham, "The Educational Work of Missionary Societies," *Africa*, VII (1934), p.59; Smith, *Op. Cit.*, p.61.

The Education Ordinance of 1927 defined the degree of involvement of the Government and the beginnings of the erosion of mission authority in education. 1) All schools and teachers were to be registered with the Department of Education. 2) Salaries were to be assessed by the Director of Education and the school-owners in event of disagreement. Mission scales of pay remained in effect until the Government could set up its own scale. 3) Unqualified teachers were to be employed in sub-grade schools only. 4) Annual statements were required from all grant-aided schools. 5) The Director of Education had the right of inspection and closure of schools. 6) District local governments could levy rates for its own education expenditures.⁸³ Mission Boards of Education were left with such authority as 1) establishment of new schools, 2) salaries of staff, 3) distribution of Government grants within its districts, 4) recruitment and allocation of staff, 5) syllabus requirements other than in E.V. schools (but in 1928 Government syllabi for normal and girls schools were prepared), 6) moral code of staff, 7) dismissal and appeals of staff, 8) examination for entrance into mission schools, 9) supervision of local educational boards, and 10) the establishment of Boards of Governors for schools.⁸⁴

One of the serious effects of Government involvement in education was pointed out by J.W.C. Dougall, C.M.S. Education Secretary General for East Africa. When Government entered the field the church and school were

⁸³Education Ordinance, 1927 (Uganda Government Printers, Entebbe: 1927).

⁸⁴Minutes of Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese, April 8, 1927 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

separated; Government was concerned only with the school. No longer did the church-school institution of pioneer missionary days exist. Since the educational work of the missions was largely identified with the C.M.S. missionary rather than with the N.A.C. clergy, the Government dealt mainly with the missions as the founders and administrators of the schools; the local people and leaders were out of the picture. Missionaries and Government administrators, both Europeans, managed, administered, employed, planned and developed, and it was difficult to fit into this picture the African. The concept of self-help, unless specifically kept alive as Mathers did in Elgon, gradually died with the advent of Government involvement. The local pastor, formerly a supervisor and leader over the local teachers of his district, lost his concern for a system financed from outside his pastoral sphere and lost his authority in society to the more highly educated and paid Government certified teacher.⁸⁵ And even the creative drive of the missions to expand and develop inspite of lack of funds or staff was strongly subdued because now every unfulfilled advance or even withdrawal could be laid at the door of inadequate Government grants.⁸⁶ Educational Secretaries of missions, rather than planning new advances, were absorbed in defending mission authority from Government

⁸⁵J.W.C. Dougall, "The Relationship of the Church and School in Africa," International Review of Missions, Vol.xxvi, No.102 (April 1937), pp.209-10.

⁸⁶In 1922-3 the C.M.S., inspite of severe staff and financial restrictions, initiated work in the Kigezi and Ruanda areas. In 1923 Lira was occupied by mission personnel and itineration work began into Karamoja, again in the face of staff shortages. These were the last attempts to breach the frontiers of heathendom.

usurpation. As early as 1926 Bishop Gresford Jones asked whether the missions should withdraw from education by establishing baptism classes outside of the school system similar to the situation in England.⁸⁷

The whole Government-mission relationship was further complicated by the division of the Uganda Diocese of the C.M.S. and the formation of the Upper Nile Diocese on June 25, 1926. A new bishopric had been suggested and discussed as early as January 1917⁸⁸ but not accepted by the Standing Committee in Mengo. By March 1919 the Eastern Province had its own Local Missionary Committee which met at Kamuli for the first time under Arch-deacon Kitching. This L.M.C. had partial control of its finances and the location of personnel.⁸⁹ In March 1921 a L.M.C. was set up for the East Nile region and in the same year a bishopric separate from Uganda was considered. There were three alternatives before the Standing Committee: 1) a Luyoro-speaking diocese reaching into the Congo, 2) a diocese east of the Nile, 3) the 'status quo' with an assistant bishop. The second alternative was passed 12 to 2.⁹⁰ During this year the Nyanza portion of

⁸⁷Gresford Jones, Op. Cit., p.191.

⁸⁸Minutes of Standing Committee (Uganda), January 18, 1917, Vol.2 (April 8, 1915 - August 1, 1918) (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁸⁹Minutes of Missionary Committee (Uganda), April 3, 1919, Uganda Mission - File (1919) (C.M.S. Archives, London), G5/A7/0, Article No.62, Section 4.

⁹⁰Minutes of Standing Committee (Uganda), July 7, 1912, Vol.3 (September 5, 1918 - January 17, 1924) (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

Prior to the 1926 formation of the Upper Nile Diocese a Suffragan Bishop of Kampala, H. Gresford Jones, was appointed who had special responsibility for the work of the Eastern Region.

the Uganda Diocese (whose jurisdiction had extended into the British East Africa Protectorate since the 1902 relocation of Uganda's eastern frontier) was given to the Mombasa Diocese, thus simplifying the situation. And so the whole of Uganda Protectorate east of the Nile (except for Busoga) and the two southern provinces of the Sudan were formed into a new ecclesiastical entity under Bishop Kitching.⁹¹

Bishop Kitching pointed out in October 1926 that the Upper Nile Diocese was now cut off from its normal supply of teachers and clergy and would have to establish normal and theological training centres of its own. Nabumali was, therefore, developed as a men's and women's normal training centre after 1926 rather than an academic higher school. Bishop Kitching, at first, intended to develop an institution at Buwalasi as a diocesan higher school comparable to King's School at Budo. Technical education in the diocese was to be Mathers' concern and so Nabumali retained a strong technical bias until the mid 1930's when the new

⁹¹This Diocese was considered to be a bulwark against Mohammedanism. English was to be the 'lingua franca' of the Sudan and Northern Uganda portions, while Luganda (and Swahili) would be used among the Bantu tribes of the Elgon area. In comparison with the Uganda Diocese, the Upper Nile Diocese was large, populous and undeveloped.

	<u>Uganda Diocese</u>	<u>Upper Nile Diocese</u>
Area	56,313	231,889
Population	1,905,182	2,447,667
Baptized	135,345	30,426
Communicants	38,387	5,372
Teachers	3,455	1,815
Clergy	60	9
Out-stations	1,694	945
Scholars	155,327	20,706

("The New Diocese," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.3 (July 1926), p.75.)

Government-established Elgon Technical Institute near Buwalasi took over the training of craftsmen.⁹² Even before plans were afoot for the development of Buwalasi the missionaries of the Upper Nile Diocese at their annual conference at Ngora on December 15-16, 1926 had decided that Nabumali should be developed as a "B" Intermediate Junior Secondary Budo-type school and Government support for this was promised for 1929,⁹³ but lack of European staff and Mather's industrial-literary philosophy prevented such a development. The Phelps Stokes philosophy of education determined Nabumali's development until well into the 1930's.

The Upper Nile Diocese did not have a natural capital in 1926 as Mbale had been condemned just six years earlier and Government had established itself at Bubulo. The two leading figures of this young diocese were Kitching and Mathers. Kitching favoured Ngora as the diocesan centre and Mathers wanted to develop the Buwalasi site. Kitching, being Bishop and having established the work at Ngora, chose Ngora. But the Bishop's responsibility to oversee the work of this geographically impossible diocese, meant that he was away much of the time and so the Ngora High School and the Ngora Cathedral were not developed on a permanent basis. Mathers, on the other hand, being resident Archdeacon of the Elgon area, was able to bring his whole influence and energy to bear on the development of Buwalasi in the early 1930's, and when Lucien Usher Wilson

⁹²A.L. Upper Nile, "Some of our Needs in the New Diocese," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.4 (October 1926), p.123.

⁹³Minutes of the Advisory Council on Native Education, June 2, 1927 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

succeeded Kitching in 1936 he chose Buwalasi because it was in a Bantu-speaking area⁹⁴ was much cooler, had a more scenic location, and was more central to the southern part of the diocese where most of the work was being carried out. The move to Mbale came only in more recent years.

The Upper Nile Diocese was extremely difficult to administer as it was a vast area with population concentrations at its southern and north-western extremities and in between barriers like Lake Kioga, a Tse Tse fly infested belt, great stretches of semi-arid land, and the southern portion of the Sudd. Why, it may be asked, was this new diocese formed when it was no easier to administer than the old? The answer is relatively simple - up-country areas always felt that they were being given second choice to the Kampala area. Crabtree had pointed this out in 1902. Purvis had claimed that Mengo did not understand the up-country work. Leech objected to the use of Luganda. The local tribes objected to Baganda sub-imperialism. The Bishop no longer had to have his ordinands learn Luganda in order to be ordained at Luganda-speaking Mukono, especially after these ordinands had already learned the rudiments of English and Swahili and in their future work few would ever use Luganda again. Furthermore, the standards of Kampala institutions had reached a higher stage of development than had the Upper Nile schools.

⁹⁴Usher Wilson had been at Budo as a teacher 1927-33 and then at Jinja as a rural church worker - both areas being Luganda speaking - while Kitching spoke Iteso and had worked mostly in northern Uganda where little Luganda was spoken.

And so, when cotton became the chief export commodity of the country, and the Eastern Province was the chief source of this export, the Province felt that it could now look more to its own interests and expect church and Government to co-operate.⁹⁵

But in spite of conflicts and complications, the transition to Government involvement in education was surprisingly smooth. Missions were delighted with the additional funds to maintain a system which they would otherwise have had to restrict or change radically. Government intended to build institutions of its own, but lack of funds prevented this happening on a large scale for almost ten years. Inter-mission competition prevented outright conflict with Government, because if one

⁹⁵In 1928 the Bishop of the Upper Nile presented a 'Scheme of Education Development for 10 Years' in the form of an appeal for capital development funds. The line of argument was this:

According to the figures in the Blue Book of 1926, while comprising only 39% of the population in the Protectorate, the tribes in this Diocese were responsible for 52% of the area under cotton, 60% of that under simsim, and 66% of that under ground-nuts, these being the three chief crops grown for export by natives in the Uganda Protectorate. (Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Upper Nile Diocese, February 14, 1928 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

On June 12 of the same year Bishop Kitching, proposed the following motion to the Advisory Council on Native Education:

The Council considers that in view of the facts that the population of the Protectorate East of the Nile:-

1. Is equal to that to the West of the Nile.
2. Produces considerably more than half of the economic crops on which the Protectorate revenue largely depends.
3. Is more heavily taxed.
4. Receives very much smaller grants for education.

Time has now come for a major portion of all increased grants to be allocated to these tribes. (Minutes of the Advisory Council on Native Education, June 12, 1928 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

A similar but slightly amended motion was carried by a vote of

mission wanted to go-it-alone, then its competitor would receive full Government backing and thrive. The missions were aware of the disorganized and inefficient state of many of their schools and genuinely felt that Government supervision would help them. Many Government officials were convinced Christian men who sympathized with the religious outlook of the missions. The Government fully realized its dependence on the missions in providing educated chiefs (so necessary for the indirect rule system), appreciated the war-time loyalty of the missions by making available staff and facilities, felt that religious instruction was needed in character training, acknowledged that the missions would educate more cheaply than Government. British education in the colonies was following very closely the developments of education at home in England. A system of partnership between state and church was initiated which survived until the time of colonial independence. So smooth was the transition that Bishop Willis was able to write that nothing had been lost by the missions in involving itself with the Government, but much had been gained - Government financed missionaries salaries, higher education had received grants as had high and central schools, district boards responsible for selected village schools had been established, a unified system had been organized for the whole country, texts, syllabii, inspections, technical instruction and normal training had all been provided at Government expense.⁹⁶

⁹⁶J.J. Uganda, "The Church and State in Uganda," Church Missionary Review, No.857 (March 1927), pp.12-13.

Meanwhile, at Nabumali High School, the daily routine of school life and study went on. Mr. G.W. Mudebo⁹⁷ described how he remembered a day at Nabumali in 1925.

5:30 a.m. - there goes the whistle! Prefects armed with canes go round the dormitories to wake the slumberers. What a shuffle as boys rush out of their warm blankets! Those found dreaming are awakened with the cane. Others jump out of their beds all naked, then turn back for a torn shirt and a pair of shorts. Away to the hoe store for big boys, while youngsters (including the writer) look for a broom.

The day started thus, and down to the fields the boys went for cultivation for two or three solid hours of hard digging. Then the drum went for chapel and, without breakfast, the boys attended classes till 12 noon.

Then three whistles went and everyone had to rush to the kitchen with his plate for food. (The kitchen being near the bark-tree to the north of Banks.⁹⁸) Plates were placed on the floor and if two or more boys shared a plate a strip of leaf was placed on the plate - the number of strips showing the number of sharers. Should these strips disappear that was bad luck for somebody! A fourth whistle meant collecting the food and only the strong boys managed to get any.

Afternoon classes started at 2 p.m. and stopped at 4 p.m. At 4:30 p.m. came the distribution of salt to each boy. At 5 p.m. the boys did cultivation till 6:30 p.m. Prayers were at 7 p.m. and after that supper with meat. This meat was bought at Mbale, and it was the duty of a prefect and two big boys to walk to Mbale to collect it. Friday was known as 'Meat Day' and was very much liked by the boys of 1925.

At 8:20 p.m. the Head Prefect, standing with a lamp in the middle of the old football field⁹⁹ shouted, 'Put your things in good order.' At 8:30 p.m. in the same place in what sounded a beautiful

⁹⁷Present Treasurer of the Bagisu Administration.

⁹⁸The kitchen was situated near the site of the present-day swimming pool.

⁹⁹The football pitch was located on the present quadrangle between the upper and lower classroom blocks.

voice to us sleepy youngsters, he called, 'Light out, lights out, lights out.'¹⁰⁰

Since the time of Banks' departure the school had been under the direction of Archdeacon Mathers and Iginatio Manyolo. During Mathers' furlough in 1924-5 the Reverend H. Dillistone had the headship of the school but spent much time working on the new Nabumali Parish Church which Mathers had begun and which was completed and consecrated in 1926. The success of such a huge undertaking as the building of this impressive church can be traced to the mass movement underway in the Nabumali area under the leadership of the Reverend Saulo Balubuliza, the ever-increasing cotton wealth of the mid twenties, the keen involvement of the chiefs and community under Mathers' direction, and the building skill of both Mathers and Dillistone.¹⁰¹

The Reverend A.W. Wheeler took over from Dillistone, but shortly after was located to Ngora High School and the Reverend H.G. Mitton took charge. Due to the poor health of his daughter, Mitton's period as headmaster was broken for several months in 1926 during which time Mathers and Wheeler replaced him. The negative effect of constant changing leadership was largely offset by an African staff of considerable potential:

¹⁰⁰ G.W. Mudebo, "Nabumali in 1925," Nabumali High School Magazine 1949 (Nabumali High School Archives), uncatalogued.

¹⁰¹ Dillistone had originally come out to Uganda as an industrial agent for the C.M.S. in 1901 and had been involved in the building work at Budo and then for many years with the development of Ngora.

S. Tomusange, E. Kabiri, I. Manyolo, Buyera, and Kavulu.¹⁰²

In 1927 Wheeler returned to Nabumali to direct the men's E.V. normal training programme. The new Government scheme of educational organization was making heavy demands and revealed the inadequacy of mission personnel. The work was still elementary, but it was sound elementary instruction which required both African and European educationists rather than willing dedicated recruits. The popular definition of a missionary was still that he could and did do anything which his situation confronted him with, but specialization had now reached into missionary work. Recruitment programmes were still using the magic word 'missionary' and Gresford Jones described the word as 'conveniently professional' but infelicitous in that it obscured

. . . the lines of demarcation between the different vocations that have come to the aid of the Church overseas in recent years. We need to-day bishops, clergy, doctors, matrons, nurses, school-masters, school-mistresses, school inspectors, accountants, engineers, technical instructors. Why not call them so?¹⁰³

¹⁰² Tomusange later was Bishop of Soroti and presently he is Bishop of West Buganda.

Kabiri was an old boy of Muvule and Nabumali High Schools, a pupil teacher for some years, then a Budo graduate who taught at Nabumali in the late 1920's, the first Mugishu to be ordained in 1933, served as Chaplain in the Armed Forces during World War II, for many years on the Nabumali Board of Governors, and presently Bishop of Mbale and Chairman of the Nabumali Board of Governors.

Buyera was a Budo master and a retired Gombolola chief.

For many years Manyolo was the African headmaster at Nabumali High School.

Interview with Omw. Buyera at his home near Nabumali, October 1968.

¹⁰³ Gresford Jones, Op. Cit., p.189.

To meet the need for trained teachers Mitton suggested that teacher training should take precedence over everything else educational in the work of the new diocese, but teacher training was a slow, staff-consuming task especially in the face of changing Government policy like the Swahili decision of 1928. Mitton left later that year and Wheeler again had to take charge of the normal and high school work, but fortunately only for a short time until the Reverend C.M. Potts took over as headmaster.

There was yet another teacher training work being carried on at Nabumali in the Boys' School, besides the E.V. or Grade C normal training, namely a class of Intermediate Certificate or Grade A teacher trainees. These trainees comprised one of the regular high school classes and received regular instruction as well as serving as pupil-teachers. In 1928 Wheeler took charge of this work and in late 1929, when Charles brought his class of Grade A trainees from Ngora the classes were amalgamated under Wheeler and Charles took charge of the high school when Potts left.

In spite of the severe staff shortage and constant re-allocation of personnel, 1928 saw eleven Nabumali boys pass the King's School, Budo, Senior Entrance Examination, and Yosiya Wafula, the Senior Prefect, gained first place for the whole of Uganda and received a Budo scholarship.¹⁰⁴ Other Nabumali graduates went on to further training at the

¹⁰⁴C.M. Potts, "Nabumali," South of the Sudd and on the Backwaters of the Nile, Vol.1, No.1 (October 1929), pp.24-8.

Kampala Technical School in carpentry and masonry, or to the Veterinary Service at Entebbe, or they served as interpreters in the offices of various District Commissioners.

As early as 1928 a fifty acre site had been procured at Buwalasi for the construction of a diocesan theological and normal training centre, but only in early 1931 did the actual construction begin. As soon as it did, Wheeler took his Grade A normal class to temporary quarters at Buwalasi. At the same time the E.V. men's normal class was transferred to Ngora where the Reverend P.A. Unwin was in charge. Government was anxious to up-grade existing village teachers and so readily financed any E.V. normal school developments, but stipulated that European supervision must be provided by the mission taking advantage of such funds. This meant that the facilities were more readily obtainable than was the European staff, so often a class travelled with the European teacher to the place where his presence and services were most in demand.¹⁰⁵ By early 1932 Unwin and his Grade C were back at Nabumali. Here they remained until Buwalasi College was completed in March 1934.

During the years 1926-31 Nabumali had become a key teacher training centre for the Protestant work in the Eastern Province, and

¹⁰⁵The Government, anxious to develop E.V. work, offered grants for the development of such centres. Missions, anxious to take advantage of these grants but not having the required European staff, moved the head of existing E.V. centres to a station where there were no E.V. facilities, used Government grants for the development of a new centre, and then occasionally brought their European staff back to the original station. (Annual Report, 1930, "Progress Report, C.M.S., Elgon Mission" (Department of Education, Uganda), p.23.)

the high school work was often over-shadowed by it, but due to the uncertainty of Government plans during its early years in education and due to the plans to develop Buwalasi for clergy and teachers¹⁰⁶ no permanent facilities were ever put up for the Girls' Training School or the man's Grade A and C normal schools. By the end of 1933 Nabumali station remained with only two educational institutions, the boys' high school and the girls' boarding school, plus a dispensary work of considerable significance under the direction of Miss Ritson.¹⁰⁷

Under Charles as headmaster¹⁰⁸ there were almost 100 boys

¹⁰⁶Theological and teacher training were almost automatically associated because becoming a teacher was considered the first step towards ordination. The attitude that the teacher must be a Christian was popularly held and the line of logic was readily evident - a teacher was an educated person, an educated person had attended a mission school, a graduate of a mission school was a Christian. Mathers described a teacher graduating from Buwalasi College as a person who should be able to "compel attention, instruct and inspire for Christ." (H. Mathers, "Some Aspects of the Church's Growth in Elgon, Uganda," South of the Sudd and on the Backwaters of the Nile, Vol.1, No.8 (April 1933), p.20.) Missions continued to dominate teacher training work until the 1950's and therefore this attitude was slow in dying out. A similar attitude existed towards chiefs, namely that they should be Christians, because many teachers during the 1920's and 1930's were selected for chieftainships. During the 1940's teachers tended to enter African Local Government work, but politics was a different thing, and the teacher who entered politics was often considered to have given up his Christian conviction.

¹⁰⁷Miss E. Pilgrim had returned to Nabumali in 1924 to re-establish the dispensary and women's work. In mid 1926 she retired after thirty one years in Uganda. Her quiet, inauspicious, hard-working nature, coupled with a frightening determination in the face of early Bagishu clan rivalry, had done much to win for her the loyalty and love of the Bagishu, a fact they illustrated eloquently at a farewell gathering in her honour. (Editorial Note, Church Missionary Outlook, Vol.LIV (February 1927), p.34.)

¹⁰⁸Charles was one of the first C.M.S. missionaries to be Government supported. This meant that a portion of his salary, travel expenses and out-fitting were paid by Government.

on the roll of Nabumali High School.¹⁰⁹ They were divided into seven classes: E.V.1 to IV and Intermediate A I to A III. Tomusange and Kabiri were still on the staff and shared the Intermediate classes with the principal. Each master had his own class and taught them all subjects. In Term I of 1930 the boys were divided into three houses, Hannington, Aggrey and Crabtree and a system of shield awards for school work, field work, cleanliness, and sports was instituted. The normal school students who were in residence did their practice teaching in the E.V. classes. At the end of the year students from E.V. IV at Nabumali and from other schools of the Masaba district sat their Elementary Leaving Examination¹¹⁰ and from this entrants for the following years Intermediate section were chosen.

Charles resigned in February 1931¹¹¹ to be replaced by the Reverend J.L. Turney in May. After less than a year Turney was located

¹⁰⁹ Though 1930 was a poor cotton year, Government grants to Nabumali had increased substantially. Five grants were received for Nabumali institutions:

Intermediate B Boys School	Shs.11,000/-
Intermediate A Boys School	15,000/-
Intermediate A Girls School	7,000/-
Normal Boys School	17,000/-
Normal Girls School	9,000/-

(Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Upper Nile Diocese, May 22, 1930 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

¹¹⁰ These examinations were set by the Board of Education of the respective missions, and not by the Government Department of Education.

¹¹¹ Charles could not satisfy the Parent Committee of the C.M.S. as to his encouragement of special activities at Nabumali and Ngora like Saturday dancing and Sunday cricket.

to Gulu¹¹² and replaced by the Reverend E.B. Bull. During Bull's two years at Nabumali as headmaster, 1932-3, his idealistic and determined leadership began to establish this institution as the leading higher academic education centre of the diocese.

During the later 1920's Nabumali's facilities had been extended to include several dormitories and an extended dispensary¹¹³ and under Bull a new carpentry shop was erected and a new dining hall-classroom complex begun.¹¹⁴ Also under Bull a Junior Secondary Section was started

¹¹²Turney found it very difficult, because of health and an unsuitable nature for missionary work, to oversee all the E.V. schools of the Masaba area as well as being principal of the high school. The mission societies were very slow in accepting that specialists must be able to specialize, and not be given the endless tasks which were always there to be done in a missionary setting. The rapid turn-over of staff at Nabumali may have been partly due to the more pressing needs of other areas of work and the ever-present blackwater-fever threat, but yet another factor was that the missionary society did not understand the changed role of the educational missionary.

¹¹³In 1922 when Mathers was being expected at Nabumali, Banks began construction of a house across the road from the main school building. At present this house is being used as a staff house, but before that it was the headmaster's residence from 1934 to 1956. The old Aggrey Dormitory (now the S.V. study block) was the first permanent dormitory at the boys' school built in 1925 by Mitton. A second dormitory was added by Charles in 1929 and called Hannington (now used as the S.VI study block). In the early 1930's the dispensary facilities were extended and a staff house built just across the road from the small hospital. The dispensary buildings are now being used for a private primary school, and the house is vacant.

¹¹⁴The carpentry shop built under Bull was demolished in 1957 to make way for the levelling of the two playing fields on the south side of the school compound. The dining-classroom complex was converted into the present biology, physics, and chemistry laboratories. In more recent years a music room and chemistry addition have been added to this building.

with the entire Intermediate A III class of 1931 winning places in the new J.S. I, to be joined in the second term by the Masaba boys from the Ngora Middle School¹¹⁵ along with two masters. Ngora Middle School had been divided into Teso-Bantu classes because of the language differences. The recently vacated Girls' Normal School became the residence of this new class. Enrolment at Nabumali reached 122 and Bull further encouraged new boys to come by itinerating during the school holidays in order to meet chiefs and persuade them to send new boys from their area. In 1932 he received promises of seventy six new boys from Bugishu, Bagweri, Bunyuli, Acholi and Budama plus additional promises of girl pupils for Miss Good's boarding school.

Bull was determined to up-grade the standard of instruction given at Nabumali and the teaching of agriculture was the first to feel his influence. With the help of two Agriculture Department inspectors, it was decided to set aside one teacher to give all his time to agriculture and nature study. It was decided to develop a nine acre plot on the west side of Nabumali Hill with a system of crop rotation (to offset the infertility of the soil). Each house was to have definite plots which were its responsibility.¹¹⁶ Special record books, garden prizes, individual plots as hobby incentives, and shields were used to ensure

¹¹⁵Intermediate schools were renamed middle schools in 1930.

¹¹⁶This nine acre plot must have been in the valley between Nabumali Corner and the present row of staff houses. Each of the three houses - Aggrey, Hannington and Crabtree - were to have three plots measuring 16' x 100' and crops of Bulo, potatoes, beans, maize and groundnuts were planted on a rotational basis.

success, but over the years agriculture at Nabumali remained a failure.¹¹⁷

Nearly every writer on the subject of agricultural education spoke of the need for such a form of education because Uganda had an agricultural economy, spoke of a more scientific attitude towards farming, spoke of training and disciplining the pupil's character to respect the dignity of hard, honest, manual labour, and so on. But this part of the high school syllabus remained, according to the Education Study Group, "a horse with feet and a head, but no body."¹¹⁸ At one end, the head, Makerere College was providing a training programme for agricultural inspectors, and at the other end, the feet, institutions like Bukalasa and the E.V. schools were providing general training. But little of this new knowledge ever reached into the countryside. The solution, as the Study Group saw it, was more organization by establishing farm schools with model farms throughout the country. But this was simply a repetition of an oft-tried solution - more organization and less realism! The Government and mission policy of agricultural education in high schools remained almost totally out of touch with the reality of agricultural life in Uganda until the 1963 Castle Report which was the first to have the courage to say that you could improve agricultural teaching in Uganda, and agriculture itself, only after agriculture had been made into a profession which was profitable, prestigious and competitive. To achieve this a land-holding revolution had to occur; prices had to be sufficiently stabilized to assure the educated

¹¹⁷ Interview with the Reverend A.P. Bottomley at Clevedon, Somerset, December 17 and 18, 1968.

¹¹⁸ Minutes of the Education Study Group, January 5, 1932 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

person a better livelihood on the land than in the Government office; work on the land had to become separated from the manual drudgery which every child had experienced on his family's subsistence plot in the village. The phenomenal success of the introduction of cotton and coffee in Uganda had proved that, if convinced, the African farmer would accept new ideas very rapidly, but success, as always, must be measured in cash terms, and not by theorizing or idealizing.

During 1933 Bull spent much time observing the E.V. section masters and classes at work, and he discovered that the standard was very low because of poor teaching and backward, over-age boys. As a consequence some of the older boys were removed from E.V. 4 and sent to the Junior Normal School and the newly opened Elgon Technical School. At the August 5th Parents Day, the headmaster emphasized that students coming to Nabumali must be 'totos' (young boys). In the third term he announced that a 'Shell' class would be begun for those who could not profit from the regular instruction.¹¹⁹ During the weeks prior to the third term he planned a new syllabus for this 'Shell' and reported that

All the staff unanimous that it should be formed . . . The syllabus included English as a subject - and Swahili: together with subjects designed to fit the boys for work as clerks, entrants to Technical Schools and Buwalasi Normal School. Average age of boys for Shell - 15 to 16. They were promised that if they did well, that they should be returned to a class in the Middle School.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Grace at Budo had instituted a split Junior Secondary scheme in 1928 by which backward pupils entered a course leading to a terminal course. This had been officially accepted as Government policy.

¹²⁰ Nabumali High School Log Book, 1933 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

But much trouble followed in the third term as boys who were put into the 'Shell' simply ran away. In spite of threats of suspension, the boys chose to leave school rather than remain in the 'inferior Shell'.

Bull also re-organized the school time-table so that each teacher instructed in his special subject rather than teaching all subjects to his own class, and he re-vitalized the handwork section of the syllabus. A school tailor, Maiso, and a carpentry instructor, Kalabi, were employed. Two hours were spent each afternoon on handwork such as brick-making and repairing the school well. The bricks were often used in the construction of new school buildings such as the dining-classroom complex.

Like 1930, 1932 was a year of financial difficulties. Difficulty was experienced in collecting fees because of the poor cotton crops, and fees, at this time, still constituted a major portion of the school's revenue. At the same time Bull was very anxious to provide the needed equipment as well as starting on a much overdue building programme. He raised school fees by some 25-30 per cent¹²¹ and enforced a much stricter collection procedure.¹²² He wrote to District Commissioners asking them to deduct outstanding fees from the chiefs of the respective boy's district.

¹²¹Fees in the E.V. section were increased from Shs. 80 to 100 per year; in the Middle section from Shs. 100 to 150; in the Junior Secondary section from Shs. 150 to 200. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1932 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

¹²²Bull insisted that the pupils have their fees for the year 1933 paid by March 31st, otherwise an additional 20 per cent would be added to the total. There were nineteen boys in 1933 who received part of full scholarships from sources like the Bishop, the Mbale D.C., the Bubulo District Board, the Tororo D.C., and private sources in England. Twenty per cent of the total fee receipts came in the form of scholarships.

In July he held a meeting of some seventy fathers of Nabumali pupils and advised them of the financial difficulties and the need to raise the fees. He instituted a reduction of fifteen to twenty five per cent in his masters' salaries and when four masters wrote to the Director of Education and Education Secretary of the C.M.S. alleging unfair treatment, the Director of Education endorsed Bull's action and assisted him in settling the matter amicably.¹²³

¹²³It is interesting to note that Bull's chief difficulties were with his three Makerere-trained masters, while the other four were Budo and Buwalasi masters. Admittedly they were the best paid and therefore stood to lose the most by Bull's decision, but F.V. Carter observed about the 1925-35 period that "Teachers began more and more to regard themselves as civil servants rather than church workers, to resent efforts to enlist them in the work of the local church, and to look down upon the less educated clergy." (Carter, Op. Cit., p.373.) Bishop Willis gave a similar warning about the secularizing effect of Government involvement in education.

But in all this rapid progress there is the obvious danger of losing the spirit of a definitely Christian education; and of the thousands who flock to the schools few, it may be, do so with any higher motive than that of intellectual and social advancement. Yet there is still on the part of the leaders of the country a very definite determination that their education shall be, and shall remain on a religious foundation, and never a purely secular business. (J.J. Willis, J.J. Willis MS (original) (C.M.S. Archives, London), Accession No.120, p.116.)

The secularization of motives and personal activities had set in, and in the years of Bottomley's headmastership considerable difficulty was experienced between the missionary educationist and his African staff insofar as the relationship of their personal behaviour to their professional responsibilities was concerned. It was hard for the secularly trained African master to realize or accept that if he was in the employ of the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese then he was expected to be a 'Christian' teacher, actively supporting by work and example the spiritual activities of the church both in and out of school hours.

Another interesting aspect of the controversy between Bull and his staff was the degree to which the school principal acted as employer and policy-maker. Bull was (as evidenced by the Director of Education supporting him) in his right to make decisions about how much the masters at his school would be paid. Government grants at this point were used primarily for capital development and the salaries of Europeans. School

But inspite of these difficulties and higher fees, Nabumali enrolment increased to 131, representing nine tribes.¹²⁴ The collection of fees was much more successful with some Shs.9,000/- collected by the end of the first term, but increased costs of food due to semi-famine conditions meant that a deficit of Shs.5,000/- was still anticipated.¹²⁵ The construction of the new dining-classroom complex was progressing well and the hall was officially opened on the December Speech Day 1933 by the D.C. of Bubulo, J.R. Elliot. During the last week of that year the whole school, masters and pupils, began work on the new technical block or carpentry shop. As the number of pupils increased a fourth house was organized for the small boys - Tucker House - in honour of Bishop Tucker. The new Junior Secondary boys were given white uniforms and the school decided to supply

fees were to meet the full cost of African salaries and recurrent costs, and, if possible, some of the capital development costs. The headmaster had almost sole authority over the use of fee revenue.

124	Bagishu	52	Badama	6
	Bateso	19	Lango	4
	Bagwere	15	Acholi	3
	Baganda	12	Banyuli	10
	Basamya	10		

¹²⁵Bull calculated the average cost of maintaining an E.V. pupil at the school in 1933 to be Shs.130/-.

Masters' Salaries	41/-	Oil, Soap, Dispensary	13/-
Food	32/-	Equipment, Desks, etc.	11/-
Books and Stationery	14/-	Porters, Fundies	4/-
Clothing	13/-	Sports	1/-
		Sundries	1/-

But since the average receipt in fees was only Shs.95/-, a deficit of Shs.2,450/- was expected for the seventy E.V. boys. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1933 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

plates for the boys (financed by reducing the meat ration). The 1st and 2nd XI's had a very successful year with fixtures being played against teams from the community of Nabumali to as far away as Tororo and Buwalasi.¹²⁶

At the end of 1933 the Department of Education under Director E.G. Morris decided that the Junior Secondary section at Nabumali should be closed and Nabumali developed as a central technical school. Neither Governor Gower nor Bourdillon was in favour of the development of 'higher' education.¹²⁷ Instead they wished to stress broad primary literacy. In the back of their minds were the disastrous experiences of India in the 1920's when advanced education was developed faster than the economy could absorb such graduates, and the result was an educated unemployed class of political discontents. Such a mistake was not to be repeated in Uganda.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Government was more concerned with developing the self-

¹²⁶ Compared with the fixture roster of more recent years it is immediately evident that the school was much more involved with local community activities and opinion in the early 1930's.

¹²⁷ F.V. Carter says Bourdillon was 'fanatically' opposed to secondary education expansion. (Carter, Op. Cit., p.255.)

¹²⁸ This was the most frequently repeated argument that too many 'highly' educated unemployables would be politically dangerous. But if we consider the educational pyramid of 1933, we can see just what the Governor and Director of Education considered to be 'too much' higher education.

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Pupils Enrolled</u>	<u>Comparable Level 1968</u>
Makerere	117	Cambridge 'O' level
Junior Secondary Schools	263	Pre Cambridge - J.S. I & II
Middle Schools	1,521	Primary 5 - 7
Elementary Vernacular	18,012	Primary 1 - 4
Sub-grade Schools	229,582	Basic Literacy and Primary 1 - 2

(Annual Report, 1933 (Department of Education, Uganda), Appendix X, p.46.)
All told there were 380 post-primary pupils of whom approximately

sufficiency of the colony's economy than it was in advanced education or training for self-government. Nor was the African interested in developing at this stage, indigenous African institutions or self-government; he wanted to better his lot and the Government policy of 'gradualism' did not allow him to attend over-seas institutions, or learn English, or attain a professional certificate which put him on a par with the European.

The Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa of 1929 had acknowledged the paramountcy of African interest in the development of the colonies, the need for the African to be trained to carry this out himself, and the need for higher education facilities,¹²⁹ but had warned that "it should not be done too fast."¹³⁰ So the Colonial Office flurry of educational interest of the mid 1920's reverted to the policy that educational plans in the colonies will be formulated to deal with issues as they develop. There was no

200 would leave Makerere or the J.S. schools, and most of these would then begin either normal school, apprenticeships, or further education at Makerere, or advanced studies over-seas for a select few. Not even 100 would look for work each year. The schools alone could absorb that number of teachers, let alone Government and business requirements.

Into this education system Government was paying approximately £75,000 in 1933 - £33,500 to missions in grants and £41,447 for administration, Makerere, technical, Indian and European education. The sub-grade schools (concerned with some ninety two per cent of the total number) were church supported, receiving no aid from central or local Governments. Government frequently scorned the educational value of these institutions (much to Willis' and Mathers' dismay) but regularly included them in their statistics.

¹²⁹Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa (H.M. Stationery Office; 1929), Cmd.3234, pp.73-4.

¹³⁰Ibid., p.74.

attempt to actualize the enthusiastic goals of the Phelps Stokes Commission.¹³¹ The missions did not press greater expenditure on the Government because they themselves were uncertain about their future in education.¹³² The Depression of the 1930's resulted in an over-cautious economic policy which, though unnecessary in Uganda, slowed down social services development and built up Government surpluses.¹³³ Gower's and Bourdillon's policy of being content with what had been achieved by Hussey and Governor Archer seemed to have received Director of Education, Morris', tacit approval. This uncertainty among Government and mission figures about the educateability of the African resulted in vague and unprogressive leadership until Governor Mitchel and Director of Education, Jowitt, initiated their more positive goals.

At the Annual Speech Day in 1933 Bull had to convince the parents and chiefs at Nabumali that the closing of the Junior Secondary section

¹³¹Carter, Op. Cit., pp.183-88.

¹³²The missions objected to Government funds being used to finance Muslim education because they still felt that they could control the use of Government educational spending.

¹³³Government revenue exceeded expenditure in the 1930-38 period by over £300,000 even after a surplus accumulation of almost £1,000,000 in the years 1921-29. (K. Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda (London: 1958), pp.188, 212.) Though these accumulations are small in comparison with the surpluses of the late 1940's and early 1950's, they did affect the social services sharply because in years of recession such services are the first to feel any cut-backs in spending. Gower was of the opinion that surpluses should never fall below £750,000, and then in the light of economic uncertainty in April 1931, he readjusted estimates for the year so that a credit balance of £1,000,000 could be expected. (Ibid., p.205.) And this was Gower's policy after the Secretary of State for the Colonies had commented on the 'marked caution' of the 1929 estimates. (Ibid., pp. 203-4.)

was necessary and for the good. His rather circuitous and unconvincing explanation, as recorded in the Uganda Herald of January 3, 1934, must have done little to convince the chiefs who had assisted Mathers in some of the many self-help projects of the 1920's, nor would the pride of the Bagishu have been swelled to be told that instead of a Makerere Entrance Institution, they would now have a Central School with a technical bias consisting of carpentry and agriculture. Having a Junior Secondary section had made Nabumali one of the six feeder schools for Makerere. But Bull now said it was not right for a school to produce pupils whose whole goal in life was to graduate from Makerere,¹³⁴ nor was it right for Nabumali to teach students who had commenced their studies too late in life, nor was it right that the school should produce graduates for whom jobs would not be available later when they left Makerere, nor should such great emphasis be placed on the teaching of English, a foreign language, nor should the school produce boys who did not want to return to an agricultural way of life. Amazing that Bull should have tried to convince his listeners that these were wrong motives for his pupils. Wrong they may be in an idealistic world of pure education for education's sake, but in the hard reality of village life there was only one escape, and education

¹³⁴ Morris closed four of the eight junior secondary schools in Uganda (Nabumali, Mwiri, Gulu, Mbarara), but none from the Kampala area. In their place he established central schools for post-primary commercial training. They were closed in 1937 and reverted to primary institutions because adequately trained staff were not available, and the schools unpopularity stemmed from the uncertainty of the graduate as to what exactly he was qualified to do. (Carter, Op. Cit., pp.185-6, 241-2.)

was the means of escape. It is rather like the man who told the beggar to be of good cheer and left him without giving him a morsel.

Other more valid reasons for the closure of the Junior Secondary section might have been a lack of staff of sufficient qualifications, or difficulties of financing more advanced education, or an inadequate supply of suitable pupils from the feeder schools around Nabumali, or over-expansion due to pressure on Government by the Upper Nile Diocese in its wish to establish higher education apart from Kampala, but even these reasons could quite readily be answered. The fact remains that the missions accepted a retrogressive policy from weak Government leaders. Bull could possibly be excused because he was a relative new-comer to African education, but a person like Mathers must have found it very difficult to face the chiefs of Bagishu after 1933, after having just several months earlier asked them for help to build new classrooms, a chapel, and more dormitories at Nabumali High School. Admittedly the closure of the J.S. section meant a greater emphasis on handwork and practical education, and this might have persuaded Mathers, but the key figure in the mission acceptance of Nabumali's demotion must have been Bishop Kitching. Kitching still favoured the development of Ngora as the higher education centre. Mathers' 'soft spot' for Nabumali would not have allowed this change without a struggle. By 1935, shortly before Kitching's retirement, Mathers was consulting with the Elgon chiefs about the re-starting of the J.S. section. Mathers and Kitching were both high-power administrators with very strong wills and their similarity must have had a lot to do with Kitching's choice of Usher Wilson rather than Mathers as the next Bishop

of the Upper Nile.

The new syllabus for Nabumali was to include biological foundations for hygiene, nature study and elementary science, carpentry, more practical agriculture, and building. In place of the pre-Makerere course there would be a more general syllabus enabling the pupil to either graduate from a terminal, general course, or from one leading up to higher education for those with the ability. Bull justified this new scheme by saying:

The first test of a course of education, as I am sure you will agree, is the effect which it produces on the pupil. If he (or she) has learnt to see and enjoy his immediate physical environment, if he belongs to his people and is proud of what is best in their tribal culture, if he has some idea of how to improve his own condition and has learnt to work with and for his groups in the attainment of common, social purposes, if he has hobbies for his leisure hours and some taste and habit of reading, then his course of education may be regarded as a success.¹³⁹

Exactly how much time would such a Nabumali graduate have for leisure and hobbies, the enjoyment of nature, or the appreciation of his tribal heritage if he did not reach beyond primary education? Most of his life would have to be spent tending the ground-nut or millet patch to remain alive! But if he had a job with the Government, earning a salary, then he could take time to read or plant flowers. Government and missions were treating education as a luxury; the African had an understanding of education as an investment long before the manpower studies of the late 1950's and 1960's.

The year ended on this controversial note. A more favourable

¹³⁵ Uganda Herald, December 16, 1933.

note was struck by the entry of Philip Okech into Makerere, the first Nabumali boy to achieve this. Twelve others were accepted at Budo and five at Nyakasura for Junior Secondary work. The Reverend E.B. Bull was transferred to Buwalasi for health reasons and the Reverend A.P. Bottomley, having arrived in May 1933, took over the principalship in January 1934.

The years 1920-33 was a period when the mission finally decided to develop Nabumali, not only as a mission station, but as an educational centre. Because of the enthusiasm and direction of the Phelps Stokes Report and Mathers, such problems as staff shortages, indecisive Government involvement, and the establishment of a new diocese were faced and, at least partially, solved. With the coming of a new principal in 1934, Nabumali began an era which provided stable staff leadership and which enabled the school to evolve an identity of its own.

CHAPTER VI

YEARS OF MATURING

In the first ten years of Bottomley's headmastership higher education in the Eastern Province was democratized and secularized. An active Department of Education and a willing Government enabled higher educational institutions to become more independent of their foundation bodies and to develop their unique philosophies of education. By 1943, Nabumali High School had amalgamated its boys and girls sections into a junior and senior co-educational institution under an independent Board of Governors, receiving generous Government grants.

A significant change in motivation occurred among pupils and teachers during the 1930's. When Bottomley took over the Nabumali headmastership pupils no longer sought education in order to become 'Baganda' or 'Christians', rather they saw education as the means of breaking out of their village life by getting a profession and a salaried position. In the 1910's and 1920's prosperity was synonymous with becoming a Christian; gradually prosperity became synonymous with education and employment. It was now possible to achieve a degree of affluence without becoming a Christian, and by the mid 1930's the mass movement (wide-spread acceptance of the Christian faith) which had gripped the Protestant work in the Elgon area since the early 1920's came to an end. In the years to follow it was going to be materialism rather than Christianity which explained

the Ugandan's enthusiasm for education.¹

The Mbale High School had been originally intended as a school for the sons of chiefs. When the school was re-established in 1920 at Nabumali, Banks still considered his chief purpose was to reach the future leaders, but the widespread production of cotton provided the 'bakopi' (peasant) with the means of sending his son to school. At the same time the central schools established by Morris, the Director of Education, made available to the general public a much cheaper form of education than that of the selective high schools, and for a capable few even these schools could now be used to reach Makerere.² Also, the children of clergy, teachers and catechists were given preferential fee rates in the mission schools. The consequence of these developments was that these schools, which had been patterned on the British Public School,³ a pattern so very well suited to a feudal culture like that of the Baganda, were rapidly being democratized as children from within and without the leadership class were educated.

Democratization meant that the leadership class which had not existed in the Eastern Province before the coming of the Baganda, and which had been imported for the first decades of the Century, could now be suppl-

¹P. Williams, Aid in Uganda - Education (London: 1966), p.46.

²Interview with Bishop E. Masaba, October 1, 1968 at Mbale.

³Bishop Kitching wanted a Budo-type school for the Upper Nile Diocese; the Reverend E.B. Bull organized Nabumali on an English pattern stressing the academic rather than the practical; Bottomly, according to Miss F. Cooper, is recorded to have had great admiration for Budo and was very anxious that Nabumali graduates should go there. Nabumali, in spite of the American influences of the 1920's, took on a British Public School image.

mented from the educated 'bakopi'. For the first generation of the 20th Century education had been a selective self-reproduction of a leadership class, but now with a broadened supply of potential leaders, the traditional leaders found themselves challenged, and largely replaced, during the late 1930's and 1940's.

Changes, comparable to those taking place in leadership circles, were also taking place among clergy and teachers. As ability to benefit became the measuring rod of entry into higher education, rather than wealth or connections, the age of the pupils became lower and similarly the graduates were younger. Due to this complications developed in the relationship between the older generation of teachers 'cum' clergy (church-trained, poorly paid, having a very basic education, largely dependent on the European leaders) and the young, Government certified masters (better educated, English-speaking, better paid, politically ambitious, members of the generation which had self-made leaders rather than hereditary ones). Teaching had for some years been the stepping-stone to political authority⁴ because of its connection with the church, but as the church and

⁴ A former teacher from Nabumali, E. Kabiri, was one of the prime movers of the Bagisu Welfare Association. The general welfare objectives of this Association included the betterment of coffee production and marketing, but in the late 1920's and early 1930's it expressed itself as an anti-Baganda movement as well. These feelings died after the replacement in 1934 of the last Baganda agents in the Elgon area. Following this the Association (composed of young, educated men, often teachers) sought to overthrow the authority of the traditional, poorly educated chiefs who were in power but not willing to risk their appointments by opposing the Colonial Government. The Bagisu Welfare Association died out in the 1940's largely because its last purpose was fulfilled when Wanambwa, another Nabumali teacher, became Secretary General of Bugishu. A similar 'generation gap' conflict occurred in more recent years when

education was separated, the church lost its political authority and educational training became the key to leadership.

As the type of teacher found in mission schools changed, so did the attitude of the public. The public considered the clergyman to be doing God's work; the teacher was doing God's work 'less' but was on his way to becoming an ordained man; the person who entered Government service was thought to have 'left' the church.⁵ As more teachers entered the political arena, education rather than being considered inseparable from the church began to be viewed as more of a secular profession.

Headmasters of the 1930's had to deal with two completely different types of teachers. There were those who had grown up in the bosom of the church and had accepted the mission's stated purpose that evangelization was the primary motive of education. The other group considered education to be for those who could best profit from it. Members of this group kept their professional and personal lives separate while the first group considered the totality of their work and leisure to be part of their response to God. The church-trained teachers (supported by the clergy who were still very influential) jealously guarded their position more from a moral than from an ability basis. As they were increasingly pushed into the background their position hardened and narrowed, and with them they took the church into a reactionary backward-looking position. The new teachers took great pride in their being better educated and better

Munghoma and Wanyoto opposed Wanambwa's leadership and Wanyoto became Secretary General. (Interview with Bishop Usher Wilson, November 15th, 1968 at Churt, Hampshire, England.)

⁵J.W.C. Dougall, "The Relationship of the Church and School in Africa," International Review of Missions, Vol.xxvi, No.102 (April 1957), pp.204-206.

paid, and they considered secular work to be more exacting than Christian work. The new teacher who was a Christian, rather than identifying himself with the church within his professional environment, sought to carry out his Christian service through after-and out-of-school visitation or missions or itineration.

The missionary educationalist did not readily accept the existence of these two types of teachers. To him the school was still a mission school, a Christian school, and he reserved the right to expect of his teachers not only a professional standard of work in the school, but a Christian standard of work in and out of school hours, underwritten by an exemplary personal life.⁶ The teacher's professional services and his personal life had both been 'employed' by the mission. Furthermore, the missionary educationalist could put teeth into his authority because he controlled promotion and devolution of authority within the school and district boards of education.

In the light of these changes, how did the mission define education in the 1930's? J.W.C. Dougall, Educational Secretary for the C.M.S. of East Africa, a man very conscious of the changing role of the missionary

⁶ A Nabumali teacher wrote in 1938:
 . . . think of our lads who decided to take up teaching as their work. It means much more than you might think. It means that these lads have decided (more or less consciously) to live a Christian life with one wife. . . The teacher chooses a moral life knowing that he cannot go on in his teaching profession if he becomes 'immoral'. While others leave school, and get other work, and can be entirely immoral so long as they do their work efficiently. Government does not interfere with the 'home life' of people they employ.
 (F. Cooper - her family in England, June 19, 1938, Private Correspondence 1932-46, by her kind permission.)

and the church said:

. . . school work is church work because education is one of the most concrete and living forms of Christian witness . . . It is concerned with the growth of boys and girls in wisdom and stature through a right use of the so-called secular elements in a life of common responsibility.⁷

Dougall considered education to be a valid mission activity but G.C.

Turner, writing a year or two later claimed that

. . . The dominant aim of a mission is to spread the Gospel. Education is a necessary, and perhaps the most important means available to them to this end; but it is strictly no more than a means For while the interests of Christian Missions and of good education very largely overlap, they do not entirely coincide; and there should be room in the large schools for men and women to whom teaching itself, unqualified by the missionary motive, is a sufficient vocation.⁸

Bishop Kitching, however, considered that

. . . in the uplifting of Africa evangelism and education go hand in hand; they cannot be separated without gravely jeopardizing the future welfare and development of the people. Two principles are kept in mind in mission policy.

1. We want to make better African tribesmen and not imitation Englishmen. Therefore we must build on whatever is sound in the old culture, and make the maximum use of African staff both in church and school.
2. Christianity is not a mere acceptance of a creed, but a new heart and a new life. Therefore there will be for many years a need for supervision and spiritual help, until there has been evolved a real African Christian society, loyal and true to the fundamentals of Christ's teaching, but with a code of conduct and method of worship suited to African conditions of life and mental outlook.⁹

⁷Dougall, Op. Cit., p.208.

⁸G.C. Turner, African Students and English Examinations (Entebbe: 1940), p.3.

⁹A.L. Kitching, From Darkness to Light (London: 1935), p.36.

It is not that the missions were blind to the reality of the situation with their insistence on a spiritual ministry. They were very aware of two realities: mission support had to be gained in Europe by convincing the churches there that the mission was doing more than just a social work, and secondly, the missions realized that the African required character training.¹⁰ The missionary evaluated the situation as he saw it, namely, a country with a developing western industrial society which he had helped to create. To make that a success certain qualities and habits were required. More imperialistically expressed it meant

. . . to produce a type of African who will be sufficiently imbued with the European ideas to enable him to cope with the European civilization which must eventually sweep the world clear of all primitive methods of life; one who, at the same time, will remain an African with all the best of the many fine attributes of his race.¹¹

This was a concern which had gone beyond the individual's soul; it was

¹⁰ This statement is positively distasteful to the post independence African situation - very understandably so. But the recognition that character training was needed was not made by an idealistic Christian saint or a paternalist or a lonely spinster missionary. This conviction very often came from men who had spent many years working in Africa with Africans in the day to day work of building the nation. And surely in the light of the cultural background of the African there is much that would prevent him from adopting habits and attitudes which facilitate the introduction of a western industrial type of life. The critic of such 'paternalism' should not so much attack the conclusion that character training was needed, but should ask whether the western industrial type of culture should have been brought to Uganda, or for that matter, could it not have been brought to Uganda? Furthermore, the need for character training was not purely a missionary conclusion - some of the strong opponents of Christianity in Africa, Johnston or Dauncey Tongue, agreed that it was needed.

¹¹ Bishop of Uganda, "Uganda Education Association - Presidential Address, November 14, 1941," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.65 (January - September 1942), p.94.

a concern for the future of the nation. " . . . our aim is to influence through these schools the whole national life, and not any one part of it."¹²

How did this changing mission policy affect Nabumali High School? It soon became evident that the Reverend A.P. Bottomley was going to remain for some time. Archdeacon Mathers, who until the time of Bull had been largely responsible for the survival and development of the school, redirected his efforts to establishing a central diocesan training centre at Buwalasi. Bottomley would now be the person to formulate future policy and development even though he was a young, untried headmaster. He took over Nabumali when it was basically a primary institution offering a select pre-Junior Secondary course but having on its books a new scheme of becoming a central, technical institution. Before the Government and Bottomley could institute this new scheme at Nabumali, a new Governor, P. Mitchell, and a new Director of Education, H. Jovitt, came into office with totally different views on the development of higher education in Uganda.

At the same time a change in church leadership occurred. Kitching retired in March, 1936, and a year later Bishop Lucien Usher Wilson took over as Bishop of the Upper Nile Diocese. In the same year (1936) the Diocese, which Kitching had found so difficult to keep in touch with because of its size, was reduced by the removal of the Sudan provinces, and in their place the district of West Nile was added. Kitching had

¹²J.J. Willis, The Policy of the Uganda Mission (Nairobi: 1913), p.12.

ruled the Diocese with an autocratic hand, always being personally involved, unlike the Diocese of Uganda where the Bishop was constantly restricted by many committees and councils.¹³ Like Mathers he had been an excellent administrator but was unable to devolve authority to other persons, let alone Africans. He was a pioneer missionary type - very practical, mechanically-minded, self-sufficient, determined in whatever he undertook, able to speak four African languages. Like most bishops (Tucker, Browne, Stewart, and even Willis) he had a very strong mind, and this did not make for good relationships with neighbouring dioceses. Together with Mathers, Kitching had brought about the division of the Uganda Diocese in 1926. He preferred itineration work to policy statement writing though he was a scholar in his own right, being an author of several books, the translator of the Scriptures into Iteso, and a 2nd Class Classics Cambridge man. These facts may have influenced him in his choice of successor in 1936. Mathers, it would seem, would have been the obvious choice as he was a man of considerable experience in the Eastern Province, a proven administrator, capable of evoking respect and initiative from the chiefs and peoples, only fifty years old (retirement age was sixty), but he was a "Durham graduate", very set in his way, very similar in character to Kitching, having few connections in the right circles, an evangelical in outlook, and considered by many to be an 'old chap' and therefore too set in his ways. The surprise choice fell on Usher Wilson, the rural dean of Jinja, who had met Kitching only once about a month before his appoint-

¹³"The New Bishop of the Upper Nile," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.44 (October - December 1936), p.80.

ment.

Wilson, after his enthronement at Ngora on April 9, 1937,¹⁴ was faced with a number of problems, problems almost identical to those Kitching had to deal with during his ten years as Bishop.¹⁵ The policy of Swahili as the 'lingua franca' had been in effect in this diocese since late 1927 but now under Governor Mitchell was being relaxed. Up to now normal and theological training work had been carried out in either Swahili or Luganda, but under Wilson English was introduced into the theological work at Buwalasi and this indirectly set the pace for the other institutions of higher education in the diocese.

A second problem was the choice of a centre for the diocese. Kitching had favoured Ngora, but Wilson found it to be a hot, dry and uninviting mission town in the middle of a Nilotic language area. Buwalasi, on the other hand, on the well-watered slopes of Mount Elgon in a Bantu area, was more scenic and healthy, but it was remote, cut off from the

¹⁴The Reverend E. Masaba was chosen as the Bishop's chaplain.

¹⁵The Diocese of the Upper Nile was described as being not an 'easy' diocese to administer. It was some thirty years behind the Uganda Diocese in development but with cotton prosperity the gap was being rapidly narrowed. The Uganda Diocese had had a long history of devolution of authority under Tucker and Willis, but the Upper Nile underwent a similar devolution only in the 1950's. The Reverend K. Sharpe claimed that it was harder to devolve authority in the eastern diocese before the 1950's because for many years the church there had had to depend on Buganda, Busoga, and Bunyoro preacher-teachers who had come to this frontier with the intent of winning the heathen to Christ. They were proud, independent men who did not find it easy to give up their prestige and authority to their converts, and the first generation of clergy native to the frontier grew up under the influence of these pioneer evangelists and were strongly affected by their attitudes. Nabumali Parish, for example, was under the leadership of clergy from outside Bugishu and the Eastern Province until the early 1950's - Balubuliza, Zake and Tomusange were all foreigners to the Bukedi tribes. (Interview with the Reverend K. Sharpe, October 1968 at Namirembe.)

Government headquarters, and nothing more than an institution in a densely settled area with little room for expansion. The only reasonable alternative was Mbale, a multi-racial Government and trade centre,¹⁶ and so St. Andrew's Parish Centre in Mbale was developed.

A third issue, about which the Upper Nile Diocese was still very sensitive, was the 'Mengo-mentality' of the Government and the Uganda Diocese authorities. The Upper Nile Diocese still did not have its own institutions for higher education or for advanced teacher training. Pupils still had to be sent to Budo and teachers came from Luganda-speaking Uganda institutions bringing with them all the pride and confidence that the Baganda culture had developed over the years. Government grants and education policy favoured the more advanced Uganda institutions. For example, when Nabumali reached the stage of being able to send pupils directly to Makerere, Turner (Makerere Principal) raised the entry requirements. A vicious circle developed insofar as Government grants were concerned: grants were paid only to schools having a 'high' standard, but the better trained teachers did not come to the Upper Nile schools because they often did not qualify for these grants and were unable to attract the better, higher-paid personnel.¹⁷

¹⁶The seat of Government administration for the Eastern Province was returned to Mbale after several years at Bubulo.

¹⁷In 1927 the Government was aiding 145 vernacular schools of which over half were in Buganda and only thirty in the Eastern Province even though the population of the Eastern Province was larger than that of Buganda, and Buganda's population was only about twenty eight per cent of the Protectorate total. In 1937 similar disproportion still prevailed. (F.V. Carter, "Education in Uganda, 1894-1945" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1967), pp.268-9.)

But the handicaps of the Eastern Province and the Upper Nile Diocese, though great, were very much off-set by the intense enthusiasm for education which prevailed in the late 1930's and the willingness of the local governments and people to undertake self-help schemes.¹⁸ During Bishop Usher Wilson's years much of the thirty year lag of the Upper Nile Diocese, compared with the Uganda Diocese, was overcome.

Self-help was Mathers' 'forte'. Shortly after the closure of the Junior Secondary section at Nabumali in 1933 Mathers organized a meeting of chiefs from Bugwere, Bugishu, Budama and Teso. The chiefs were dissatisfied with the ". . . present expediency of sending their children

Similar discrimination in favour of Buganda still prevailed in 1950 when the Reverend E. Perrens, Acting headmaster of Nabumali High School, complained to the C.M.S. that it was sending many more associated staff to Budo than to Nabumali at a time of severe staff shortage, and Government grants to Budo were considerably greater per student than those to Nabumali.

Yet another example of disproportionate allocation arises from the Director of Education's allocation in 1937 of £37,274 to the missions to finance the 1936 Reorganization Scheme for Education in the Protectorate. The Northern and Eastern Province, comprising some forty eight per cent of the population of the Protectorate received only thirty three per cent of these allocations. Even within the division of funds among the Protestant missions, the Upper Nile Diocese working in areas having almost half of the population of the Protectorate received less than twenty nine per cent of the Protestant portion. (Director of Education - Education Secretaries General of all missions, November 19, 1936, unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records from the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.)

¹⁸Carter also pointed out that the expenditures on education by local government in the Eastern and Northern regions of Uganda (comprising most of the Upper Nile Diocese) were considerably greater than those in Buganda and the Western Provinces. Self-help has always figured much greater in the development of education in the east and north than in the central and western parts of Uganda, partly explained by the fact that Central Government grants to Buganda and the West have been much larger relative to the population and the willingness of the public to help themselves. And yet, the Eastern region was contributing proportionally the highest in terms of revenue through cotton and coffee production. (Carter, Op. Cit., p.274.)

to Junior Secondary schools outside this area and urged the provision of such a school in this Diocese."¹⁹ The headmaster, Bottomley, pointed out that some fifty boys would be seeking admission to Nabumali but there was no dormitory space for them. To the approximately 100 chiefs present, Mathers presented the challenge that if the Government had evidence that they were willing to help themselves, then the likelihood of the re-opening of the Junior Secondary section was much greater. As a consequence a building programme for three dormitories (costing £1,000), a chapel (costing £500) and playing fields (costing £100) was drawn up and the chiefs assessed themselves: Bagishu Shs. 10,000/-, Bugwere Shs. 10,000/-, Budama Shs. 5,000/-, Teso Shs. 10,000/-, and Lango, Gulu and Kitgum Shs. 5,000/-. Mathers reported this plan to Director of Education, Jowitt, and ended his letter.

I venture to express with strong conviction that there should be one of the highest Mission schools of the Protectorate in this Diocesan area. And that the people are prepared to do their part in providing that school.²⁰

To some extent regionalism within the Upper Nile Diocese prevented this self-help scheme from being instituted immediately. The interests of the Teso at Ngora and the Lango and Acholi at Gulu had to be taken into consideration. As long as Mathers was in the Elgon area he succeeded in keeping the Elgon tribes unified in their desire for one higher school at Nabumali. The danger was that if all three areas demanded a school of their own, then in all probability, the Government would refuse to provide even one. Nor would the Government, as Dougall pointed out to Davies of

¹⁹Mathers - Jowitt, April 11, 1935, unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Record from the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.

²⁰Ibid.

Gulu, allow Gulu to do just the first two years of the secondary course, considering the staff problems and the fact that once a school got its foot into the door of secondary education it would be difficult to avoid its full development.²¹

Dougall, in submitting a re-organization scheme for the schools of the Upper Nile Diocese to the Director of Education, analysed the need for, and the conflicting pressures connected with, building a secondary school.

While I don't think there is much of a case for the Upper Nile Diocese as such to have its own Secondary School there is a powerful argument in the population statistics in the Eastern and Northern Provinces and the pupils leaving Primary Schools annually. There will be fifty very soon every year from the Primary Schools listed above. Further the people are willing to pay. One's natural desire would be to create a single Secondary School of the "B" or "C" type for the Eastern and Northern Provinces. Canon Lawrence feels however that the Lango and Acholi people will, within five or ten years, want their own school. In the meantime their needs can be met at Budo, Nyakasura, Muyiri or the new school now proposed. They would not contribute to the provision of a school outside their own area. They can therefore be counted out at present. Considering the Teso people and those of the three Government districts of Bugishu, Bugwere, and Budama the best site would be near Mbale. The P.C. at Jinja thought a school was justified for that area. The arguments for Nabumali are that it has always been called a 'High' School and the natives have been led to expect higher education there and that the buildings would suit a Secondary School of 100 to 150 pupils. A further advantage would be that money could be asked from the Lukiko (Local Government) if it is considered that contributions from chiefs would be sufficient.²²

If Mathers could keep the Nabumali facilities developed and the opinion of chiefs in the Elgon Districts unified, then the Nabumali site

²¹Dougall - Davies, May 30, 1936, Ibid.

²²Dougall - Jowitt, May 14, 1936, Ibid.

would stand the best chance of being chosen for development. Mathers achieved this end with an active building programme²³ and among the people he continued to foster " . . . a growing appreciation of the value of education."²⁴ Bottomley on the other hand produced excellent Middle School Leaving results²⁵ and increased the enrolment by twenty five per cent inspite of a fee increase.²⁶ Together they succeeded in retaining a close connection between the community and the school, and largely due to this spirit Nabumali began the slow climb from primary to secondary status.

In October 1935 Sir Philip Mitchell replaced Bourdillon and in

²³ Mathers supervised the completion of the carpentry shop, the construction of a new cook house, the re-roofing of Aggrey Dormitory and several masters' houses, the repair of the school well and washing facilities down in the valley, the construction of Apolo and Tucker Dormitories, the cementing of the floors of the classrooms, and the renovation and refurnishing of the main hall. At the Girls' School the new main school hall was erected in 1936 to be followed by yet another of Mathers' 'barazas' at which some fifty chiefs met to view the work done and to consider the needs of the High School and Girls' School for the future.

²⁴ H. Mathers, "Annual Progress Report Elgon Mission, N.A.C.," 1936, found in unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records of the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.

²⁵ In 1934 100 per cent of the Middle School leavers entered Budo; in 1935 again 100 per cent; in 1936 fifty per cent (the highest among C.M.S. schools for the year) went to Budo. (Annual Report, 1934 (Department of Education, Uganda), "Progress Report, C.M.S., Elgon Diocese," p.51; Annual Report, 1935, (Department of Education, Uganda), "Progress Report, C.M.S., Elgon Diocese," p.74; Annual Report, 1936 (Department of Education, Uganda), "Church Missionary Society - Upper Nile Diocese," pp.100-101; Nabumali High School Log Book, 1934-36 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

²⁶ Mathers, Op. Cit.

December he requested the Colonial Office in London to establish for Uganda a Commission on Higher Education.²⁷ This Commission was active throughout 1936 under its chairman, Earl de la Warr, Parliamentary Secretary for the Colonies, and reported in 1937. Not only did the Commission's recommendations lead to the establishment of Makerere as a Higher College for post secondary education, but several recommendations were made about the secondary system. 1) Present secondary schools should be upgraded and 'Government' secondary schools should be established, though Makerere itself would retain its secondary department. 2) Definite rules should be laid down regarding qualifications of secondary teachers, and Government should enter the recruitment field by finding both permanent and temporary teachers in Great Britain. 3) It was also recommended that a secondary school leaving examination for East Africa based on a syllabus suitable to these countries should be established.²⁸

The emphasis on Government involvement alarmed the missions. The report made it clear that Makerere was but one part of a system which reached down into the secondary system. Secondary and higher education could not be developed without a centrally controlled plan. It also

²⁷The terms of reference of this Commission on Higher Education were to examine the organization and working of Makerere, to study advanced technical training, to study the system which provided Makerere with students, to examine in particular the needs of women education, and to consider the development of Makerere in relation to the needs and interests of the East African community. (Commission on Higher Education in East Africa (H.N. Stationery Office, London: 1937), p.5.)

²⁸Ibid., p.120.

made clear that for the Government policy of indirect rule to be effective and purposeful, it must be planned towards a goal of eventual self-rule by the African, a goal which required more higher education to train leaders.²⁹ Mitchell believed in the value of the devolution of authority, and for that an educated leadership class was again needed onto which to devolve. He acknowledged that if this had to be done at the expense of mass literacy, then that was one price that the nation had to be willing to pay.

Mitchell's next commission, the 1940 H.B. Thomas "African Education Committee", represented Mitchell's attempt to deal with the de la Warr recommendation that present secondary schools should be upgraded. Its much more traditional approach and recommendations won the support of the missions. The report reaffirmed the oft repeated Government statement that ". . . the highest public interest demands the inculcation of the Christian values" and that this ". . . is best achieved in denominational school [s]."³⁰ The right of the Government, however, to assure educational opportunity for the non-Christian citizens of Uganda was clearly spelled out and this meant that in the future the Government would act more freely in establishing separate institutions. But, the report argued, until such schools were built, education for these citizens could also be provided by denominational schools which exercised ". . . a generous tolerance and a scrupulous observance of the conscience clause."³¹ The report also recommended that the Advisory Council for African Education should be reconstituted to give

²⁹Ibid., p.7.

³⁰Ibid., p.5.

³¹Ibid., p.5.

the Government a distinct majority, and in future it was to act purely in an advisory capacity.

Attached to the report was a Government Memorandum entitled "Proposal for the Development of Secondary Schools" by which selected secondary schools would be placed under Boards of Governors on which Government would be represented and in return Government would bear the capital and recurrent costs of the school over and above the fees collected. The committee in considering this memorandum, before including it in its recommendations, warned that the schools should not be separated from their local connections by Government control or finance. It was also feared that these select secondary schools would not cater to the non-Christian elements of the population. The report recommended that the schools in question be given three years to build up their staff and that a clear definition of school ownership be reached before Government funds were used to finance construction at these mission schools. A sub-committee under George C. Turner selected the following secondary schools to be included in this scheme: King's School, Budo, Nyakasura, Nabumali, Mwiri and Entebbe Girls School of the C.M.S., Kisubi, Virika, and Nabingo Girls School of the White Fathers Mission, Namilyango and Nkokonjeru Girls School of the Mill Hill Mission.

The Committee also attached a memorandum to its report which outlined the conditions governing the application of Government proposals to these select schools.

1. The school was to be known as a diocesan school.
2. Religious tradition of the school was to be maintained in accordance

with the foundation body, but

. . . subject to availability of accommodation and provided that in the opinion of the Board of Governors concerned the school's denominational tradition is not being endangered by the operation of this principle, pupils of any religion or belief shall be admitted to the schools on an equal footing.³²

3. The property of the school was to be vested in the Board of Governors, and therefore the Board was responsible for repairs and maintenance.
4. The educational policy of each school shall be under the control of the Board of Governors subject to any general directions by Government acting through the Director of Education and after consultation with the Central Advisory Council for African Education; and subject also in religious matters to the directions of the supreme denominational authority and its local representatives.³³
5. The Board of Governors was to be constituted to include: a) a chairman nominated by the denominational authority with a casting vote, b) six members - three nominated by the denominational authority and three by Government, c) plus five members elected by the above.
6. Recruitment of staff was to be carried out by a staff board constituted by the denomination and the Director of Education's representative.
7. A capital estimate to be presented before April 30 of each year for Government approval. Recurrent budget to be presented each year and the school may hold a surplus account.
8. Annual headmaster and financial statements must be submitted.
9. An inspection of the school by a Government team be carried out.

³²Ibid., p.15.

³³Ibid., p.15.

The Thomas Commission's terms of reference had seemed rather routine educational directives -

To review the principles governing the allocation of grants-in-aid, and their application by the Central Government and Native Authorities to African schools of all grades in Uganda, and to make recommendations.³⁴

but for Nabumali High School and the other selected secondary schools this report was to spell the beginning of independence from the church and, to a considerable extent, Government, and at the same time make available more funds than budget-conscious headmasters and accountants imagined possible.

With the aid of the de la Warr and Thomas Reports Governor Mitchell and Director of Education, Jovitt, now had a national plan for education with Government involvement much more clearly defined. The 50-50 (half to each denomination) grants-in-aid arrangement was eliminated; primary education and a portion of its costs were placed squarely in local hands; Government institutions, both selected secondary and Local Education Authority-initiated, were recognized by the missions; the principle of non-denominational education, though not enforced in any way, was accepted. The Government's position was strengthened by the availability of finances (thanks to Gower's and Bourdillon's ultra careful budgeting and the rising prices of Uganda's basic exports during the war) and the expansionist policies of Governor Mitchell and his successor, Dundas, with Director of

³⁴Ibid., pp.3-4.

Education, Jowitt's assistance.³⁵ The missions, on the other hand, remained hard pressed for staff and funds. The Government had almost reached the stage where it could choose to co-operate or not co-operate. As long as the mission remained co-operative and efficient, just so long would the policy of mission-Government co-operation remain in effect.³⁶

In the first days of May 1940 Government presented the Self-Governing Schools proposals to the missions. By the 10th of May the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese had accepted the proposal to make Nabumali High School a 'self-governing' church school.³⁷ Nabumali had already been functioning under a Board of Governors since 1938 in accordance with C.M.S. policy. The change-over now would require a reconstitution of the existing Board membership, a new status in the Diocese (greatly enhanced by Government involvement), and plans to utilize the new staff recruitment and capital development opportunities.

The readiness of the N.A.C. and C.M.S. to accept the establishment of 'Independent' Boards of Governors at institutions which were their pride and joy can be explained in terms of financial need spiced with rationalization and compromise.

³⁵When Mitchell came to office Central Government expenditures on education were £78,882 or 5.03 per cent of the total revenue. By 1940 this had increased to £147,000 or 7.7 per cent of the total revenue. By 1944 when Dundas and Jowitt left office £211,124 or 8.06 per cent was spent by the Central Government. (Annual Report, 1936 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.11; Annual Report, 1940 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.4; Annual Report, 1944 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.10.)

³⁶Carter, Op. Cit. p.362.

³⁷Minutes of the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese, May 10, 1940 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

It is well known that the best Secondary Education is very expensive. Neither C.M.S. nor N.A.C. is rich enough to provide the very best, nor can parents by their fee payments, nor even can all these three together. Therefore the Makerere Commission [de la Warr of 1937] suggested that Government should start its own Secondary Schools which would thus be able to have bigger staffs, better buildings and more equipment than the Mission Schools. But the Government, acting on the principle that the best education is Christian, and that the Missions and the Churches are the best people to provide Christian education, preferred therefore to give the Missions large grants of money to improve and extend their schools rather than set up rival schools of their own.

Government, however, has a duty to its tax payers to see that public money is properly spent. They might, therefore, have demanded to have the Secondary Schools handed over completely to their own care. This they have not done, but only claimed a share in the administration of the schools through a certain representation on the Boards of Governors. Thus Government and Missions are able to co-operate instead of competing, in Secondary education³⁸

Rationalizing, compromise, humility and face-saving are all part of any policy which is based on co-operation, and it is much to the credit of both Government and missions that they were able to react in this way even though finances forced the issues. And so, in the early 1940's, 'gradualism' as a colonial policy of development was being replaced by the conviction that there was no longer an unlimited time before the African nations would achieve independence. Education had to expand by making available secondary and higher facilities on a much larger scale than formerly to prepare a leadership class.³⁹

³⁸"A Simple Explanation of the Self-governing Schools," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.69 (April - September 1944), pp.74-5.

³⁹The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 made available to the colonies some £5½ millions for development projects and research. From 1940 until Independence in 1962 Uganda benefitted by some £9.8 millions through these C.D. and W. Schemes. (Williams, Op. Cit., p.85.)

1934 was the Reverend A.P. Bottomley's first year as headmaster. His staff included Mr. B.L. Bowers (short-term mission teacher prior to doing degree work at Cambridge), Mr. S.W. Wanambwa (Senior African Master planning to begin ordination studies in the near future), Miss F. Cooper (honorary missionary who came to Nabumali High School encouraged by E.B. Bull), Mr. S.K. Bitamazire (in charge of the E.V. department), Mr. E.M. Sali (Nabumali's band master who in 1934 began a sixteen year term of service at the school), Mr. Y. Mukasa (a Makerere graduate) plus four other teachers who taught in the E.V. section and carpentry work. In spite of the Shs.10,000/- debt which Bottomley inherited, an ambitious building programme was undertaken. By rigidly enforcing fee payment⁴⁰ Bottomley was able to pay off the debt and with the £1,300 Government grant⁴¹ he financed the expansion and recurrent costs.

When Bull left, a primary technical scheme had been proposed for Nabumali with a general course reaching up to Middle II. This scheme

⁴⁰In the second term of 1934 123 pupils were sent home for fees.

⁴¹The 1934 Government grant consisted of £750 for the Middle School and £550 for the Junior Secondary School. This latter grant was continued for 1934 and 1935 even though the Junior Secondary section had been closed - a clear indication that the 1933 closure was not for financial reasons. These two grants, totalling Shs.26,000/- were divided as follows: Shs.12,000/- for Bottomley's and Bower's salaries (the C.M.S. added a further Shs.11,170/- to the travel, salary and out-fitting costs of these two staff members), Shs.2,000/- were allocated to staff housing and Shs.12,000/- for school upkeep. (Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Upper Nile Diocese, 1934 Summation of Government Grants to Nabumali H.S., Girls' School and Elgon Girls' Training School at Kabwangasi (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued; Minutes of the Advisory Council on Native Education, 1934 and 1935 Summations of Estimated Government Grants to Nabumali by the Protectorate Government (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

Bottomley followed even though the Government had not given its official sanction. Only six boys passed through to Budo for Junior Secondary work, while the rest went back to their villages to 'help raise the standards there', Bottomley observed caustically and hopefully in his annual report.⁴² The football team had a more positive year, however, with an unbeaten record under the leadership of Messrs. Bitamazire, Kai'zi, and Bottomley. Right from the beginning Bottomley took a clear, hard line with pupil offenders. The October 1934 food strike meant that twenty five boys were caned, while secretive boy-girl meetings led to expulsion and suspension for six. After his experiences at St. John's at Leatherhead, Bottomley was convinced that a good school must have strong discipline. The first year ended with the traditional 'breaking-up' feast to which staff, the parish priest, Old Boys, local chiefs and important guests were invited. A whole ox was devoured plus generous 'mountains' of matoke, rice, bread and sauce.

Bottomley, in comparison with Bull and Mathers, was young and inexperienced. In many ways he came to Nabumali without a philosophy of education (being only twenty nine when he took over the headship), but over the years he made Nabumali and Nabumali made him. He had a deep personal interest in each individual student, particularly his older boys, while in later years he became a strong proponent of girls education.⁴³

⁴² A.P. Bottomley, "Headmaster's Annual Report," December 1, 1934 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁴³ In 1936 there were no girls enrolled in middle schools in Uganda inspite of the pressure to advance girls' education. (Annual Report, 1936 (Department of Education, Uganda), Appendix V (C), p.47.)

Bishop Usher Wilson describes Bottomley as being a perfectionist for law and order and tidiness. This reflected itself in such things as his Saturday morning inspections of dormitories and his dislike for Mathers' annual exhibition cluttering up the school compound. Students remember him as being honest and approachable, but blunt and sharp in his manner. He never minced his words, but said what was on his mind. This quality was a source of strength and weakness in his dealings with the school's problems. His bluntness meant that the students knew where they stood with him, and if the headmaster said something then they knew that he meant it. On the other hand, the African has as one of his qualities the ability to be 'gentle' in conversation and social contact. He enjoys talking, even if there is nothing definite to talk about. Bottomley in later years refused to have speech days because he did not appreciate their value. His African staff, many of them having graduated from Budo where speech days were the rule, disagreed with him. The chiefs and parents of the Nabumali community were used to Archdeacon Mathers constantly consulting them and having 'barazas' - and these they felt had kept them in touch with the life and policy of the school and church. After Mathers left there was no one who continued this tradition, and misunderstanding and uncertainty crept into the minds of the people towards the headmaster and his policy towards the Bagishu. One Old Girl summed up the ambivalence of feeling towards Bottomley when she said that students "like him very much when he was on leave, but unhappy when he was back."⁴⁴ But underlying this sharp manner Bottomley had the warmth of

⁴⁴Interview with Mrs. F. Barlow, Mrs. F. Nekyon, Mrs. E. Mugerwa, Mrs. J. Aryada, and Mrs. J. Wasikye (all Old Girls), on September 14, 1968 at Kampala.

personal interest in and involvement with the people with whom he was working. This warmth had as its basis a deep, but tolerant, conviction that the real meaning of life is discovered in a personal faith in Christ. It was very important to Bottomley that the right 'tone' prevailed in the headmaster-staff-student relationship, and this 'tone' was best maintained if the school chapel, and what it represented, was at the centre of the life of the school community.

Enrolment at Nabumali increased in 1935 to 160 and to 180 in the following year. The school was still being run as an agricultural-technical institution⁴⁵ but throughout these years pressure was exerted on the Director of Education to restart the junior secondary work.⁴⁶ Considerable communal work was done by the students on such projects as road construction between the boys and girls schools, repair of school equipment, making of wooden beds for the dormitories, levelling of a football field, and construction of a cobb dormitory, later called Banks Dormitory.⁴⁷ With funds collected by chiefs another new dormitory

⁴⁵In 1936 the handwork timetable included: repairing and making nets for football goals, rope-making, mat-making, work in the school garden, carpentry, brick-making, building, laying out of dormitory gardens, knitting, and the school band. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1936 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

⁴⁶Elgon Technical School in 1936 had fifty seven pupils in training as carpenters and masons. It was felt that Nabumali could concentrate on a more academic programme rather than duplicate Elgon Technical School.

⁴⁷This building is now used as the school dispensary and the senior girls study block.

called Apolo was constructed in 1936 with a staff room at one end and another dormitory for the young boys called Tucker House.⁴⁸

Co-education was a much discussed subject in educational circles during the mid 1930's. At primary day schools it had been in practice for some years, particularly in the Masaba Deanery. Bishop Usher Wilson was a strong supporter of co-education.

I believe that the only and natural way of improving girls' education and thereby the status of womanhood generally and in particular in respect of the problem of polygamy is to train boys and girls wherever possible in the same or joint institutions, so that automatically any help given to the one is extended to the other.⁴⁹

He saw that this would lead to considerable economy of staff and increased efficiency at all levels of education, particularly girls' higher education. Experience had proven that women teachers rarely stayed very long in their teaching profession prior to marriage, certainly not long enough to become experienced and qualified to teach at higher levels, and staffing girls' higher boarding schools was still more difficult. In September 1936 Miss Foster Smith (who had started the normal work at Kabwangasi) returned to Nabumali High School and began co-educational work in the kindergarten and E.V. I classes. This was the first time that boys and girls from the High

⁴⁸The former Apolo House is now used as a temporary classroom, the sports equipment store, and the domestic science classroom. Tucker House has been converted into an art department under Mr. E. Makwasi, an Old Boy of Nabumali.

⁴⁹Bishop Usher Wilson, "The Bishop's Charge to Missionaries, September 5, 1938," The Church on the Upper Nile, Vol.II, No.12 (October 1938), p.17.

School and Girls' School were taught together.

Until 1938 the two institutions continued to be administered and financed on completely separate lines. The boys school, however, because of larger Government grants⁵⁰ and Mrs. Bottomley's strict accountancy, was rarely in debt, while the girls school with limited facilities, a constantly changing staff and few girls reaching the higher levels of education, was hard to maintain without incurring debts. The parents and chiefs were willing to help finance boys' education, but did not consider girls' education as vital. After long consultation with Bottomley, Miss Smith was able to report

In the boys' school is an excellent staff of masters qualified to teach all the higher classes. This state of affairs seemed to cry out for something to be done. Apart from the moral side - as some of us felt - it was necessary the boys and girls should see more of each other for the fuller and complete development of their personalities. What could we do? Government cannot increase the grant to the girls' school and the parents are not prepared to pay very much higher fees, although they have been raised a little We consulted as to the best way of running the school and decided that all the big girls in Classes 3, 4, 5 and 6 should go to be taught in the boys' school, and this school should be turned into a Junior School and Kindergarten with Classes 1, 2 and Kindergarten boys and girls taught by women teachers, that all the boys and girls should sleep and live as previously in their own compounds. To make communication easier the schools have been joined by a road we call Community Road, because it has been made by the boys and girls working together.⁵¹

And so each morning as of 1939 the senior girls came to the boys' school

⁵⁰In 1937 for example the Boys' School received a Middle School grant of E750 and a Central School block grant of £187.10.0 plus bursaries as required for students proceeding to Budo. The Girls' School received a Central School grant of E350 and a block grant of E75. (Statement found in unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records in the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.)

⁵¹D.M. Foster Smith, Article on Co-education at Nabumali, The Church on the Upper Nile, Vol.II, No.15 (July 1939), pp.12-14.

for instruction while the junior and kindergarten pupils went to the Girls' School to be taught by women teachers better suited and trained to work with young children. In the afternoon the senior girls would receive instruction in domestic science, sewing, knitting, native hand-craft, hygiene, Guides, drill, singing, laundry work and cultivation at the Girls' School. This amalgamation made English available to all levels of the school, the finances were improved for the girls, Bottomley acted as Headmaster and Miss Foster Smith as Headmistress, and the newly appointed Board of Governors had charge of both sites. By 1939 six girls had reached the Form 5 level (called higher education for girls in 1939) and this was considered a historic event in the advance of girls' education in the Eastern Province.⁵²

During 1934 the Girls' School was under the leadership of Miss Cooper and then Miss Good took over again when she returned from furlough in 1935. On Palm Sunday, 1934, a girls' school chapel was opened⁵³ and on July 4th, 1936, Archdeacon Mathers laid the foundation stone for the permanent main school building, financed by gifts from chiefs and a small Government grant. Miss Cooper described the October 2nd official opening:

The whole school entered the building on a Friday morning in procession singing 'Now thank we all our God.' . . . That night they had a feast in the new building, and were allowed to ask a few friends. They were mostly High School masters and their wives and the native parson. . . . Folk dancing followed. Mr. Wanambwa, tall and looking like a kangaroo, joined in without knowing what to do. Great clapping and enjoyment. . . . Hymns and prayers ended the evening.⁵⁴

⁵²F. Cooper - her family, February 12, 1939, Private Correspondence 1932-46, by her kind permission.

⁵³Built by labourers made available by Government.

⁵⁴Cooper, Op. Cit., October 12, 1936.

Early in 1937 Miss E. Good left to be married and Miss Foster Smith, just recently returned to Nabumali after having spent four years at Kabwangasi starting the Girls' Normal work there, took over the Girls' School. Several major projects were undertaken in 1937: the girls began construction on a permanent school chapel and a nursery building.⁵⁵ The kitchen and another dormitory were rebuilt, the whole school compound was redesigned, and a playing field was started. At the end of that year fifteen girls left the school from Primary 4 and 5 to begin further training at such places as the Namirembe Maternity Training School, the Mengo and Mulago Nurses Training Schools, Buloba Primary Normal School, Kabwangasi Vernacular Normal School, and several returned to Nabumali as untrained teachers.⁵⁶

The demand for places at the Girls' School was very great during the late 1930's but dormitory facilities limited the intake and constant turn-over of staff kept the school dependent on European supervision. A new kindergarten building was completed in February, 1939,⁵⁷ and it was planned that the Girls' School should be developed more in the direction of the Boys' School site, but this decision was reversed in 1945-6 when two dormitories were constructed on the east side of the school compound. More and more of the girls remained at the school for Classes 4 and 5, and in 1939 Aganesi Anyango was the first girl to pass into Class 6.

⁵⁵This is the long, narrow dining hall south of the main building.

⁵⁶Nabumali Girls' School Log Book, 1937 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁵⁷The old kindergarten is presently being used as a furniture store.

The Masaba Guide Company had over the years played an important role in the life of the school, acting as a training ground for the school's prefects. In 1939 the prefect system was replaced by a patrol system of senior girls having in their charge a patrol of younger pupils. In many respects the Guide Company members were the most mature and capable girls of the school. The Nabumali and Nyondo Companies frequently carried out joint patrols and exercises, the highlight of these exercises being a visit in 1941 by Lady Baden Powell.

During 1940 and 1941, after the amalgamation of the Girls' and Boys' Schools, there were many more contacts between the staff and pupils of the two schools. Staff from the Boys' School assisted in games at both schools, the girls avidly attended the football matches of the 1st XI, the schools participated in communal work, singing and competitions, and the end of term concerts and feasts became the social highlights of the year. In May 1940 Miss Dorothy Ruffell took over as headmistress, and as the Boys' School phased out its primary pupils, the Girls' School took in more day pupils, mostly boys, to maintain balanced co-educational classes. In 1942 there were forty three day pupils at the Girls' School and of the eighty girl boarders forty one went to the Boys' School for instruction.

The Reverend and Mrs. Bottomley went on furlough in 1937 and the school was left under the leadership of Miss F. Cooper and Mr. S.W. Wanambwa.⁵⁸ During this year Nabumali High School enrolment, for the

⁵⁸Wanambwa, the Senior African Master, had joined Nabumali staff in 1931. He was a keen Christian, untiring in his work for the school and the parish. Even under stress he rarely showed the pressure, but rather

first time, went over 200.

Early in September 1938 the Local Governing Body of the N.A.C. and C.M.S. of the Upper Nile Diocese asked Bottomley to draw up a memorandum for the appointment of a Board of Governors for Nabumali High School. It was felt that a Board of Governors would enable a closer connection to be maintained between the church and school. Dougall explained the importance of Boards of Governors in mission secondary schools.

. . . they allow the general policy of control by the Native Church to proceed as rapidly as possible, without touching the integrity or autonomy of special schools in respect to staff or policy; they also give African leaders a share in and understanding of the distinctive aims of Christian higher education. The missionary character of these schools depends somewhat on the careful constitution of these boards. There is no difficulty in giving the African in Uganda a strong place alongside representatives of Government, Mission and staff.⁵⁹

On September 16th a constitution defining the powers and duties of

accepted still greater responsibility. His holidays were spent in parent visitation or church work. He travelled to Kenya purely to satisfy his curiosity about conditions there, and this brought him to the attention of Government officials. In 1941 he was appointed as Gombolola Chief and then later as Secretary General of Bugishu Native Administration. His connection with Nabumali continued for many years as an elected member of the Board of Governors and as a political figure involved in the strong local feelings towards Nabumali High School and its headmaster in the 1950's.

For Miss Cooper the year 1937 was her 'Golden Year' in that it gave her a full opportunity to express her interest in and concern for the welfare of the students in her charge. When she originally came to Uganda she had thought that educational work was not missionary work.

I have certainly changed my mind since then, and thoroughly believe in my work. I believe we have just wonderful chances of simply moulding the character of these boys and girls, who are indeed so receptive and impressionable. (F. Cooper - her family, February 12, 1939, Private Correspondence 1932-46, by her kind permission.)

She had a positive attitude which was fully in harmony with her involvement in student life.

⁵⁹Dougall, Op. Cit., p.213.

this Board was accepted by the Local Governing Body of the Diocese and on the 24th the first meeting of the Nabumali Board of Governors was held at the school. Its membership had been appointed by the Bishop in consultation with the Local Governing Body and consisted of three ex-officio members (the secretary of the mission, the education secretary of the mission, the rural dean of Masaba), the Provincial Commissioner, the District Commissioner, the headmaster, two African clergy, two members of the Board of Education of the Diocese, one Old Boy, two chiefs, and one African master.⁶⁰ These members could hold office for three years and be re-appointed.

The Boards powers and duties were defined to be:

1. Shall frame rules for its own and the school's guidance.
2. Shall receive annual inspector's and headmaster's reports.
3. Shall approve annual budget, accounts, capital expenditures, fees, building plans.
4. May ammend constitution by 3/4 vote of members present.
5. The Bishop with the Local Governing Body shall always hold power of veto.

The headmaster's authority and rights were defined as

. . . freedom of action in the conduct and discipline of the school, and shall be personally responsible for fostering and maintaining a high spiritual standard and ideal of service amongst the pupils in the school. He will seek to build up the lives of boys in the Christian Faith with the hope that they become leaders and workers

⁶⁰Present at the first meeting were: Bishop Usher Wilson in the chair, the Provincial Commissioner, the District Commissioner of Mbale, Archdeacon Mathers, the Reverend Canon Zake, the Reverends Rampley, Kabiri, and Bottomley, Messrs. Were, Madaba, Wanambwa, Kaumi and Mudanye. (Minutes of the Board of Governors of Nabumali High School, September 24, 1958 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

in the task of extending the Kingdom of Christ in Africa.⁶¹

At the same time it was acknowledged by the Board that "Nothing in the above [rights and duties] shall be deemed to override the provisions of the Education Ordinance of the Protectorate, or the Policy of the Diocese."⁶²

This Board governed Nabumali until the Self-governing Schools Regulations of 1943 were instituted. It is significant to note that two Government officials were included in this original constitution as well as at least five African members, possibly more, out of a total of eleven official members. When compared with the Board set up by the Government in 1943 it is readily evident that Government placed less value on the Africanization of such bodies.

Much of the satisfaction of the Nabumali parents and community, the school was allowed to have a Secondary 3 class in 1939 (comparable to the Junior Secondary section of 1932-33). There were now 218 boys enrolled and Shs.29,000/- in fees were collected, compared with 125 boys and Shs.13,000/- in 1934.⁶³ The terms Elementary Vernacular and Middle

⁶¹Minutes of the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese, September 16, 1938 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Nabumali High School Fees in 1939:

		Regular Pupils	Children of Teachers and Pastors
Secondary	(boys)	Shs.200/- p.a.	Shs.150/- p.a.
Primary 5-6	(boys)	Shs.175/- p.a.	Shs.125/- p.a.
	(girls)	Shs. 75/- p.a.	Shs. 50/- p.a.
Pre Primary 5	(boys)	Shs.150/- p.a.	Shs.100/- p.a.
	(girls)	Shs. 60/- p.a.	Shs. 40/- p.a.

(Minutes of the Board of Governors of Nabumali High School, September 24, 1938 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

School had been dropped in 1937 and in their place the terms Primary 1 to 6 and Secondary 1 to 6 were being used.⁶⁴ In 1938 Nabumali was offering Primary 1 to 6 plus Secondary 1 and 2. Starting with 1939 Primary 1 and 2 were dropped, and each year a secondary year was added so that in 1943 the school was offering Primary 3 to 6 and Secondary 1 to 6 - a full secondary institution.

With the addition of a secondary year each year staff requirements increased. Several Old Boys joined the staff - Mr. George Mudebo in 1939, Mr. M. Kidimu in 1940, Mr. E.M. Mutenga and Mr. Y. Aryada in 1942. These four masters, all Makerere graduates, were to form the basis of the secondary work until the late 1940's. Two of their colleagues in the primary department, Messrs. E.M. Sali and Y. Kisala, provided the same stability for this department. The war prevented regular leave to Europe by the mission personnel and so there were few changes. Miss Dorothy Foster Smith retired to South Africa in 1940 to be replaced by Miss Dorothy Ruffell, a history M.A. with experience in South Africa and India. Mr. Kingsley Wood who had come in late 1938 and had so successfully organized the 'Thursday Community Work' joined the military services in 1940 and Dr. J.B. Miles from West Africa and Maseno came to build up a much needed science department. Except for a year spent teaching ordinands at Buwalasi, Miss Frances Cooper continued to teach music, art and English while the headmaster and his wife taught English, administered, and looked after the school accounts.

⁶⁴These twelve years of school led up to the Cambridge School Certificate "O" level examinations.

During the week of October 20-25, 1941 a Government inspection team carried out a very thorough evaluation of the work, facilities and staff of Nabumali's secondary section prior to the granting of self-governing status in January 1944. Bottomley later confessed that he felt that the sense of duty of His Majesty's inspectors was 'over-developed', but this made the compliments which followed doubly gratifying. They expressed their pleasure with the 'spirit of self-help' which prevailed in the school as well as the well organized sports activities and the introduction of hockey in 1936. They recommended a grant for a science laboratory (developed by Dr. Miles) and approved the extension of the secondary range to Secondary 5 in 1942.

The inspection report gave a detailed picture of life at the school in 1941. The primary and secondary sections, except for the residential facilities and agricultural work, were run very separate from each other. There were sixty pupils from thirteen tribes⁶⁵ in the four secondary classes, but only one of these pupils was a girl. The remaining forty odd girls who came to the Boys' School for instruction were still in the primary years. These pupils, plus those from primary schools at Buwalasi, Ngora, Budaka, Kisoko and Iganga, were the material from which Nabumali secondary entrants were chosen.

The daily timetable of seven teaching period was preceded by periods of drill and singing and followed by games and agricultural work. The

⁶⁵Tribal Analysis Secondary Pupils at Nabumali High School 1941:

Bagishu	19	Muganda	1	Acholi	1	Moru	1
Badama	5	Basoga	9	Bagwere	2		
Basamya	5	Munyoro	1	Kikuyu	1		
Banyuli	7	Bateso	7	Dinka	1		

agricultural work was under Mr. Wenambwa and consisted of strip cropping down the slopes of Nabumali ridge to the spring on the east and south sides of the compound. Cotton was planted in co-operation with the Nabumali Primary Vernacular Day School. Food crop plots were on the slopes behind the staff houses to the west of the school. Handwork was timetabled for the Secondary 1 and 2 classes for three hours per week (chair-making, sisal work, carpentry, school band⁶⁶) while the senior secondary classes used their handwork time of one and a half hours per week to pursue various hobbies (mat-making, typewriting). Each day began with compulsory quiet times and prayers and ended at 9:15 p.m. in a similar manner.⁶⁷

Though 1942 and 1943 were poor cotton years, and this was reflected in the number of pupils, several much-needed projects were undertaken. A science laboratory, the school's first, was begun with the promised Government grant of F600 and was first used in September 1942 though war-time shipping prevented some of the equipment from reaching the school. Another project undertaken was a school community work scheme of levelling

⁶⁶The Nabumali School Band had a bugle, drum and brass section, and throughout his years at Nabumali Mr. Sali was in charge. The Band played on speech days, weddings and public functions in Mbale.

⁶⁷School Timetable 1941:

	<u>Scrip.</u>	<u>Maths.</u>	<u>Hist.</u>	<u>Geo.</u>	<u>Science</u>	<u>Luganda</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Handwork</u>
Sec.I	5	6	4	4	4	2	9	4
Sec.II	5	6	4	4	4	2	9	4
Sec.III	5	6	4	4	5	2	10	2
Sec.IV	5	6	4	4	5	2	10	2

The Scripture periods were twenty minutes in length and the balance were between forty to forty five minutes. On Wednesday and Friday double periods were used for tests.

a football pitch in front of the main school hall.⁶⁸ On June 24th, 1943 it was used for the first time with a match between the Old Boys and the 1st XI versus the Jinja African Football Association team. Archdeacon Mathers started the event with a kick-off and the first goal scored was by Mr. G. Mudebo, the African Senior Master. The final score was 4 - 0 in Nabumali's favour.

But, on the whole, 1943 was a hard year. A severe typhoid epidemic in the first term disrupted the school and led to the death of Kigenya from the secondary section. The term ended a week early with yet another threat - famine. Pupils returned for the second term bringing with them nearly 2,000 pounds of food. This supplemented by a ton of groundnuts which the headmaster had been able to procure at Jinja and a ration of local food saw the school through another term. During the last term a diet of famine maize meal (posho) had to be resorted to, but in spite of this the spirit in the school, so important to the headmaster, remained high and both the Bugishu and Bugwere Football Cups were won by Nabumali as well as the District Sports Meet in Mbale. At the end of the year five Nabumali students received Senior Secondary Certificates and eleven, including Aganesi Anyango, the first Nabumali girl to do so, passed the Junior Secondary Leaving Examination. In the Primary Leaving Examination thirty five pupils from surrounding feeder schools were accepted for

⁶⁸This football pitch was located on the site of the present-day chapel and tennis courts. Prior to 1934 this had been the location of the headmaster's residence, built by Purvis in 1904.

secondary entrance and among them were Faisi Gutosi and Florence Kabiri from the Girls' Boarding School who had the best results of all the candidates.

At the end of this year the Reverend Bottomley completed his tenth year as headmaster. In the school log book he recorded his

. . . gratitude to God for ten happy years of most enjoyable work, years which I venture to hope have yielded some fruit to God's glory and the welfare of Uganda. These years could not have been so happy had it not been for the unswerving loyalty of the staff. Their faithfulness and love of the school have been a feature of the past decade, and it is largely due to them that the school now has a tradition of service which I dare to say is second to none among the schools of Uganda.⁶⁹

During the 1920's Nabumali High School was struggling to survive, and even in the early years of Bottomley's leadership this survival was not guaranteed. But, by 1943, the institution had left the protection of the mission organization, had been accepted by the Government as the leading institution of the Eastern Province, had ended its flirtation with technical and agricultural syllabi, had become a senior school with a largely academic bias, and had a Board of Governors independent to a considerable degree of both mission and Government control. The future held great promise for Nabumali, but the responsibility for realizing these promises had been largely placed, by the development of the past decade, onto the shoulders of the Board of Governors and the headmaster. The Government and the Foundation Body would now look on critically, anticipating results.

⁶⁹Nabumali High School Log Book, 1943 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

CHAPTER VII

YEARS OF TENSION

Nabumali High School was now one of eight select secondary institutions separated, by very generous Government grants, from the missionary sphere of work and thought in which it had developed. In 1944, out of a total of £95,237 paid by Government to all aided African schools, these eight received £28,528.¹ Government financial support to Nabumali increased phenomenally - a hundred-fold between 1938 and 1950.² With such an inflow of secular funds it would be very difficult indeed for the institution to remain what it had become in the late 1930's. The process of separation between church and school, which had its roots in the 1934 to 1943 period, would now make itself felt more deeply in school policy and programme, that is, unless, a very strong Board of Governors, headmaster and staff could and wished to counter-act this change.

Government, of course, expectantly watched for a "commensurate advance in education standards"³ to justify these increasing grants. It was accepted that advance could only come as the facilities and staff

¹Annual Report, 1944 (Department of Education, Uganda), pp.19-20.

²Nabumali High School Log Book, 1938-50 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued; Nabumali Girls' School Log Book, 1938-50 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued; Minutes of the Nabumali High School Board of Governors, 1938-50 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued; Accounts of Nabumali High School, 1941, found in unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records of the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.

³Annual Report, 1943 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.7.

were radically improved. The Self-governing Scheme had been accepted as a "venture in trust" by which Government "through a minority but influential representation on the governing bodies of such schools" would "share in their management and in the formation of policy, making this effective through greatly increased grants, recurrent and capital."⁴ In the years which followed Government frequently asked whether the increased expenditure was worth it, and not only Government, but also other sections of the educational system asked this question. But once this scheme had been accepted and initiated by Government it would have been almost impossible to withdraw from it, because, these selected schools were the institutions which produced the African leaders who by the 1950's had become the spokesmen for rapid development towards independence, and they would never accept a withdrawal by Government from a commitment which was geared to help prepare the nation for self-government.

According to J.W.C. Dougall's description of a mission station's development into a public institution, Nabumali was now separating from the welfare and development of the church and establishing its own identity as an educational institution.⁵ The Board of Governors, acting independently, rather than under the Local Governing Body of the mission, initiated plans for the development of the school - plans subject to Government approval now that Government was paying the bill. Religious instruction

⁴Ibid., p.7.

⁵J.W.C. Dougall, "The Relationship of the Church and School in Africa," International Review of Missions, Vol.xxvi, No.102 (April 1937), pp.212-213.

now became only a 'subject' on the timetable, though admittedly an extremely important subject because the staff still treated it as the core of the school's purpose and philosophy. Government now required teachers (Government paid employees) to give all aspects of the curriculum equal recognition. Recruitment of staff was carried out by both the Government and foundation body of the school, with the result that the teachers employed considered themselves members of a secular profession eligible for civil servant benefits and status. Church workers were separated into a class of their own, popularly considered to be economically and socially inferior. Interference by church personnel, like the parish vicar or even the Bishop, in school affairs (a practice quite natural to those who throughout the past years had been actively involved in education as a function of the church) was resented and regarded with suspicion. The public in the more developed areas even viewed church involvement as a retrograde sign, while increased Government involvement meant progress.⁶ This type of evolution occurred at Nabumali High School, but not, of course, overnight. Nabumali remained a C.M.S. foundation school in the eyes of the Board of Governors, the headmaster, a portion of the staff and part of the public for some time to come, and even to some degree in the late 1960's.

⁶H.B. Ledbury and J.J. Willis, in their evaluation of the evolution of a mission station, would have called this Nabumali's 'pastoral work stage'. The work of the church now approximated very nearly the pastoral work of a church in England, for example, and the schools were no longer locked upon as the means of evangelism. Even the local church was no longer under the exclusive control of the Board of Missions. Education, rather than being provided by the church worker, was a skill the potential convert was assumed to possess.

By 1944 Nabumali had established a tradition as being a church-oriented, academic, Christian boarding school. Indirectly Nabumali had been patterned on the English public school. Uganda, in the post World War II years, was in search of a middle class leader class, a prerequisite for any democratic self-governing nation. Until the country could provide its own middle class leaders an imported corps of leaders was needed. The British civil servant and the missionary were, in most cases, the products of the English public school, and therefore it is not surprising that they would wish to pattern the future Ugandan leaders on that which was familiar to them. A public school education in Great Britain was the key to entering or remaining in the middle, white-collar, professional class. Furthermore, colonial educational policy, based on the 1925 White Paper, accepted the need for character training, Christian character training, according to the public school 'gentleman' pattern. Lugard had been adamant in his statements that the best way to train African leaders was through a Christian boarding school situation which exposed the student to a dedicated staff, sports and competitive activities, the monitorial system, a Christian ethic, a community life which expected of its members truthfulness, courage, self-control, honesty, the ability to win and lose, good manners, honour, loyalty, integrity, self-respect without vanity, obedience and fairness.⁷ This was very much a public

⁷F.D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London: 1923), pp.432-33.

school pattern.⁸

The proto-type for all C.M.S. higher schools in Uganda and the institution against which they compared themselves, in the past and present, was King's School, Budo. This was the 'Eton' or 'Harrow' of Uganda. Bottomley, however, denied that Nabumali High School was an up-country replica of Budo. It was a school in its own right, first and foremost, and only then a reflection of its surrounding influences.⁹

It would be very hard to evaluate whether Nabumali ever succeeded in becoming comparable to an English public school institution, because it had neither the time nor the continuity to establish a tradition of its own. The lack of tradition, however, had a positive side to it as well in that Nabumali had not adopted the weaknesses of the public school such as conformity, class consciousness, stuffiness, being out of touch with the times or reactionary, reproductive of a specific class, or inward-looking. On the surface it presented a public school image - house system, prefects, games, Christian gentlemen ethic and character goal - but underneath it is much too bound up with the present and the changing Ugandan scene to allow a valid evaluation.

The one public school characteristic which Nabumali rapidly adopted

⁸E. Lucas, *English Traditions in East African Education* (London: 1959), p.20. Professor Lucas described the institution of self-governing status for selected schools as a "return to the sound English system of independent schools relying on local interest and advice and governing their own affairs, although financially dependent upon government, local and central."

⁹Interview with A.P. Bottomley, December 17-18, 1968 at Clevedon, Somerset, U.K.

in the early 1940's was a literary-academic bias (a quality it has not lost since then). Why did this happen inspite of the efforts of mission and Government personnel to provide a manual-training, respect-for-labour-and-land curriculum?

. . . literary education afford the key to all advancement in the country, and the native takes note of such facts as that the man with the literary training is highly paid and well treated, and that the Europeans themselves are seldom employed in merely manual occupations.¹⁰

The African resented any attempt to force on him an agricultural, hand-craft type of education because education for him was, and is, the means by which he breaks out of his past and reaches for the future. The argument that Uganda is an agricultural nation is precisely a reason for, and not against, his desire for a literary education. Teachers may strive genuinely and idealistically to instil respect for manual labour by word and example, but try as they might, they themselves remain examples of the benefits of book-learning. The African pupil and parent are realists who invest their time and money in that which shows the best return.

In the late 1930's and the whole of the 1940's mission-Government relations were at a low ebb. After years of relative inactivity, Government actively stepped into the field of education with its implementation of the de la Warr Report (a distinctly anti-mission report) and the Thomas Report (published three years later and much more accommodating towards the missions). The tension came into the open in 1943 when missions

¹⁰J.J. Uganda, "The Bishop's Charge: After Fifty Years," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.2 (April 1926), p.49.

objected to Government attempts to re-constitute the Advisory Council; fortunately a compromise solution was reached. Immediately after that the Protestant Mission charged the Government with having changed the agreed upon name 'Diocesan School' to 'Self-governing School' without having consulted the Advisory Council. An appeal to insert 'church' into the name of these self-governing schools was also turned down. Director of Education, Jowitt, already dissatisfied with the mission attitude that the Government should finance the whole of the Select Secondary School Scheme without in return receiving any increase in authority, retorted that the word 'church' created administrative difficulties in Government relations with Indian and Muslim institutions, and he insisted that the Thomas Commission as well as the Advisory Council for African Education were 'advisory'. It was up to the Chief Executive to decide what advice should be accepted or refused. He resented the mission implication that Government was not to be trusted. The Bishop of the Protestant Mission promptly assured the Government that the latter was not the case.¹¹

In November 1943 Jowitt submitted his "Outline Scheme of Development for African Education 1944-54". This scheme proposed that within twenty five years all children between six and ten would be enrolled in school, and within fifty years all children between ages six and twelve. The development of such a scheme, Jowitt reaffirmed, would be carried

¹¹C.M.S. Namirembe - Hooper (C.M.S. London), September 10, 1943, unsorted correspondence marked "Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives" (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

out using Government and mission facilities, with Government initiated development occurring only in areas not already occupied by the missions. The system was to be complementary, and not competitive. The staff would be trained by both mission and Government training centres. The scheme also proposed that the African must be drawn more fully into responsibility in the Local Education Authorities. For the teachers a 'Government' salary scale and certification process would be set up, plus a long overdue pension scheme. Girls education, educational development outside of Buganda, and further education for returning soldiers were to receive special attention in this scheme. More specifically, it was intended that within these ten years, 1944-54, one hundred sub-grade schools per year would be chosen with mission recommendation for Government aid. Enrolment in Government-aided schools was to be increased from 90,000 to 247,000 and the number of African teachers was to be increased from 3,514 to 9,557, and six teacher training centres, four secondary schools and two technical schools were to be built.¹² All this was planned without consulting the missions!

The Bishop of the Upper Nile protested that

such an important piece of planning should have been sent to the Colonial Office without any attempt whatsoever at co-operation with the Church and Mission authorities . . . It is the antithesis of the need for co-operative efforts which figure so frequently in the Director of Education's introductory commentary.¹³

¹²Uganda Protectorate, Outline Scheme for Development for African Education, 1944-54 (Entebbe: November 1943), p.5. This report was revised in October 1944.

¹³Bishop of the Upper Nile, "Memorandum on 'Outline Scheme of Development for African Education,'" unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records from the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.

But what else could the mission do beside protest?

In September of 1944 Mr. G.C. Turner, the Principal of Makerere College, in addressing the Missionaries Conference (C.M.S.) warned that increasing public payment 'must' mean increasing public control. What the missions must be ready to do is to have a really co-operative attitude towards non-mission schools and training centres. If they would regard these as unwanted rivals, created by an unfriendly Government to infringe upon their monopoly in education then they would be hindering the true cause of education in Uganda. It was up to the missions to use their Christian influence through their Christian teachers to leaven rather than dominate the educational system. His speech ended with what might well be considered a veiled threat. He said that the mission's institutions were not in danger, and would not be in danger so long as the missions maintained them at a level which will assure African parents that, besides the advantage of a professedly Christian society, they provide a sound school education.

In 1945 an already sensitive situation was further aggravated by the ex-Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province, Mr. Dauncey Tongue, charging that the missions already held much too much land and Government should not allow the alienation of further land.¹⁴ When the Government attempted to establish greater control in the realm of land tenure, the

¹⁴Dauncey Tongue, "Memoranda from P.C. Eastern Province No.15/44 of 28/12/44 and 19/3/45," found in file marked "Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives" (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

Secretary of the C.M.S. sent a long letter of protest to the Land Officer and ended it by saying:

The N.A.C. as in the past is anxious to co-operate with the Government in educational matters, but will not lightly accept being dictated to as to the manner in which it may co-operate as is suggested over the subject of land tenure. As democratic partners the N.A.C. agree that a formula can be devised which will be acceptable both to them and the Government. A caveat is entered here however, that while the N.A.C. may accept new conditions re. tenure for its subsidiary institutions, i.e. schools and hospitals, and particularly where capital funds are provided by Government, its approach to the subject will be coloured by the Government's attitude to the granting of freehold rights for land to accommodate Churches and Clergy and catechists houses.¹⁵

Earlier in the year, Archdeacon Mathers, having for many years been in Busoga and the Elgon Districts, commented sharply on Dauncey Tongue's implication that the missions were more foreign than the Government or less interested in the native's welfare.

The grants are not made to the Missions but to the N.A.C. which is administered mainly by Africans on behalf of their church and is therefore not alienated. The land is less alienated by the Church than that by the Government.¹⁶

About Mr. Tongue's second Memorandum Mathers commented:

The Bagishu are not so suspicious of the Church (N.A.) as they are of the Government. . . . We the missionaries co-operate with the Administration for the uplift of the people. The only difference is that we do it in a more philanthropic way and with closer co-operation with the Africans.¹⁷

¹⁵Secretary (C.M.S.) Namirembe - Land Officer, Entebbe, October 31, 1945, Ibid.

¹⁶H. Mathers, "Memorandum on Dauncey Tongue Memorandum of December 28, 1944," Ibid.

¹⁷H. Mathers, "Memorandum on Dauncey Tongue Memorandum of March 19, 1945," Ibid.

In 1946 another "Development Plan for Uganda" was prepared, published and became known as the Worthington Plan. The Education Secretary General of the Protestant Mission sent a memorandum to the Director of Education deploring that "plans and reports which, compiled at the expense of considerable time and trouble, only became so much waste paper as their successors are announced."¹⁸ This was the sixth plan in nine years and no real attempt had been made to carry out any of the recommendations except for the Thomas Report which had led to the establishment of the self-governing schools, the reconstitution of the Advisory Council and the devolution of authority onto the L.E.A.'s, and the de la Warr Report's impact on the development of Makerere into a higher institution. The Secretary pointed out the absence of any clear directives in respect to teacher training, provision for replacement of existing school facilities now requiring replacement because of age, and the lack of a national agriculture education policy.¹⁹ Further, the Secretary continued, Government public statements about mass education and standards comparable to European levels were utterly unfounded and a source of false expectations and unrest. "Uganda has suffered too long in both Government and Mission by having no plan

¹⁸"Progress Plan for Secondary Education (de la Warr)" - 1937
 "Five Year Plan drawn up by Department, Districts and Missions separately" - 1939
 "Report on African Education Committee (Thomas)" - 1940
 "Ten Year Outline Scheme for Development (Jowitt)" - 1943
 "Joint Report on Post-war Development - 1944"
 "Development Plan for Uganda (Worthington)" - 1946

¹⁹Each Director of Education or Agricultural Officer instituted his own policy.

because of there having been too many plans."²⁰

But this was not the last of this unhappy exchange. On August 18th, 1948 the Acting Director of Education, N.A. Snoxall, announced to the Education Secretaries General of all the missions that the recently revised Worthington Plan now meant that there would be "drastic curtailment of present service" affecting particularly grants to African schools, self-governing schools, and a severe reduction in the number of teachers coming from training centres. The intake for 1949 in teacher training centres would be nil (except for Makerere and junior secondary training work) and in 1950 and 1951 the total output would not be more than 200 for the whole country, a figure not even adequate to account for wastage, let alone expansion.²¹ This curtailment announcement also indicated that all Grade C vernacular teachers would be dismissed without gratuity regardless of years of service because they had to make room for better qualified teachers. It also meant that the present second year Grade C students would have to be told several weeks before their final examinations that they would have to train for another year - a syllabus for which would have to be produced on equally short notice.

The reason for these cut-backs was Entebbe's (Government headquarters) stringent budget and the operation of an education department

²⁰"Memorandum by Education Secretary General of Protestant Missions to Director of Education re. Worthington Plan - 1947," file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C.", (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

²¹N.A. Snoxall, Acting Director of Education - Education Secretary Generals of all Missions, August 18, 1948 (mimeographed circular), Ibid.

purely on a year-by-year basis. Because the full impact of earlier expansion of teacher training facilities had affected the education budget at a time when the increasing costs of the self-governing schools was still making itself felt, Government radically restricted the budget of the Education Department, even though annual Government revenue was increasing by well over £1 m. per year.²² The quickest way of curtailing educational costs was to reduce the number of teachers entering the system, and even further reductions carried out behind the guise of improving the standard by withdrawing from service poorly qualified teachers.

The Education Secretary General of the C.M.S. wrote to his Bishop advising him that Director of Education Cullen's plans for development (in accordance with the Worthington Plan) had been postponed "because he refused to draw anything up until he was told the exact amount of money available."²³ Bishop Stuart replied and emphasized the implications of having the Grade C and Vernacular Teachers training programme so drastically altered.

	²² Government Revenue	Government Expenditure	Expenditure Education	Percentage of Total
1946	£ 4,053,237	3,574,194	294,372	9.381
1947	5,331,222	4,473,773	319,606	7.144
1948	6,405,030	6,530,444	459,300	6.400
1949	8,094,381	6,686,863	847,499	10.410
1950	11,036,701	8,000,380	1,045,815	8.740

(F.V. Carter, "Education in Uganda, 1894-1945" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1967), Appendix I, p.427; Annual Report, 1946-50 (Department of Education, Uganda), chapters entitled 'Finance'; K. Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda (London: 1958), pp.244, 279.)

²³S.H.H. Wright - Bishop Stuart, August 21, 1948, file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

. . . It certainly is a mess and is going to be very difficult to explain to Africans. . . . We just cannot let down the Grade C's. It would be quite scandalous.

I also agree about the Vernaculars. We must take more in next year. It is difficult to see what Entebbe is playing at. Here is the United Nations being very scornful about the amount of people that we educate. We constantly appeal for teachers and then they let us down like this.

I would say that we go full out for keeping up the number of teachers at all costs even if it means cutting down the number of Inspectors, of new buildings, yes and even Mission educationalists if necessary. We must keep faith with the African teachers. It is most serious politically too if these young men are turned out with nothing to do.²⁴

The missions were quick to realize the political danger of such a move on the part of the Government. They very quickly found themselves in the position of being mediators to whom the Africans would show first loyalty if it ever came to a break. Also it illustrated the awkward position of the mission now that Government was beginning to exercise its authority in education. Missions were in daily contact with the mass of the African students and parents, and they had to carry out a Government policy with which they at times were not in agreement. To complicate the situation still further, the missions were liasing between an increasingly independence-minded populace and a Government acting largely on a policy of cold financial pragmatism. The missions had a high opinion of the strength of African opinion and did not intend to sacrifice their relationship with the African on the altar of Government ineptitude. But much to the credit of Wright, the C.M.S. Education Secretary General, instead of just exposing Government policy for what it was, he proceeded to place the situation before the very

²⁴ Bishop Stuart - S.H.H. Wright, August 30, 1948, Ibid.

man who had revised the Worthington Plan in 1948, Sir Douglas Harris, and therefore had brought on this crisis. By September 16th Wright in writing to Calcraft commented on the fact that he felt he had made a friend of Harris who now understood the mission's difficulty.

The sharpest reaction came on September 7th. G. Calcraft, Education Secretary of the Upper Nile Diocese, wrote to the Director of Education saying:

I think it ought to be fully realized that the announcement of the suggested cuts to our Africans will place us in a very difficult position. It will be a tremendous blow to their faith in the Government's integrity; it will impose a severe strain upon our imagination and ingenuity when we try to explain how development comes to mean going backwards.²⁵

On the same day the Education Secretary General of the Roman Catholics wrote a strongly worded protest to Sir Douglas Harris, the Development Commissioner, pointing out that the Roman Catholics had developed their teacher training work with "full" Government sanction. And now, at very short notice there had been a

reversal of policy in respect of the native peoples of Central Africa. . . . We wish to put on record our disapproval of the present and retrograde policy of the Government, in such a vital matter as Education; that the Bishops have no part in it; neither have we yet dared contemplate the reactions of the African to the new plan or the repercussions that must be expected to take place in England. It is not at all sure that the Continuity of Educational

²⁵G. Calcraft - Director of Education, September 7, 1948, Ibid.

Progress in this country will be preserved.²⁶

On the same day an emergency meeting of the Roman Catholic Bishops at Nsambya was held. They concluded

We cannot deny educational opportunity to our people. We cannot tell those whom we have been encouraged by the Government to bring to our TTC's that there will be no work for them, nor can we keep vacant places in our TTC's (all opened with the full approval of Government) which have been provided for the supply of teachers to existing schools. The people have a thirst for education and it is in our view a grave matter to deny it to them. We cannot reverse engines without creating a very difficult situation.²⁷

The reaction of the Roman Catholics was harder, less yielding, but this situation threw together the N.A.C. and R.C. Churches into one camp against Government policy. Co-operation in educational development from this point on became a matter of the missions co-operating first with each other, and only then with Government. It became a regular practice for the Educational Secretary Generals of the missions to meet together the evening before important meetings with L.E.A.'s or advisory bodies to decide what approach they would jointly press on Government.²⁸ But even more important than this new alliance which came out of this crisis, was the unanimous expression of respect for African opinion. From all sides of the mission work came the same warning. This was post World War II and the African more than ever was aware of his potential rights and power.

²⁶Memorandum to Sir Douglas Harris, Development Commissioner re. the revised Education Plan by Education Secretary General of the Roman Catholic Mission, September 7, 1948, Ibid.

²⁷Report on Emergency Meeting of Roman Catholic Bishops at Nsambya, September 7, 1948, Ibid.

²⁸Interview with the Reverend K. Sharpe, October 1968, Namirembe, Kampala.

Just as in the years after World War I, when strong national feelings were released by the widened horizons of returning soldiers and students from overseas, so now after World War II a "powerful emotional awakening" was taking place.²⁹ This expressed itself in sharp independence of thought, tribal resurgence, pan-Africanism, secularism, and sensitivity to any form of prejudice. In England paternalism had been killed by the war³⁰ and among the public a sense of 'safety first' and 'let's rebuild first' prevailed rather than the desire to 'let's help the under-privileged'. The C.M.S., during this immediate post war period, found it difficult to finance its pre-war level of missionary endeavour, nor was it able to recruit educational missionaries. The lack of C.M.S. finances quickly reached Uganda and led to the sharp cut-backs proposed in the re-alignment policy of the early 1950's. But African opinion no longer viewed education as something Government or missions could turn on and off at their good pleasure. Once the tap had been turned on, the only alteration permissible was to turn it still further on.

By the end of September 1948, the Acting Director of Education wrote to the Educational Secretaries of the missions and the Provincial Education Officers advising them that the critical curtailments had been postponed

²⁹J.H. Oldham, New Hope In Africa (London: 1955), p.26.

³⁰Just as Victorian thought and attitudes were slow in disappearing in Uganda after World War I, the paternal attitudes of the colonial administrator and missionary in Uganda were slow in disappearing after World War II. The change in Britain was rapid because the effect of the war was immediate while in Uganda the war was a 'distant' experience.

for one year. The Grade C teachers were to be phased out; no new capital development would be financed; the vernacular course would be extended for one year in 1950 rather than in the present year. Government had bowed to the strength of mission protest and the TTC's were informed of the new regulations some ten days later.

Two rather interesting facts were revealed by this crisis. The one Calcraft, Archdeacon of the Masaba area, expressed in his letter to Wright on September 12th, 1948, just while this 'shauri'³¹ was in process. He expressed his personal disapproval of the disproportionate advantage which the self-governing schools had in the educational scheme of the country. Education for the vast proportion of the country was dependent on the provision of teachers from such training centres like Buwalasi, and yet just during this time the drastic curtailment of grants hit the teacher training centres most severely, while at Nabumali a party of students went on a Government financed trip to Makerere to see a production of 'Julius Caesar'.³² Government allocation of grants had separated schools like Nabumali from the life and needs of the community, diocese and even country, and these select schools were now in an élite class by themselves. Any pupil who succeeded in breaking into this exclusive circle was indeed one of the few and so could with justification put on airs.

The Board of Governors and staff at Nabumali were conscious of this

³¹A Swahili word meaning 'trouble'.

³²G. Calcraft - S.H.H. Wright, September 12, 1948, file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

isolation, and the Chairman of the Board pointed out how Nabumali in the submission of estimates to the Government (for example in 1950) had tried to be as modest as possible "so that the school should not be guilty of receiving a sum quite disproportionate to the needs of the numerous other schools in the diocese" ³³ But then through conversation with the headmasters from the other self-governing schools he realized that they were not adopting a similar attitude and unless Nabumali fell in line with their approach it would soon find itself unable to compete effectively as a higher institution.

The second fact revealed by this crisis was the strength of the missions in the educational-political scene of Uganda, inspite of the fact that most finances came from the Government. Should the Government have chosen to ignore mission warnings and have gone ahead with the curtailments, then as Hugh Hodges, Principal of Mukono, explained

I myself shall feel no sense of loyalty whatever to the Department, and will let our students know quite definitely that I consider it wrong, and that it has been done against the advice of the Missions. ³⁴

Wright passed this protest on to the Government and added

The continued failure of Government to make any public statement on the matter in spite of our earnest requests is merely going to make matters worse. If this statement is being withheld in order to place the onus on the Missions where it does not belong, then it is impossible to expect that the Principals of TTC's and Supervisors of schools will do anything but put the whole blame onto Government. ³⁵

³³ Bishop Usher Wilson - Director of Education, June 17, 1950, unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records from Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.

³⁴ H. Hodge - S.H.H. Wright, October 14, 1948, file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

³⁵ S.H.H. Wright - Director of Education, October 18, 1948, Ibid.

Missions still had a strong bargaining position because they controlled the bulk of the staff and they had the good-will of the people (certainly in the teacher training and primary fields of the system) and Government could never forget this. He who pays the fiddler calls the tune, but he also gets the blame if the fiddler does not play!

By the end of the 1940's Government-mission cordiality on an official level, so evident in the 1920's and 1930's, had largely disappeared. Admittedly a cordiality on a personal basis remained long in evidence, but Government had reached the point where education was now in its sphere of authority and Government policy, regardless of set-backs, was going to continue to guide the development of the system, at least that portion which was financed, inspected and administered by the Government. Governor J.H. Hall, in his explanation of the previous years trouble to A. Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, bluntly concluded:

If the Missions desire, at their own expense, to train additional [to Government financed quotas] students with a view to their employment in unaided schools meaning [church financed schools], they are at full liberty to do so.³⁶

On the surface it appeared as though the missions had won, but in reality the old order had changed, the old pattern had taken on a new form, and should there be an attempt to impose the old mould on a basically altered situation, then tension, distortion and inefficiency would again result.

³⁶J.H. Hall - A. Creech-Jones, March 2, 1949, Ibid.

Should the missions try to protect their monopoly in education, should they form battle lines against the Government in the face of obvious mistakes in Government policy, then radical changes would have to be effected, but if they could continue to support Government policy and action inspite of disagreement and change, then their claim to a permanent place in the education scheme would be almost guaranteed.³⁷

Dr. J.H. Oldham once said that missions could only fully achieve their Christian purpose in education "if they clearly know their own mind."³⁸ As early as 1944 the Upper Nile Diocese was seriously studying its role in education. Staff and financial restrictions had forced the Reverend Sturdy to prepare a study of future participation of the C.M.S. in education. The two suggestions which his study made were: phase out educational work to the Government and concentrate on pastoral work, or, as the Reverend S.S. Tomusange suggested, keep control of all training colleges and hand all schools over to Government. The latter would ensure that the majority of teachers would be Christians and the church influence

³⁷ There were many potential trouble areas in Government-mission relations: land tenure, religious knowledge syllabi, construction and financing of school chapels, use of school fees for such projects as chapel construction, competition between Government and L.E.A. schools on one side and mission foundation schools on the other, non-denominational student bodies, salary differentials between Government and private teachers, training of teachers with a narrow denominational bias, separation of the educational system into competitive Government and Church systems, and African opinion taking advantage of the Government-mission differences to strengthen its position.

³⁸ J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa (London: 1931), p.134.

could extend throughout the system.³⁹

In the face of continued recruitment and financial problems, M.A.C. Warren, General Secretary of the C.M.S., came to East Africa in late 1949 and early 1950 to come to a decision with the N.A.C. and C.M.S. in Uganda just what priorities could be met by C.M.S. personnel. Rather than being forced out of the field, the C.M.S. had to choose to withdraw from certain activities and hand these over to Government.⁴⁰ It was a difficult decision for the missionaries, who had been so intimately connected with the growth of the work. Just two years earlier in 1947 the Uganda Diocese Missionary Conference had been able to console itself by affirming that "re-alignment does not mean retreat"⁴¹ but now in 1949 it meant "to take every opportunity to train the African to do without us."⁴² By December 1949 Dr. Warren defined re-alignment to the Director of Education as a complete withdrawal from primary and secondary work, and concentration on teacher training.⁴³

³⁹Memorandum on 'Scheme of Development for African Education', April 1944, unsorted correspondence marked "Native Anglican Church (Uganda) and Archbishop's Office Archives" (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), AR N3/1.

⁴⁰In 1947 there were sixteen pastoral C.M.S. workers in Uganda and some thirty Government-paid educationists plus the staff of two hospitals; in 1937, counting the Ruanda work as part of the Uganda work, there were 108 C.M.S. financed staff.

⁴¹"Report of the Committee on Educational Re-alignment," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.76 (1947), p.12.

⁴²"Bishop's Charge 1949," Uganda Church Review, New Series No.82 (1949), p.25.

⁴³M.A.C. Warren, "Memorandum to Director of Education re. Government Church Relationship and Educational Development," December 12, 1949, found in file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

But neither the Uganda nor the Upper Nile Diocese could accept Warren's suggested restrictions. Usher Wilson argued that the Upper Nile Diocese should receive special consideration in the light of the fact that it was some twenty five years behind the Uganda Diocese, and if European missionaries were withdrawn from Nabumali (the only higher education centre in the Diocese) to staff teacher training centres then no replacements, either European or African, would be available.⁴⁴ C.M.S. personnel on the mission field had seen these institutions being built, passing through hard and easier times. Now they were being obliged to choose which ones to retain under their control and which to hand over to Government. They could not accept Warren's demand for strict adherence to accepted priorities, though they agreed that teacher training work and supervision ranked highest on the list of priorities, and these were all, Warren insisted, the C.M.S. could staff and finance. But, in spite of Oldham's warning, the Dioceses did not know their own minds. Fortunately, however, Warren forced them to face the issues and decide.

Warren, on his way back to England,⁴⁵ received a plea from the C.M.S. in Uganda that the agreed-upon list of priorities be changed to include the secondary schools. Frustrated at their indecision, Warren bluntly replied to the Uganda C.M.S. authorities.

⁴⁴ Acting Educational Secretary General, Namirembe - M.A.C. Warren, January 4, 1950, Ibid.

⁴⁵ Warren visited Nabumali High School in early December 1949.

I am NOT going to England to try and get any staff for Secondary Education at this juncture. This is the meaning of the word PRIORITY and from the recruiting point of view we are down to priorities as far as C.M.S. is concerned. . . . of course I recognise the importance of those Secondary schools. But we agreed at Namirembe that they and Budo and Mwiri were not as important at this juncture as Mukono and the other teacher training places and the work of supervision. . . . In my own judgment the relative backwardness of the Upper Nile Diocese would argue a special attempt to strengthen their supply of supervisors . . . Let us stand to our guns with Cullen and if necessary take the whole matter through to the Governor, or if necessary higher still. Let us press our sense of priorities on Government. One at least of the potential supervisors may be on the staff at Nabumale. Nabumale is a self-governing school and the Governing Body not CMS is responsible for recruitment now. For this reason I have tried to be absolutely frank and open with you all, whether at Namirembe or Ngora to offer you the MINIMUM of hope but to pledge ourselves to stand by you all in winning through on the MINIMUM. But we must stand together. If we can't have a fundamental agreement on this issue then we must write off the situation as lost.⁴⁶

In March 1950 Warren pressed Cullen for a decision to accept the C.M.S. limited-commitment proposals giving Cullen a deadline of July 1st as the latest the C.M.S. could accept financial responsibility for its educational missionary personnel, after which they would be withdrawn.⁴⁷ On the 13th Cullen replied accepting Warren's proposals to concentrate on TTC and Supervisory work, though he was not convinced, he added, that C.M.S. re-alignment was necessary. He acknowledged that "it would cost Government much more if it had to do itself all the educational work done for it by the society."⁴⁸ Reluctantly Government accepted the fact that

⁴⁶ M.A.C. Warren - R.E. Hopkin, Acting Education Secretary General, January 10, 1950, found in file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁴⁷ Warren - Cullen, March 2, 1950, Ibid.

⁴⁸ Cullen - Warren, March 13, 1950, Ibid.

it could no longer leave it to the missions because the Protestant missions had withdrawn to a limited involvement position. It would now be a matter of getting as much help as possible out of the missions while they remained, and not, what should we take over and what should we let them retain.

As Nabumali High School began its career as a senior secondary school with self-governing status, it was the only senior secondary school in the Upper Nile Diocese and pupils from Teso, Acholi, Lango, Bugishu, Kenya, the Sudan⁴⁹, and the neighbouring tribes of Mount Elgon were in attendance. The threat of famine hung over the years 1943-45 and this had its adverse effects on school life. Posho, maize meal, was a very unpopular staple food in a plantain-growing area, but it had to be resorted to during times of scarcity, and with poor food nearly always came health problems. During the second term in 1944 Australian wheat flour mixed with local groundnuts formed the diet. During 1945 the students went on strike because neither beans nor groundnuts were attainable in Mbale and a very tight budget prevented meat from being purchased. As is often the case in a strike situation, the trouble started with a boycott of either a meal or classes and this led to a staff-pupil impasse which had to be broken by either the one party or the other giving way. In this case a group of the dissident pupils revealed themselves by refusing to sing during the regular singing period. This led to the caning of eighteen boys and the school routine recontinued after some three days of classes had been lost.

⁴⁹The head prefect in 1944 was a Sudanese student.

Caning was still very popular as a form of punishment and was used for a multitude of offenses: appearing in dirty uniforms, running and shouting on the football field on Sunday, drinking local beer, boys meeting illicitly with girls from the local primary school, boys refusing to stop knitting during evening preparation period when asked to do so by the master on duty, and so on. Other forms of punishment consisted of extra drill periods, washing down the dining hall floor, confiscation of shoes or lamps for a week, suspension from school for a period of weeks, public demotion of a prefect by his having to hand in his prefect badge before a school assembly, labouring on school roads or gardens, or permanent expulsion after warnings. Pupil offences in the African boarding school are much like those of other boarding institutions, and regardless of the year in question, the offenses sound so similar - slackness in lesson attendance, impertinence to staff, writing improper letters to someone's daughter or wife, damaging of school property, breaking school bounds, disobedience, smoking, visiting the girls' school dormitory, not doing domestic work in the dormitory, using lights after normal hours, not reporting back from leave on time, washing clothes during Sundays or study hours, absence from prayers, theft, doing preparations during the very early morning hours or late at night, hiding dirty shirts under bed-clothes, failing to report to roll-calls or inspections, discontent with certain school subjects or staff members, late for meals, noisy during preparations or after lights out, and so on. The list is endless, and a considerable proportion of the staff's non-teaching time is taken up dealing with such offenses and trying through an insistence on obedience,

respect, co-operation, and a sense of responsibility to train the boys' character. This work can be petty and tiring, but the tone of a school depends on how well the staff takes advantage of the boarding school situation to carry through a social, moral, and spiritual process of training.

The Reverend Bottomley valued highly the instructive value of the school's communal life. He realized that for a boarding school to be effective it must have a staff which is willing and able to spend long hours in close involvement with the pupils - during lessons, during games, during house work. Given a staff with a strong Christian sense of service, a staff with a sense of the value of the casual, common activities as means of training, then a headmaster will find his school unified and efficient. With so much responsibility placed on the staff personally, it is understandable that Bottomley should be very concerned about the personal behaviour and integrity of his teachers. And during the 1940's, on some six separate occasions the headmaster had occasion to either dismiss or discipline various staff members. On all of these occasions the staff member broke the moral code of the foundation body of the school, and so was considered unacceptable as a member of staff.⁵⁰

Since World War II the missionary sense of devotion, duty, and

⁵⁰ Even if their personal misdemeanor led to dismissal, these teachers could always find profitable employment in the increasing number of private schools which were being established to meet public demand for the teaching of English and a system of non-denominational schools.

service had become less and less evident among high school teachers as they became more professionally, civil-service minded. During Bottomley's long term of office most of the day to day supervision of boarding school life was carried out by dedicated African teachers who understood the African way of life and habits.⁵¹ But in the immediate pre and post Independence years many African teachers were absorbed into administrative and executive positions in Government as this sector of the nation was Africanized, and in their places came short-term contract expatriates from Britain, the United States and Canada. Those who had not attended or worked in the boarding schools of Britain, or who had come through the day school system of the United States or Canada, found it hard to accept the total involvement of a boarding school situation. At the same time the African teacher soon realized that he was paid less than the expatriate and was often content to leave the extra duties to the expatriate while he attended to his private business or personal affairs. These changes, coupled with the great present-day increases in school size, have created a de-personalized communal life far removed from the intimate and controlled schools of missionary days. Only very slowly in the past five years has the proportion of African staff in secondary schools been increased, but even now a school with fifteen per cent African teachers is an exception.

⁵¹ Many students will recall how they enjoyed their liberties when the European master was on duty because they could then get away with most things, but dreaded the African masters who could read into their ways of behaviour.

Though the Government Annual Reports of 1944 and 1945 recorded staff shortages throughout the educational system, Nabumali succeeded in avoiding severe shortages by having six valued African teachers throughout the mid to late 1940's - Mutenga, Sali, Kisala, Kidimu, Mudebo, Aryada. When Miss Cooper left after the war, she was replaced by Miss Olive Siggs, who came to Nabumali instead of going into retirement. Dr. Miles left in 1946 after some five and a half years at Nabumali and for over a year Nabumali had no master in charge of the science department, but in September 1947 the Reverend E. Perrens came to the school under the auspices of the newly formed 'mission associate' scheme.⁵²

But in 1948 Messrs. Osire and Kidimu left to be followed shortly by Mr. James Aryada. During 1950 the headmaster was away on leave, Miss Laight went to Buwalasi, and Miss Ruffell who was in charge of the Girls' School had to spend most of her teaching time at the Senior School even though the Girls' School had only four mistresses instead of five. The staff situation was critical, and on June 6th the Acting Headmaster, Perrens, wrote to Bishop Usher Wilson asking him to approach the Inter-Diocesan Committee on Education and the Department of Education to provide five more teachers for Nabumali - two Makerere masters, two women primary teachers, and one European, plus an increase of £1,000 in the 1951 Estimates. In his letter he included a note comparing the relative staff

⁵²This scheme was introduced especially to facilitate recruitment for self-governing schools. Under it teachers were recruited jointly by the Board of Governors, Mission Authority, and Colonial Office, on terms comparable to those offered to education officers of the Government (fares, allowances and salaries paid by Government), except that 'Associate Staff' posts were not pensionable, nor were free medical services given.

and financial positions of Budo and Nabumali.

	European Staff	African Staff	Total Staff	Pupils	Pupils per Staff	Total Grant	Grant per Pupil
Budo	9	c.20	29	c.350	12	£14,500	£41
Nabumali	5	7	12	c.240	20	£ 5,500	£23

In addition to the above disparities, the Budo staff included five associate missionaries - Budo had a non-teaching staff costing nearly £2,000 compared with Nabumali's £400 - and the general state of development of Buganda compared with the Eastern and Northern Provinces was much further advanced and, therefore, did not require capital out-lay on a similar scale.⁵³

The Bishop forwarded Perren's comparison to the Director. As chairman of the Nabumali Board of Governors he realized that Nabumali had been claiming a substantially smaller slice of the self-governing moneys than had the other selected schools. The present staff and financial crisis, coming at the time of Government cut-backs in the output of teachers and the C.M.S. re-alignment policy, threatened Nabumali's ability to supply higher education to the boys and girls of the Eastern and Northern Provinces.⁵⁴ To complicate matters further, the entrance requirements to Makerere had just recently been raised and Nabumali pupils, having just reached the position of being able to compete with other schools, now found themselves in a handicapped position again.⁵⁵ Such a situation, Usher Wilson claimed, could only

⁵³ E. Perrens - Bishop Usher Wilson, June 6, 1950, found in file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁵⁴ Bishop of Upper Nile - Director of Education, June 17, 1950, unsorted C.M.S. and N.A.C. Records from the Mbale Diocesan Office, by kind permission of Bishop Masaba.

⁵⁵ Usher Wilson blamed Nabumali's lag behind the rest of the higher schools in Uganda on Morris' decision in 1933 to close down the Junior

breed discontent and lead to charges of regionalism and selective educational planning,⁵⁶ and so he requested in his letter to the Director that Nabumali's estimates covering the next six years be revised upwards, even if this meant that over the next few years Nabumali would be paid more than the other C.M.S. self-governing schools.⁵⁷

Government, however, was still doubtful whether the self-governing scheme had proved its worth. The Director in 1949 considered these schools to be

in general more generously staffed, equipped, and housed than other schools. . . . These schools produce most of the Uganda students entering Makerere College and enjoy a high prestige throughout the country. Most of them have taken full advantage of their special opportunities and undoubtedly deserve the financial support they have received. But since this system was started other schools have been developed to a comparable state of advancement, and it is now arguable that the expenditure on these eight privileged bodies is disproportionate to their importance in the general school system.⁵⁸

Nabumali could not expect special treatment and would have to face local discontent.

Secondary section, concentrate higher education on Budo, and prepare a new type of technical-agricultural syllabus at schools like Nabumali and Nyakasura. Because of the financial slump of the 1930's this proposed alternative syllabus was never carried through and Nabumali "lost its chance and for a variety of reasons was never able to make up its retarded progress." (Ibid.)

⁵⁶Such discontent had already shown itself by 1950 when in April senior pupils at Nabumali objected to the unfavorable conditions (staff and facilities) at Nabumali when compared with Budo and Mwiri. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1950 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

⁵⁷At the same time Usher Wilson wrote to the Uganda Diocese requesting it to make available for Nabumali, on a temporary basis, additional members of staff from schools like Budo, Mwiri and Buloba.

⁵⁸Annual Report, 1949 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.11.

Between 1944 and 1950 the final results from Nabumali were not unusually good. A good portion of the students passed the Junior Secondary Leaving Examination and an equally good proportion passed the Cambridge School Certificate, but a relatively small proportion of these were accepted into Makerere.⁵⁹ During these years there was an intense demand for all forms of higher education, particularly among the strongly nationalistic Bagishu tribe. They were developing a strong sense of tribal identity and Nabumali High School, because it was located in Bugishu, was considered to be 'their' school rather than the school of the Upper Nile Diocese or the Eastern Province. During the first seven years as a senior secondary school no Bagishu had reached Makerere College, and this in their own eyes, and they felt in the eyes of the neighbouring tribes, was either an insult to them or an example of favouritism and prejudice on the part of the headmaster and the school's Board of Governors.

A school like Nabumali was particularly vulnerable to charges of favouritism or prejudice because it still exercised considerable authority in the selection of its pupils. There was no centrally organized system for admission to junior secondary schools; each body of school owners made its own arrangements for examination and selection at the end of the primary course. Admission into the senior secondary sections was done by the school itself. Since most senior secondary schools (including

⁵⁹For example, between 1947 to 1950 sixty nine pupils passed the Junior Secondary Leaving Examination, forty two passed the Cambridge School Certificate, but only thirteen were accepted into Makerere. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1947-50 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatologued.)

the self-governing schools) still had primary and junior secondary sections attached to the school, the result was that most of the pupils chosen for senior secondary work came from these attached, rather exclusive, schools. The reason for this was not favouritism, but rather that these schools had better qualified staff, were boarding schools, received more generous grants, and were better equipped. In a uni-tribal district such a situation could have no tribal implications, but at Nabumali, where some eight district tribes considered Nabumali 'their' school, it was important that a strict balance be maintained in the tribal representation within all the sections of the school - primary, junior secondary and senior secondary. Severe impartiality had to be observed in any entrance selections.⁶⁰ But even if complete impartiality had been shown, should one or several of the tribes reveal itself to be basically more backward than the others, and less open to educational influence, then suspicions and charges of bias could not be avoided.

By 1950 just such a situation had developed at Nabumali. Bottomley had consciously pursued a multi-tribal policy at Nabumali, and the Bagishu in whose district the school was situated felt that the school's selection policy and the headmaster's policy discriminated against them. Furthermore, the Bagishu were on poor terms with the tribes of the Bukedi District, particularly the Bagwere because of a long-standing land dispute over the

⁶⁰This was essentially impossible at Nabumali during the 1940's because with the growth of the secondary section, boarding privileges had to be withdrawn from the primary boys (not girls because so few girls reached secondary level). As a result the primary school boys were mostly day pupils who obviously had to be local Bagishu.

ownership of Mbale municipality. Furthermore, the headmaster, having a sharp, out-spoken manner foreign to African social graces, felt that the Bagishu were not benefitting from higher education because of their custom of circumcising their boys just during their time in senior secondary school, as well as a general unwillingness to be influenced by, and lack of openness to, the benefits of education. Bottomley's opponents were readily provided with gunpowder by his casual and intentional comments. During the 1950's the Board of Governors and the headmaster would either have to explain to the Bagishu authorities why Bagishu pupils in 'their' school were not reaching Makerere requirements (a matter requiring a silver-tongued orator) or else be drawn into the wrath of local politics. As we shall see the latter happened.

Since 1939 no Primary 1 or 2 pupils had been admitted to Nabumali. In 1946 no new primary boarders were taken into Primary 3, and the following year all the primary teaching was done at the Girls' School. By 1950 all the primary boys boarders had been phased out and Nabumali High School consisted of senior secondary boys boarders only with some seventeen senior girls coming to the main school for instruction.

The Girls' School remained a co-educational primary school with some seventy girls boarders and approximately twenty five boys. Officially the Girls' School was part of Nabumali High School, but during the 1940's it retained a development of its own. During the mid 1940's there were some sixty five to seventy boarders under the charge of Miss Ruffell and the African mistresses. During 1945 and 1946, with Colonial Welfare and

Development funds, two dormitories were constructed by Mathers and enrolment went up to ninety seven in 1947. This was, however, the time when the senior school was phasing out its primary boys and this meant that most of the primary work came to the Girls' School. 1947 was the last year in which a full range of primary years were in attendance. By 1950, due to the increasing number of primary schools in the district plus a severe staff shortage, there were only Primary 3, 4, and 5 classes at the Girls School and Primary 6 had to be taught up at the senior school. For several years the majority of primary boys came as day pupils, but with the increase of girls in secondary classes - averaging eighteen during 1948 to 1950 - fewer and fewer day pupils were accepted until in 1950 there were none.

In 1944 Faisi Gutosi and Florence Kabiri were the only two girls in the secondary section. They passed the senior secondary leaving examination in 1949 and in 1950 were the first girls from Nabumali to be admitted to Makerere. Nabumali's first girl to do secondary level work, Agenesii Anyango, returned to the Girls' School from Buloba Teacher Training College in 1946 and taught for three years before being married.

The wastage among African women teachers remained an unsolved problem, particularly between 1947 and 1950. During these four years sixteen out of nineteen teachers who came to the school left to be married, or for further training, or because of unsatisfactory service. Such a situation made it doubly important to have a permanent European headmistress, though Dina Tingu, an exception to the rule having taught for nine years at the Girls' School, was acting headmistress in 1946 during

Miss Ruffell's furlough. Attempts were made to solve this problem by using male staff to teach the girls, but the most important training still came from the day-to-day boarding school experience and here matrons or African female teachers were required. Nurse Marjeri Zake for many years served as matron, nurse, domestic science teacher, but again her case was an exception. The advance of girls' education could be partly solved by having co-educational instruction, but the need for female staff in the boarding situation was never effectively solved.

As the Nabumali Boys' School changed into a senior institution many new routines and traditions were established. Breakfast, instead of being eaten outside, was after 1947 eaten in the dining hall. Plates had been provided for the students for some years, but every boy still had to bring his own cup. In 1948 Aggrey and Apolo Houses were furnished with iron beds, replacing the old wooden beds made by the pupils during their carpentry classes. Also in 1948 Friday evening entertainments (changed to Saturday in 1949) were instituted for Senior 3 to 6 and consisted of gramophone recitals, brains trusts, debates, lectures, concerts, and occasional plays. The Tuesday evening country dancing classes begun by Miss Laight in 1948 were enthusiastically carried on by the headmaster and after his time by Miss Wardle. These Scottish dance classes were fondly remembered, especially by the older girls, as one of the first positive attempts at co-educational education. Two other firsts occurred in 1948. Busoga College, Mviri, for the first time, came to Nabumali under the direction of Mr. Ian Robinson, present headmaster of Budo, for a weekend of sports. Much to the visitors' surprise Nabumali

beat them three to one at football. That Saturday everyone enjoyed one of the first cinema shows and on Sunday Mr. Robinson spoke in the school chapel services. Later in the second term the Senior 6 annual trips were begun with half the Senior 6's going with Mr. Perrens and the headmaster to Kisumu and the other half went to Makerere College to see a "Julius Caesar" performance by the 1st Year Arts students. On October 8th the Nabumali 1st XI broke a tradition of defeat - the school football team had reached the semi-finals at least three times in past years, but had never been victorious - by winning the Bagishu Cup Football Competition by defeating Central Bagishu two to nothing. In November the first Open Day for Parents was held - in place of the Speech Day - and some 120 parents joined the school during lessons, lunch and displays.

Annual athletics days had been started in 1947 with the third term games periods entirely devoted to athletic practice culminating in the sports meet, and in 1948 and 1949 Hannington House won the shield. Cross country running had originally been a part of the athletics activities, but then in 1948 a special shield was awarded for this sharply contested event and Musannyana came in first for Hannington in 1948 and Mondiri for Banks the following year. The first athletics field had been laid out by Mr. Mutenya on the rough ground below Apolo House, the site of present-day Apolo-Banks Dormitory and the football-cricket pitch, and annual field competitions were held with Buwalasi and Tororo College leading up to the District Sports Day at Mbale which Nabumali won in 1950 for the second time in three years.

Still another tradition came to Nabumali in March 1950 but only

with the breaking of another. A large drum was provided for school signals and Mr. Sali's buglers now had to be silenced. Bugles had been used for many years since Mr. Wheeler had first bought eight bugles for the scout troupe in 1926. But the bugle tradition has not died out completely. Even in 1968, each night at 9:45 p.m., lights-out is announced by yet another 'budding' Nabumali bugler.

Even though 1950 ended on a threatening note of local discontent, December 1950 was a time for celebration and gratitude because Nabumali's Golden Jubilee had been reached. In the early morning of the 10th a Holy Communion Service was held for the 'Nabumali Family'. At 10:30 a Service of Thanksgiving and Dedication was led by Archdeacon Calcraft in the Nabumali Parish Church at which over a thousand visitors worshipped. The first lesson was Solomon's prayer of dedication of the temple. "The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers; may he not leave us or forsake us; that He may incline our hearts to him, to walk in all his ways" ⁶¹ This was followed by the affirmative and warning words " . . . like a skilled master builder I laid a foundation, and another man is building upon it. Let each man take care how he builds upon it. For no other foundation can anyone lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." ⁶² The Acting Rural Dean of Masaba Deanery, a man who had come to Nabumali in 1924 as a missionary from Buganda, the Reverend

⁶¹ 1 Kings 8: 57-58.

⁶² 1 Corinthians 3: 10-11.

S.S. Tomusange, offered the prayers of Thanksgiving and Dedication. Following this service the crowds streamed out into the warm mid-day sun to greet many old Nabumali associates like Mr. Lubwama, Andereya Polo, Timoseo Mukasa, Hubert Harrison,⁶³ Dr. Wiggins from Ngora, and many others. Their accounts of the early days of Nabumali followed a lunch in the school dining hall.

Since this was the last Sunday of the school year, a carol service was held in the late afternoon. The lessons were read by various people on the station - some in English, some in Luganda, and one in Lugishu in honour of Crabtree whose translation of the Gospels into Lugishu was published in 1904.

So ended a great day. It was a great experience to realize more deeply the heritage into which we have entered, and very humbling to regard again the stature of the great ones who came before us - Crabtree, Miss Pilgrim, Miss Morris, Purvis, Leech, Holden, Banks and Mathers.⁶⁴

The years 1944 - 1950 had been chiefly concerned with Government - mission tensions as these worked out their new relationship to each other. Nabumali was affected only indirectly in these difficulties, but in the decade to follow, the 1950's, the school, now a prestigious institution,

63

Mr. Harrison worked for the Uganda Bookshop who in 1925 had a bookshop in a house on the south side of the road opposite the present-day Nabumali Primary School. Mr. Harrison is presently retired in Kitale, Kenya.

64

E.G. Ferrrens, "The Golden Jubilee at Nabumali," Upper Nile Magazine, Vol.4, No.6 (September 1951), p.13.

became embroiled in tensions with the surrounding tribes, their frustrations and aspirations and searching for identities. During these years Bottomley had his skill and maturity as a headmaster tested to the utmost by Bagishu nationalism and a major expansion programme. Largely because of his firmness the school was able to enter the decade of Independence well established and ready for still further expansion.

CHAPTER VIII

EXPANSION DESPITE POLITICAL UNREST

Throughout the post war 1940's Government was expecting a recession which never came. Budgetting was very cautious and conservative; development was discouraged; capital grants for education were held back or reduced; school equipment fell into disrepair; teachers were in short supply; missions by the 1950's were restricting their involvement and the authority of Government was extended, at least in theory. At the end of Hall's Governorship educational expansion had more or less reached a standstill, but cotton and coffee revenue kept rising, surpluses were building up at an embarrassing rate, and Government spending did not keep pace. It seemed as though Government did not have the creativity to make new plans - it seemed tied to the struggling and much revised Worthington Plan. The philosophy of the Government towards education had not adapted itself to the increasingly secular nature of education in Uganda. It was no longer a simple matter of co-operating with mission bodies. The Government now had to provide the initiative in providing education for the Africans, Europeans, Asians, Christians and non-Christians of Uganda.

The missions and native churches were in a similar state of indecision. They were chiefly involved in working out their new relationship with Government, and consequently there were few public statements of policy and purpose because for them co-operation with Government had become administration and management rather than initiation of policy.

But there was an exception. Bottomley, with eighteen years as Nabumali's headmaster behind him, wrote an article in the Uganda Review outlining the work at Nabumali High School and his philosophy of education.

. . . Knowledge comes by eyes always open and working hands, and there is no knowledge that is not power. . . . For what, after all, is education but the moulding of the character in high and noble ideals? This, I take it, is the ultimate end and object of all true education. 'As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.' Thoughts build the life and character. The aim of every true educationalist is so to train the child that he may think only such things as be good - not that he may be clever, but that he may be good; not that he may pass through life easily, but that he may do life's work nobly.¹

But it was not enough for Bottomley to present an ideal - using Bishop Tucker's words - without somehow explaining how this ideal was realized in practice. The school of which he was headmaster he considered to be an effective, orderly community having a spirit of co-operation and unity among staff and student body.

. . . the foundation of that spirit is the school Chapel, for no where is that spirit more strongly felt. In our morning and evening prayers, in our weekly staff prayer-meetings, in our Sunday evening services, in our scripture lesson where questions are always welcomed and frequently asked, in the meetings of the Christian Fellowship, we are welded together in common loyalty to Christ. It is to this loyalty, though we fail frequently as man must do, that the school owes whatever of good is in it. . . . We believe that it is the only way of life, and upon that belief, firmly held, Nabumali has been and is being built.²

Bottomley was proud of Nabumali. ". . . it is a poor headmaster who does not think that his own school is the best in the country: I

¹A.P. Bottomley, Report on Nabumali High School, Uganda Review (December 1951), pp.17-19.

²Ibid.

certainly think that mine is!"³ It was not just a matter of Bottomley administering the school effectively (which he did), but he proudly called himself a 'teaching headmaster'. He involved himself with the daily happenings of the school and expected his staff to do the same (though he did not readily delegate responsibility to his staff or even to the Senior African Master). Many of his teachers were Old Boys of Nabumali whom he had taught and encouraged to enter the teaching profession (though some complained that he continued to treat them as prefects rather than as colleagues). He was keenly interested in girls' education and the advancement of women's education, so much so that his students felt that he showed a distinct favouritism towards their cause. It was important to Bottomley that he 'like' the pupils whom he taught because only after the establishment of such a rapport was it possible to really understand, tolerate and influence them. His 'liking' did not mean sentimentality, far from it; rather it reflected a brisk, clear-cut, working arrangement based on personal integrity, honesty and a common goal to realize academic and spiritual success. He did not consider himself to be a reformer or initiator of policy in secondary education. Rather, he was a person who had been given the task of establishing a 'well-ordered' community in which pupils were to learn a discipline of mind, an honesty of thought, an acceptable social behaviour, a respect for the demands of life, a loyalty to God. Being a teacher of English biased him to the value of literature in the educational process, but mathematics and languages were included in this bias. But regardless

³ Bottomley, Op. Cit., p.18.

of the subject taught, he concluded, given the right teacher, the pupil would benefit.⁴

It was headmasters like these who set the pace for secondary education in Uganda during the years when Government was either finding its feet or was uncertain or unwilling to strike out on a definite policy. Furthermore, the self-governing institution was particularly suited to strong leadership as the Government, mission and church had an impact on the school only through bi-annual meetings of the Board of Governors or the occasional educational circulars sent out by the Department. The Director of Education engaged the headmaster, but then seconded him to the Board of Governors of a particular school to manage and organize the academic, social and financial aspects of the school. The Education Ordinance of 1959 outlined in detail the headmaster's authority and then added "In the exercise of its powers a Board shall not encroach upon the proper field of responsibility of the Headmaster of the School."⁵

⁴ Interview with A.P. Bottomley, at Clevedon, Somerset, U.K. on December 17-18, 1968.

⁵ The Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese first drew up a constitution for the Nabumali High School Board of Governors in 1937 with Bottomley's help. Then in 1942 the Education Ordinance (No.29 of 1942) in Section 56 defined the 'Boards of Governors for Self-governing Schools Rules.' These were revised in April 1962 to their present form by J.C. Kiwanuka, Minister of Education. The chief change in the 1962 revision was to reconstitute the Board's membership to give the Minister of Education approval over eight out of thirteen members where previously it was three out of twelve, and the 1962 revision also eliminated the local Government elected member clause of the 1960 rules.

The headmaster's authority was defined in the 1959 Ordinance to include:

- 1) he was personally responsible for the academic, social and domestic organisation and conduct of the school.
- 2) he shall arrange curriculum with due regard to the Board's advice, or from the Education Ordinance and Director of Education.

Government and mission indecision in education came to an end in 1951. In the latter part of that year Sir Andrew Cohen, a man keen on educational expansion, took over the Governorship of Uganda. That same year the Colonial Office and the Nuffield Foundation financed a commission under A.L. Binns to report on education in East Africa.⁶ In the light of this general report, Governor Cohen asked the Vice Chancellor of Makerere, Sir Bernard de Bunsen, to examine the Uganda situation, to consider how it may best be improved and expanded, and to submit detailed recommendations for future organisation and development in education. The Binns and de Bunsen Reports were to be the beginning of five years of unprecedented expansion in Ugandan education. The de Bunsen plan covered the years

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- 3) he shall arrange religious instruction according to the wishes of the foundation body.
 - 4) he shall arrange for admission of students and fee collection.
 - 5) he shall have power to exclude, suspend, expel pupils but would be required to report these at the next Board of Governors meeting.
 - 6) he is responsible for the day to day expenditure and shall present an account of such expenditure to the Board.
 - 7) he shall have authority to report or recommend to the Board disciplinary measures against the staff.
 - 8) he may offer his advice to the Board, and if it is not accepted, the headmaster may require the Board to submit his advice to the Director.

("The Board of Governors for Self Governing Schools Rules 1960," Education Ordinance (Entebbe: Government Printers, No.13 of 1959).)

⁶This commission's report was entitled the "Study of Educational Policy and Practice," and it considered the whole educational picture of East and Central Africa (Nyassaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Uganda, Somaliland, Kenya). It was submitted on February 7, 1951. A similar study was undertaken in West Africa under Dr. J.B. Jeffrey. The joint report is entitled "African Education: a study of Educational Policy and Principles in British Tropical Africa."

1953-61, but so great was public enthusiasm and so generous were Government grants that it had been completed as early as 1958-9. Over the whole decade 1950-60 primary enrolment in aided schools doubled to 363,000, secondary enrolment increased to 6,500, Makerere was extended, Kampala Technical Institute was established (1953), and total Government expenditures on education increased from £715,000 in 1950 to £5,000,000 in 1960.⁷

On December 11-12, 1951 the Binns Commission visited Nabumali and Nyondo. Widespread interest had been aroused by this study group. The African, ever increasing in his self-awareness and confidence, was annoyed that educational development had stagnated between 1949 and 1951, partly because of the co-operation policy and partly because of the sectarian dominance of education by the missions, and consequently when the Binns Commission arrived in 1951 many briefs were prepared and submitted by African groups urging Government to involve itself in a secular, non-denominational development of education. For example the Reverend S. Ongola and Mr. I. Okello of Soroti submitted that

Government and missionaries have been [and are] still working together as allies in all education matters. We feel that missionaries should continue to teach religion and all moral matters in the Schools. And the Government to be responsible for. a) Grants, b) Syllabuses and curriculum c) Administration in all Educational matters.⁸

A much stronger view was expressed by the brief from the N.A.C. Keko

⁷ P. Williams, Aid in Uganda - Education (London: 1966), pp.16-17.

⁸ Brief to Binns Commission by Reverend S. Ongola and Mr. I. Okello of Soroti, November 17, 1951, found in file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

(Masaka) under the chairmanship of W.S. Kajubi.

There are too few government schools in Uganda we suggest that the Central Government, besides aiding the Voluntary Agencies, should start secondary schools of its own. These would have the advantage of being well spaced, and would bring together teachers and pupils of different religious outlooks. With modified forms of moral instruction such schools would help to lessen the sort of bigoted fanaticism there at present seems to exist between individuals and missions of different denominations. They would thus turn out broad-minded citizens with not necessarily lower spiritual values. These schools would be richer and of a higher academic standard because the government is in a better position to recruit teachers with better academic qualifications than the missionaries.⁹

Considerable resentment towards missions and Government came from African teachers, and the Reverend Brian Sturdy¹⁰ in his brief analysed their feelings and concluded that missions were disliked because 1) they do not fight Government enough on behalf of the teacher, 2) they interfere with the private lives of the teachers, 3) teachers are moved too frequently by the mission authorities, 4) poor housing is provided for African staff, 5) African church leaders do not mix with African teachers. Government, on the other hand, was disliked because 1) teacher training conditions are inferior to the training programmes of other professions (teachers in training pay fees and support themselves during training), 2) little mercy is shown to those who fail by giving them a chance to repeat or receive a lower grade, 3) examination results are very slow in coming out, 4) teachers

⁹Brief to Binns Commission by the N.A.C. Kako (Masaka) under chairmanship of W.S. Kajubi, Ibid.

¹⁰Formerly of Buwalasi College, at the time of writing Sturdy was Education Secretary General of the N.A.C. and in 1952 he was a member of the de Bunsen Commission.

are unable to advance to a higher grade, 5) of the distinction made between old and new Makerere masters, 6) teachers are paid less compared with other professions, 7) of Government's utter inability or unwillingness to establish a teachers' provident fund, 8) a junior secondary training college has not been built though money has been voted for it a long time ago, 9) some inspectors are very harsh. As yet, inspite of the second list being longer, Sturdy concluded that the majority of teachers would still choose to serve in a Government school rather than a mission school, or if possible and financially as attractive, in a private school.¹¹

This was the first commission to hear such a proportion of African opinion, and when the de Bunsen Commission members were appointed, the Binns influence resulted in no fewer than six Africans being chosen.¹²

The de Bunsen Report was prepared during years of political unrest.¹³ The public mood was for advance on all fronts and so the Report advocated a policy of expansion. "We are persuaded that Uganda is ripe for a bold

¹¹ A Working Paper "Study of Education Policy and Practice" for presentation by the Reverend B. Sturdy to the Binns Commission on behalf of the N.A.C., found in file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africans Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

¹² The Honourable S.W. Kulubya (Vice Chairman), Messrs. Y.K. Yule, W.M. Mwangi, N.E. Opio, the Honourable J. Mukasa, and Miss M. Senkatuka served on the de Bunsen Commission.

¹³ The new Uganda National Congress Party (formed March 1952) together with the Kabaka opposed British East African Union. Just about the time the Kabaka was exiled to England because of his anti-British actions, Kenyatta was arrested in Kenya and the Kenyan state of emergency suppressed the Kenya African Union Party. Unrest in Uganda was sufficiently strong to make Government realize that independence was soon to come, but because

advance in education and in that belief we have not hesitated to state what we feel to be the present needs."¹⁴

1. The reorganization and expansion of the system of teacher training to double the output of teachers in five years to an annual output of 1100.
2. The expansion of secondary education and the improvement of its quality and the doubling of secondary output.¹⁵
3. The expansion of facilities both primary and secondary for girls in institutions under expatriate supervision.
4. The extension of the period normally spent by pupils in primary schools and the establishment of new primary schools.
5. The improvement of the conditions of service of teachers of all categories.
6. The responsibility for planning primary education should be given to Local Education Authorities.

the controversial issues which stirred Kenya into the Mau Mau rebellions did not exist in Uganda, political development in Uganda was slower and less volatile. (F.G. Burke, Local Government and Politics in Uganda (Syracuse: 1964), pp.17-18.)

¹⁴B. de Bunsen (chairman), African Education Committee (Government Printers, Entebbe: 1953), p.1.

¹⁵Objectives of the de Bunsen Report for Secondary Education:

	1952	1957
Secondary IV	340	750
Secondary V	270	600
Secondary VI	<u>227</u>	<u>500</u>
	837	1,850 pupils

(Ibid., Appendix V, p.71.)

To finance these developments the de Bunsen Report estimated the costs for the period 1953-57 to be £4,262,290 for capital development and £3,003,534 for recurrent costs.¹⁶ In its memorandum on the de Bunsen Report the Government revised these estimates so that the teacher training and secondary expansion would be carried out over the five-year period 1953-1958 while girls' education expansion would be carried out over eight years. The total costs were estimated to be approximately 17 million,¹⁷ to be set aside from the African Development Fund.¹⁸ Approximately £2.5 million were

¹⁶ Breakdown of these estimates:

	Capital	Recurrent
1. Primary Education - Classes 1 - 8	£2,471,450	£2,134,640
2. Secondary Education - Classes 9 - 10	670,750	255,067
3. Teacher Training	1,032,500	484,178
4. Education Department	87,590	129,649
	<u>4,262,290</u>	<u>3,003,534</u>

(Ibid., pp.60-61.)

Recurrent costs in secondary education were estimated to comprise three items - additional teacher salaries, additional costs for teacher pensions, medical and travel costs, and additional capitation payments. No attempt was made to estimate the costs of such items as maintenance and repair at schools, transport and non-teaching staff costs, expendable equipment and salary increments, etc. It must have been assumed that capitation payments at present levels would be adequate for such expenses eight to ten years later.

¹⁷ £2 million for capital expansion and £5 million for recurrent costs were the revised estimates. The considerable differences between these estimates is some indication of the arbitrary manner in which educational development was planned and revised. (Memorandum by the Protectorate Government on the Report of the African Education Committee, March 23, 1953 (Government Printers, Entebbe), pp.3-4.)

¹⁸ A price-support fund established for cotton and coffee which during the war years and after accumulated a capital of some £30 million. This was used in the pre-independence years for development purposes throughout the country. In actual fact some £10.25 million were used from this fund - £2 million for the development of technical education according to the 1951 study made by Dr. Harlow (Adviser on Technical Education to the Colonial Office) and the remaining £8.25 million were used for the 'bold advance.'

actually used for capital development and £5.8 million for recurrent costs.¹⁹ The differences between the de Bunsen estimates and the Government expenditures reflects one of the chief problems facing educational planners at this time, namely, the total lack of statistics, experience and methods in calculating major expansion costs in education. For this reason A.W. Wood called the de Bunsen Report "a policy without a price tag."²⁰

What recommendations did the de Bunsen Report make about Government-mission co-operation? Even in 1953, the Report considered it important to acknowledge Government dependence on missions in education (though this regular genuflex was rather expected by this time). The best type of education, the Report stated, was still that offered in the denominational institution (though a minority report favoured that all new Government institutions be non-denominational). The Government in its Memorandum on the de Bunsen Report took a peculiarly dualistic view on this issue of denominationalism.

The Government has no doubt that a very substantial proportion of the new schools will in fact be single-denominational; but it agrees that, where there are good reasons for establishing non-denominational schools this should be done, provided, of course, as the Committee generally agrees, arrangements for denominational religious instruction are provided if parents desire them. Having said this, the Government feels that the matter must be left to the Local Education Authorities, who must determine in the light of local demand and other relevant

¹⁹"Five-Year Capital Development Plan, 1955-60," Sessional Paper No.13 of 1956/57 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe).

²⁰Alfred W. Wood, "Educational Policy and Social Development in Uganda - 1935 - 1964" (M. Phil. Thesis, University of London, 1967), p.82.

circumstances the type of school which is necessary²¹

Such a statement, rather typical of the whole of this Memorandum, committed the Government to neither policy yet accepted the validity of both, and then pushed the responsibility on the L.E.A.'s.

Much of the credit for the rapid pace of educational development which followed must go to Governor Sir Andrew Cohen. He was an enthusiast for education and the preparation of the nation for self-government. Accordingly he stressed the need for advance in higher and technical training.²² But with rapid growth came problems like wastage, finance, an inflexible barrier-ridden system, lack of statistical information, the creation of an élite, multi-racialism - all problems which threatened to undermine the positive growth and efficiency of the whole system.

The Department of Education identified the gravest of these problems to be " . . . the infinitesimal percentage of pupils coming out at the top

²¹"Five-Year Capital Development Plan, 1955-60," Sessional Paper No.13 of 1956/57 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe), p.5.

The de Bunsen Commission accepted as legitimate the unwillingness of Government to be committed to an outlined programme of spending. The Commission saw its terms of reference to mean that it was not expected to present a long-range, manpower-oriented, financially accessed plan, rather its task was to point out directions of development and encourage the increase or consolidation of Government spending. R.W. Gill, the Commission's Secretary, excused the Report's financial short-comings by claiming "that whilst the report must include a broad development programme supported by a general statement of its financial implications, it should not descend to the financial and other detail which is properly the function of the Director of Education." (R.W. Gill - J.B. Sturdy, October 17, 1952, unsorted collection of preliminary working papers and interim summations and minutes of meetings held in preparation for the de Bunsen Report, 1951-2 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

²²A. Cohen, British Policy in Changing Africa (London: 1959), p.111.

of the secondary schools compared with the number entering the primary school at the bottom."²³ In spite of Government and mission awareness of this problem and the great stress placed on higher education in the 1950's, in 1957 on the basis of past statistics, some 83,684 pupils would start Primary I in Government-aided schools, only 48,481 would complete Primary VI, only 19,390 would complete Junior Secondary II, only 7,473 would complete Secondary I, only 7,200 would complete Secondary IV, and only 3,600 would complete Secondary VI in the year 1970. Less than nine per cent would be able to reach secondary education levels, and only 4.3 per cent would complete these fourteen years of schooling. And this in a nation in which fewer than fifty per cent of the school age children even began Primary I in 1957.²⁴

In 1957 there was a seemingly endless tangle of barriers, entrance examinations and financial commitments²⁵ which the inexperienced and reticent pupil had to face in his struggle through the school system.

²³ Annual Report, 1953 (Department of Education, Uganda).

One of the acknowledged reasons for this wastage was the poor quality of teaching. The pupils were just not interested. Another reason was that many schools only offered two years of instruction and then pupils would be unable to find another school with room to continue, or else the school offering four or more years was too far removed from the pupil's home.

²⁴ Williams, Op. Cit., p.52.

²⁵ Some of the hurdles to be overcome were school fees, distance of the school from the home, primary leaving examinations, junior secondary entrance examinations, senior secondary entrance examinations, Cambridge School Certificate examinations, character evaluations, and so on.

The Annual Report of the Department of Education described the successful pupil as having

. . . a very generous share of brains, or natural intelligence, or cunning, or influence, or luck, or a combination of all five. However he does it, a student who has gained entry to a senior secondary school is a member of a tightly guarded aristocracy and he, or somebody behind him, has certainly worked hard for his success.²⁶

It would be possible to make things easier for the potential pupil by removing some of the barriers in his path (for example the two years of junior secondary education were eliminated in 1966), but these barriers also served a valid purpose, namely to reduce the number of potential pupils to a number which was relative to the economic resources of the nation, as well as choosing the pupils with the greatest potential. If fifty per cent of the Primary I pupils reached Secondary I, the intake of primary pupils would have to be drastically reduced, or vast resources would have to be spent on education.²⁷

There were still other problems facing the educational planner in the 1950's. It was extremely difficult to review an existing system and an economy when so little statistical information was available, and so few trained personnel available to interpret the information. The whole

²⁶ Annual Report, 1957 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.46, subsection 156.

²⁷ The most important aspect of the wastage problem is not necessarily the numbers problem, that that is important is obvious, but the real issue, it may be argued, is the permanent benefit to the individual of a certain period of instruction. Wastage, however, is not an insoluble problem - improve the teaching, better equipment, promote automatically each year, subsidize fee payment, educate parents, restrict pupils to younger age groups, enforce regular attendance, keep classes smaller - but the more successful you are in overcoming the wastage problem, the smaller the per-

problem of rapidly developing an under-developed nation from a feudal state to a modern 20th Century industrial state was an untouched field of study. Previously nations had evolved on a supply-demand, success-failure basis, but now a group of peoples, thrown together arbitrarily by the political, social and economic acts of a metropolitan nation, were demanding that nationhood be granted them and that education should be the magic elixir which would lift them from an under-developed state to a competitive position in a minimum of time using the meagre resources and aid available. And with such a heterogenous collection of cultures and peoples as in Uganda or even the Eastern Province, what standards and values and objectives would the statistician or educational planner refer to in making his decision? Were these standards to be those of the British Public school, or the indigenous tribal structure (and which one?), or a purely a-social scientific, job-preparing type of society?

In these pre-independence years it was recognized that a professional class was needed to whom the leadership of the nation would be handed after independence. Should the education system, unable to educate all, educate an élite? Should the masses be sacrificed for the benefit of the few? And who should these few be? The off-spring of the already wealthy and powerful and educated? Should they come from the most influential, developed and dominant tribe? Should the missions be offering preferential fee scales for the off-spring of teachers and clergy and create a Christian élite? Would not unequal or selective development lead to political upheaval rather than development, only the beginnings of progress, and these would then be shattered by subsequent political unrest?

centage of the children of school age which may be in the system. Fewer pupils will be in school for a longer time.

In 1957 it became politically expedient officially to declare that schools were to be developed on a multi-racial basis. Prior to this the Uganda system of education had been divided into Protestant and Catholic schools, Government and mission schools, and European, Asian and African institutions. In primary schools the chief hindrance to multi-racialism was language, since in most cases the local vernacular was used. It was in secondary schools, where English was the 'lingua franca', that Government hoped to begin a gradual process of integration, but even here the problems were many - boarding conditions, diet, cost of instruction, religious background of schools, minority groups within the school, need for an inter-racial staff, etc. A working paper in preparation for the de Bunsen Report had recognized that "the task of Education in Uganda should be the creation of a national community"²⁸ but by 1968 the problems of integration had still not been solved in the residential schools, while the day schools in urban centres were becoming increasingly integrated.

What was the position and policy of the C.M.S.-N.A.C. during this time of the de Bunsen-Government plans and a problem-studded system of education? In 1950 Warren had urged C.M.S. re-alignment and in 1952 he re-iterated the policy that teacher training and supervisory work should receive first priority for the present decade. He insisted that secondary

²⁸"Working Paper on non-denominationalism of schools," found in unsorted collection of preliminary working papers and interim summations and minutes of meetings held in preparation for the de Bunsen Report, 1951-52 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), un-catalogued.

school staffing be left to Government, but acknowledged that girls' secondary education should be supported.

What had been such a bitter pill for the C.M.S. to swallow in 1950, namely the giving up of its secondary institutions, had now become easier to accept because the self-governing schools had not lost their Christian character nor had they become secularized Government institutions as had been expected. Warren stated in 1952 that the self-governing schools were "the greatest legacy C.M.S. has left to Uganda in the field of education"²⁹ because from these would come the men and women who would enter the whole life of the community with a definite intent to serve God. The future of these schools was dependent on the independence of the Board of Governors and the headmaster, as well as these schools being recognized as Christian schools rather than church, Government or mission schools, a distinction which Warren held to be fundamental and significant.

The attitude of the C.M.S. to its role in education and the results it expected from mission participation in education had changed considerably by 1957. In the 1930's evangelism was the primary task of the teacher. In the early 1950's Education Secretary General, J.B. Sturdy, wrote:

In the sphere of secondary education we have for some years seen that the Christian influence can best be increased not through schools directly controlled by the N.A.C. (and still less by the C.M.S.), but by independent schools with their own Boards of

²⁹M.A.C. Warren - J.B. Sturdy, February 1952, found in file marked "Policy and Planning Correspondence and Memorandum of N.A.C." (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

Governors There will still be opportunity for the missionary to make his contribution on the staff of such schools, if he or she feels called to do so³⁰

Then by 1957 the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese issued this statement of educational policy.

Christian people should accustom themselves to the idea that it is almost inevitable that Government (the Government of the future) will wish to take the major part in Education. The Church's job is to discover a strategy which will allow that to happen and yet not impair the Christian character of the country's education.³¹

The inevitable had been accepted and C.M.S.-N.A.C. policy had changed from being on the defensive against Government take-over to a position where it was preparing for a post-independence role.

The names C.M.S. and N.A.C. seem to be used synonymously in the records of the Protestant work in Uganda, and outwardly this is true in that C.M.S. mission personnel were working with and for the Native Anglican Church. But, in the field of education and the Government's relationship to the schools, the mission society and the native church had become separated. Dr. R. Oliver, in an address to the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London on October 16, 1952, said that the Colonial Governments of Africa had placed the responsibility for education far too squarely upon the missions instead of the native church.

³⁰J.B. Sturdy, "The Future of the Missionary in Education," Uganda Church Review, (Winter Quarter 1952), p.179.

³¹Report of Policy Sub-Committee of the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese, May 21, 1957, Minutes of the Board of Education of the Upper Nile Diocese (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

The tendency has been to regard the missions as temporarily commissioned contractors, pending the day when the State is prepared to take over for itself. There has been no promise, even, that the present arrangement is designed to lead up to a definite system of denominational education which will one day be placed in the hands of the African Church.³²

Dr. Oliver, speaking just before the big advance in education in the mid 1950's, challenged the Governments of the colonies to stop

. . . looking at missions primarily as providers of cheap social services which can be nationalized as soon as the missions have built them up. It is to the African Churches and to their future that the government should be looking just as much as we.³³

The policy of co-operation, in practice now for over twenty five years, was between the Government and the missions, rather than between Government and the African Church. Grants were paid to the missions' representatives; terms of service and disciplinary matters were referred to the Diocesan Board of Education (a body under the Bishop and the C.M.S. Standing Committee). Management of schools and grants of land, while officially carried out by and made out to the Native Church, remained effectively in the hands of C.M.S. figures. High and boarding education particularly, remained under European C.M.S. recruited managers because no experienced African teachers were available to take on such leadership. As soon as education became Government aided, it was removed still further from native church influence by Government paying grants through the mission offices, a policy begun by Hussey in 1925 because his prime concern

³²R. Oliver, Address to the School of Oriental and African Studies, October 16, 1952, University of London, London.

³³Ibid.

was to organize one system for the nation out of the many existing systems and to use as administrators the most effective agents available at that time, namely the missions. This arrangement was not changed in more recent years to include the Native Church, and by the 1950's Government was not going to change from one temporary agent to another from which it would in time remove educational authority anyway.

It was not entirely fair of Dr. Oliver to direct his criticism only at Government. Following Tucker's enforced devolution of church authority early in the century, the missions of Uganda did not continue as zealously to follow such a policy. Admittedly all missionaries trained leaders and gave Africans representation on councils or boards, but no N.A.C. bishop after Tucker, even Willis, was so determined in enforcing self-support and self-determination, and certainly not in the Upper Nile Diocese. Admittedly most parishes in the Upper Nile and the great proportion of church work were in the hands of African clergy or lay workers, but this had to be so purely from a number point of view, and the African, prior to 1962, always had an European to fall back onto. There always was a C.M.S. Bishop or Archdeacon or accountant who would step into the breach to sort out accounts or replace staff or make policy statements. The Government was concerned with running the school system as efficiently as possible and so the person of experience and proven ability would be given preference.

And so the Native Church remained involved in unaided education only, and as this was absorbed into the Government system, the native church became less and less involved. With the increasing importance of

education the mission, paradoxically, rather than moving more into the background, increased its authority and the church took on the much less prestigious pastoral responsibilities. At the same time, the separation of church and mission meant that the church was left largely to native personnel while C.M.S. personnel, mostly educationists, became quasi civil servants.

Mathers and Bottomley were examples of the 'before and after' of native church involvement in education. Both were C.M.S. recruits who were to work in the Native Anglican Church of Uganda. Mathers was involved in the whole sphere of Christian activity of Uganda - church, education, and any other activity which affected the life of the African Christian. Bottomley, on the other hand, was primarily a Christian educationist. Mathers identified himself closely with the African Christian and his church community even when he was building a laboratory at Nabumali or giving advice about the selection of a new chief. Bottomley identified himself with a Christian educational institution which could have been either in England or Africa. Politics for Mathers meant Christian churchmen chosen for leadership, while Bottomley considered politics as having no place in schools. Mathers would treat the work at Nabumali as a training ground for church leaders, but Bottomley was the headmaster of a specialized educational institution whose first task was meeting the Government educational requirements and then fostering a programme of Christian service and evangelism into the school routine.

As mentioned at the end of Chapter VII, Nabumali High School and its headmaster were on a collision course with the Bagishu Local Authorities

in the early 1950's. What was the background to the political and tribal sensitivity of the Bagishu people, and what in the past history of the Elgon region had produced the explosive political scene of the 1950's which only required a spark for it to break into open flame?

Inter tribal rivalry among the segmented tribes of the Elgon area was not a new phenomenon. Prior to the advent of Kakungulu's client chieftainship system³⁴ few of the tribes had sufficient unity or sense of common identity to oppose an enemy in force. Fighting consisted of a long history of intra and inter clan skirmishes which were frequent and fierce. Land areas in dispute did not so much change hands as remain no-man's land on which fighting occurred, and during the times of peace were left deserted, or were used for grazing and agriculture by the dominant party. Though the tribes were fragmented, they did have traditional common enemies among neighbouring tribes, an enmity such as existed between the Bagishu and the Iteso, but fighting was nearly always on a clan scale rather than tribal scale.

With the coming of the Baganda and the institution of a system of client chiefs, inter clan and inter tribal vendettas were replaced by a hatred of a common foe living in their midst - the Baganda chief or agent. These Baganda chiefs held sway for only the first few years of the present century, and then British Administration was superimposed and the same

³⁴See Chapter III, p.30 ff.

Baganda then became agents of the crown.³⁵ Between 1900 and 1910 most of the Elgon area fighting was directed against the imposed administration and its agents. But Government punitive expeditions had the desired effect, and by the second decade the areas were effectively pacified, tax was being collected, and British administrative authority was being acknowledged. But with the advent of 'peace' the various tribes came down from their mountain hideouts and out of their fortified villages and spread onto the plains. In the areas of no-man land, territory, whose ownership had never been effectively established, was claimed by several groups and conflict resulted.

One of the areas in dispute was the township of Mbale. Kakungulu, when he was deprived of his authority in 1902 in Budaka, had requested a grant of land on which to settle with his followers. By agreement with Grant and Bagishu and Teso chiefs of the area, a piece of no-man land was chosen and developed into a flourishing trade centre which quickly became the Government and mission headquarters as well. Mbale township, was no longer valueless, but a prize to be claimed. Both the Bagishu and Bagwere tribes claimed it as part of their traditional territory!³⁶

³⁵ Even before this they could have been considered agents of the crown as Kakungulu had been a British paid administrator. It is interesting to note that the British 'indirect rule' policy was imposed in the Eastern Region onto the imposed system of client-chiefs. Indirect rule required a system of chiefs - something non-existent in the pre-feudal society found by Kakungulu in 1899 in Bukedi. True indirect rule only came to the Eastern Province once the Baganda agents had been replaced by native chiefs in the mid 1930's.

³⁶ Interview with K. Sharpe and Bishop Masaba at Namirembe, October 12, 1968.

Though both tribes were Bantu, there was one significant difference between the Bagishu and the Bagwere. The Bagishu circumcised its young men and the Bagwere did not. Circumcision for the Bagishu was and is an intense source of pride and tribal identity.³⁷ The Bagishu consider the non-circumcized African to be unclean and not manly, while the Bagwere consider the Bagishu to be a primitive hill-people who were slow in accepting progress and cultural change.³⁸ When the Baganda came the Bagwere did not resist them because through contacts with the Basoga (a tribe much influenced by Baganda life) the Baganda had been portrayed to them as the tribe of progress and wealth. The Bagishu, on the other hand, considered Bagwere inaction to be cowardice and they themselves strongly opposed the Baganda invasion.

When the Elgon area was taken over by British administrators they were faced with the almost impossible task of defining boundaries and administrative divisions which would be satisfactory to all parties concerned. A 1902 Uganda Order in Council divided the Protectorate into five administrative divisions: the Kingdom of Uganda (Buganda), and the Central, Rudolph, Nile and Western Provinces. The Central Province (the former Bukedi-Kavirondo area) was divided into the districts of

³⁷ Interview with Y.M. Kisala at MagaMaga, Busoga, October 4, 1968.

³⁸ The Bagwere claimed Mbale because they said the Bagishu are mountain people, but they were plain people, and so the plain on which Mbale is situated belonged to them. Apparently Kakungulu, when once asked to whom he wanted his saza of Mbale to belong, replied Bugwere. The Bagishu, claimed that Mbale site had always been used by them for millet and maize growing, but because of Teso enmity they had never settled there. The Teso apparently supported this claim. (Interview with K. Sharpe and Bishop Msaba at Namirembe, October 12, 1968.)

Elgon, Bukedi, Busoga, Karamajo, and Lobar.³⁹ In April 1907 a proclamation by Sir H.H. Bell recognized five provinces in the Protectorate: Buganda, Eastern, Western, Rudolf and Northern. The Eastern Province was now divided into the districts of Bukedi, Busoga, Karamajo and Lobar. In 1911 Lango District was transferred from Bunyoro to the Eastern Province. In 1914 the northern districts of Uganda were transferred to the Sudan while at the same time the West Nile was created out of former Sudan-administered territory and added to the Uganda Protectorate. By 1920 the administrative divisions had been organized very much as they are in the present day, except that Rudolf Province was still part of Uganda. The Eastern Province now comprised six districts: Bukedi, Busoga, Karamajo, Lobar, Teso and Lango. The trouble spot in the Eastern Province remained Bukedi District because in its boundaries the administrators had placed a disparate mixture of segmented tribes including the Bagishu and the Bagwere.

Bukedi District had been first organized as an administrative entity in 1902 and at that time it comprised Teso, Sebei, Bugishu, Bugwere, Bunyole, Budama East and West, and Pallisa.⁴⁰ Teso, however, was given district status in 1909 and administered from Kumi. Until 1923 Bukedi remained an administrative unit, but following the severe famine of 1918-19 Government was obliged to find other headquarters. This move coincided with the division of Bukedi District into three units - Bugishu,

³⁹See maps on pp.7, 22, and 23.

⁴⁰Samia Bugwe was not included in Bukedi District at this time. See maps on pp.22, 23.

Bugwere and Budama. The dispute over the township of Mbale had already divided the Bagwere and Bagishu. To effect the 1923 boundary demarcation between Bagwere and Bugishu Government officials and chiefs from both tribes carried out the long and tiring process of 'walking out' a boundary. The party would move from Bugwere direction to Bugishu direction until Bagishu protest turned them back. When Bagwere protest halted them again then a compromise point was possible. The final decision, however, usually rested with the District Commissioner. But when this demarcation was not accepted and this dispute has affected the Elgon political scene ever since, particularly around the areas of Siroko, Buwalasi, Mbale and Busia.⁴¹

The 1923 settlement stated that Mbale was to remain the Bagwere headquarters while Bagishu headquarters was to be moved to Bubulo, but the Bagishu never accepted this exile from Mbale and by 1937 they returned to Mbale when Bugwere and Bugishu Districts were amalgamated into the Central District. Amalgamation was intended to bring the two sides together to facilitate communications, to centralize multi-tribal authority, to bridge tribal parochialism, as explained at a mass 'baraza' of chiefs and officials on February 19, 1936. The new authority moved into the former Bugwere District headquarters at Mbale, but the dispute went on.⁴² In 1939 the Bagishu built Maluku headquarters in Mbale - the focal point of dispute and intrigue from then right on to 1965. Budama, which did

⁴¹Interview with K. Sharpe and Bishop Masaba at Namirembe, October 12, 1968.

⁴²F.G. Burke, Local Government and Politics in Uganda (Syracuse: 1964), pp.204-05.

not have a district headquarters but was administered by three separate Baganda agents in Budama, Samia-Bugwe and Bunyole, joined the Central District in 1941 thereby creating one district with three distinct authorities. Budama and Bugwere were joined into one district called Bukedi in 1942. By 1954 the Central District was again divided into Bukedi and Bugishu. In 1955 Mbale became a separate district, but housing the headquarters of both the Bagishu and Bukedi Administrations at Maluku which had been enlarged in 1949 with a thin partitioning wall separating the rival offices. Tension remained high throughout the 1950's and, after the O'Connor Commission of 1962 ruled in favour of Bagishu remaining in Mbale and recommended that Bukedi establish its headquarters at Tororo, this tension broke into sporadic violence. By 1965 Bukedi District had begun establishing its new headquarters at Tororo.⁴³

As can be concluded from this account, the Bagishu and Bukedi areas never succeeded in settling their differences with these many arrangements and re-arrangements. Rather, the opposite effect was achieved - the more changes attempted, the more material for discontent and argument was provided. Fortunately neither of the parties really effectively organized its discontent, though the Bagishu almost succeeded.

As early as 1925 the Bagishu had established the Bagishu Welfare Association to press for a settlement of native land tenure issues.⁴⁴

⁴³Burke, Op. Cit., p.207.

⁴⁴J.S. La Fontaine, The Gisu of Uganda (London: 1959), p.13.

This Association very quickly became the sounding-board of latent Bagishu nationalism,⁴⁵ a nationalism which erupted over such issues as school ownership, education of the Bagishu, authority within the Bagishu Coffee Union, anti-Baganda feeling, and Bagishu economic advance.

Bagishu nationalism had been greatly stimulated by the Mbale land dispute and the de-Bagandanization of the 1930's. The latter heralded the real beginning of indirect rule for the segmented tribes of the Eastern Province. The indigenous chiefs who replaced the Baganda agents were usually nominated on the basis of their having some degree of local recognition or authority and by the mid 1930's they were firmly embedded as autocratic, highly respected, but reactionary leaders.⁴⁶ This first generation of indigenous chiefs, however, emulated the methods of their Baganda predecessors⁴⁷ and so rapidly called down upon their heads the wrath of the emerging young educated professionals.⁴⁸ The Government, concerned with the unrestrained autocracy of these chiefs, introduced in the late 1930's a system of councils by which the chiefs would be

⁴⁵Interview with M. Sakwa at Nebumali, October 3, 1968.

⁴⁶Burke, Op. Cit., pp.36-7.

⁴⁷This was very similar to what happened in the church when the first generation of indigenous clergy took over from their Baganda predecessors and encouraged the use of Luganda and Baganda methods of evangelism.

⁴⁸D. Anthony Low and R. Cranford Prett, Buganda and British Overrule; 1900-1955 (London: 1960), pp.206-7.

governed by the interests of his subjects rather than his own whims.⁴⁹ Through these councils a new class of leaders penetrated into local government, and in the post war years played a vital role in the early preparations for independence. The 1949 and 1955 Ordinances defining local government revealed that the old chiefs had been stripped of much of their legislative authority and had become executive officers of the local government.⁵⁰ The young, educated council member, often a former school master, was now legislating for the old chiefs rather than having to obey the dictates of a relatively backward and ignorant traditional chief.

During the 1940's and 1950's Bagishu nationalism identified itself strongly with certain key Bagishu institutions like the Coffee Union⁵¹, the Elgon Technical Institute and Nabumali High School. In

⁴⁹Burke, Op. Cit., pp.37-42.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp.50-51.

⁵¹As early as 1931 the Bagishu Native Government had been buying local coffee. During 1931-45 the Central Government encouraged this scheme intending that it should be formed into a co-operative society. In 1945 a party of Bagishu chiefs and coffee growers visited the Kilimanjoro Native Co-operative Union in Moshi, Tanganyika. The idea caught root. In 1948-9 the Government appointed a co-operative staff and the society was called the Bagishu Coffee Growers' Co-operative Union. It was intended as a forum for discussing common growing problems, but the business volume quickly overshadowed anything else. In 1949 432 tons of coffee were handled; by 1951 it changed its name to the Masaba Growers' Co-operative Union when it took over cotton societies. In 1957-8 it handled 5,000 tons of coffee worth E1,500,000 and 8,500,000 pounds of cotton worth E300,000. By June 1957 the total worth or funds in the control of the Union was E1,550,000.

In 1958 a Commission of Inquiry was carried out by the Uganda Government when it became aware of irregularities in the accounts of the union and of political activities of the members of the union's board.

June and July 1950 Nabumali High School had two groups of important visitors. On June 13th Messrs. T. Mudanye and Y. Kirya of the Bukedi A.L.G. visited and inspected the school. They took lunch with the staff and boys, and expressed their pleasure at seeing how well the Bukedi boys were doing in the school. On July 4th Messrs. P. Wandawa, S. Wanambwa and Y. Mukwana, officers of the Bugishu A.L.G., visited and inspected the school. They stayed for lunch and appeared disappointed at the small number of Bagishu boys in the senior secondary section. They mentioned that for this reason the Bugishu Council had not recommended that any of the £250,000 coffee profits should be granted to Nabumali High School for development.⁵² Bagishu authorities had for some time been aware that Nabumali was not producing as many Bagishu Makerere entrants as it was from neighbouring tribes. They considered Nabumali to be a Bagishu school, not a Diocesan or Government or Provincial school. For many years it was the only senior secondary school in the whole Eastern and

The Commission reported that "The Union has become a symbol of Bugisu unity. Any proposals to reorganize it are liable to be opposed on emotional grounds, and the authors of any such proposals may find themselves accused of 'divide and rule' motives." ("Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affairs of the Bugisu Co-operative Union Limited," Sessional Paper No.14 of 1958 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe).) The union board members took very sharp exception to such Government "oppression" over an African institution, especially when the Government reconstituted the board so that the Bagishu would not have the majority voice. The Government insisted that the Bugishu Coffee Board was a price stabilization agency and was in its rights to build a stabilization fund, but the Union insisted that these reserves were moneys over which the Union could and should exercise control.

During an interview, Mr. M. Sakwa, Deputy Headmaster of Nabumali High School, in commenting on the political power of the Bugishu Coffee Union, described the politics of Bugishu to be one and the same as the politics of the coffee union.

⁵²Nabumali High School Log Book, 1950 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

Northern Provinces, but the Bagishu, increasingly self-aware and conscious of a sense of tribal identity, considered it, as they considered Elgon Technical Institute, a Bagishu school.⁵³

Less than a month after the visit of the Bagishu authorities some Bagishu boys began leaving the school to go home for circumcision rites. The Acting Headmaster, the Reverend E. Perrens, wrote to the Bagishu African Local Government in Mbale complaining that this custom was a hindrance to the Bagishu pupil at Nabumali. Not only did it hinder the work of the school but it also harmed and hindered the Christian life and educational progress of Bugishu.⁵⁴ Circumcision was usually taken by boys in the junior secondary years and " . . . there is no doubt that it partly accounts for the fact that the number of Bagishu boys who reach the Senior Secondary School is so small as to cause concern to you and to us here."⁵⁵ There were only eleven Bagishu out of the sixty two in the senior secondary school, while at Tororo College there were only four Bagishu boys. The Director of Education in his 1959 Annual Report added

It is of considerable interest and gives cause for concern that at this very flourishing self-governing school of Nabumali in the heart of the Bagishu country the progress of the Bagishu boys should be retarded by their own tribal rites.⁵⁶

⁵³Even in the present day former Nabumali students consider Nabumali to be a Bagishu school as they consider Budo to be a Baganda school.

⁵⁴Nabumali High School Log Book, 1950 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁵⁵E. Perrens - Secretary General of the Bugishu African Local Government, August 21, 1950 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁵⁶Annual Report, 1950 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.37.

A tribe just waking up to its own tribal identity would certainly not accept that circumcision, a deeply embedded custom which provided its people with manly self-confidence, pride and aggressiveness, was the source of its education backwardness; the fault must lie with the headmaster, the staff and Board of Governors of the institution. The Bagishu A.L.G. showed its disapproval by objecting to the Board of Governor policy of choosing and electing its membership on the basis of ability and interest rather than on tribal and regional representation.⁵⁷

Throughout the early 1950's the situation remained one of smouldering discontent and indirect criticism of Nabumali and its headmaster. The Cambridge results, though excellent in 1951, were poor in 1952.⁵⁸ The 1952 Speech Day was the first to be held in eleven years (though several parents' days had been held). On May 9, 1953 a "Protest Letter from 28 Parents" in Bukedi and Bagishu areas was sent to the Board of Governors. The eleven criticisms listed in the letter were concerned with the policy of co-education, the Headmaster and the staff he selected, the scholastic

⁵⁷The African Local Governments in Bukedi and Bugishu were suspicious of mission motives and financial policies. (Annual Report, 1951 (Department of Education, Uganda), pp.23-4.) The Bagishu A.L.G., at a later date, even went so far as to demand that four members of Nabumali's Board of Governors be Bagishu representatives, even if this meant the removal of the two Bukedi members. If this was not done, the Bagishu A.L.G. threatened to sever all relations with the Nabumali Board of Governors.

⁵⁸One boy received a 2nd class certificate while seven received 3rd class certificates. Of these only one was accepted into Makerere. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1952 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

standard of Nabumali, the limited contact between parents and the school, and the fact that no Mugishu had ever passed into Makerere.⁵⁹ Parents found it hard to accept the policy of co-education in a school because to many of them this meant that the boys and girls were living together. It was also felt that girls did better academically in an all-girls school. Because the Headmaster had not organized speech days during the eleven years prior to 1952 these parents felt that he was not interested in them and the school. Bottomley prided himself in having Old Boys return to the school as masters, but some people felt he was encouraging this at the expense of quality. The protest letter was peculiarly contradictory in this respect in that one criticism said that not enough Old Boys were on the school staff because preference was being given to outsiders, while another criticism claimed that Old Boys were being given preference over masters with ability. The criticism that no Mugishu had ever passed through Nabumali into Makerere seems to suggest that certainly most of, if not all, the parents who took part in setting up the letter, were Bagishu, or Bagishu and Bagwere, as no Bagwere had ever entered Makerere from Nabumali either.

As this attitude of protest did not die down in 1953 and 1954, the school authorities responded. The Board agreed that the parent-school contacts should be improved and so it was agreed that a Speech Day be held every second year with a Parents' Day on the other years. At the end of each term an evening supper was to be held to which local chiefs and

⁵⁹Nabumali High School files and correspondence (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

leading figures would be invited to address the pupils. The criticism that Nabumali's academic standard was low was answered with a comparative study of Budo, Mwiri and Nabumali Cambridge Certificate results between 1948 and 1952.⁶⁰

	<u>Nabumali</u>	<u>Mwiri</u>	<u>Budo</u>
	Entrants/Passes		
1948	17/12	15/13	28/25
1949	14/10	32/15	33/24
1950	16/14	19/15	35/22
1951	16/13	27/15	35/21
1952	20/8	50/28	36/24
	68.67%	60.14%	69.46%
	Passes	Passes	Passes

The charge that no Bagishu had been sent to Makerere from Nabumali was accepted, but Perrens submitted evidence that the percentage of Cambridge Certificate passes from Nabumali who were accepted into Makerere was 15.8 per cent of the total passes compared with Mwiri's 14.8 per cent and Budo's 19.0 per cent.⁶¹ Then in August 1954 Perrens presented a tribal analysis of the 1950-53 period Cambridge results and Makerere entrants to the Secretary General of the Bugishu A.L.G.⁶²

⁶⁰"Study of Cambridge Certificate and Makerere Entrance Results 1948-52, prepared in answer to May 9, 1953 Protest Letter" (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁶¹Ibid.

	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>School Certificate Passes</u>	<u>Makerere Passes</u>
1.	Lango	100%	50%
2.	Badama	84%	33%
3.	Teso	79%	21%
4.	Basamia	75%	25%
5.	Acholi	67%	17%
6.	Banyuli	50%	25%
7.	Bagishu	47%	-
8.	Bagwere	25%	-

Some forty seven per cent of the Bagishu at Nabumali passed the Cambridge requirements but none of these was accepted into Makerere. Perrens added this note:

Some have said that Nabumali has been letting down the Bagishu. These figures show that there would be good reason for saying that, in fact, the Bagishu have been letting down Nabumali. . . . Possibly Canon Bottomley has been too kind and admitted too many Bagishu to S.4 . . . I agree entirely with the comment that circumcision for a school boy is preceded by a period of worry and is followed by a period of psychological upset (from which there seems to be a slow recovery over a period of years). . . . Ignorant and unjust criticisms of schools and teachers by Bagishu people should cease immediately. It undermines boys' confidence in their teachers, so that they do not heed what they are told and think they know better than their teachers. . . . Finally, I should like to record my disgust that this campaign of criticism levelled at Nabumali in general and Canon Bottomley in particular has gone on so long. The Bagishu have many good friends, including Canon Bottomley, but even their friends will one day be sickened by the unjust and cruel criticisms which are so freely thrown about in Bugishu.⁶³

This concentrated self-defence succeeded in quietening the criticisms, and though the latter 1950's were not marred by any similar outbreaks of dissent, Bagishu nationalism remained simmering under the surface. With the political upheaval of the pre-independence years would come fresh criticism, renewed self-assertion, and more trouble for Nabumali's headmaster. The Bagishu tribe had, within a period of fifty years, come from a segmented patriarchal state to a semi-autonomous state, centralized, modern and competitive, full of its own worth and jealous of any infringement of what was considered its right. Any institution within its boundaries which was interfered with, or which suggested

(E. Perrens - S.W. Wanambwa, August 16, 1954, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and Files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.)

⁶³Ibid.

that the Bagishu were inferior, would be either emotionally defended or irrationally criticized.

The 1950-60 decade saw many physical changes taking place at Nabumali High School. In 1950 the installation of electricity was begun. At first it was thought that Nabumali could not be wired into the main grid and a private generating system was contemplated, but then Canon Bottomley,⁶⁴ together with Father Terhorst of Nyondo, was able to persuade the Uganda Electricity Board to divert its Lukonge line enough to enable Nabumali and Nyondo to be connected to it. Throughout the first term of 1952 the electricians were at work and, much to the pleasure of all the pupils and the assembled guests, the electricity was turned on in the dormitories on Speech Day, August 9th, 1952. This meant that Nabumali was the first Protestant secondary school to be electrified.

A major problem at Nabumali was the water supply. Because the school is located on a ridge, throughout its early years as a mission station and a school, Nabumali had to depend on wells, one located on the north side of the ridge opposite the Girls' School and the other in the valley south and east of the main school just below the present soccer field. But, with the increase in the number of pupils, it had become increasingly difficult to provide enough water for cooking, washing and sanitation. The minutes of the Board of Governor's meetings are a long history of surveys, geological studies, building of a 'ram and dam' in the valley, new well cribbings and washing troughs, and so on, but all

⁶⁴Bottomley was made canon of Mbale Cathedral in 1950.

to no avail. By the early 1950's twenty concrete water tanks were constructed to catch rainwater at a cost of £1,100, but even all these were soon to prove inadequate.

Finally, in desperation, Mr. W.E. Fisher of the Board of Governors suggested that the services of Lt. Col. Hennessey, B.S.D., of Naivasha, Kenya, was the late Water and Mineral Diviner to the Government of India and other Governments, as well as General Consultant Water and Mineral Diviner, Lands and Estates Insurance Agent and Air Travel and General Agent in East Africa. For the modest fee of £50 His Majesty's Government's late water diviner came to Nabumali on April 29 and May 27, 1952. Complete with incantations, magic rods, coins and servants, Hennessey prospected for water and found two potential sources - one directly behind the present dining hall at the main school site and another behind the main staff house at the Girls' School. Mowlems Construction Company put down two bore-holes, with considerable difficulty, and from 1952 until the construction of the Manafwa water system, these two wells provided Nabumali with the necessary water. Lt. Col. Hennessey, a master of confidence, even went to the extent of predicting the depth of the water vein, the hourly flow, and the chemical analysis of the water when he submitted his report in mid 1952. In some remarkable way parts of his predictions were accurate, though all parties concerned never fully reconciled themselves with having employed a water diviner after all other official and non-official expertise had failed to produce the required results.

On January 6, 1954 the Director of Education informed the headmasters of all full secondary schools that their schools would be expanded

in accordance with the de Bunsen Committee Report.⁶⁵ Nabumali, according to this circular, would begin a major building programme to be carried out in two phases over the years 1954 to 1958.

On February 3rd the Board of Governors met to consider the future development of the school. With the expansion of the senior section, some arrangements would have to be made for the primary girls and the junior secondary sections.⁶⁶ Since the Government would be paying widely divergent grants for these different levels of education, and since primary education would come under African Local Government control, Mr. Ousley of the Department of Education informed the Board that it would be extremely difficult to develop these sections together in the same school. The African members of the Board favoured the retention of the primary section and co-education at Nabumali. Much time was spent considering the establishing of a separate girls' school and a termination of co-education,⁶⁷ but the Board could not come to a definite decision inspite of various meetings.

⁶⁵Mr. Bernard de Bunsen was guest speaker at the 1952 Speech Day at Nabumali just prior to his becoming chairman of the "African Education Committee".

⁶⁶According to the de Bunsen recommendations all senior secondary expansion was to be done through double-streaming existing institutions rather than establishing new schools. This was the beginning of the policy of enlarging existing schools to make them 'efficient' which by 1968/69 meant four and five stream C.S.C./H.S.C. schools of over 700 pupils. This happened inspite of Government assurances in 1957 that these schools would not be developed beyond two streams. (Annual Report, 1957 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.44.)

⁶⁷Nabumali High School Board of Governors minutes, February 3, 1954 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

Complicating the issue were the conflicting needs and desires of the Bukedi and Bugishu Local Governments and the availability of European staff for any new schools. The Government did not want a junior secondary section to remain attached to the senior section, while the Local Government did not want to lose this institution nor have it developed outside of Bugishu. If the Girls' School were moved, the Bugishu Local Government wanted a similar institution developed in Bugishu at Bubulo, and at the same time it pressed for the establishment of a senior secondary girls' school comparable to Gayaza. The Government, however, was primarily concerned with retaining Nabumali as a co-educational senior institution, with the Bubulo site being developed along junior secondary or even secondary modern lines, but such plans did not satisfy Bugishu pride and ambition.⁶⁸

After much indecision and delay, the Board, at its May 18th meeting, heard the report of the deputation sent to the Director of Education concerning the future of Nabumali and it was decided that 1) Nabumali would be developed as a senior secondary double-stream boarding school for boys with girls being accommodated until appropriate boarding accommodation to be provided for them elsewhere, 2) the present Girls' School site be developed as a two-stream junior secondary boys school under the Nabumali Board of Governors to ensure a Nabumali tradition, 3) a girls' junior secondary boarding school be started 'elsewhere in this district' and that a senior secondary school for girls be established as soon as

⁶⁸Nabumali High School Board of Governors minutes, April and May 1954 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

practicable in the diocese.⁶⁹ The Bugishu Local Government was determined not to cede any of its institutions to Bukedi.⁷⁰ The future of the Girls' School, both junior and senior sections, would not have to be decided until the double-stream development at the main school had been completed around January 1956 and so the Government could afford to be patient and diplomatic with the Bagishu authorities.

The carrying out of the 1954-58 development plans at Nabumali illustrates the considerable degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Board of Governors and the headmaster. The Government in its 1953 memorandum had simply expressed a general policy direction

. . . that the present secondary schools should in due course give up their primary schools and their junior secondary classes I and II. Nevertheless the Government appreciates that in certain secondary schools the attached primary and junior secondary classes have for long been considered an integral part of the school, and recognizes that this recommendation cannot be implemented other than gradually. . . .⁷¹

In connection with the expansion of girls education the Government simply advised " . . . that the development of girls' education must be based on a notable expansion of properly staffed boarding schools in the second

⁶⁹Nabumali High School Board of Governors minutes, May 18, 1954 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁷⁰The Bukedi A.L.G. felt that it was entitled to at least one institution seeing that Bugishu had three after the development of Bubulo.

⁷¹"Memorandum by the Protectorate Government on the Report of the African Education Committee," March 23, 1953 (Government Printers, Entebbe), p.10.

half of the primary range"⁷² The decisions to keep Nabumali co-educational, to develop the Bubulo site, the actual development plans were all made by the Board of Governors. It was the Board which dealt with Bagishu pressure politics and delaying tactics.⁷³

The Board of Governors of Nabumali was largely independent of the mission, the N.A.C., and the Education Secretary General. Co-ordination of school development came through communications with the Director of Education and the casual contacts which members of the Board had in the N.A.C. and on the Diocesan Board of Education. Prior to Government taking over such matters as teachers' salary scales, terms of service, disciplinary actions, location of staff, the Board of Governors took decisions related to these matters (with the advice of the Diocesan Board of Education, though this advice was in no way binding). Initiative for capital development very often came from the Board of Governors, rather than from the Director of Education, though Government control of capital grants and the use of surplus funds at the school acted as an external veto. The actual construction plans and contracts were left largely to the Board. On at least one occasion the Nabumali Board of Governors took the initiative in asking for architect's plans before Government had even advised that funds for development were available. Alternative arrangements for financing developments were also the right of the Board, as

⁷²Ibid., p.15.

⁷³Both Archdeacon Masaba and Mr. S.W. Wanambwa favoured the development of a senior girls' school at Bubulo. The final decision not to develop a senior institution was dictated by Government refusal to provide

illustrated by a Shs.700,000/- loan taken out by the Board of Governors to finance a development immediately while using the Government guaranteed grants as security.

With the future of the institution more or less decided development could begin. Plans for Phase I of Nabumali's de Bunsen development were undertaken under the direction of Mr. Falconer, the local representative of the architects' firm of Deans and Partners. On June 18th, 1954 the first contract was signed with Dial Singh Kalsi for the construction of an upper classroom block, two dormitories (the old sections of present-day Aggrey and Crabtree houses), and three staff houses (the houses on the swimming pool side of the compound) to be completed in April 1955. By September construction progress had advanced so well that plans for Phase II were begun.

In December 1954 C.R.V. Bell of the Department of Education advised Bishop Usher Wilson, chairman of the Board of Governors, that the Government would make available £55,000 for Phase II development. The Board asked the Government for three main buildings for the school - a dining hall, a chapel, and an assembly hall - but the Government said that only two of these three could be financed. The Board decided on a combination dining-assembly hall and a chapel.⁷⁴ This phase had to be built in two stages as the old main hall of the school could not be

the needed funds, and the Bagishu Local Government did not have the money to do it because it was building Masaba School at Budadari.

⁷⁴C.R.V. Bell - Usher Wilson, December 3, 1954 found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and Files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

demolished until the new chapel was completed, and the new dining-assembly hall was to be located on the site of the old main hall. The new classroom block, in the meantime, was put into use in the first term of 1955 and at the same time three new games fields were being levelled (present soccer-cricket field, hockey field, athletics field) by Mr. Lawrence Brown with the students of Nabumali grassing the soccer-cricket pitch that same term.

In the meantime Phase II had been delayed by the Government not being able to provide the full sum of £55,000, and the Board was requested to extend Phase II over a period of three years, 1956-58.⁷⁵ A contract for £47,000, again with Dial Singh Kalsi, had already been accepted and it was feared that the whole Phase II development would flounder if the present plans were not implemented right away. The Board, in consultation with Mr. R.P.J. Lindsell, the District Commissioner of Mbale, prepared a letter to the Bugishu Coffee Society and requested a loan of £45,000 from the Society's reserves, repayable over three years as the Government grants were made available.⁷⁶ In his letter to the Coffee Society Bishop Usher Wilson, conscious of Bugishu feelings and the tensions created by the recent establishment of Mbale as a separate district, argued

The project is of great importance and one that has been particularly supported by local African opinion. The Board of Governors has therefore decided to apply to your Board for assistance. It feels justified in doing so since although Nabumali is not solely a Bugisu school it lies in Bugisu, has educated more Bagisu children than any other school (at present more than 50% of the pupils are Bagisu) and amongst its old boys are many of the present leading

⁷⁵Director of Education - Usher Wilson, July 4, 1955, Ibid.

⁷⁶Later reduced to £35,000.

citizens of Bugisu. Obviously therefore it is of great service to the Bagisu and it has always been evident that they have a deep interest in its development.⁷⁷

The District Commissioner wrote an accompanying letter which made the matter much clearer.

Perhaps it may be pointed out that whereas it can be said that the cotton grower has contributed something to Nabumali through the African Development Fund, built up on profits from cotton marketing, the coffee grower has not contributed anything.⁷⁸

On October 5th, 1955 Mr. Lindsell finalized a loan of Shs.700,000/- at two per cent interest⁷⁹ and construction on a second classroom block, a chapel, a headmaster's house, three staff houses, a quarter-master's house, an assembly-administration building, and the demolition of the old main hall was begun.

By November the classroom block and staff houses were well under way, and the foundation for the new chapel had been laid, but news came from the Department that the money for a girls' hostel would now not be available. At the same time the development of Bubulo had been further delayed by conflicting thought and plans between the local and central governments, as well as by the reticence of the Central Government to enter into the Bubulo scheme knowing that once started the Bugishu Local Government would press for Bubulo to be developed still further as a

⁷⁷Usher Wilson - Bugishu Coffee Society, July 4, 1955, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and Files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

⁷⁸R.F.J. Lindsell - Bugishu Coffee Society, July 4, 1955, Ibid.

⁷⁹Nabumali High School Board of Governors minutes, July 4, 1955 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

senior institution. To solve the hostel problem, the Board decided in April, pending a final decision about girls' education at Nabumali or Bubulo, to build a staff house for temporary use as a girls' hostel for later conversion.⁸⁰

Finally, on March 8, 1956 the Director informed the Board that it had been decided that Nabumali would be developed as a two-stream senior secondary co-educational school, and one-stream boys and girls junior secondary schools would be developed at the old Girls' School and Bubulo sites respectively, with Bubulo also taking in primary five and six classes at first. The Boys' Junior Secondary School would receive a grant of £6,000 in July 1956 for the construction of two intermediate staff houses and a classroom block, while the Girls' School at Bubulo would receive £32,500 from the Central Government and the rest would have to come from the Bukedi and Bugishu Local Councils.⁸¹

When the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, was Guest of Honour and Chief Speaker at the March 17th, 1956 Speech Day, Phase II construction was well advanced and the old main hall was about to be demolished to make way for the new complex. By the end of November the second classroom block, two staff houses, the headmaster's house, and the temporary girls hostel were ready for occupancy. Because of its unusual design, the chapel was behind schedule.

⁸⁰ Nabumali High School Board of Governors minutes, April 19, 1955, Ibid.

⁸¹ C.R.V. Bell - Usher Wilson, March 8, 1956, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and Files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

On February 17th, 1957, during the first term of the school year, the Chapel of St. Peter's was consecrated by Bishop Usher Wilson assisted by Bishop Tomusange⁸², Archdeacon Masaba, Mr. J.M. Aryada, Mrs. H. Barlow,⁸³ the school Chaplain, the Reverend E. Perrens,⁸⁴ and Canon Bottomley. A plaque in the chapel porch was unveiled and the Bishop then laid the foundation stone of the new administration complex, the last building scheduled for Phase II development.

In 1956 the long post-war economic boom had come to an end. Prices of basic exports declined though production and volume of exports rose. The 1955 Government plan to allocate capital from the African Development Fund had to be revised in 1957 in the light of new economic conditions. Government, having entered on an expansionist policy, could now ill afford to become restrictive, particularly in the face of mounting political self-determination. During the 1953-55 years secondary education had been expanded more rapidly than planned with 490 pupils in senior secondary classes in 1958 rather than the de Bunsen goal of 500 in 1960, and plans to begin Higher School Certificate work at Kisubi, Budo, Ntare and Mbale Government School in 1958 were approved in July 1957. Similar rapid advances had been made in primary education with 3,500 classes in 1958

⁸²Tomusange had been consecrated Assistant Bishop of the Upper Nile Diocese at Ngora on April 25, 1952.

⁸³The former Faisi Kutosi, one-time student, and just recently Acting Headmistress of the Girls' School.

⁸⁴Perrens was appointed Headmaster of Nyakasura High School in October 1958.

rather than the targetted 2,500 in 1960 and in junior secondary education with 452 classes in 1958 rather than the intended 265 in 1960. The price of such an expanded system in recurrent costs, now that the African Development Fund had been almost totally used up, was chargeable to the annual general revenue of Uganda. Consequently the Government prepared its 1958 Sessional Paper No.2 which redefined Government education policy for the late 1950's as one of consolidation, retrenchment and selection of priorities. For a while development would have to be halted.

As a result of this new policy, development at Nabumali during 1958-60 consisted mostly of minor extensions, finishing existing projects, and converting old facilities to new uses. In the first term of 1958 the new dining hall at the main school, with its electric cookers, was first used for an Old Boys Reunion. The old dining hall was converted into physics-biology laboratories, and then in 1960 these laboratories were joined to Dr. Mile's original laboratory, thus creating an additional chemistry laboratory. The old Banks and Crabtree dormitories were converted into geography and biology-library facilities, but in more recent years they were used as girls' dormitories until 1968 when the new girls' hostel was completed below the eastern end of the soccer-cricket pitch. During 1958 Mr. Grace had carried out extensive landscaping around the newly completed chapel and administrative block. In September of that same year two post-and-panel staff houses were under construction below the new Aggrey and Crabtree dormitories.

In May 1957 Misses Siggs and Marchment, after endless delays, left Nabumali to begin work at the new Girls' School at Bubulo. The High School (main school) had held a junior secondary girls class in anticipation of the opening of Bubulo in 1956 and these girls went with Miss Siggs. This was to be Miss Siggs last contribution to Nabumali school life as she retired in August 1957 after the new school had had a chance of getting settled.⁸⁵ The Bubulo-Nabumali connection was very rapidly severed after 1957 as both schools developed along separate lines with separate staffs and very different Government grants, and soon Bubulo became one of the girls' feeder schools for the senior secondary work at Nabumali.⁸⁶

⁸⁵For eleven years Miss Siggs had served on the Nabumali staff, and in 1956 Canon Bottomley wrote:

Miss Siggs has done an immense amount of work here. She has appeared to be completely tireless and always cheerful. Her chief contributions to the school, apart from her personal influence and sound common sense, have perhaps been her teaching of English, which she has done most efficiently and painstakingly, and the great care she has taken in looking after all school books, (which has certainly saved the school thousands of shillings) and the way in which she has built up and cared for the library. She will be a tremendous loss to Nabumali. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1956 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

⁸⁶There were twenty four senior girls now in their own hostel on the main school site under their warden, Mrs. Perrens. The year 1957 was particularly gratifying to the headmaster and those keenly interested in girls' education because Mary Bagenda and Anne Nakalimu, two Musoga girls, both received 1st Class Certificates and were consequently admitted to Makerere College with six other Nabumali pupils. Three other girls in the same year were accepted by Buloba College for teacher training studies.

In 1966 when junior secondary education was phased out of the Uganda system, Bubulo was closed and at present it is used as a private co-educational secondary day school. The school, the centre of so much controversy and effort, once beautifully landscaped, is now falling into

The Boys' Junior Secondary School began operations in 1957 under the headmastership of Mr. W.M. Wepukhulu, the present Secretary General of Bagishu, with sixty four boys (twenty nine in J.S.II and thirty three in J.S.I). It was intended that the senior and junior schools retain a very close contact. All other secondary schools in Uganda except Budo, Kisubi, Namilyango, Nabbingo, Mwiri, and Nabumali had shed their junior secondary and primary sections according to de Bunsen recommendations, but this special status was retained for only a brief time because much dissatisfaction was bred by it.⁸⁷ Even in 1957 the Government grant to the junior school was sharply reduced.⁸⁸ The reason given was that junior secondary education was now provincial responsibility and any requests for additional grants should be directed to the Provincial Education Officer. The two staff houses and the classroom block promised earlier were built in 1959, but the financial situation of the school deteriorated rapidly. The annual budget of the junior secondary school for 1958 was Shs.100,518/- and in 1963, inspite of enrolment increases from sixty three to 150, additional boarding expenses, and additional staff, the budget was only Shs.70,700/-.⁸⁹ It is little wonder that by

neglect through lack of money and supervision. A tragic development in a country so desperate for finances and facilities to develop its education.

⁸⁷Capitation payments were reduced from £22/10 in 1956 to £17 in 1958 and £9 in 1960.

⁸⁸Nabumali Junior Secondary School Board of Governors minutes, 1957 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁸⁹Annual Reports, 1957-63, Nabumali Junior Secondary School (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued; R.C. Matthews - Headmasters of six self-governing secondary schools, July 31, 1957 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

1966, when junior secondary education was phased out of the educational system, the pupils at the Nabumali Junior Secondary School because of limited staff supervision and very restricted living conditions rioted and destroyed windows, electric and plumbing fixtures, and equipment. In 1967 these facilities were again handed over to Nabumali High School by the Bagishu education authorities to serve as an adjunct to accommodate the burgeoning S.I intake at the High School. The riot damage was thoroughly repaired and since then these facilities have accommodated approximately 140 S.I and S.II boys who are in residence at the 'Junior School' and regularly walk to the main school for lessons, much like the senior girls had done for many years during the 1940's and 1950's.

Speech Day 1958 marked the completion of the de Bunsen developments at Nabumali. Since 1954 almost one and a half million shillings⁹⁰ had almost 'completely transformed' Nabumali High School. Bottomley thanked Governor Sir Frederick Crawford, the guest of honour, for the generous role played by Government. Bottomley continued his report as headmaster (having completed twenty five years in that office) by saying that some parents now wanted Nabumali to develop into a Higher School Certificate institution. He himself, however, favoured a period of consolidation. "When we are entering a regular 50 pupils each year for the School Certificate, of whom we can rely on at least half gaining a 1st class

⁹⁰Phase I had been carried out at the cost of Shs.460,655/- and Phase II at Shs.986,800/-.

certificate, I shall think it is time we went forward another step."⁹¹

In this chapter it has been seen how Government and mission in-decision in educational development in the early 1950's was challenged by the Binns and de Bunsen Reports, and following 1953, under Bottomley's vigorous leadership, a rapid programme of expansion was carried out at Nabumali. During these same years Nabumali High School was embroiled in the throes of local politics - political problems which date right back to the early years of the century. The school Board of Governors and headmaster defended themselves against all criticism and by 1957, in place of one multi-level institution, Nabumali had multiplied into two junior secondary and one co-educational senior secondary schools.

⁹¹Speech Day Report, November 15, 1958 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

CHAPTER IX

END OF AN ERA

As Uganda moved towards independence (October 1962) the administration became very conscious of impending change. The policy of co-operation between missions and Government was terminated; missions stepped into the background to avoid political conflict; secondary educational expansion was accelerated in order that an educated class be provided to take over the newly independent state; aid from the United States and an ever-increasing educational expenditure from Uganda sources illustrated the great hopes which the African placed in education. But change meant not only reaching for a new future; it also meant eliminating certain aspects of the past which were considered reactionary.

Margaret Read, in a paper read before the Education Section of the British Association in Edinburgh in 1951, suggested that when a receiving culture is exposed to a dominant culture there are six discernible phases in the process of acceptance of new ideas.

The first stage in the attempt of the dominant culture to introduce schools was marked by conservatism among the Africans towards this new form of education. In some areas . . . there was . . . open conflict. . . .

The second stage is characterised by a gradual acceptance by the Africans of some of the new ideas and new ways of living to which they were introduced through the schools. Learning to read and write, learning to make bricks. . . . This process . . . showed selectiveness in the elements which the African peoples adopted.

The third stage, inevitable as a result of the second, was the rejection by the Africans of certain traditional ideas and former ways of living. . . . The general result, however, of this third stage was summed up by an African paramount chief, himself a

Christian with some schooling, in the words 'the white teachers taught us to despise our past'.

In the fourth stage we see the educational opportunities offered by the dominant culture fully accepted by the Africans. . . . Leading Africans wanted their children to have a complete 'English' or 'Scottish' education in all its details, fearing that without it their children's development would be retarded, and that they would be discriminated against in competing with Europeans for professional posts. . . .

As yet there was little correlation between the traditional culture and this new educational pattern. . . .

The fifth stage illustrates another process of selectiveness by the Africans. By their own choice they had taken the opportunities offered and built a western school system into their social fabric. The common yardstick of public examinations had established their ability to make full use of a western education. They were released from the fear of being held back in education progress if they turned their attention to studies in their own traditional culture. African educationists began to show an interest in social anthropology, in African linguistics, in African music and art. . . .

The fifth stage marked a partial reinstatement of certain elements in the traditional culture in the educational system. . . .

The sixth stage illustrates a further process of constructiveness, making use of the new selection by Africans of elements in their traditional culture which they wished to incorporate in the educational system. . . . The characteristics of this movement are its integration with the political movement, and its appeal to a legendary or mythical past, which is the particular cultural heritage of a tribal people. . . .¹

During the last five years before independence the educational picture in Uganda could be considered to be in the fourth stage of development suggested in this quotation. The concept that "education is a human right - the right of every man, woman and child, irrespective of race,

¹M. Read, Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas (London: 1955), pp.106-110.

religion, colour or sex - and no longer the privilege of the few"² had not yet been widely adopted. Education was still a commodity which was an import, directed for foreigners according to their culture and traditions, but in the face of independence this acceptance of the foreign changed rapidly into an arrogant and determined self-confidence.

Since 1957 Government policy had been largely governed by the 1958 Sessional Paper which in turn had been governed by the lack of money. Government revenue was heavily dependent on cotton and coffee revenues, and the price of both of these had been low. The 1958 Paper had reflected a cautious mood compared with the buoyancy of the de Bunsen Report. The recommendations of the Paper were couched in vague objectives usually indicative of a policy of consolidation. 1) Emphasis was to be on quality rather than quantity by improving the efficiency of schools at all levels. 2) The training of a professional and sub-professional class was imperative to provide the personnel needed to fill the posts of expatriates who would be leaving or replaced. 3) More authority would be devolved onto Local Education Authorities. 4) The standard of living of all should be raised. (A peculiar educational objective!) 5) A reasonable standard of education was to be provided for as many as possible as soon as possible. 6) Universal literacy was a Department of Education goal.³

How were these aims to be achieved without infusing into the system

²Final Report: Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa. May 15-25, 1961 (UNESCO/ED/161), p.4.

³"Education in Uganda," Sessional Paper No.2 of 1958/59 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe), pp.4-5.

an increasingly large amount of money, or was it Government intention to consolidate behind a 'curtain of intent'? Junior secondary education had already been given over to the L.E.A.'s in July 1957. Fees in these schools were significantly increased as capitation payments were reduced.⁴ The teacher-pupil ratio was to be decreased. Expansion would take place only in secondary and higher education because more middle-class professionals were needed in the nation. Three capital expenditure forecast sessional papers submitted by Government between 1958 and 1960 underlined that Government would complete de Bunsen developments by double-streaming existing secondary schools rather than building new ones,⁵ develop H.S.C. work only at Ntare, Budo, Kisubi and Mbale, concentrate on replacing temporary structures and developing ancillary facilities like laboratories and subject rooms, develop junior secondary education on a mass basis (as seen by devolving authority on provincial education offices and by reducing capitation payments), and encourage girls education.⁶ It was

⁴ At Nabumali fees were increased four times in the 1950's:
 1951 - secondary fees increased from Shs.200/- to 250/- p.a. to meet further general increases in expenditures.
 1952 - from Shs.250/- to 300/- to provide two uniforms and mattresses.
 1957 - from Shs.300/- to 375/- for boys and Shs.150/- to 250/- for girls.
 1958 - from Shs.375/- to 425/- for boys and Shs.250/- to 350/- for girls due to a Government capitation grant reduction of Shs.50/- per student. (Nabumali High School Log Book, 1939-58 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued; Minutes of the Nabumali High School Board of Governors, 1958 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

The fees at Budo in 1937 were Shs.400/- p.a. It is also interesting to note that in 1956 school fees represented fifteen per cent of the annual revenue of Nabumali, while in 1957 this had dropped to eight to ten per cent inspite of the fee increase.

⁵ Exceptions were schools in Bunyoro, Lango and Kampala.

⁶ A new girls school to be built at Tororo totally financed by U.S.A.I.D. funds was the Government's contribution to girls' education.

anticipated that the annual growth of the system would be 450 senior secondary places, 5,000 junior secondary and 8,000 primary.⁷

Throughout 1961 the Department of Education officials and school authorities, fully aware of the changes to come, tried to realign their relationships and redefine their priorities in order that the unknown (the African Government which would take over after independence) could be met with a minimum of tension and change. By February 1961 the Director of Education admitted that there would be great pressure on the new Government to secularize existing schools and the best way to prevent this from happening would be for institutions to be "clearly an economic unit, functioning efficiently."⁸ By June 1961 the Director admitted that the siting of schools and the distribution of funds was largely being dictated by "political pressure and financial conditions."⁹

To a considerable degree the Director of Education, during these pre-independence years, chose to work through the Education Secretaries

⁷"Three-Year Capital Expenditure Forecast: 1958/59, 1959/60, 1960/61," Sessional Paper No.4 of 1958 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe); "Three-Year Capital Expenditure Forecast: 1959/60, 1960/61, 1961/62," Sessional Paper No.5 of 1958/59 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe); "Three-Year Expenditure Forecast: 1960/61, 1961/62, 1962/63," Sessional Paper No.2 of 1960 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe).

⁸Minutes of Director of Education Meeting with Education Secretaries General, February 1, 1961 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁹C.R.V. Bell - Education Secretaries General, June 9, 1960, found in file marked "C.M.S. General Correspondence, Native Anglican Church (Uganda) Records" (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

General of the missions in their weekly meetings¹⁰ rather than through the Advisory Committee for African Education.¹¹ He attempted to get the Education Secretaries General to implement a programme of Africanisation, particularly among supervisors and provincial education secretaries as a considerable exodus of expatriate staff was being expected during the independence transition.¹²

At the October 12, 1961, meeting with the Education Secretaries, the Director bluntly explained to the missions that the Government was no longer in a position to carry out a policy of co-operation with them. Why was the policy of co-operation no longer possible? In this year prior to independence it was a popular thing for African politicians to suggest or demand the take-over by Government of mission schools. Any inter-denominational rivalry, any uni-denominational admission policies, any inefficiency of operation or capital expenditure, any reactionary statements of policy, any of these could and would inspire nationalistic

¹⁰Some thirty three meetings were held by the Director of Education with the Education Secretaries General of the Voluntary Agencies between July 6, 1960 and November 6, 1963. Minute two of the first meeting outlined the purpose of these Wednesday meetings as "regular opportunities for outlining the major trends in Government activity and for seeking the views of the Education Secretaries General on any major development in the field of Education."

¹¹An organisation considerably reconstituted during the 1950's to give Government the majority, while at the same time African sectional interests remained represented.

¹²Catholic missions estimated that fifty per cent of their staff would leave while the Native Anglican Church estimated thirty three per cent. (Minutes of Director of Education Meeting with Education Secretaries General, October 4, 1961 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

political reaction.¹³ In order to make the transition easier and less revolutionary, the Director wanted Government and missions to work as one rather than as parties agreeing to co-operate (much like the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions had been doing in the face of strong Government involvement in education in the 1950's). If working as one was not possible, Government would have to dictate terms of the missions. For example: 1) The Voluntary Agencies must be willing to combine existing schools for the interests of efficiency and economy where necessary. 2) A certain percentage (five per cent?) of places in denominational schools should be open to other denominations. 3) No student should be denied admission on religious grounds. 4) The Government should be declared as prime negotiator in matters of salary disputes with teachers though the present system of employing teachers be retained. 5) The roles of Education Secretaries General should be abolished and the Voluntary Agencies should be represented by the supervisors of the Agencies in the District Education Offices under the D.E.O. (District Education Officer), 6) The system must be integrated into one Government department rather than a group of agencies. 7) School fees must

¹³ M.C.M. O'Riordan, S.J., "The Church and Education in the Nation-State," Education for Reality in Africa (Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia: 1963), p.86.

Government would be very unsympathetic in any of the circumstances mentioned because Government was now concerned with the ease of transition from colonial to African Government rule. In 1960 the Director of Education was encouraging Voluntary Agencies to make every effort to convince local pastors, often the persons slowest to move with the times, to accept the new situation and allow greater freedom in their schools and parishes. (Director of Education - Voluntary Agencies, August 1960, draft of a new scheme of authority in education, found in file marked "C.M.S. General Correspondence, Native Anglican Church (Uganda) Records" (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

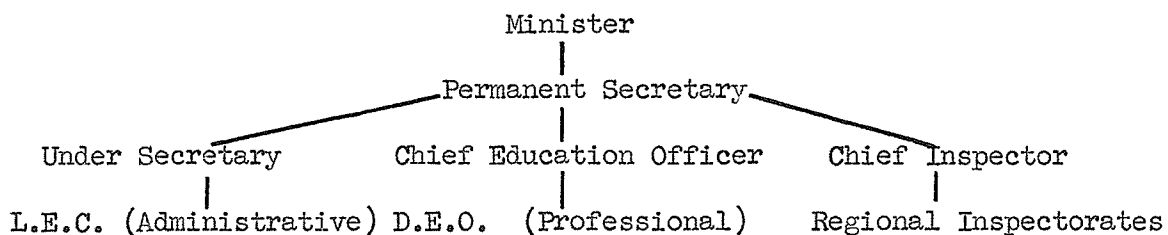
be standardized. 8) Mixed schools should be the norm for reasons of economy in money and staff.¹⁴

In many ways this meeting could be considered the turning point in the final take-over of mission authority in education by Government. The Government, assisted by the urgency of the times and the pressure of political opinion, could now face the missions with such categorical demands. Little opposition came from the missions except to the issue of abolishing the role of the Education Secretary General.

But the writing on the wall was clear - Uganda's system of education had to, and had, become one system. Between October and December 1961 the Department and Ministry were integrated and in the new authority structure¹⁵ the Voluntary Agencies had no official capacity. By the time independence came, the missions had unofficially handed over any remaining authority to Government and no radical changes were necessary to satisfy African nationalism. The native church had little to do with the termination of the co-operation relationship because it had never been a full working partner with Government.

¹⁴Minutes of Director of Education Meeting with Education Secretaries General, October 12, 1961 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

¹⁵The authority structure of the Ministry of Education:



In April 1961 the Native Anglican Church of Uganda was inaugurated into the Province of Uganda with the Most Reverend Leslie Brown as the first Archbishop and the Right Reverend L. Usher Wilson as Dean of the Province. The Upper Nile Diocese was subdivided into the Diocese of Mbale, Soroti and Northern Uganda, while the Uganda Diocese was divided into five dioceses.

Early in 1963 the Church of Uganda prepared a post-Independence educational policy statement.

Although the primary aim of the Church of this country is to preach the 'Gospel of Jesus Christ', it is also her accepted General Policy that men and women need not only to be converted but also to be developed mentally and physically; hence the active participation of the Church in education. In other words, the Church of Uganda considers it her duty to contribute fully to the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the people of this country, so that her people may be enabled to stand on Christian principles, accepting as the basis of national life those values which derive from Christianity. In carrying out her duty to the people, the Church should always take into account the claims of the other Christian churches and other religions which exist in this country.¹⁶

The statement continued by acknowledging that state schools will be established and this was considered as a 'natural development'. The Church accepted that it could not take over state responsibility, nor did it intend to acquire ownership over more schools, but instead it would concentrate on improving the quality of those already owned. It might even be necessary to give up some institutions which could not be run economically or to a Christian standard. The statement pointed out that

¹⁶ Minutes of the Provincial Board of Education of the Church of Uganda, May 30, 1963 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

the Church welcomed such change and only asked that religious instruction and corporate worship be catered for. It further pledged itself to minimize the rift that presently existed between Christians by recognizing the freedom of parents to send their children to schools of other denominations, by continuing to welcome pupils of other denominations to its schools, and by encouraging every form of out-of-class joint activity possible. The Church also recognized that its contribution to education must not be limited to the institutions it owns. It would encourage Christian teachers to serve in Government, independent schools and colleges, and where appropriate it would seek to have chaplains appointed. Because of limited finances and personnel it would seek to give greatest attention to teacher training colleges and existing senior secondary schools.¹⁷

Such a policy statement offered acquiescence rather than competition and it would certainly not irritate even a sensitive government.¹⁸ The Church of Uganda, for the first time directly involved in the total educational picture, in this policy statement reflected a heritage rather

¹⁷ Ibid. Note: 'give attention to' and not 'direct or manage or even administer'.

¹⁸ But the Government was irritated. This was reflected in the Minister of Education, Dr. J.S.L. Zake's, speech in moving the acceptance of Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1963 on Education Policy. The heritage of a school system divided on religious bases is not readily thrown off, but the Government knew it had to foster a national concept in Uganda after Independence and so attacked denominationalism in any form as divisive. "Our children belong to a single nation and they do not have to continue belonging to a divided nation through various religious differences." (Dr. J.S.L. Zake, Speech in National Parliament moving for acceptance of Sessional Paper No.4 of 1963 (mimeographed copy), p.9.)

than taking a defensive position or suggesting future policy. Redemptive activity had become character training; character training had become preparation for citizenship. The Church in Uganda was making certain that it would not be viewed as a powerful, efficient, highly organized and foreign competitor. It had to be broad, realistic, identified with the nation, and even revolutionary.¹⁹ It would make certain that land ownership claims, membership on council demands, competitive planning, sectarian admission requirements, exclusive European supervision, or jealous control of finances - all essential questions of loyalty to an insecure and inexperienced Ministry - would not create tensions between Government and Church.²⁰

Governor Andrew Cohen's envisaged drive towards independence with an ever-expanding economy had been interrupted by the austerity brought on by poor cotton and coffee prices on the world market. But expansion did take place, though it was a carefully defined priority-type expansion.

¹⁹Mr. D.K. Chisiza of Nyassaland said:

. . . Nothing alienates the feelings of African leaders more than actions by religious organisations that are directed towards the maintenance of the political 'status quo'. Prudence and foresight would seem to dictate a policy of lending moral support to, if not fraternization in, the new forces, bearing in mind that change is an integral feature of human society. (D.K. Chisiza cited by O'Riordan, Op. Cit., p.91.)

²⁰Four issues which were very immediate were the reconstitution of the Advisory Council for African Education through which missions had exercised their greatest influence, the majority position of the Church on Local Education Councils which had been challenged in Lango in May 1960, the rationalisation of teacher training institutions into a few regional centres was encouraged just after the establishment of Kyamboga Teacher Training Institute where missions felt they had not received freedom to work among the trainees, and the definition of land tenure for schools and church property where Government grants were used for development.

The Uganda Government, in order to determine a set of priorities in educational development (as well as in other departments) asked the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to prepare a plan which would allocate resources "as much as possible to those uses which will result in the highest returns to the economy."²¹

This Report, completed in 1961, reflected the significant change which had occurred in Government planning since post-war economic buoyancy had changed to austerity.²² Instead of thinking in terms of general expansion and spreading available funds over the whole of the economy, Government had been forced to choose which parts, if expanded, would result in the greatest stimulation per £ to the rest of the economy. Needless to say, such an investment attitude towards educational development would receive adverse criticism from all educationists who considered education to be chiefly consumption rather than investment. Peter Williams pointed out that countries which are poor and in the process of developing must determine their planning "as much by social priorities as by individual hopes and aspirations."²³ It must be expected that educational

²¹The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, "The Economic Development of Uganda - October 1961" (Government Printer, Entebbe), p.39.

²²A.W. Wood records that between 1957 and 1961 Uganda's Gross Domestic Product remained at a standstill while recurrent expenditures rose from £18.8 m. to £24.4 m. and recurrent income rose only from £18.6 m. to £22.9 m. (A.W. Wood, "Education Policy and Social Development in Uganda - 1935-64" (M. Phil. Thesis, University of London, 1967), p.161.)

²³P. Williams, Aid in Uganda - Education (London: 1966), p.44.

planners would come up against the dilemma that education humanizes while economic planning coldly dehumanizes, and once having acknowledged the two sides of the issue they would then be forced to accept that lack of finances would dictate planning decisions. Planners, while accepting the human factor as central to the education process, had to work with averages, national aggregates, pounds, shillings, and all the terminology and determinants of statistics. Wealthy countries could more readily afford the luxury of education for education's sake, while developing nations had to be more rigidly tied by priorities and finance, while trying never to lose sight of the human factor, because there is a point at which the human factor becomes a very significant economic reality.

Inability to pay, whether you like it or not, carries with it selectivity, regionalism, and economic imbalance. An élite will be educated to lead the masses if you can not afford to educate everyone; the élite will become self-propagating and subject to the temptations to dominate and protect itself against the masses; the section of society with the greater potential (because of its having had greater advantage) must be chosen to receive still greater advantage because they are the more productive. The dilemma was always there for an educational planner and it was up to him to be sensitive enough to recognize where his tight-rope must lie between economic reality and the human factors of his situation. The many variables of a developing nation - raising of the standard of living, political stability and unity, availability of resources, conditions attached to outside aid, the dominant motivations of the populace, the ideals of educational thought, the interaction of

regional and tribal ambitions, the eventual, long-term goals of the nation, the pressures of external ideologies - far less controllable than in a developed nation, confront the newly independent Government with the alternatives to be expedient, realistic, autocratic, pragmatic, or indecisive. The educational planner in such a newly independent nation must accept that his plans will be dictated by these variables rather than by educational ideals.

The 'manpower' concept of planning²⁴ was the basis of the I.B.R.D. Report of 1961. The suggested priorities of this Report were: 1) Senior secondary enrolment to be trebled to 10,000 by 1965-66. 2) Junior secondary enrolment to be doubled to 50,000 in the same period. 3) Primary development to be carried out by improving the quality of instruction, merging of primary and junior secondary work, increasing the pupil-teacher ratio, avoiding wastage, in short, providing 100,000

²⁴The manpower concept of educational planning attempts to translate economic targets into requirements for skilled manpower. Manpower is usually measured in three categories: Level I - graduates with degrees; Level II - graduates with H.S.C. or equivalents; Level III - graduates with C.S.C. or equivalents. Estimates of economic growth of the nation have to be made and projected. Then estimates of required manpower of various levels have to be made in relation to the demands of the economy at its projected rate of development. Assuming that the supply of primary graduates is adequate for the nation's needs, then estimated Level III needs have to be made four years in advance, Level II needs six years in advance, and Level I needs nine to ten years in advance depending on the length of time required to prepare for these qualifications. In a mature economy with consistent statistics over a long period of time the variables are reduced to a minimum, but in a developing nation such statistics are not available and endless variables threaten the stable development of the economy. Consequently manpower planning becomes highly sophisticated and yet relatively unreliable, but still necessary to give purpose to educational planning. Education not geared to productivity leads to chaos regardless of public enthusiasm or national

additional places without additional expense. During the 1950's there had been a considerable increase in primary enrolment²⁵ and so now, during the 1960's, the apex of the educational pyramid had to receive disproportionate attention.²⁶ The Report proposed that in senior secondary education the pupil-teacher ratio be increased from the present 16:1 (1961) to 25:1 so that an actual ratio of approximately 20:1 be realized. Dormitory, classroom and administrative facilities were to be developed at existing senior secondary schools to bring them to a three-stream, 420-pupil capacity with Senior I to IV classes averaging thirty five pupils. In addition Tororo Girls' School should be developed to accommodate 300 to 400 pupils, and a number of existing un-aided secondary schools and technical schools be drawn under Government support. Insofar as H.S.C. work was concerned, the Report considered these senior classes to be organically part of the senior secondary education system, and, therefore, these were to be included in existing schools rather than in separate colleges. In terms of money the Report estimated that all secondary (junior, senior, H.S.C., junior secondary teacher training, Kampala Technical Institute) expansion would cost £2.4 m. for capital development and £2.5 m. for additional recurrent

ambition because an investment demands a return more tangible than individual hopes or happiness.

²⁵Primary enrolment in grant-aided schools had increased from 163,000 in 1950 to 346,000 in 1960. (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Op. Cit., p.274.)

²⁶Ibid., p.273.

costs for the five years 1961/62 to 1965/66.²⁷

In December, just two months after the I.B.R.D. Report was published, the Education Secretaries General were presented by Mr. S.C. Wood, the Director of Education, with "The Outline Plan for the Development of Primary and Junior Secondary Schools" and "Provisional Secondary Education Development Plan" which the Government had prepared on the basis of the I.B.R.D. Report recommendations. Mr. Wood added: "The plans are geared in the arithmetic postulated by the World Bank Report which is our bible for External Aid purposes. It was prepared in response to urgent demands from the Ministry of Economic Development with some haste."²⁸

As an educational objective for a country on the verge of self-government, the "Provisional Secondary Development Plan" stated that fifty per cent of the child population of primary school age (an objective achieved by Uganda) and four per cent of the secondary school age group should be in school. But, just ten months before self-government, only

²⁷Proposed Capital and Additional Recurrent Expenditures of the Central Government on Secondary Education, 1961/62 to 1965/66:

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Capital Five Year Total</u>	<u>Recurrent Five Year Total</u>
Junior Secondary Schools	£300,000	£600,000
Junior Secondary Teacher Training	120,000	37,000
Secondary Schools	1,732,000	1,200,000
Sixth Form (H.S.C.)	315,000	95,000
Kampala Technical Institute	29,000	515,000
	<u>2,496,000</u>	<u>2,447,000</u>

(Ibid., Tables 26 and 27, pp.372-3 (Baltimore: 1962 edition).)

²⁸S.C. Wood, "Provisional Secondary Education Development Plan, 1961-65," December 15, 1961 (Department of Education, Uganda).

about one per cent of secondary age pupils were in all types of post-primary education. There should have been 20,000 places available, but only some 5,800 pupils were enrolled in Government and aided post-primary schools (3,700 in the twenty two rural senior secondary schools, 2,100 in urban schools). Mr. Wood advised that:

This plan aims at a doubling of this enrolment over the five year period 1961-65.

To achieve this object the Government proposes to hold Primary Education at its present level and put all available funds (plus considerable amounts of foreign aid) into a) classrooms b) dormitories c) additional teachers in existing rural senior secondary schools to bring them to the recommended 420 place figure of the IBRD report.

It is felt that this dramatic increase in the number of children who will have received 12 years of education will form the nucleus of the high level manpower essential to the economic, political and social development of Uganda.²⁹

Where would the money come from? The Plan outlined the conditions which would have to be met in order that 20,000 places would be available in secondary schools in the early 1970's. 1) Primary education development must be held back. 2) The construction programme must be carried out. 3) The secondary staff requirements in 1970 would be 500 teachers most of whom would be expatriates (in 1959 of the 246 teachers in rural grant-aided secondary schools only twenty eight were Africans). 4) Substantial foreign aid would be required to finance the £4,322,000 required just for this secondary development.

²⁹ Ibid.

Formidable conditions, but the first important step had already been taken in December, 1960 at the Princeton Conference on Education in East Africa where three projects were inaugurated to aid Uganda. 1) Forty secondary school teachers were to come from the United States for the school year 1961-62 as part of the Teachers for East Africa scheme (the forerunner of the Peace Corps programme in East Africa). 2) The Tororo Girls' School project providing 360 places with the capital and part of the recurrent costs being borne by the I.C.A. (now A.I.D.) would be begun as soon as possible. 3) Applications for assistance to existing grant-aided schools totalling £2,510,000 to provide 4,300 additional places at existing secondary schools by 1965 were made to I.C.A.³⁰ But when and if these funds would be made available only time could tell.

Governor Cohen considered aid in education to be a form of pump-priming,³¹ and with the entry of the United States into the Uganda

³⁰ Part of the proposed 4,300 additional places were to be provided at £500 per place at the following institutions:

<u>School</u>	<u>Enrolment in 1961</u>	<u>Places Available 1965</u>
Budo	200	360
Kisubi	324	360
Namilyango	210	240
Gayaza	153	240
Nabumali	202	240
Tororo College (St. Peters)	240	360
Mwiri	220	360
Teso Aloet	204	360
Sir Samuel Baker	194	360
Tororo Girls	-	360
Namagunga Girls	146	240

(Source: Ibid.)

³¹ A. Cohen, British Policy in Changing Africa (London: 1959), p.111.

educational scene came the temptation to look upon quantitative expansion of education as having some "magical effect on economic growth."³² By increasing the numbers with large sums of aid the economy of the nation would be sufficiently primed to expand into a state of industrial prosperity. Aid was gladly accepted, though the implications of such aid were not always readily understood. An increase in the secondary facilities would necessitate employing a large expatriate staff which would be expensive (travel costs, high salary structures, allowances), which could only be contracted on a short-term basis, which would come from education systems foreign to the Ugandan system, which would need most of its contract time to become adjusted, the supply of which was dictated by the good will of the donor countries, and which would naturally reflect the political and cultural views of the countries or origin. Furthermore, accepting capital development aid was easy compared with finding the necessary funds for the increased recurrent expenses of the future. Aid donor nations preferred projects offering prestige and compactness, an approach attractive to the recipient nation as well because newly independent nations were seeking self-respect and public recognition, but such projects were often hard to integrate effectively into the economic or educational pattern of the whole nation. Still another problem associated with aid was that aid was often given in the form of long-term low-interest loans, and this would be acceptable

³²Williams, Op. Cit., p.75.

in the optimistic atmosphere of pre and post independence years, but the economic burden of interest payments could readily become intolerable in the future should anticipated economic growth not be forthcoming.

The first project financed by American A.I.D. funds was the expansion of Budo, Lango College, St. Peters College in Tororo and Butobere, using funds from the sale in Uganda of surplus American wheat. Tororo Girls School was then undertaken, the intent being to develop a 480 pupil unit, but this was later reduced to approximately 400 boarders. It was to be a two-stream senior secondary school with H.S.C. classes and a junior secondary teacher training section as well as a demonstration school. Two existing teacher training colleges, Buloba (C.M.S.) and Namagunga (R.C.), would be closed and their staffs would be transferred to Tororo where two chapels and a convent would be provided. The headmistress would be British and the deputy an American.³³

At first it was intended that the school take in its first class in January 1962, but the agreement between the Uganda Government and U.S.A.I.D. was only signed on July 4, 1962. By March 1963 it became evident that the school would open three years later than scheduled - in 1965. Since girls holding-classes had been imposed on both Nabumali High School and Namagunga Girls School, the Chief Education Officer,

³³The Director of Education and the Education Secretaries General, Ravensdale and Whelan, were very careful to protect their interests in face of American involvement; mission interests had to be acknowledged in the Tororo Girls School development and the school should be a British-type institution with a British headmistress, chaplains, curricula and certification. (Minutes of Director of Education Meeting with Education Secretaries General, May 3, 1961 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.)

S.C. Wood, and the Secretaries General of the churches agreed that while Namagunga would be able to continue with its holding classes, Nabumali, on the other hand, having accepted a holding-class of girls in 1962 and 1963 would either have to give these up or stop its H.S.C. development (scheduled to begin in 1963), or, be given substantially more money to develop both its H.S.C. programme and the facilities for a third stream.³⁴

Meanwhile at Nabumali High School Canon Bottomley had had three years for consolidation after the de Bunsen building programme had been completed in 1958. In December 1961 the school was informed that H.S.C. work would begin at Nabumali in 1963 and this meant another building programme. Canon Bottomley's objective of having fifty C.S.C. entrants of which fifty per cent received 1st Class Certificates had not been fully realized - in 1960 there were only nine 1st Class awards out of fifty one entrants, and in 1961 there were sixteen out of forty six.

There had been some development work carried out at the school during 1960 such as the extension of the chemistry laboratory using surplus school funds, but on May 16th, 1962 Phase I of the four-phase programme of 1962-65 was begun in earnest when the headmaster received two letters. In one, John Falconer, the school's architect, advised Bottomley that in all probability £25,000 would be made available to Nabumali for the 1962/63 year for the H.S.C. development, and so he included in his letter a proposed scheme in outline form: two staff

³⁴Ibid., March 6, 1963.

houses, a three classroom extension, half a double-storied dormitory unit for sixty pupils, roads and water services, plus the Manafwa Water System - totalling E26,700. This was intended to provide for the additional seventy H.S.C. pupils expected in 1963.³⁵ That same day F. Gibson's letter from the Ministry of Education arrived and advised Bottomley that Tororo Girls School would not be ready to take in pupils in 1963. Gibson suggested that Nabumali take in a second girls holding-class in 1963 and submit a plan for an H.S.C. section to be developed over two or three years, and as the H.S.C. facilities became available they be used to house the Tororo holding classes.³⁶ Gibson suggested that a target sum of E50,000 (including E9,000 for the Manafwa Water System) would be available during these three years, IF, and only if, outside aid was received as these funds were not available at the time of writing.³⁷

On July 4th, 1962 a contract was signed with Wilson, Laity, and Co. Ltd., of Jinja, to construct three staff houses, a classroom block

³⁵Falconer - Bottomley, May 16, 1962, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham. See page 347.

³⁶As it turned out, the girls holding-classes used the developing H.S.C. facilities during 1962-63, and in 1964 funds were made available for Nabumali to develop its facilities as a three-stream C.S.C. school. A considerable portion of these funds came from the U.S.A.I.D. dollar loan to Uganda of \$2.7 m. at 3/4 per cent for the first ten years and 1½ per cent for the next thirty. (Williams, Op. Cit., pp.91-93.)

³⁷F. Gibson - Bottomley, May 16, 1962, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

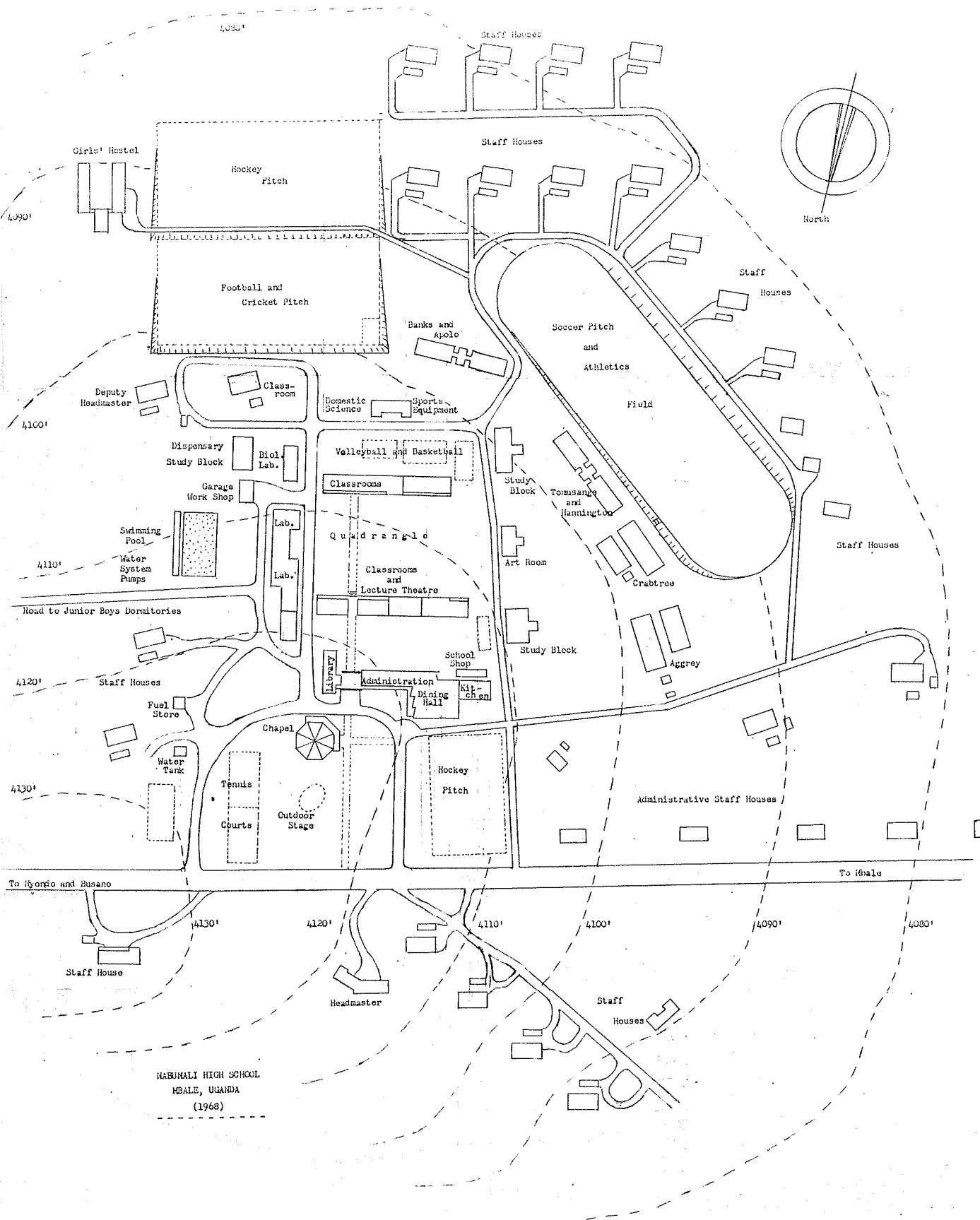
extension, and a two-storey dormitory.³⁸ This was Phase I of the new programme.

The Manafwa water scheme, already under consideration as early as July, 1957, was under construction by mid 1962. It consisted of a pipe-line from the Manafwa River some two and a half miles down the Bubulo Road with a pumping station at the river and a pressure filtration system at the school able to provide the school with 2,000 gallons per hour. The boreholes had been unable to meet the increasing demands of the growing school. Mr. A. Irvine, a Nabumali physics master, supervised the installation of this system. He proposed that since the water system would require a reservoir, why not have a swimming bath which served the dual purpose as a reservoir and a recreation facility. An additional sports field would be required anyway when the H.S.C. students arrived, and with the cost of such a sports field (approximately £2,000) a swimming pool could be built. There was a surplus of £2,000 available in school funds, but the Board of Governors considered it wiser, for the time being, to use this sum to improve housing facilities at the school.³⁹

For years now the African staff had been living in houses which were much smaller and less luxurious than the houses provided for European staff. This situation had been inherited from the earliest missionary days when the missionary built himself a large house

³⁸This building is the present west end of the Apolo-Banks dormitory.

³⁹Mr. Irvine carried out numerous other developments at Nabumali such as the construction of a clock tower, an integrated clock system, an organ for the school chapel, plus the endless electrical-plumbing projects. His contributions will long be appreciated.



NABWALI HIGH SCHOOL
MBALE, UGANDA
(1968)

(necessary for his health and well-being at that time) while African staff usually had African-style mud and wattle huts. Throughout the years the attitude had prevailed that the European should have a larger and more lavish house than his African colleague - some justification was possible during the 1930's because of the malarial climate. By and large the African staff accepted this difference until shortly before independence when African graduates and well-trained teachers, having qualifications comparable to or better than some of the European teachers, came to teach the senior secondary classes. When they received 'African' housing repeated requests were made for improvements, but these were either shelved, dismissed as personal responsibilities of the tenant, or declared beyond the means of the school budget.

The issue came to a head early in 1962 when some six non-graduate members of staff wrote to the Board about the conditions of their houses. A special meeting of the Executive Committee was held but there remained an unwillingness, on the part of the Board and the headmaster, to allocate funds for the repair of houses built in the 1920's, and yet these houses had to be used because the staff was increasing more rapidly than the new construction. There was also a feeling among certain Board members that certain facilities would either not be used or misused by staff who were not familiar with electric appliances or water-borne sanitation.

On June 13th the Board of Governors met and considered yet another letter from ten members of the staff alleging dissatisfaction with the relations existing between the headmaster and the staff. The issues raised by the letter included the payment of responsibility allowances

for teaching and non-teaching staff, the housing issue, the payment of travelling expenses for staff, and a feeling by the staff that they were being prevented from communicating their views to the Board of Governors or the Board to them.⁴⁰ This difficult relationship between staff and headmaster seemed to have improved in the course of the next year because improvements were carried out on housing, and Mr. J.M. Aryada was appointed deputy headmaster in April 1963, but in another sense the issues solved themselves in that nine of the African staff left Nabumali in the years 1962 to 1964.⁴¹ The independence transition period was a time when the educated African was in great demand and consequently many African teachers either entered Government service, or took on administrative positions in other schools, or went overseas for further studies. This de-Africanization of secondary school staffs continued until the mid 1960's and then as more Africans entered the secondary teaching profession again European or colonial style accommodation was available for all staff members. The old houses of the 1920's were now allocated to non-teaching staff.

Phase I of the 1962-65 development programme had begun in July 1962 using Government funds, but future development was dependent on aid

⁴⁰ During the past few years there had been considerable activity among teachers in establishing unions, as well as public statements on educational policy and teachers' salaries.

⁴¹ From a staff of nine Africans and seven Europeans in 1962 the situation changed to two Africans and twenty Europeans at the end of 1964. Three African staff left in 1962, four in 1963 and two in 1964. Three left to begin further studies, two went into administrative work in education, and four went to other schools.

money and the decision whether Nabumali should become a two-stream with H.S.C. or a three-stream with H.S.C. school. In December 1962 a submission was made to U.S.A.I.D. authorities requesting funds for extension of facilities at Nabumali. In February of the following year the Board of Governors agreed that it should go ahead with the three-stream with H.S.C. plans. This decision was in harmony with existing Government policy that secondary schools should develop to a 420 pupil intake capacity as recommended by the I.B.R.D. Report.⁴² Such a decision was also strongly supported by Bottomley who wanted to accept a third girls holding-class in 1964 so that girls' education would not be set back in the Eastern Province and that Nabumali should remain genuinely co-educational. And so, on February 28, 1963 the Board submitted a three-stream with H.S.C. development plan to the Ministry for approval.⁴³ In August the Phase II portion of this plan was contracted to Chanansingh & Pritamsingh Ltd. for two additional classrooms, a two-storey dormitory for 120, and four staff houses.⁴⁴ These were ready early in 1964.

⁴²Planning up until 1963 had been carried out on the basis of a class-size of 30. Three streams at a school meant twelve classes of thirty equals 360 plus seventy H.S.C. pupils equals 430. After 1964 the Government accepted the I.B.R.D. recommendation that class-size should be thirty five, and this meant that Nabumali, already ten over the 420 mark, was increased by yet another sixty pupils to 490.

⁴³The cost of this plan to be financed by Government and A.I.D. funds was estimated at £96,000. (Bottomley - Gibson, February 28, 1963, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali) uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.)

⁴⁴This contract valued at Shs.597,172/- to be paid for by the Uganda Government represented the C.S.C. facilities. The dormitory constructed was the present Tomusange-Hannington Dormitory while the

The U.S.A.I.D. portion of this development was approved in July 1963, but the construction work, which was scheduled to take place at eleven schools, was staggered to prevent inflation of construction prices and so Nabumali's development was only contracted out in January 1964. This was Phase III of the 1962-65 programme and consisted of four additional staff houses, a dormitory for sixty, extensions to the laboratories, the library and the dining hall, extensions to the road and electrical systems, and the conversion and furnishing of two former dormitories into senior study blocks.⁴⁵ When Wareham took over as headmaster in January 1964 Phase III construction was ready to begin to be followed late in 1964 by the fourth and final phase financed by the Government.

On the national political scene the governmental hand-over to the newly emergent political parties was taking place in the years 1959 to 1962. The Uganda National Congress split in 1959 and Milton Obote became the leader of the new U.N.C. The following year the U.N.C. merged with the Uganda Peoples Union to form the Uganda Peoples Congress with Obote remaining as leader. In 1961 the pre-independence election voted in Kiwanuka's Democratic Party by a slim majority⁴⁶ mainly because the

four staff houses are the first row of houses below Banks-Apolo Dormitory.

⁴⁵Falconer - Gibson, December 21, 1962, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

⁴⁶U.P.C. thirty five seats, D.P. forty three seats.

Baganda had boycotted the election thereby giving the Democratic Party an advantage. But the Kabaka Yekka Party (Kabaka for ever Party) was formed in 1961 and split the D.P. votes in the 1962 election⁴⁷ and Obote became the Prime Minister of the newly independent Uganda on October 9th, 1962.

The heightened political activity of these years was reflected in the renewed political competition of the Bukedi and Bugisu Local Governments. In January 1960 rioting occurred in certain areas of Bukedi and Bugisu Districts for a wide variety of reasons: the joint occupancy of Mbale by the two local governments, an increase in taxation, discontent among African leaders as to how education moneys were being spent, religious competition over chieftainships, the duality of the chiefs' authority as executive and legislative figures, and the lack of a clear definition of relationship between District Councils and Local Education Authorities.⁴⁸ This rioting, while having little to do with the traditional Bukedi-Bugisu trouble, did illustrate the political instability and competitiveness of the segmented tribes of the Eastern Region, and almost certainly provided opportunities for enemies to build up tensions through suspicions, charges and counter-charges.

During 1962 relations between the Nabumali Board of Governors and the Bugisu African Local Government were particularly poor. In March the

⁴⁷U.P.C. thirty seven seats, D.P. twenty two seats, K.Y. twenty one seats.

⁴⁸"Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Eastern Province, 1960," Sessional Paper No.3 of 1960 (Government of Uganda, Entebbe).

Bugisu A.L.G. requested that special priority be given to Bagisu students for admission to Nabumali.⁴⁹ Bagisu aggressiveness was strengthened in the summer of 1962 when the O'Connor Commission reported and declared that Mbale belonged to the Bagisu (but must remain a municipality free to either district) and the Bukedi A.L.G. should be removed to Tororo.⁵⁰ Both the Bukedi and the Bugisu Secretaries General were on the Nabumali Board of Governors, but then in June 1962 when the Bagisu Secretary General came up for re-election another Mugisu was elected in his place. This was seen as a political challenge against the Bagisu A.L.G. Throughout the years, however, the Board of Governors had held strictly to the policy that Board members were elected on the basis of the contribution which they could make to the school, and not on the basis of district or tribal representation. Tribal background was not taken into consideration - something which the segmented and newly conscious tribes of the Elgon area found hard to understand. The chairman, Bishop Usher Wilson, like Bottomley in his choice of pupils, refused categorically to bow down to tribal pressures.

At the November 29th, 1962, meeting of the Bugisu Lukhobo (council) a resolution was passed and forwarded to the Board of Governors. The

⁴⁹Minutes of Nabumali Board of Governors, March 14, 1962 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁵⁰F.G. Burke, Local Government and Politics in Uganda (Syracuse: 1964), pp.207-8.

Bagisu A.L.G. had resolved to sever all cordial relationships with the Nabumali Board of Governors unless both the Secretary General and the Deputy Secretary General of Bukedi be excluded from the Board and that the Bagisu A.L.G. be allowed to nominate four members for the Board.⁵¹ The Board's action was considered a direct threat to Bagisu authority over a 'Bagisu' institution, especially since the two leading officials from the Bukedi A.L.G. remained on the Board. Even though there were still three Bagisu on the Board⁵² compared with two from Bukedi,⁵³ the Bagisu A.L.G. was determined to gain official representation in spite of the Education Ordinance definition of the Board of Governors of self-governing schools as an authority independent from local political bodies.

The Board of Governors had, prior to the November 29th ultimatum of the Lukhobo, gone as far as to ask the Bagisu A.L.G. to submit three names and the chairman, Bishop Usher Wilson, would be empowered to select one of these for membership, but this was not considered satisfactory.⁵⁴ It was felt that the relationship between the headmaster and the Bagisu Secretary General had been a guarded one, and for this reason the June

⁵¹Copy of Minute of the Lukhobo Resolution of November 29, 1962 sent to Bishop of Mbale on January 8, 1963, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued, by kind permission of Mr. R. Wareham.

⁵²Bagisu members of the Board of Governors: Masaba, Wakiro, Wesonga.

⁵³Kirya, a Mugwere, and Ochieng, a Mudama, were from Bukedi District.

⁵⁴Minutes of the Nabumali Board of Governors, November 21, 1962 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

decision not to re-elect the Secretary General had been taken, but this meant that Bottomley was placed in a bad light. Further wood was heaped on the fire by the June 13th, 1962 letter from the ten members of staff alleging dissatisfaction with their relationship with the headmaster and by a poor year in staff-student relations at the school.

There had been little student trouble at Nabumali during 1961 except for the occasional drinking, morality or disobedience issue. But 1962 saw the eruption of a series of authority conflicts, not necessarily directed against the headmaster, but issues with which he had to deal and, consequently with which he would be implicated.⁵⁵ It started in the first term with a strike by the Senior IV classes because they disagreed with staff directives as to which subjects they had to take for their Cambridge examinations. This was followed by the Senior III objecting to being taught chemistry by a certain master and a whole class was sent home for a fortnight. Then a football fixture was played at Soroti and on the return journey the players behaved badly and four pupils did not return to the school until several days later. Several suspensions and an expulsion for offences like lying and stealing ended the term.

The second term began with several drinking suspensions and in July a senior class was sent home before the end of the term in connection with a revolt by the students about eating 'posho' (maize meal porridge).

⁵⁵The results for 1961 had been the best the school had ever had and that could not have been the cause of the trouble. Out of forty six extrants for C.S.C. sixteen received 1st Class Certificates, eighteen 2nd Class Certificates, ten 3rd Class Certificates, two G.C.E.'s and no failures.

The last term ended with seven students being expelled for drinking, refusing to report to the headmaster, and one boy even struck the headmaster. Canon Bottomley summarized the year by saying:

Altogether a sad and troubled year, the worst since 1933. But the staff has by no means lost confidence or given up hope! We face 1963 full of hope and calm confidence. We are sure 1962 was a freak year, rather like the English winter!⁵⁶

The first term of 1963 was a peaceful and happy one. During this time the headmaster reached his decision that he should step down in favour of a younger man. His decision had been influenced by a number of things, not just the unrest of the previous year which he considered to be 'growing pains' of a newly independent nation. Bottomley had consulted various persons in the Ministry of Education and in the church as he had been subjected to considerable pressure from both within and without the school and the Ministry. Considered in retrospect, this pressure to step down was largely irrational if it was not viewed in the mood of the post-independence years. Bottomley had been at Nabumali for thirty years; he was a person eminently successful in administering the financial and academic programme of the school, but he lacked the gentleness of tongue and manner which the African values. His forthrightness and integrity did little to smooth the troubled waters of competing local governments. His frank and direct manner of dealing with school discipline troubles and staff problems, acceptable prior to 'Uhuru', enabled his post-dependence opponents to find much fuel for their criticism.

⁵⁶A.P. Bottomley, Annual Report, 1962 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

The Board of Governors, whose loyalty and support Bottomley never lost, accepted his resignation "with the deepest possible regret."

In a very full discussion, the Board considered the present state of the school, the extremely good service of over 30 years which Canon Bottomley had given unstintingly to it, and the most valuable dedication of Mrs. Bottomley throughout their time in Uganda. If Canon Bottomley were to leave at the present time, the school could be handed over to his successor in the best possible state. From the point of view of education alone the Board would not have been able to accept his resignation, but respected the fact that he was already over the normal retiring age for such appointments. . . .⁵⁷

But rather than leaving in August 1963 as he intended, the Board asked him to remain until the end of the year to facilitate their finding a replacement.

1962 had not been a freak year! By July 15th another drinking offence led to the suspension of four second year students. Early in the third term rebellion again broke out when students refused to eat 'posho' claiming it to be of inferior quality. The staff checked the food and declared it edible, but the rebellion continued in various forms for several days. Bottomley was in contact with the Ministry about this trouble, a threatening letter written to the headmaster and staff, and the interference of outside political figures. Attempts were made by Bishop Usher Wilson, Archdeacon Masaba, Messrs. Mashate and Kamba, the deputy headmaster and the headmaster to settle the matter by talking to the pupils, but to no effect. Finally on September 26th sixteen pupils

⁵⁷Minutes of the Nabumali Board of Governors, May 17, 1963, Section B/12/63 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

were suspended and an unhappy peace reigned for the remainder of the year.

But even before these pupils were suspended, emotion had caught hold of this inflammable situation. On September 18th a pleading letter to parents was written by some students claiming that they (the parents) should act quickly "or we are dead children."⁵⁸ The recipient(s) of this letter immediately wrote to the Honourable Luyimbazi Zake, the Minister of Education, enclosing the students' letter and calling Nabumali High School a "Little 'Birmingham, Alabama'" using such words and phrases as "suffering simply because they are Africans and black," "devilish tactics," "brain-wash the Africans," "turn them into YES-MEN," "African staff here have been swayed blindly to Bottomley's ways of anti-African Government and anti-African pupils," "defenceless boys and girls," "the future fighters of Africa's freedom from colonial yoke," "please save your own brothers and sisters from the jaws of this colonial lion."⁵⁹ Words and phrases like this are hard to take seriously now, but in the months when a young nation was extremely sensitive politically, determined to assert itself even though that assertion may be couched in such hyper-emotionalism, such words could provoke rebellion, even riot, and certainly they would prevent an educational institution from functioning effectively. In the eyes of the expelled and suspended pupils and their

⁵⁸ Protest Letter of 'dead children' - 'Parents', September 18, 1963 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

⁵⁹ 'Parents' - J.S.L. Zake, September 18, 1963 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

parents, Bottomley was obviously the one responsible and he could readily be made to bear the brunt of their political immaturity, misbehaviour, frustrations, and inexperience.

Political activity in schools was widespread enough in early 1963 for the Minister of Education, in the wake of increased political interference in the routine of schools in Uganda, to express the wish that political parties should shun the use of schools for political advantage.⁶⁰ In May 1963 Dr. Zake addressed the general conference of headmasters at Makerere and condemned political activity in schools and stressed the need for strong disciplinary powers for headmasters to deal with recent student unrest, but in defining what powers the headmaster should use, he said that "the termination of studies (expulsion) is the last resort and other forms of punishment must be considered for dealing with disciplinary cases."⁶¹ It was politically unpopular that European headmasters should have the power to expel an African student, but during these years of changing authority patterns headmasters had little else they could use in the case of direct challenges to their authority. It was unavoidable that expatriates would continue to carry out such decisions even in post-independence years as there were only some twenty eight Ugandans among the 500 secondary

⁶⁰ Minutes of Director of Education Meeting with Education Secretaries General, February 6, 1963 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued.

⁶¹ J.S.L. Zake, Speech to General Conference of Headmasters of Uganda at Makerere, May 2, 1963 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

teachers.

By the end of 1963 it had been made clear that Bottomley was no longer the man for the situation, not necessarily because of what he did (though that entered into it as well), but primarily because of what he was - a European, a pre-independence figure, a man set in his experience. It is much to his credit that he offered his resignation prior to retirement age.⁶² All of the independence, local political, pupil-authority conflicts came into play to bring about this change, and viewed now with six years of retrospect it is very heartening to see how little bitterness and regret has remained.

So came the end of a thirty-year reign! Nabumali High School made Canon Bottomley, and Canon Bottomley made Nabumali High School. From an institution without a definite role in the educational system, with very limited facilities, in debt, with 133 primary and junior secondary pupils, Nabumali developed into a senior secondary school with two H.S.C. classes, with facilities modern and luxurious in comparison with those of 1934, operating each year within the defined limits of the Government grants and often having surpluses for further developments, with a co-educational, multi-tribal student body of 343 senior pupils. In 1934 Bottomley had been the only teacher with a degree, but in 1964 the whole Nabumali staff of twenty two teachers had degrees.

⁶²Though the Board in its minutes stated that Bottomley was beyond retirement age, this was not so as Bottomley was fifty nine on May 11, 1963.

The situation certainly had changed, and the work, drive and enthusiasm of Canon Bottomley lay behind a very large portion of this change. In 1960 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II made him an officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire "in recognition of your valuable services to education in Uganda, and in particular of the creation and development of Nabumali High School"⁶³ and in 1964 the Uganda Government forwarded to him the Uganda Independence Medal in gratitude for his service in building Uganda. Possibly the recognition which meant most to Canon Bottomley was a farewell party which the Old Boys and Girls of Nabumali gave for him and his wife on December 7th, 1963. As Michael Sakwa, present Deputy Headmaster and an Old Boy, expressed it, Bottomley was a man intensely concerned with the individual student and his or her welfare.⁶⁴ Mrs. Nekyon, the former Faisi Kutosi and an Old Girl, remembered that he had a definite idea of the standard he wanted his pupils to achieve.⁶⁵ James Hamya, a former Head Prefect, said he could be hard, but he was always willing to listen.⁶⁶ Such comments speak for themselves and underline the sharp, practical impact of Canon Bottomley on the lives of his students, and very few fail to acknowledge that his primary motive in all he did was his Christian faith.

⁶³F. Crawford - Bottomley, June 11, 1960, letter in personal possession of Canon A.P. Bottomley, Clevedon, U.K., by kind permission.

⁶⁴Interview with Mr. M. Sakwa, at Nabumali, on October 3, 1968.

CHAPTER X

POST INDEPENDENCE GROWTH

Education in the post-independence years was more than ever the key to progress, the kind of progress which would enable the nation to hold up its head in self-confidence. Education must advance now as it had never advanced during colonial years. If the finances were not available, then outside help must be sought and gained, hopefully on terms acceptable to the receiving nation. The primary motive could no longer be religious or dutiful trusteeship; the primary motive was now self-assertion.¹ Government planning would now reflect economic realities in the cold and abstract terms of investment and manpower needs. The luxury of humanized educational planning could not be tolerated as the needs were immediate and immense. The only emotions which influenced planning during this crucial independence period were political emotions.

In secondary education the impact of such a de-personalized, economically defined, progress-oriented approach to education was particularly strong. The missions had built the secondary schools on the English public school principle by which personality development and character training were effected through small numbers and the personal concern and dedication of the masters towards the individual student's welfare and development. Government was pursuing a single-goal policy

¹D.C. Flatt, "Principles and Guidelines for Churches and Missions in Africa in the Light of Government Attitudes and Plans," cited in R.P. Beaver, ed., Christianity and African Education (Grand Rapids, Michigan: 1966), pp.156-7.

largely determined by economics while the staff of these secondary schools saw education as a multi-functional consumption commodity. The mistake inherent in the Government approach was that planners accepted a straight-line relationship between numbers of educated persons in a country and industrial advance, but during this transition period politicians had to concern themselves first with quantity and only then with quality.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Plan of 1961 had laid the foundation for educational planning for the 1960's. The Government was, however, determined not to be solely governed by its recommendations, so it established a 'professional' as opposed to a 'representative' commission, composed mainly of Ugandans plus representatives from Britain, India, Nigeria, the United States and UNESCO.² The chairman, Professor E.B. Castle, and vice chairman, Z.C.K. Mungonya, had the following terms of reference for their commission:

To examine in the light of the approved recommendations of the International Bank Survey Mission Report and Uganda's financial position and future manpower requirements the content and structure of education in Uganda; to consider how it may best be improved and adapted to the needs of this country and to submit recommendations accordingly.³

These terms finally set the scene for a report which did not have to try

²Minutes of Director of Education Meeting with Education Secretaries General, December 5, 1962 (Makerere Library Africana Section Archives, Kampala), uncatalogued; P. Williams, Aid in Uganda - Education (London: 1966), pp.19-20.

³"Education in Uganda" Committee - J.S.L. Zake, 1963 Introductory Letter to the Report (Government Printers, Entebbe).

to blend together the diverse interests of secular and sectarian pressure groups of Uganda. Its purpose was to submit recommendations for a Government system of education in the light of the capabilities and needs of the nation.

The Education in Uganda report⁴ was submitted in 1963 and it began by outlining the conditions in Uganda favouring educational advance: 1) Desire for education among parents. 2) A willingness on the part of parents and children to sacrifice in order to be educated. 3) Government very desirous of expansion in education. 4) The educational structure was capable of expansion. 5) The Department of Education staff was devoted and experienced.⁵

The Report then balanced the favorable conditions with the unfavourable: 1) The people were poor, ignorant and conservative, thereby discouraging advance. 2) Uganda, with the majority of her working force unemployed (that is, not employed in salaried capacities) could not pay for the educational advance nor employ the product of such a school system. 3) The chief resources of the nation, land and labour, were

⁴This Report is also known as the Castle Report.

⁵A.W. Wood, in his thesis "Educational Policy and Social Development in Uganda - 1935-64," argues that none of these factors was actually very evident. Parental enthusiasm was evident only in developed areas of the country; youthful energy was largely expressed by 'youth-wingers' rather than the masses of youth in the villages; the Government certainly was desirous but did not yet have a plan to follow; the system capable of expansion was still unco-ordinated and its authority widely spread; the devoted and experienced staff consisted largely of short-term expatriates or African teachers waiting for the first opportunity to enter the civil service.

considered to be degrading spheres of endeavour. 4) Uganda lacked a middle class, so vital for prosperity and self-government. 5) Sharp contrasts existed between the rich and the poor. 6) Uganda had very limited capital and natural resources.

The Castle Report, reflecting the existing stress on manpower planning and development in the light of existing resources, suggested a series of priorities. First, priority should be given to two sections of the system - teacher training and secondary schools. Development here should be quantitative and qualitative. A third priority was raising the standard of technical and agricultural education. Girls' education and adult education were to be expanded as well. Primary education development should be carried out by elimination of problems like wastage, poor teaching, inadequate equipment, and irrelevant syllabi. Wastage was to be eliminated largely by the reorganization of the primary-junior secondary stages into a seven-year primary stage instead of the six-year primary followed by two-year junior secondary pattern, and by using English as early as Primary III, and by eliminating annual examinations in primary schools (having instead Primary IV and VII examinations).

Teacher training and secondary education were clearly given first place in the planning for the next ten years. In secondary education urgent expansion was emphasized, a doubling of present numbers, with a goal of four per cent of the student population being given the opportunity to sit for the Cambridge Certificate. Secondary schools were to offer academic courses, but each school was also to have a specific bias such as agriculture, technical training, commerce, or domestic science. The

pupil-teacher ratio was to be increased to 1:25 and class size from thirty to thirty five and each institution should aim at the 420 enrolment target recommended by the I.B.R.D. Report. An East African Examination Board should be established in place of the Cambridge Overseas Examination Board, and Makerere standards should be revised to allow a degree after four post C.S.C. years. The Report specifically recommended that educational development and manpower planning bodies be established, as well as career and vocational guidance services in schools, to relate the manpower needs of the nation to the choice of vocation by students. And lastly, agriculture, as a school activity, was at long last read out of the secondary system.⁶

The Castle Report did try to bring into balance the emphasis on economic planning and the intrinsic value of education as an end in itself, but it was a losing battle because the Government was primarily concerned with numbers and resources available, and the Ugandan was primarily concerned with getting his Certificate rather than an 'education'. Community life, character training, and the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake were definitely not part of a developing nation's priorities, and so for some time to come the schools had to become 'certificate factories'. General education, the arts, and liberal-thought training would have to

⁶The Report stated: "The problems of agricultural education are not primarily educational; they are intimately bound up with the solution of economic, technical, and social problems over which the Ministry of Education has no control - system of land tenure, improved land-use, finance and marketing, research and development, traditions and tribal customs, being among them . . ." (Uganda Government, Education in Uganda (Government Printer, Entebbe: 1963).)

yield to specialization, the sciences and vocational training.

Government response to the Castle Report was the Sessional Paper No.4 of 1963. In it Government acknowledged the importance of a "religious attitude to life" and accepted the teaching of religion in schools. It recommended the reorganization of the system into a 7:6 pattern (carried out in 1967). The use of English was to be encouraged as the medium of instruction in primary schools "at the earliest possible stage." The highest priority was to be accorded to secondary development, though this did not follow the four-fold bias recommended by the Castle Report. The dependence on expatriate teachers in secondary education was recognized and acknowledged. The Paper clearly stated Government intention and desire to take full responsibility for planning and the administration of the whole system of education; the Voluntary Agencies and Local Governments were to act simply as executive agencies of Government decisions, and so the office of the Secretary General would no longer be required. The Sessional Paper pointed out that the inter-denominational admission principle could no longer be just verbally accepted by the religious authorities, but that it would have to be implemented. Also, all teachers would now be appointed and employed by the Central Government, and then seconded to local authorities.⁷

Top priority was to be given to secondary education! Expenditure on education in 1961 had reached twenty three per cent of the total

⁷On January 21, 1964 the Kenya Minister of Education in an address given to the Christian Council of Kenya outlined the new role of the church in education in Kenya, and since the situation in Kenya and Uganda

budget, but by 1964 this had increased to twenty nine per cent with over £9m. being allocated to education.⁸ In 1961 there were 6,400 pupils in senior secondary S.I - IV classes and 250 in S.V - VI classes. By 1964 these figures had risen to 11,700 and 943.⁹ By 1965 the S.I - IV figures had risen sharply again to 16,152, while S.V - VI enrolment remained almost the same as 1964.¹⁰ Prior to 1965 the increased enrolment was largely due to the extension of existing schools, but then at the beginning of 1965 twenty three junior secondary schools were up-graded and two new schools, Moroto and Tororo, were opened to senior secondary students. In 1966 ten more senior secondary schools brought the total number in Uganda to seventy eight. In 1967 twenty four new streams were added to existing schools, and nine schools began H.S.C. sections.¹¹

The pace of change was accelerating at an almost dizzy speed and

similar in these post independence years, it is interesting to compare his comments with the situation in Uganda. First, he said, the churches had to give up their privileged position; second, they must work together in unity and co-operation since they are now working to prepare pupils for the life of a nation rather than for life within a denomination; third, evangelism must be clearly separated from education for secular life; last, they must consider their educational work as a public service rather than as missionary endeavour. (Flatt, Op. Cit., p.158.)

⁸Williams, Op. Cit., Table I, p.16; Annual Report, 1964 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), mimeographed introduction, p.1.

⁹Williams, Op. Cit., Table 2, p.17; Annual Report, 1964 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), mimeographed introduction, pp.2-3.

¹⁰Annual Report, 1965 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), Table C.1.

¹¹A.W. Wood, "Educational Policy and Social Development in Uganda - 1935-64" (M. Phil. Thesis, University of London, 1967), p.249; Annual Report, 1964 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), mimeographed introduction, p.1; Annual Report, 1965 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), Table C.1; "Work for Progress," Uganda's Second Five-Year Plan, 1966-71 (Government Printers, Entebbe), p.139.

Nabumali High School felt the full impact of post independence determination. In 1958 there were 201 pupils at Nabumali after four years (1954-58) of intensive building and development. By 1964 the number had increased to 343 and during each of the next four years an average of seventy five additional pupils were admitted to Nabumali bringing the total to 640 in term I of 1968.¹²

The changes in school routine and tradition required to accommodate these spiralling numbers were sure to create unrest and a considerable fall in the quality of instruction. The adjustment required on the part of the pupil as he came into the controlled life of a large boarding school from the freedom of village life, the adjustment required on the part of the expatriate teacher as he came into an entirely new culture for a short period of service, the adjustment required of a headmaster as he came to a new school and especially if he was just working out his own philosophy and method of administration in such a volatile social scene, all these adjustments were guaranteed to produce tension, inconsistencies and unrest if the institution itself did not provide a firm tradition. Most student bodies, and particularly the basically conservative African student body, do not want change. Enough change had already come to the Nabumali student by his or her coming into the prestigious, competitive spheres of higher education. A clear and authoritarian tradition would seem to be the best possible environment for the student to find his feet, but with a phenomenal growth in numbers, often without

¹²R. Wareham, Headmaster's Report on Nabumali High School Speech Day, June 29, 1968 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

equivalent improvements in the school plant, changes had to be made. School rules were revised to suit a student body ranging in age from thirteen to as old as twenty five. Included in these rules were restrictions about drinking and social behaviour utterly at variance with what the Nabumali pupil considered to be the accepted norm of behaviour for someone of his age in his village. A fairly rigid timetable of academic and extra-curricular activities was drawn up and 'enforced' - an extremely difficult task for teachers who did not possibly know all the students personally, and an extremely distasteful situation for students who were used to the freedom of smaller school situations or the 'clock-less' life of a village. Freedom of opinion and the public expression of this opinion, a highly prized and jealously guarded right in a newly independent nation, was controlled by the administration of Nabumali to enable the life of the school to proceed in an orderly, predictable manner. The student body, intensely conscious of its exalted social position in a land where higher education is for the few, sought to break with established authority because this authority was in the hands of the predominantly expatriate staff. The student body also demand the right to determine aspects of the school's academic and domestic life - which teachers taught which classes, how many subjects were to be taken for final examinations, the number of hours to be devoted to subjects on the time-table, the length of preparation periods in the evening, the type and quality of food served, the type of uniforms and accommodation provided, to what extent compulsory activities were enforceable, and so on. Clearly many of these decisions the school

administration or Ministry of Education was not willing to place into the hands of the student body.

The staff which administered and directed the life of secondary education at Nabumali was largely expatriate, coming from Britain, the United States, and Canada.¹³ Most expatriate teachers stayed an average of three or four years (many only two) and the variety of their backgrounds often resulted in differences of opinion about how and why certain school rules should be applied. Sometimes it was their lack of familiarity with boarding school life and African society which caused these differences; other times it was a reflection of the type of school they themselves attended - public school, state school, state college, Cambridge, etc. Most teachers who applied and came to work at Nabumali were of a particularly dynamic, aggressive type, and a very authoritarian and yet flexible headmaster was required to blend the variety of his staff into one purposeful group of leaders.

The heavy, extra-curricular and residential responsibilities which the Nabumali boarding school situation expected its staff to accept might have been familiar and acceptable to the British public school master, but very new and unexpected for the American or Canadian teacher, or even for

¹³The first T.E.A. American teacher to come to Nabumali was Miss Shelby Lewis who came in 1962. In 1964 four British volunteer teachers came under the auspices of the Voluntary Service Overseas organization. In 1965 two Canadian teachers under contract to the Canadian External Aid Office were sent to Nabumali and in 1966 a teacher under the Canadian University Service Overseas. After 1967 no V.S.O., Peace Corps, or G.U.S.O. volunteers were located to Nabumali as it was considered one of the more developed institutions of the country and the volunteers preferred to work in more pioneer situations.

the British state school teacher. Generally speaking, the expatriate, highly paid and separated from his normal community and extended family responsibilities, had more time to involve himself fully in school life and because he knew that he was faced with such demands for only a relatively short term of service, he was willing to be heavily involved. His African colleague at Nabumali accepted this willingness and often left a disproportionate share of these responsibilities to the expatriate because he himself had a private business to manage after school hours and his family responsibilities were very great. The expatriate tended to resent this attitude, and coupled with other factors, tension and conflict were ever-present within the staff.

With the resignation of Canon Bottomley, the Board of Governors was faced with the difficult problem of finding a replacement headmaster in a short period of time, and also a headmaster acceptable to the Nabumali, post-independence, Bagisu situation. Mr. James Aryada, a Mudama by tribe, had been appointed deputy headmaster in April 1963. Because of his long and valuable service and experience at Nabumali, Mr. Aryada was considered for the post, but coinciding with this offer was an offer to Mr. Aryada from the senior inspectorate. The post of headmaster was advertised through the Public Service Commission in October and again in November, and at the December 7th meeting of the Commission Interviewing Panel R.W. Wareham, an English master from Budo, was selected from three applicants. Mr. Aryada subsequently accepted the post with the

inspectorate¹⁴ and in January 1964 Wareham took over the headship. At the same time Michael Sakwa, an Old Boy and a Mugisu, came to Nabumali to take over the chemistry department from Ian Gately, and on July 1st the Board of Governors appointed Sakwa as Deputy Headmaster.

Recruitment of African graduate staff to the expanding senior secondary schools was extremely difficult in competition with the Africanization programme carried out by the Government. Most highly qualified persons were found in the teaching profession, and as the civil service was Africanized the secondary schools were increasingly de-Africanized.¹⁵ Wareham was particularly anxious to build up the African portion of the Nabumali staff, and by 1968 had succeeded in having nine African teachers

¹⁴ Canon Bottomley in his last annual report was able to pay tribute to two Old Boys and masters with whom he had had an intimate contact over the years and who now left Nabumali, Aryada to enter the Inspectorate and Daniel Okunga to study overseas. "It would be difficult to over-estimate how much Nabumali owes to Mr. Aryada. . . . He has been a loyal and very hard-working friend and colleague and has played no small part in the building up of the School to its present position." About Mr. Okunga Bottomley wrote: "He has been a first class teacher, Housemaster and Gamesmaster and has done all his work with an ever-increasing efficiency. He always puts his duty first and cares greatly for each boy or girl as an individual." (A.P. Bottomley, Annual Report of the Headmaster, 1963 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

¹⁵Number of African and Expatriate Teachers in Uganda:

	<u>Ugandan</u>	<u>Expatriate</u>
1959	38	125
1961	54	476
1964	95	580
1968 (estimated)	380	1,160
1970 "	800	970

(Williams, Op. Cit., p.40; Annual Report, 1959 (Department of Education, Uganda), p.9; Annual Report, 1961 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), p.9.

out of a staff of twenty nine, but even in 1968 two of the African masters left Nabumali to take up headships at neighbouring secondary schools.¹⁶

It was extremely difficult to be headmaster of a staff composed of experienced, opinionated, well-paid expatriates on the one hand, and less experienced, more reticent, less well-paid African graduates on the other. Just the cultural differences in the manner of family life, entertainment and social customs between the European and the African staff at Nabumali were bound to lead to a degree of separation. The headmaster, had to treat all his staff as colleagues equally, assume their maturity, and where conflict was bound to arise he had to cover division with sound authority and diplomacy. Where a staff member showed initiative and skill, Wareham allowed freedom and offered encouragement, but where staff members had fallen short of their accepted responsibility his attitude was more one of tolerance rather than authoritative direction. It was debateable whether Wareham could be both diplomatic and authoritative, doubly difficult if his staff was divided on the above basis. On the other hand it may not be a debateable point; such an ability was a necessity in the Nabumali situation. Both repeated tolerance of inefficiency and blind authoritarianism alienated. Diplomacy kept his staff unified towards the headmaster but divided among itself. Because the Nabumali staff was so diverse it was very important that the

¹⁶J. Wepukhulu went to be headmaster of Masaba High School and J. Fagayo went to be deputy headmaster of Bukedi College.

headmaster provided clear directives and checked carefully any inefficiency in carrying out the school routine or academic programme. But in order to do this, he himself had to have a clear understanding of what he was attempting to achieve through the institution.

Another problem confronting the headmaster was that Nabumali's European staff was divided into the progressive and the reactionary - not by any means a phenomenon unique to Nabumali as nearly every school had such a division. It was particularly vital in an African secondary school like Nabumali that the material being taught must be relevant to the African scene and that the syllabus inherited during colonial years from the metropolitan nation should be constantly revised to introduce modern African material as it becomes available. Very often the head of department responsibilities were given to the more established and experienced members of the staff, usually teachers who had been in Africa for more than a few years. These established members of staff, having lost touch with new educational thought, methods and material by being in the isolation of an African rural boarding school situation, often preferred to retain the texts and programmes they had always used. The young members of staff who arrived with new ideas and ambitions found it hard to have a part in the aspects of school life which had always been the 'forte' of one of the older staff members.

Wareham was deliberately carrying through a policy of involving the African members of his staff in school life, while keeping his expatriate staff conscious of their temporary status in the country. The difficulty of such a policy was to practise it without making public

that this was the policy being followed. Encouraging African participation implied that the African required special consideration and would be given a job or task even if he were not as experienced or well-qualified as he should be - a policy readily interpreted as paternalistic.

Under Wareham considerable liberalization of school routine and policy took place. 1) The staff became much more secular in its outlook in that it was recruited by the Ministry of Overseas Development or through other aid agencies without specific reference to the teachers' religious affiliations or the wishes of the foundation body and the Board of Governors. 2) The extra curricular entertainment of the students became more liberal, less religion oriented - dances, films, lectures. With the construction of the open-air stage among the accacia trees by the chapel considerable emphasis was placed on drama with full performances for the school, visiting schools and the public.¹⁷ 3) Student sports fixtures became frequent events with regular exchanges with schools throughout the eastern parts of Uganda and even as far as Kampala.¹⁸ 4) The introduction of H.S.C. work necessitated a programme of general paper (current events and general knowledge) lectures, and speakers with widely divergent views and experiences visited the school for lectures

¹⁷ Dramatic productions at Nabumali included "Romeo and Juliet," "As You Like It," "Volpone," "The Good Woman of Szechwan," "Juno and the Paycock," plus one act plays, Easter pageants and regular inter-house dramatic competitions.

¹⁸ During 1967 and 1968 the 1st XI football team established for itself an almost unbeaten record under the enthusiastic leadership of the school chaplain, Peter English. Basketball was introduced by a Canadian staff member. The enlarged swimming pool was officially opened by Dr. J.S.L. Zeke in July 1965 and frequent swimming galas have been held on important occasions.

on Friday evenings. 5) Chapel attendance at daily prayers and Sunday services was made voluntary in 1966. Evening prayers in the dormitories gradually died out. 6) A large expatriate staff from many backgrounds introduced new activities and attitudes - basketball, mountaineering, tennis for staff and students, a school band, voluntary work camps, and so on. 7) The African staff, mostly graduates, no longer felt themselves to be employees of a church school, and their personal lives were no concern of the headmaster or the Board of Governors. 8) The contact with the parish of Nabumali, rather than involving the whole student body, was now restricted to those interested in helping with the community Sunday School or local services. 9) Students from other denominations or professing no specific faith joined the school and were free to practise their own faith or remain separate from Christian activities. 10) The Christian outreach of the school religious life was more geared to a rising intellectual community rather than a basic and fundamental evangelistic message. 11) The Christian witness within the school became the responsibility of the staff and students who were interested and willing to carry it out. It was now an extra curricular activity rather than an acknowledged part of the school routine. 12) Recruitment and location of staff was not determined by the individual teacher's religious conviction.

It would seem that Nabumali High School moved completely away from its Christian heritage, but this was not the case. It had moved away from affiliation with a specific Christian organization, but it remained a Church of Uganda oriented school. Staff and student involve-

ment in the Christian life, though not compulsory, remained vital with as many as one third of the staff actively supporting Christian activities. The student Christian Union claimed the support of approximately one hundred students out of 650 - a sizeable proportion. The Bishop of Mbale, the Right Reverend E. Masaba, as chairman of the Board of Governors, maintained a close contact with the school and its development. On the Board of Governors, with a membership of twelve, there were still five ordained men.

Under Wareham the school accepted significant increases in pupil enrolment without compensating developments in the school facilities. It would be an over-simplification to say that the headmaster had not withstood the pressure of the Ministry because he was new to his position. It would be more accurate to say that the Board of Governors, increasingly Government-oriented, was ultra careful in post independence years not to challenge or oppose the expansionist plans of Government. The tendency was for the Board to accept Government plans to increase numbers and decrease both the standard of instruction and the type of accommodation offered, to bring Nabumali into line with the nation's ability to finance such schools. Government expansion, therefore, in the 1960's, though revealing all the ill effects of quantitative expansion at the expense of quality, was more realistic than had been pre independence development. Nabumali was gradually being changed from a school built on a European colonial standard of living and budget to a Ugandan school at which the facilities reflected the undeveloped state of the nation's economy. This redefinition of standards was a slow process but more and more developing

nations have had to accept a lower standard as their education system expanded to reach the masses. Sheer economics demanded that teachers' salaries, as the salaries of all educated professionals in developing nations, had to be considerably lower than European or American salary scales, and likewise, the type and quality of education had to be related to the economic potential of the nation if it was to be financed by the nation itself rather than through repeated foreign loans and aid grants.

Early in 1964 Phase II of the 1962-65 development programme had been completed, and at the end of February the Nabumali architects submitted to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education plans for Phase III, a Government contract for £30,000, and Phase IV, the long-delayed U.S.A.I.D. contract for £28,600.¹⁹ B.P. Kiwanuka replied that these submissions were above the original intended amount and had to be revised.²⁰ Finally on August 29th, 1964 the Phase III contract was let for £21,000 for the extension of Aggrey and Crabtree Dormitories and four staff houses on the north side of the Nyondo-Nabumali Road. On October 2nd, 1964 the U.S.A.I.D. contract for £29,232 was signed for four staff houses on the lower south side of the school compound, the second half of Banks-Apolo Dormitory, extensions to various buildings and roads, additional amenities and the conversion of two old dormitories into study blocks.

¹⁹Dean and Partners - Permanent Secretary, February 28, 1964, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

²⁰B.P. Kiwanuka - Dean and Partners, February 5, 1964, Ibid.

These four phases of construction were intended to develop Nabumali into a three-stream with H.S.C. school for 440 pupils; the construction was completed by November 1965. But as early as April 20, 1964 Kiwanuka sent a circular to the headmaster²¹ in which he outlined a new five-year development plan which was being drawn up for the years 1964-70, intentionally over-lapping with the present programme to prevent there being a break in the overall expansion programme. By 1970 Nabumali was to be a 540 place school with three Cambridge Certificate streams (class size of thirty five rather than thirty) plus a three-stream H.S.C. section (three science streams and one arts - yet another Castle Report recommendation). Since this development was largely dependent on financial assistance from abroad, the Government intended to have plans available well in advance to prevent delays similar to the Tororo Girls School and Nabumali A.I.D. extension schemes. It was also the intention of the Government to apply standard costing to any new development schemes.²²

²¹B.P. Kiwanuka - Bottomley, April 20, 1964 Ministry of Education Circular A.1993, Ibid.

²²Standard costing of staff houses was to be £3,000 compared with £3,500 up until now, and for a dormitory accommodating sixty the standard cost was to be £12,000.

Government was also attempting to make educational planning more accurate and predictable by collecting statistics on capital and recurrent costs for secondary education.

Capital: In 1964 the average cost of capital development of a CSC place at a boarding school was about £500 compared with £800 in the past. (The U.S.A.I.D. Tororo Girls' School had cost £1,250 per place.) Capital costs for a place at Makerere were £5,000. ("Work for Progress," Uganda's Second Five-Year Plan, 1966-71 (Government Printers, Entebbe, 1966), p.136.) The per pupil capital costs of boarding education compared with day education were estimated in 1965 - a three-stream CSC with a three-stream HSC boarding school cost £716 per place while the same facilities for day pupils were £422.6 per place.

Recurrent: Recurrent cost of secondary boarding school per pupil

Wareham replied in May, after consulting the Executive Committee of the Board, accepting the larger class size and increased H.S.C. enrolment, and he outlined the needs for such an expansion programme, but he did request that before this new plan be initiated all the 1962-65 development work should be completed.²³ By the time this was completed in late 1965 enrolment had already reached the 440 level.

Early in November 1965 the Minister of Education visited Nabumali High School and said that the school would take in four streams in January 1966 to reach an enrolment of 516 - without any further capital outlay. A little more than a year later the Ministry decided that Nabumali should have an enrolment of 700 by 1969/70. The headmaster and deputy headmaster specifically discussed the implications of such rapid development with the Chief Education Officer, emphasizing the difficulties involved from a discipline point of view, but the warning received little sympathy.²⁴ By 1968 the school enrolment had reached 643 and the only

for six years (S. I - VI) was over £1,000 compared with £560 in a day school and £1,000 per annum at Makerere. (Annual Report, 1965 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), Section C., Table C.) The average per pupil teacher cost in secondary schools was £75 if allowance payments were included. Government capitation payments to boarding schools in 1965 were £22.5 for a C.S.C. pupil and £40 for an H.S.C. pupil. Day school capitation payments were £10 for C.S.C. and £20 for H.S.C. (Williams, Op. Cit., pp. 59, 60, 62.) The per pupil recurrent costs of boarding education compared with day education in 1966 were: boarding C.S.C. pupil £100.87 and boarding H.S.C. pupil £125.82, day C.S.C. pupil £79.92 and day H.S.C. pupil £89.42. (Annual Report, 1966 (Ministry of Education, Uganda), Section C, Table 20.)

²³ R. Wareham - B.P. Kiwanuka, May 14, 1965, found in Nabumali High School Correspondence and files (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

²⁴ Nabumali High School Log Book, July 3, 1967 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

further development which had taken place after the completion of the 1962-65 440 capacity programme was a girls' hostel for seventy completed in May 1968, twin bachelor staff quarters on the junior school site, and a new electrical distribution board to ease the over-loaded electrical system. Nothing was done to improve or extend the sewage and water systems; the dining hall, chapel, and classroom accommodation remained the same. The numerical growth was accommodated by double shifts for meals and chapel, the use of temporary classrooms (outside under a tree quite often), staff members sharing houses, assemblies being held outside, classes of thirty eight crowding into rooms built for classes of twenty seven to thirty, and by Nabumali High School taking over the old girls' school site from the Bugisu Local Government after the junior secondary schools were phased out at the end of 1966.

The Government clearly stated in its 1966-70 Development Plan that facilities at schools must be used more 'intensively' and it was possible to view such a decision with understanding - a country desperately attempting to expand its education system with limited resources but zealous politicians - but at the same time the situation may be viewed with dismay and regret. It did not cost the Government anything in capital out-lay to increase enrolment by some thirty per cent, but the price was clearly evident in the disruption and unrest which was reflected by the crisis-mentality found among staff and students. At Nabumali the results were frightening: 1964 - thirty one suspensions or expulsions and a strike about food, 1965 - seven suspensions or expulsions and a strike about uniforms which led to the whole school being closed,

1966 - twenty suspensions or expulsions, 1967 - forty three suspensions or expulsions, two incidents involving the breaking of the headmaster's office windows, a revolt about the introduction of a cafeteria-style serving of tea, two occasions involving disagreement between groups of senior students. The price paid was clearly evident in the amount of time lost from lessons, the constant sense of tension felt by staff and students alike about the success of their work, and the end of year results.²⁵

What caused this phenomenon of strikes so common in the secondary schools of Africa and other developing continents? Was it the forerunner of the widespread student unrest of the late 1960's? What was the situation at Nabumali insofar as strikes and student unrest were concerned? Would it continue, or had it reached a climax in 1967?²⁶ It would certainly be presumptuous to predict the future because, as Mr. M. Sakwa said, you will only know whether a climax has been reached when you do not have any more strikes and when student attitudes become more accepting.²⁷

²⁵Nabumali High School Examination Results:

	Higher School Certificate		Certificate FAIL	Cambridge School Certificate			Certificate	
	HSC	GCE		1st	2nd	3rd	CSC	FAIL
1964	-	-	-	13	25	10	2	4
1965	17	16	1	12	32	24	3	3
1966	13	24	-	9	15	15	1	-
1967	17	43	4	7	21	24	4	8

(Nabumali High School Log Book, 1964-67 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.)

²⁶At the time of writing (mid 1969) news had just been received that after a very quiet and successful year 1968 and a good first term for 1969, the school's routine was upset by a major student reaction to a passing remark which they interpreted as a racial insult. After considerable damage to school property, all the students of S.II,III,IV were sent home for the remainder of the term.

²⁷Interview with M. Sakwa, at Nabumali on October 3, 1968.

One of the main causes of strikes was the mood of independence which served as a spring-board for the emancipation of student thought and expression. During the last years of Bottomley's headship, African thought objected strongly to any reactionary situation. Regardless of the man's ability or policy, a member of the old school, of the pre-independence period, had to be purged from the system to make way for the new. This was a very irrational view, but readily justified on the basis of the emotions of the time. Then when Wareham took over, the 'new boy' attitude²⁸ applied to him or any innovation which he sought to introduce. In the eyes of the students who had joined Nabumali prior to his headship, Wareham would remain a 'new boy' who had to prove himself. And so, change, whether initiated by the old or the new, was not appreciated or accepted by the student body. Further aggravating this situation was the fact that the staff was constantly changing. With each new member of staff came new problems involving staff-student misunderstanding, students testing out new teachers, new interpretations of old school rules and new methods of enforcing discipline and order. Misunderstanding and inconsistency was bound to occur in a situation where the students stayed for six years and the staff often for only two.

Paradoxical attitudes prevailed among students - unwillingness to change and willingness that everything should be challenged. The leaders of the newly independent nations preached self-confidence and individualism. Authority, particularly the established authority, was

²⁸A term used by students to designate a new arrival - inexperienced and, therefore, readily deceived. An insult if used personally.

not sacrosanct. Equipped with highly competitive natures, students did not hesitate to enjoy the challenge presented by the conflict of ideas. Because the white man was considered to have been the loser in the independence struggle, his ideas, authority and attempts to direct were now open to question. There was a great reservoir of frustration and suspicion which had accumulated over the years of colonial rule which now surfaced and struck out blindly at anything which tried to control the new sense of freedom. A flood of self-importance, often utterly unrelated to actual experience or ability, but fed by the prestige position of the secondary pupil and the yearnings of his family to benefit from its son's potential future, turned many students into little 'tin gods'. Individual students, conscious of their new found freedom and lacking the maturity to express it in positive ways, found security and strength in group situations. Being part of a group, a student involved in a totally irrational strike situation would readily justify his behaviour by referring to the general issues afflicting the group.

School strikes followed a relatively simple pattern. A spark ignited a cause; a cause grew through discussion and attached itself to a long-standing dislike; the original spark was often forgotten and momentum of dissatisfaction grew as the minority cause was replaced by something basic to the whole school. The dissenting minority, through intimidation or fear, appeared to win the support of the majority. The cause by this time had found its scapegoat; by this time the cause had become paramount even to the highly valued chance of an education. Pride and bravado, fed by the fear of public disapproval or the longing for

public approval of manliness and aggressiveness, led to open rebellion. The strikers had not yet considered what action would satisfy their discontent, and therefore any action would be rejected or attacked as inadequate. Student action and staff authority then conflicted and sharp actions like suspension, expulsion or school closure followed. With the removal of the group from the scene of conflict and from each other there followed a return to reality. The issue remained unsettled, but a gradual return to normal followed because feelings had been released.

The year 1967 seemed to have seen the conflict over authority come to a climax, or at least a 'temporary ceasefire'. The 'new' headmaster had apparently convinced the students that, though more liberal in his views about administering a school compared with Bottomley, the price of infringement of school order was either suspension or expulsion. The S.II students, who had been so troublesome in Bottomley's last year, passed through the school and 1968 saw a return to sanity with no expulsions or suspensions in the first term, and very few in the remaining two terms of the year.

For many years Wareham had been trying to organize a speech day with the President of Uganda as the guest speaker. Many efforts were frustrated by the busy schedule of the President, but in May 1968 Wareham announced to the Board that the President had accepted an invitation for June 29. With genuine enthusiasm and interest the whole school worked to prepare for the great event. Invited and uninvited guests arrived and early in the afternoon of the 29th thousands filled the area surrounding the out-door stage by the chapel. At 2:30 p.m. the Presidential

cavalcade drove through the avenue of cheering students to be received in front of the chapel by the headmaster, the staff and prefects, and the Uganda police band.

The Acting Chairman of the Board of Governors, Mr. Ravensdale, welcomed His Excellency, Dr. A.M.M. Obote, and the guests to Nabumali. The headmaster, in his report, thanked the Government for the 'Challenge of Expansion' which had happened at Nabumali during the past years, but qualified his gratitude with the warning:

. . . in a school so large we are in danger of letting something important slip away, something very dear to my predecessor here, Canon Bottomley and myself. It is that intimate relationship between the teacher and taught, it is the constant, careful watching over, and guidance of your children in their development and growth mentally, physically and spiritually from the day they come to the school to the day they leave. This may be an ideal but it is an ideal that we must not let slip away; we must not lose sight of it; we must not allow Nabumali to develop into a mass educational factory; we must never lose sight of the boy or girl as an individual.²⁹

In his reply, Dr. Obote touched on the issue which for so many years had been a source of division at Nabumali but which the present generation had to come to grips with and use for the benefit of the school, community and country.

Throughout its history, the school has afforded opportunity to hundreds of students and drawn students even from outside Uganda. In this respect the School was not only endeavouring to bring together for the good of Uganda students from various parts of the country to learn together and to appreciate the different backgrounds of each other, but it attempted also to be international.³⁰

²⁹Headmaster's Report, Nabumali High School Speech Day, June 29, 1968 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

³⁰M. Obote, Address on Nabumali High School Speech Day, June 29, 1968 (Nabumali High School Archives, Nabumali), uncatalogued.

For Canon Bottomley this observation would have been a great encouragement because it was his policy from the earliest years to keep Nabumali a Ugandan school and a diocesan school which served Uganda as well as Kenya and the Sudan. Dr. Obote appealed to his listeners that they should try to have a national understanding of the purpose of education. The secondary schools would for some time remain dependent on foreign teachers, and rather than encouraging misunderstanding and poor communication between students and staff, Uganda's aim should be to get full value out of the great investment which was being made by the nation in education. The products of the secondary schools, rather than selfishly scorning their rural backgrounds, rather than seeking after prestige and white-collar work, should co-operate and commit themselves to "building a viable nation."³¹ Instead of secondary education becoming "a barrier between the fortunate few who are able to enter and the less fortunate mass of the people",³² Dr. Obote challenged the Nabumali pupils never to forget that their privileged position should impress upon their minds that their opportunities carried with them great responsibilities.

Opportunities and responsibilities! If any words summarize the history of an educational institution like Nabumali High School, it would be these. Sixty eight years of growth had taken place starting from the simplest of missionary stations in the eastern frontier of Uganda among a segmented tribal society. The Christian faith and western civili-

³¹Ibid.

³²Uganda Argus, July 1, 1968.

zation had been injected into a primitive society and then nourished by the love and determination of a small band of foreigners. The missionary, right from the beginning, stressed the need for the betterment of society. Man should not remain content with a primitive state, if a more advanced one was available and offered to him. Why remain sinful if forgiveness was available? Why remain in unclothed savagery if European clothes, language and know-how were available by regularly attending a catechumen class? Why remain pagan if Christians were given prestige and new authority through their contacts with the wealthy missionary? Why be a polygamist if only monogamists were chosen for chieftainships? The arguments were simple enough, and the missionary, realizing the attractive power of these arguments, used them to prosper his cause, in the most cases, however, only when he considered it honest and genuine. The missions did present their Christianity using material reward or betterment of physical conditions as incentives, but whether the missionary liked it or not he came bearing with him a western heritage of know-how and materialism.³³ Willis described this missionary in these terms: "He represents a higher order of civilization. The house in which he lives, the table at which he sits, the bed on which he sleeps, however simple, are a great advance on anything that is native to the country."³⁴ Christianity and civilization were basically "two sides of the same coin."³⁵

³³F.B. Welbourn, East African Rebels (London: 1961), p.172.

³⁴J.J. Willis, An African Church in Building (London: n.d.), p.92.

³⁵M. Warren, The Missionary Movement From Britain in Modern History (London: 1965), p.12.

The simple 'pagan' was impressed by two things about the missionary - his love and concern for even the simplest and least important of individuals, and his wealth and skill. The first thing that the missionary did when he arrived at a station was to build himself a palace of a house in which to store an immense wealth of possessions which an endless chain of porters carried for him from some unknown headquarters. In this way two cultures were very suddenly brought together! The one was restricted and struggling, the other magnificently overpowering, and as Sir Philip Mitchell commented, it was not surprising that given the situation of an isolated part of the world, ruled by fear and magic and exposed to violence and barbarism, in such a situation a message of love and forgiveness, presented in a time of British stability, law and order, would have a great impact.³⁶

At the centre of this cultural transformation in the eastern region was an institution, Nabumali High School, and the valuable commodity which it dispensed, education. Traditionally education has been defined as the means of transmitting a culture from one generation to the next, but the missions considered it to be the means of preparing the African for an utterly new life having new values and strange terms of reference. By it you found the way to God, to leadership, to progress, to morality. Yes, the old rules no longer held. Only one wife now, no drinking, hard work, the discipline of the clock, work for the future, serve others,

³⁶P. Mitchell, African Afterthoughts (London: 1954), pp.86-7.

justice by the courts! The key to this new life was education, but the price of education was the Africans' heritage, culture and tribal identity.

Dauncey Tongue, ex commissioner of the Eastern Province, placed the responsibility for this deculturalization on the missionary. ". . . the missionaries have done irreparable damage to the social structure of native life."³⁷ The indigenous cultures had been ravished by western-Christian materialism in the name of Christ, first at the hand of foreigners and then by their servants, the Baganda. Suddenly the native had to find his way through a society of individualism, private property, taxation, wage-earning, traders and an imposed governmental structure foreign to him. He was told that now he had to make decisions about his soul, land and actions. An atomized society was proffered him which consisted of unrelated individuals with no natural bonds or obligations or loyalties other than economic necessities.³⁸ The family or community would no longer make decisions for him. It was a strange new world which he did not want, but then that world taught him to want and need it for otherwise he would find himself isolated or even over-run by his fellows.

The Victorian missionary, however, could not accept such a criticism. For him western, Christian civilization was a great liberalizing force - freedom from slavery, savage feudalism, suppression of women, polygamy, immorality, cruelty, inter-tribal violence, ignorance and superstition.

³⁷E.D. Tongue, "The Contact of Races in Uganda," British Journal of Psychology, XXV (1935), p.361.

³⁸J.H. Oldham and B.D. Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa (London: 1931), p.51.

Social effort in Victorian England usually meant improving the life of the lower classes by converting them to the values and standards of the middle class, best achieved by converting them to Christianity.³⁹ For the missionary it seemed foolish to convert a soul from sin and then leave it in its old sinful life. No, a radical break had to be made at the expense of social continuity - and it was he, the enlightened foreigner, who was best qualified to make this decision for the African, and then impose his Christian way of life. The logic of the missionary's self-imposed messiahship was based on God's command to go into all the world, a personal gratitude for the Christian faith, a duty of political trusteeship, a desire to glorify God, and the argument, how could someone choose that which was the best if he did not know that it existed. The result was deculturalization as described by Dr. Oldham with this analogy. If you break the native from his past he becomes like a bucket (for the new) rather than a pipe from one stage of cultural evolution to the next.⁴⁰ How could such a clear-cut catastrophe be prevented? Max Warren of the C.M.S. justified the missionary's involvement in these terms: "If something had to be destroyed, it was not in the sense of 'making it a desert and calling it peace', but rather as a necessary act of demolition by way of preparation for a new building."⁴¹ If existing institutions

³⁹Victorian Society, The Victorian Poor (Report on the Fourth Conference of the Victorian Society, London, 1967), pp.48-9.

⁴⁰Oldham and Gibson, Op. Cit., p.58.

⁴¹Warren, Op. Cit., p.95.

" . . . hinder the good life or fail to promote it, or in a changing world have exhausted their usefulness, they must give place to something better."⁴² Dr. Oldham offered his own justification of the missionary's role by suggesting that though Christianity seeks the complete conversion of the heart and mind this does not lead to " . . . the abrogation of the natural order but its renewal."⁴³ This may be a subtlety couched in the vagueness of theology, unsatisfactory to the historian or lay critic, but still convincing to the Christian missionary.

Nabumali had begun as an agricultural school for the exclusive training of chiefs' sons, but by the time it was relocated at Nabumali in 1921 it had become a high school for anyone who could pay the fees for an industrial type of training. Such an education was being given to the tribal man with the full awareness of the cultural dangers involved. It was, however, the missionary's deep conviction that such a training was the answer to the African's spiritual, economic and cultural under-development. Consequently education became synonymous with becoming a Christian or being Europeanized. Gradually it lost its 'new life' connotation and became chiefly associated with 'bati' (tin) roofs, a bicycle, clothing, a salaried job, and even a motor car. Once this connection had been made in the public mind, it was no longer a matter then of deciding to turn back and suddenly offer a more distinctive, African-type education. At this point a decision to return to an indigenous form of education would

⁴²J.H. Oldham, "The Educational Work of Missionary Societies," Africa, VII (1934), p.53.

⁴³Oldham and Gibson, Op. Cit., p.61.

be considered as a deliberate attempt to hold the African back. The requirements for success had been clearly established as being those of the European - fluency in English, a school certificate, and contacts with the church, Government and the 'Mzungu' (whiteman). The purpose of education was to provide these tangible requirements, and not ideals and luxuries like integrity, love of literature, fluency in the vernacular, respect for traditions, skill in agriculture. Such ideals and luxuries could be introduced into the education system once the time, wealth and development of the nation allowed for leisure activities. The African did not fear for his culture; he was confident that those traditional values which were worth preserving would not have to be sentimentally defended because they would survive if they met a need, and if they did interfere with development, then they should die out. Change had come, and the law of survival, still very real to the African, would determine what should and would remain. If the extended family or polygamy or even prostitution were a necessary social comfort rather than an economic burden, then they would survive. If not, then they would die to be replaced by either the new or another form of the old. To the anthropologist this might be cultural suicide, but too often social research tends to be a luxury best developed and explored by societies which have advanced beyond basic survival levels rather than by societies in which the future is only defineable in terms of immediate gratification and hard reality.

During the 1920's and 1930's Nabumali High School was the Budo of the Upper Nile Diocese and the chiefs took personal interest in its development. With the advent of self-governing status it became separated

from the community and the church, and associated more closely with Government. Local political developments involved Nabumali intimately and attempts were made to identify the school with the local Government and tribe, but an unyielding headmaster and Board of Governors maintained an independent affiliation with the Central Government. But the events of Independence meant that change must take place. With a new headmaster the changes came fast and furious, so rapidly that anarchy threatened, but with its initial surge of passion spent, the mood in education began to turn back to first things.

In what ways had Uganda been influenced by the Christian message as propogated by the mission-developed system of education? Generalities are easy to make and not readily disproved but the impact has been great. The elements of western civilization and Christian thought were, and still are, being spread through the schools. Most visitors and educated Ugandans would call the nation christian (with a small 'c') and the Government appeals to the public from the standpoint that 'in God we trust'. But tribal virtues like loyalty to family or group have not been supplanted, and particularly in post-independence Uganda they appeal more to the African community than do Christian values. The individual, when under pressure or lonely, quickly reverts to his tribal identity - song, dance, language, kin - to find comfort. At the same time, however, traditional respect for the authority of an elder or tribal head has been drastically altered by education. There is much self-confidence in today's secondary student, a peculiar blend of emancipated thought and immature swagger, and in his eyes the necessary change will come only through the new

generation. Little value is placed on traditional lore and crafts because this generation is still too close to the village to be able to visualize such lore and crafts as anything but reminders of a primitive existence from which escape is being sought. But even so, the indigenous African life is being asserted in a few aspects of the nation, and given time, the African rather than the foreigner will take on the task of collecting and recording that which he deems of value for the future.⁴⁴

Literacy came with the pioneer missionary, and for some years, rather than being an emancipating force, it was restrictive. The reader, who had succeeded in learning to read by attending one of the catechumen classes, could read only what the missions had selected for translation. But with the gradual emancipation of literacy itself through the use of a 'lingua franca' and higher education, the increase of available literature, rather than unifying readers in one faith, it exposed them to a wide range of religious, political and economic thought. As long as schools were considered to be the means to evangelize and convert rather than educate, it meant that missions were recognizing and catering to only part of the man, the part they wanted to win. But with the growing secularization of education in the 1940's and 1950's the church, in order to keep growing, had to break new frontiers and turn to more orthodox means of out-reach by developing its pastoral work rather than its educational work. In time, the schools, rather than building the church,

⁴⁴The interesting thing is that certain traditional aspects of tribal culture like dancing, in its simplest and most dramatic form, is still very popular among students, as are some traditional musical instruments and games.

began encouraging higher criticism. Up until the second World War the educated Christian was at the centre of social prestige and respect, but in the 1960's the educated Christian was frequently exposed to ridicule and considerable social pressure, while the skeptic and atheist enjoyed prestige among his peers.

The Christian message also brought with it the lesson of economic advantage. By and large the role played by industrial missionaries like Borup, Purvis and Mathers was one of making clear to the African that by learning certain skills he could better his position in life. Such skills would enable him to understand and deal with future technical advance or commercial competition. Slowly and surely cash crops and land sales, mechanization and co-operative marketing changed the traditional views regarding such issues as clan land, cow wealth, education only for chiefs' children or sons, child wealth, polygamy, and bride price. If you asked an African today whether he had only one wife because of his Christian conviction or because he could only afford one, it will usually be the latter (among the illiterate and semi-literate especially). There were, of course, many who were monogamists because of their Christian faith or personal choice, but among the growing number of nominal Christians the economics of social customs speak louder than religious convictions.

The Protestant higher schools placed great stress on character training and leadership preparation. Protestant students at Makerere were described as being very different from the obedient, accepting

Roman Catholic secondary graduates.⁴⁵ As early as 1922 Archdeacon Owen pointed out to the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza, H.R. Tate, that the C.M.S. was deliberately training leaders and if Government did not acknowledge this by giving responsibility to these leaders, then C.M.S. policy was bound to embarrass Government.⁴⁶ Mathers, while playing a similar role in the Elgon area (similar to Owen in Nyanza), never involved the Government in the native demand for greater independence because he, unlike Owen among the Luo, was working with some five or six competing tribes who never succeeded in presenting a united front. Mathers, however, was involved with the Bagisu Welfare Association and its attempts to better the lot of the Bagisu commercially. The political implications of the association (the anti-Baganda feeling) appealed to him less as he had very close contact with the leading Baganda chiefs in Elgon, Mukasa and Musoke. But as a mediator between chiefs and Government, Mathers played a key role. Like Purvis and Holden in the first difficult decade at Nabumali, Mathers was the person who was frequently sought out to judge cases or use his good offices on someone's behalf because he spoke their language (and the language of the administrator), had lived and travelled among them, acted as their spokesman in organizations where they were not represented.

⁴⁵F. Jackson, Early Days in East Africa (London: 1930), p.10.

⁴⁶Owen - Tate, November 23, 1922, "Archdeacon Owen Papers" (C.M.S. Archives, London) cited by J.M. Lonsdale, "Archdeacon Owen and the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association," East African Institute of Social Research Papers (January 1963), Vol.A.

What about the impact of Christianity on the traditional political order? In the regions of Uganda which had a feudal system of king and chiefs, the Christian-British impact was to remove the tyrant and replace him with a limited monarch with a broad system of chiefs through which both church and colonial government evangelized and administered. But in the eastern region Christian Baganda sub-imperialism replaced the patriarchal authority structure, established client chiefs, and worked hand in hand with the many Baganda missionaries. As indigenous chiefs replaced the Baganda agents a considerable degree of tribal identity developed within these formerly segmented peoples. The role of Christianity in these developments can be measured in the political influence of missionaries like Mathers and Nabumali High School graduates like Bishop Masaba, or Messrs. Kirya and Wanambwa to name just a few. The tribal sense of the peoples of the Elgon-Tororo areas is a product of this century. Rather than creating insecurity and chaos by disrupting cultures, the schools and missionaries have created unity and tribal awareness by training leaders where before there were none. Strangely enough in Bugisu tribal identity was fostered and strengthened by the missionaries' attempts to build Nabumali as a multi-tribal institution rather than as a Bagisu institution.

Roland Oliver summarized the role of Christianity in Africa as being more than a new religion.

It has been that which has helped the African to adapt himself to the new order, to master it instead of being enslaved by it. It has been connected in African eyes with everything that has

seemed most progressive and most liberating here in 'this' world.⁴⁷

In this great process of the evolution of a nation and its people from the old to the new, Christianity and education and Nabumali High School played key roles. Since the turn of the century Nabumali was a centre from which the new reached out to the old, involving the African in the constructive and destructive process of modernization. Nabumali had evolved from a pioneer missionary outpost into one of the leading Government secondary institutions of Uganda. The future of this institution will be concerned with this same responsibility of modernization, and the foundations of the past, the vigour of the present, and the vision of the future will determine how well this school will serve its nation.

⁴⁷R. Oliver, How Christian is Africa? (London: 1956), p.17.

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F. INTERVIEWS

Barlow, F., Nekyon, F., Wasikye, E., Aryada, N., and Mugerwe, E. at Kampala in September 1968.

All old girls of the Nabumali Girls School. Mrs. Barlow served as headmistress for a brief period.

Bottomley, A.P. at Clevedon, Somerset in December 1968.

Busiku, Lasto at Nabumali in June and July 1968.

Buyera, Yoweri at Nabumali in September 1968.

Ex gombola chief and ex teacher at Nabumali.

Buyi, Jonah at Nabumali in July 1968.

Ex sub-county chief and father of Munghoma, the former Bagisu Omwinga. Student at Nabumali circa 1912.

Cooper, Frances at Cranleigh, Surrey in November 1968.

Teacher at Nabumali 1933 to 1946.

Grace, Michael at Mukono, Uganda in October 1968.

Teacher at Nabumali 1951 to 1965.

Habasta, Gusten at Nabumali in October 1968.

Hamya, J. at Kampala in September 1968.

An old boy and former head prefect.

Kennedy, F.R. at Farnham, Surrey in November 1970.

Former Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province.

Kisala, Y.M. at MagaMaga, Uganda in October 1968.

Teacher at Nabumali 1941 to 1954.

Masaba, Bishop E.K. at Mbale in June and September 1968.

One time pupil and teacher at Nabumali - 1916 to 1930. Ordained 1933. Served as Army Chaplain 1939-45. Long-time member of the Nabumali Board of Governors. Present chairman of the Board of Governors. Bishop of Mbale Diocese.

Naburufe, Salome at Nabumali in July 1968.

One of the first students at Nabumali - circa 1910. Sister of Buyi.

Nambaale, Samuel at Nabumali in October 1968.

Former head-man at Nabumali High School and brother of Jonah Buyi.

Okunga, Daniel at Makerere, Kampala in September and October 1968.
An old boy of Nabumali and former teacher. Presently deputy registrar of Makerere University.

Sakwa, Michael at Nabumali in October 1968.
An old boy of Nabumali, former teacher, and presently deputy headmaster.

Sharpe, Kenneth at Namirembe, Kampala in October 1968.
Resident church accountant at Mbale during 1950's. Presently Church of Uganda accountant at Namirembe.

Thoonen, Fr. at Mill Hill, London in December 1968.
Mill Hill missionary at Iwala, Uganda during 1920's.

Usher Wilson, Bishop L. at Churt, Farnham, Surrey in November 1968.
Bishop of the Upper Nile Diocese from 1936 to 1961. Teacher at Budo and Rural Dean of Jinja 1927 - 1935.

Washume at Nabumali in June 1968.