

The Politics of Higher Education in a Colonial Situation, 1920—1941

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.....A man does not learn to despise his fellow men but to administer justice and pleasure to anyone as much as possible.....OMUKAMA KYEBAMBE OF TORO.

Students of colonialism are agreed that colonial education was not simply a benevolent gift of the colonisers but that, besides serving to fulfil basic functional purposes, it was meant to serve as an instrument for socio-political control through which colonialism could impart values that sustained colonial hegemony. But that colonial education later turned out to be a destabilizing factor, undermining the colonial process, has been fully recognised. The basic socio-political and functional purposes of colonial education and their eventual destabilizing effects, culminating into the rise of nationalism, have been well documented.¹

This paper seeks to demonstrate, using Uganda as a case study for the period under discussion, that even before the politically dysfunctional effects of colonial education were felt in Uganda, colonial officials were cautious in their attitudes towards higher education for Africans in Uganda. Colonial officials feared that a higher literary education would be a destabilizing factor to colonial hegemony. There was a general view that if Africans acquired higher education, they would imbibe values which they could use as intellectual tools to critically re-examine the colonial order. There were, therefore, conflicting perceptions of the level at which Africans should be educated mainly between the Chiefs and colonial officials. The conflicting perceptions provided the bases for the politics of higher education during the period under discussion.

The major actors in the politics of higher education were the chiefs and allied groups, the colonial officials and the missionaries. The chiefs, especially those in Buganda, had realized by the 1890s that education was the means by which they could effectively communicate with the colonial conqueror and the means by which they could have access to material and cultural resources of the West. Partly because of this instrumentalist attitude and probably out of some religious fervour, chiefs helped missionaries to set up missionary centres and schools to which they sent their sons and relatives.² Colonial officials saw the administrative and political utility of encouraging chiefs to send their sons to schools. These schools would serve as useful institutions for colonial political socialization to mould the young chiefs into malleable instruments of colonialism. Colonial authorities also wanted the young chiefs to be equipped with the elementary skills of reading, writing and a knowledge of accounts.³ These skills were functionally relevant to the tasks of collection of taxes and maintenance of colonial law and order, tasks that were basically required of chiefs.

But once the novelties of reading, writing and arithmetic wore off, the chiefs began nursing higher ambitions regarding possible educational attainments of their children. They came to know, through their missionary friends and their visits to England, that education was more than what was provided in Ugandan schools. They wanted to have access to those educational facilities not available in

Uganda. Their children could go to University. From about the late 1910s, chiefs, especially those in Buganda, Busoga, Toro and Bunyore, began petitioning the colonial authorities to allow them to send their children abroad for higher education. In their reactions to chiefs' petitions for their children's education abroad, colonial officials were basically concerned about possible political implications arising from higher education for the *natives*. There was the fear that values Ugandan youths might acquire could undermine the British presence. Colonial officials also feared that skills these boys might acquire would make them think they were entitled to positions in the colonial establishment which were the monopoly of the British. Denial of access to these positions would create political problems. An intellectual proletariat would thereby be created which would be hard to contain politically.

Protestant missionaries supported chiefs' demands for higher education, not necessarily because they were comfortably prepared for a highly politicised educated class that would undermine colonialism. Quite early, especially in Buganda, Christian missionaries had been closely associated with chiefly politics in their role as political advisers. Protestant missionaries perhaps felt a moral obligation to support the demands of a group which had supported their missionary endeavours. They probably believed that under proper political socialization through the christian ethos, education *natives* would never undermine British Colonialism. Already by the mid-1920s missionaries had established Public - school type schools which they envisaged would lead to a University type of education.

PETITIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The higher education debate opened up in the early 1920s with petitions from Baganda, Basoga and Batoro chiefs. The initial reaction to these petitions was over where the boys could be sent with a minimum of political risks. In reaction to the Muganda agent Jemusi Lwanga Miti's petition,⁴ the Acting Governor, Jarvis, wrote to the Governor-General of the Sudan inquiring about possibilities of Ugandan boys being sent to Gordon College, Khartoum. Jarvis was:

.....anxious that natives of this Protectorate should not be sent to schools in countries where they are likely to be imbued with the spirit of disaffection or disloyalty. As regards Gordon College, I am not aware what provision is made in that institution for religious education. The majority of chiefs concerned are Christians - and would wish that their sons should be brought up in the same religion. I do not consider it advisable that the latter should be subjected to influences which might lead to their embracing Mohammedanism.⁵

The Governor-General of the Sudan wrote back pointing out that there was a possibility of Ugandan youths' education at Gordon College, but, while making it clear that there was provisions for Christian instruction, he left no doubt about "Islamic influences."⁶ The Reverend John Roscoe's observations based on his visit to Gordon College on his way to England reinforced the politico-religious fears since, according to Roscoe, "the teaching is all in Arabic - (and) the entire environment is Moslem."

Some members of the colonial establishment in the country expressed similar views on the native's aspirations for higher education abroad. The Headmaster of Buddo, the Reverend H.T.C. Weatherhead, submitted a memorandum to the Chief Secretary in which he explored possibilities of sending the youths to Tuskegee or Hampton Institutes, the predominantly black colleges in America, on the grounds that

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"the tone is high and good, they have distinct courses for education adopted to Africans and the environment in the institutions is African or Negro."⁸ But there was the *colour* problem. Similarly, South Africa "seemed to be as dangerous as America." He could not recommend England because while in England the boys would receive "equal social treatment but when they come back — they find their treatment is different..."

He suggested that educational facilities in the country should be improved and there should even be built "an African College for East - Central Africa on the lines of the Cape Province...."⁹ Weatherhead advised the officials ".... to face the impatience of the few and patiently tackle the whole educational problem, not on behalf of the most wealthy but of the whole race."¹⁰ Postlethwaite, a District Commissioner in Buganda, felt sufficiently concerned to express his views just before he left for leave. He saw that possible negative socio-political complications might arise from Africans' education abroad.¹¹

The issue for chiefs' sons' education abroad had acquired sufficient proportions to justify its place on the Provincial Commissioners' Conference Agenda in 1923.¹² The Provincial Commissioners appreciated the need to improve native education by providing "for better primary and secondary schools in the Protectorate either entirely under Government control or conducted by existing educational organisations under far closer supervision and control by the Government than exists at present, and by the establishment of an advanced school or University for the East African Colonial Group."¹³ They did not quite agree with the Secretary of State for the colonies who had directed that boys could proceed to England for education. They feared the socio political implications that might arise from their stay in England.¹⁴

The major consideration for the Provincial Commissioners over where Ugandan boys could be sent was political. They looked at possibilities of sending them to America, South Africa, the Sudan, or Ceylon.¹⁵ They ruled out America and South Africa on *colour* grounds. They agreed that "the dangers of Islamic influence in the Sudan are sufficiently real to eliminate this country also as a possible solution to the difficulty."¹⁶ The only apparent objection to Ceylon was, "the possible effect of undesirable political influences from India."¹⁷ They, however, agreed to send the boys to Trinity College, Kandy, on the grounds that:

"Trinity College, Kandy, is under the direction of the Reverend A.G. Fraser, formerly a member of the Church Missionary Society in this country, who is deeply interested in Uganda and its peoples. He is anxious to obtain young boys from Uganda and is willing to take in older boys - should the number of boys and youths in the future increase to a point at which it would be impossible to admit them Mr. Fraser could be trusted to place them in other suitable educational institutions in Ceylon, in return for an annual allowance."¹⁸

Thus, Kandy College was stumbled onto because of the presence of A.G. Fraser who could take care of the moral well-being of Ugandans.

UGANDANS ABROAD

Meantime, inspite of the official reservations, a number of Ugandans had been allowed to go to England and Ceylon. On the basis of information available the table below shows Ugandans abroad by 1927.¹⁹

NAME	BENEFACTOR— AREA	COUNTRY & SCHOOL	GUARDIAN ABROAD
George Kamurasi	Omukama Kyebambe TORO	England School	H.W. Weatherhead
William K. Nadiope	His Estate in Busoga BUSOGA	England Trent College	J.S. Tucker
Omulangira Sunna	Buganda Govern- ment - BUGANDA	England - ?	H.W. Weatherhead
Azalia Mutekanga	Daudi Mutekanga — BUSOGA	England - Trent College	J.S. Tucker
Yona Mwiru	Daudi Mutekanga — BUSOGA	England - Trent College	J.S. Tucker
Isabiryre Kintu	Daudi Mutekanga - BUSOGA	Ceylon - Trinity College - Kandy	A.G. Fraser
Nasani Mayanja	Nasanaeri Mayanja — BUGANDA	Ceylon - Kandy England —?	Fraser and Dobson
Yona Kalemba	Kabaka's Govt. BUGANDA	England- Pittman's Institute	?
I. Musazi	His father?	England - Trent College	A.G. Fraser
S. Kisingiri	His father?	England - Trent College	J.S. Tucker

In petitioning for their sons to go to England, their fathers or guardians believed that they would stay there long enough to acquire the highest qualifications their financial positions could allow. Certainly, this was in the thinking of Omukama Kyebambe of Toro, Daudi Mutekanga and Sir Apolo Kaggwa.²⁰ Retorting to the view that his sons, if educated abroad, would be extravagantly proud and so despise their people and local Europeans, Kyebambe told the Governor, Sr.R.T. Coryndon:

In the case of my children to be dissatisfied with their position with regard to Europeans and people in their country when they will return from England (sic). This seems contrary to my opinion for a man does not learn to despise his fellows but to administer justice and pleasure to any one as much as possible.²¹

Colonial officials were particularly concerned about the values the youths would acquire abroad and over whether the studies they were pursuing would enable them to settle peacefully in colonial society. They ensured that the boys were accompanied by the "right man", invariably some colonial administrator or missionary. In England or Ceylon, the Ugandans were under the strict supervision of missionaries. Those who went to Ceylon had A.G. Fraser; those in England were under H.A. Weatherhead, J.S. Tucker, the Headmaster of Trent College or Dobson of the Christian Youth Movement.²² Fraser and H.W. Weatherhead had respectively been Headmasters of King's College Buddo and so none was better qualified to socialise them into roles they were supposed to occupy on their return to Uganda. H.W. Weatherhead's correspondence with Entebbe was more of commentaries on the moral progress of the boys than on the academic performance.²³ His demands on the boys as reflected in his

letter portray him as a highly paternalistic authoritarian individual, traits common to colonials.²³

That colonial officials did not want the boys to acquire skills that would turn them into socio-political problems is clearly illustrated by the correspondence between Entebbe and their guardians in England. According to H.W. Weatherhead, he had understood from the Governor that "they were to learn to speak English, Elementary Arithmetic and Geography."²⁴ Entebbe expected the boys to stay in England for more than sixteen months. But within this limited period they could not possibly be expected to learn up to the expectations of their benefactors. The boys who went to Trent - Musazi, Yona Mwiru, Azalia Mutekanga, Kisingiri and William Kajumbula Nadiope - fared a little better in that they stayed for over three years. In the course of "figurework, science, history and geography."²⁵

When it came to what higher qualification the boys should work for, there was a tug-of-war between the colonial officials and the benefactors. The Kabaka's Government, especially, wanted to train boys well enough to spare them having to seek the professional advice of Europeans or Indians in town. There was one Yona Kalemba (*alias Dimmock*) who Kabaka Daudi Chwa II wanted to be trained as his secretary and *aide de-camp*.²⁶ The Kabaka's Government wanted Nasani Mayanja to study law so that he could be taken on as Mengo's "Pleader."²⁷ Colonial officials did not look on the latter proposal with favour. Whilst the Provincial Commissioner supported having a Kabaka's Secretary trained, he did not support Nasani Mayanja studying law on the grounds that there "would be no work for him in Uganda."²⁸ With the encouragement of his uncle and Sir Apolo Kaggwa's son, Sepirya Kadu-Mukasa, William Nadiope Kajumbula had been nursing ambitions of studying law.²⁹ When the colonial officials in Busoga heard of this, they reacted strongly against the idea. The District Commissioner advised his immediate superior: "I cannot see how a course in law is likely to qualify him for the post of Saza Chief Bugabula."³⁰ The Provincial Commissioner agreed: "Three years of his study at home would make him more fitted for the post of Saza Chief than 3 years of study of English Law."³¹ He therefore sought approval to "Summon Kajumbula at once or else relinquish all claim to his chieftainship."³² The Governor accordingly sent a cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies summoning back Nadiope.³³ The colonial office cabled back to say Nadiope would return but that "he was anxious to travel via Palestine and Cairo."³⁴ The Chief Secretary, however, advised against Nadiope's further foreign travel, minuting.

"I do not think that further foreign travel will be conducive to Nadiope's contented assumption of the duties of Saza Chief, Budiope county, on his return. It is also, I think, possible that he might come into contact with undesirable Nationalist influences in Cairo."³⁵

To insulate William Nadiope from "nationalist" influences in the Middle East, arrangements for his return to Uganda were made under the escort of a Mr. D.C.J. Mc Sweeney of the Colonial Office.³⁶ Nadiope's bitterness at his recall is reflected in his one-sentence letter to the Under Secretary of State, Mr. A.C.C. Parkison, "thanking you for arrangements for my return."³⁷

Faced with growing demands for higher education for Africans abroad, the colonial administration had to find ways of curbing these aspirations. They were

alarmed at cases of students they had lost touch with and the Kabaka's Government was continuing to send them money.³⁸ The Provincial Commissioner advised tighter control on the use of native funds for education of Baganda boys abroad and to issue passports only in exceptional cases.³⁹ But the Buganda Lukiko resolved that:

"It is unnecessary for the British government to prevent people from going to Europe to receive education and those who receive their education on Lukiko Funds are not liable to enter into an agreement binding them to work for the Lukiko, but will be free to pursue their private business if they like."⁴⁰

But Entebbe stood firm and told the Kabaka's government that funds could only be allocated to defray the expenses of Baganda youths already in England. The Provincial Commissioner informed Daudi Chwa:

"...of the policy of this Government regarding provision of financial assistance by the Lukiko towards the education of Baganda youths in England. His Excellency has passed an allocation of £800 in the Native Government estimates for 1929 for the education of such youths as already in England. It is proposed, however, that this allocation be decreased as the youths at present there complete their education, and that no allocation from Native Government Funds be permitted to provide scholarships for the completion of education in England, to be awarded to suitable candidates by the Director of Education, but the time is hardly ripe for this as yet."⁴¹

Of course, the Provincial Commissioner, Cooper, was fully aware of the attitude of Eric Hussey, the Director of Education, towards higher education. Eric Hussey was already implementing the policy of vocational education, fully backed by his Government.

THE FATE OF THE "BEEN TOS"

We do not have detailed information on the subsequent careers of the young Ugandans educated in Ceylon and Britain during the 1920s, but what we know may probably, in the colonial context, justify colonial officials' fears of the political and functional implications of sending Ugandan youths abroad. Although some of them returned armed with skills which could enable them to perform the same roles whites performed in the colonial establishment, they found the establishment closed against them. They could possibly become only teachers, chiefs or clerks, the highest positions native could aspire to. Some of them returned with an independent turn of mind. The majority of the youths on whom we have information never quite comfortably accommodated themselves to the colonial situation. Colonial officials were probably more successful with George Kamurasi who returned to succeed his father as '*Omukama*' of Toro. One getting reports on William Nadiope's academic performance and his conduct at Trent College, the Chief Secretary Richard Rankine felt that "this was a great mistake. It would have been far better to send him to Buddo."⁴² They believed he would not make a good chief. In his career as chief, he frequently fell out with the British and was hardly well reported on.⁴³ He however, survived, became involved in nationalist politics and eventually became first Vice-President of Independent Uganda. Azalia Mutekanga hardly settled down in the manner his Mentors wanted him to. He clashed with the missionaries and colonial authorities. He was actively involved in the Young Basoga Association, a group that agitated over many socio-economic issues in Busoga during the 1930s and early 1940s.⁴⁴ Very little is known about Masani Mayanja. He briefly returned to Uganda and went back to England.⁴⁵ Yona Kalemba (*alias Dimmock*) worked at Mengo as clerk until his

untimely death in a car accident.⁴⁶ Ignatius Musazi, the young man of whom the Headmaster at Trent said his ambition was to spread the Holy Word, returned and later formed the Uganda Farmer's Union, a highly politically articulate organisation during the 1940s. He has been credited with the epithet, Father of Uganda Nationalism. Little is known about S Kisingiri, but the writer discovered he was a regular contributor to the Letter-to-the-Editor column of the *Uganda Herald* putting the case for the rights of Africans to participate in the colonial economy.

LITERARY OR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION?

Given colonial officials' attitudes towards higher education during the 1920s, we are in a position to understand the policies pursued during the mid-1920s and reaction of officials towards Governor Phillip Mitchell's and Dundas' views on creating an intellectual elite that would bridge the gap between the professionals and the general public and would sooner or later assume limited administrative responsibilities in the colonial establishment. During the 1920s and 1930s there was the fear that higher education would breed an intellectual proletariat that would create socio-political problems and emphasis was put on a functional vocational education. Sir Phillip Mitchell reacted against this. In 1941 Sir Charles Dundas explored possibilities of equipping Africans with a higher literary education so that they could mould a liberal intellectual elite in society generally and one which could assume more administrative responsibilities.

Immediately on his assumption of the Directorship of Education in 1925, Eric Hussey proceeded to emphasize vocational education in the educational system of Uganda.⁴⁷ This was in response to a multiplicity of factors prevailing in the Uganda colonial situation. Vocational education was a response to planters' and businessmen's demands for Ugandans with vocational skills, to the recommendations of the Phelps — Stokes Commission Report and to colonial officials' fears of an intellectual proletariat, details of which we have gone into. Planters and business were interested in educational institutions that would produce men with skills to fulfil their demands for low grade clerks, carpenters, mechanics, foremen, builders, etc. The Uganda Development Commission, on which planters and businessmen were heavily represented,⁴⁸ had recommended:

"We are opposed to any extensive literary education for the general native population and we consider that it should not proceed beyond the standard which will enable a native to learn a trade by which he can earn a living. Unless literary education is complete, or is accompanied by a technical training, the native is apt to regard himself as a superior being for whom the ordinary duties and responsibilities of life have no significance — We therefore recommend that Government should provide facilities without delay for a thorough technical education — We consider that English should only be taught to boys of exceptional capacity."⁴⁹

In 1925 the Phelps — Stokes Commission expressed similar views emphasizing that the African should be trained to fit in his environment.⁵⁰ Makerere College, set up in 1922, was built on the assumption of producing vocational education graduates. But during the mid-1930s there was a strong reaction from the chiefs and missionaries

against vocational education.⁵¹ The missionaries were in favour of a literary education not so much because they wanted to equip their charges with skills that would undermine Pax Britannica. They were positive about the aspects of their socializing agencies. They wanted to train an intellectual elite that would serve as intermediaries between colonialism and the general population. There was also the fact that missionaries had set up secondary schools on a Public schools basis to serve as stepping stones to University.⁵² A switch over threatened to dismantle what they had established. As for the chiefs, they had no evidence that the Governor, his P.O.s, and D.C.s were carpenters, mechanics or stonemasons by profession!

But these attempts to smother higher education came too late for a number of reasons. Firstly, already the desire for higher education by a politically and administratively significant minority, the chiefs and other allied local elites, had been whetted, to an extent supported by missionaries. Secondly, by the mid-1930s already it was clear that Uganda was not going to be a settler country, thanks to the Depression of the late 1920s which forced out the planters who could probably have organised Sir Phillip Mitchell's or Dundas' removal. Thirdly, Sir Phillip Mitchell arrived in time to reverse the policy of the Protectorate Government towards education. Sir Phillip Mitchell invited the Earl De la Warr Commission which recommended expansion of higher education and the eventual development of Makerere College to University College status.⁵³ But even with this apparent best of Mitchell's intentions, it is doubtful whether Mitchell aimed at losing colonial hegemony in Uganda classrooms or lecture rooms. We do not have access to the Mitchell papers but perhaps his real political intentions can be gauged by examination of Dundas' policies which were more or less a continuation of Mitchell's.

Dundas' policies on higher education are contained in a memorandum he circularized to the Chairman, Makerere College Council, the Principal, Makerere College, the Provinces Commissioners of the Eastern and Western Provinces and the Resident, Buganda.⁵⁴ In his memorandum, Dundas expressed the view that vocational education was too utilitarian. He suggested a possibility of introducing an arts course at Makerere to prepare Africans to man local authorities and lower positions in the colonial administrative service. He also wanted to create an intellectual class of aristocrats, landowners and businessmen which would help to bridge the gap between professionals and general administrators. On an intellectual class, Dundas observed:

"The question is asked 'What are we to do with Africans who have a superior education but no vocation to afford them occupation and income?' But is it so certain that natives who have attained a higher intellectual standard can have no place in native society of the future? Would it not, for instance, be of value if the Baganda Maiko owners were largely men of educational attainments to those of most of their tenants, just as the English Squire and Lord of the Manor was, and to some extent still is, a leader largely because of his superior cultural standard? I suggest that in time to come, and even now, there must be among Africans also leaders whose position is not derived from official authority or professional qualification. England would be a curious country if higher intellectual attainments were restricted to officials and professionals".⁵⁵

The reactions of the administrators and educationists are revealing in their attitudes towards higher education for Africans. These ranged from outright support, excessive caution to outright skepticism. The supporting views were entertained by the

Chairman, Makerere College Council, Dr. Kauntze, the Director of Education, H.J. Jowitt, and the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, Dauncey Tongue.⁵⁶ Kauntze believed that an arts course would not only be beneficial to professionals but would bring them closer to the chiefs, if the chiefs were also better intellectually equipped. Jowitt thought that whilst through vocation education Africans could acquire 'culture' he supported Dundas on the grounds that Africans should also be equally eligible for administrative service. The Resident, Buganda and the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, believed that what was needed was to "inculcate" into Africans a sense of "real honesty and sense of responsibility" and this was not necessarily acquired through high academic performance.⁵⁷ Cox had been disappointed by the young Baganda who had been educated in Ceylon or England.⁵⁸ The Principal, Makerere College, George Turner, was lukewarm in his support and appeared to be more inclined to the latter view though he attributed his caution to "the shortage of facilities at Makerere at the present time".⁵⁹

After the War the Mitchell and Dundas views prevailed. The political atmosphere after the war was quite favourable for the furtherance of higher education. With nationalist movements mushrooming in various parts of the world, British policy makers must have reconciled themselves to the inevitable possibility that sooner or later they would have to retreat from Uganda. We do not have access to sources on the introduction of degree courses at Makerere College, but it is reasonably clear that after the war, British policy makers switched onto the policy of training their successors, men imbued with liberal values in the Oxbridge tradition and who, it was hoped, would take care of the "Westminster Model" in Uganda.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the cautious attitudes of colonial officials in Uganda towards higher education for Africans. We have seen that colonial officials were conscious of education as an instrument for serving limited colonial purposes which changed with the changing colonial situation. Initially, colonial education had served the purposes of providing manpower for manning specifically earmarked positions for Africans in the colonial hierarchy, functional needs of the colonial situation and acquisition of values which were not politically dysfunctional to colonial hegemony. But the colonial situation acquired a mind of its own, a mind which generated a desire among chiefs and peoples to educate their children to the highest level their finances could allow. As the colonial situation became more complex, colonial officials had to make concessions. Mitchell and Dundas switched over to encouraging the education of an intellectual liberal class to assist in imperial trusteeship.

With particular reference to post-colonial educational planning, it is worth comparing the contexts in which colonial and post-colonial planning strategies have taken place. In the colonial situation, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, politics of higher education took place in an atmosphere of relative political stability. In the situation the forces which influenced the decision-making process were few — colonial officials, planters, businessmen, missionaries and chiefs. For colonial officials, planters, businessmen and missionaries, there were some bases for consensus. They more or less belonged to the same stratum of society; the greater majority belonged to the same race and, above all, they believed in the idea of imperial Trusteeship, however

variously interpreted. The social force, the chiefs especially, whose demands they had to concede to, were a minority and yet they had to make some concessions. We have seen that even within the colonial establishment, in spite of its relative homogeneity, there were differences in attitudes towards higher education. The missionaries and some colonial officials — Mitchell, Dundas, Dauncey, Tongue and Dr. Kauntze — supported higher education probably in the belief that they could mould African intellectuals in the making according to their political manner of thinking. But education is a tool the manufacturer of which can never precisely tell to what use it will be put.

Immediately after Independence in Uganda the politics of higher education took place in a situation in which there were an overwhelming complexity of forces at play.⁶⁰ The major actors included all sorts of forces which hoped to gain by the newly recovered Independence. There were the politicians, the missionaries, the trade unionists, the parents, intellectuals, educationists, students, civil servants, etc. Scholarships abroad, expansion of Makerere University and of the secondary and primary education systems were sought. All these were responses to the political demands of the day. The politicians wanted to cushion himself politically taking two secondary schools to his country; the parent wanted his son to go to England; the Government sought to control the educational system for political and economic reasons by taking over the administration of missionary schools.

After a decade of Independence a debate opened up: what should be the content of education? How shall we solve the school leaver problem? Ironically, these are some of the problems that faced colonial officials fifty years ago. For the colonial establishment, for some time there was some general consensus over the content of the education - at least in political terms. It was not consciously meant to overthrow the established order. Today in Uganda there is no such thing as value consensus. The Ugandan elite are too fragmented to come to an integrated value system we can inculcate into the youth. While we lament over the dependency⁶¹ problem of colonial education, we should identify those aspects of colonial education that generated the dependency complex and then work out what we can replace it with.

The issue of relevance has also occupied learned minds. At the political level, one may fear that it smacks of the political overtones of the 1920s and mid - 1930s to the extent that those who are strategically positioned in various institutions - the University, schools, Civil Service etc. - fear that they will be overwhelmed with local boys who are just as well intellectually equipped as they are. They cry back to the land could have been dismissed by any politically articulate native during the 1920s and 1930s. Cannot we afford to organise our own overthrow through education and just hope Africa will be the beneficiary?

FOOTNOTES

1 For example, Perham, M. *The Colonial Reckoning* (1960) Hodgkin, T. *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (1957), Mansur, Fatuma, *The Process of Independence* (1963); Coleman, J. Nigeria: *Background to Nationalism* (1958); Wallerstein, I. Africa: *The Politics of Independence* (1961) Ndabaningi Sithole, *African Nationalism*

2 On the chiefs involvement in building schools, see Wandira, A. *Early Missionary Education in Uganda*, Department of Education, Makerere University 1972. Ch. 2 & 3.

- 3 Uganda Government Archives, Entebbe (hereinafter U.G.A.E.) M.P. 171/1908, Alexander Boyle to H.W. Weatherhead.
- 4 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 6215 Vol. I *Education of Natives Abroad*, Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, 18—5—1920.
- 5 Ibid. Ag. Governor to the Governor-General of the Sudan, 18—5—1920.
- 6 Ibid. Governor-General to Governor of Uganda, 12—8—1920.
7. Ibid. Roscoe to the Governor, 18—10—1920
8. Ibid. H.T.C. Weatherhead's memorandum, 16—5—1923.
9. Ibid. "That in Cape Province" probably refers to Fort Hare.
10. Ibid
11. Ibid. Postlethwaite to Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, 28—4—1923.
12. U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 3841, **Provincial Commissioners' Conference**, 18—7—1923.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. This list has been compiled out of U.G.A.E. files 6215 vol.I& II. The list may not be entirely exhaustive for while there is no record of Dr. Kalibbala and Dr. Akiiki-Nyabongo in these files, these boys were already in America during the 1920s.
- 20 S.M.P. 6215 Vol.I. See the correspondence of Omukama Kyebambe, Apolo Kaggwa and Daudi Mutekanga.
- 21 Ibid. Omukama Kyebambe to Governor Coryndon, 3—6—1921.
22. U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 6215 Vols. I & II, see their correspondence.
- 23 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 6215. See H.W. Weatherhead's correspondence with Entebbe.
- 24 Ibid
- 25 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. R3/6: **William Nadiope**, J.S. Tucker's letter to the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, July 1927.
- 26 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 6215 Vol. II, Daudi Chwa to Provincial Commissioner, Buganda, 7—11—1927.
- 27 Ibid. Minute 178 to the Chief Secretary.
- 28 Ibid. Provincial Commissioner, Buganda to Chief Secretary, 30—11—1927.
- 29 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 9458: **Kajumbala Nadiope son of Yosia Nadiope**. D.C. to P.C., 6—12—1928.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid. P.C. to Chief Secretary, 18—12—1928.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid. Governor's cable to Colonial Secretary.
- 34 Ibid. Cable from the Colonial Secretary to the Governor.
- 35 Ibid. Chief Secretary to Governor, 6—2—1929.
- 36 Ibid. A.C.C. Parkinson to William Nadiope, 22—2—1929.
- 37 Ibid. William Nadiope to A.C.C. Parkinson, 2—3—1929.
- 38 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 6215 Vol. II. Provincial Commissioner, Buganda of Chief Secretary, 5—10—1927.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid. Excerpt from resolutions passed by the Annual Lukiko Meeting on 2—10—1928.
- 41 Ibid. Provincial Commissioner, Buganda to the Kabaka, 11—2—1920.
- 42 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 9458: **Kajumbala Nadiope Sam of Yosia Nadiope**. Chief Secretary's Minute to the Governor.
- 43 On William Kajumbala Nadiope's career, see Dan Mudoola, **Chiefs and Political Action, The case of Busoga — 1900 — 1962**. Ph.D. Thesis, 1974 (Makerere University, Kampala). Chapters 3 and 7.
- 44 Ibid. Pags 188—200, for the career of A. Mutekanga.
- 45 Interview with Mr. Eridad Mulira.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Lugumba, S.M.E. and Sekamwa, J.C., *A History of Education East Africa (1900—1973)* Kampala Bookshop, 1973, Pages 55—59.
- 48 Of the 8 members of the Commission, 5 represented business interests and 3 were Government officials. See *Report of the Uganda Development Commission*, 1920. Government Printer, Entebbe, 1920, Page 5.
- 49 Ibid. Pages 34—35.
- 50 Lugumba and Sekamwa. Op. Cit. See summary of the Phelps-Stokes Report, Pages 49—51.
- 51 Harlow, Vincent et al. (Editors) *History of East Africa*. Vol III Oxford, pages 523—562.
- Pratt "Administration and politics in Uganda 1919—1945".
- 52 Wandira, Asavia. op. cit. pages 272.
- 53 Pratt, R.C. op. cit. in Harlow, Vincent et al Page 534.
- 54 U.G.A.E. S.M.P. 2631: Education: Non-Vocational Courses.
See **Dundas' Memorandum**, 25—1—1941.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid. See the reaction of the Chairman, Makerere College Council, the Director of Education and the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, respectively dated 19—2—1941, 28—2—1941, 11—2—1941.
- 57 Ibid. See reactions of P.C.W.P. and Resident, Buganda respectively on 24—2—1941 and 14—3—1941.
- 58 Ibid. Cox to Chief Secretary on 14—2—1941.
- 59 Ibid. George Turner to Chief Secretary on 5—2—1941.
- 60 To get at the political wrangling over one particular educational resource, see the scramble by different social forces for the 300 "Kiwanuka" scholarships in Jacobs, B.L. *Administrators in East Africa*, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1965, Pages 52—99.
- 61 Bakwesegha, C. "The Development of Underdevelopment in Uganda: The Colonial Education variable," Mimeo, Department of Sociology, Makerere University.