

**Locating King's College Budo:
A Study of Politics and Relationships in Colonial Buganda**

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PREFACE

A quick note on language: this project uses various terms to describe and reference indigenous groups and communities in East Africa that might be confusing. “Buganda” is the name of the actual Kingdom/Province itself. “Baganda” is the plural term for the citizens of Buganda; “Muganda” is the singular term. “Ganda” is the applicable adjective, and “Kabaka” is synonymous with king. Lastly, I prioritize the maintenance of an author’s original words over consistency in spelling and capitalization, which explains the occasional discrepancy in these fields.

INTRODUCTION

On November 13th, 1942, a group of alarmed teachers wrote a letter to the Bishop of Uganda, Cyril Stuart, commenting on and offering their perspectives concerning the disorderly events that had occurred at their school a week prior. These events, characterized by students' "most barbarous actions" that were viewed "with a feeling of disgust," occurred at King's College Budo – the choice school for Buganda's elite population – forcing the school to shut down indefinitely.¹ The distinguished institution was supposed to play host to the exciting, amiable coronation ceremonies that would mark the beginning of the sanctioned reign of the new Kabaka, Mutesa II. However, such celebrations would not proceed as planned. Instead, Budo served as the venue for a week-long riot, depicted by Ganda students' insubordination leading to the school's closure the day before these distressed teachers contacted Bishop Stuart, a reality quite telling of both the disturbance's escalation and administration's inability to moderate it. In fact, Budo's educators maintained, "the past record of Budo contains nothing so villainous as the incidents which have just happened."² Thus, the reasons causing the school's closure appear justified, but the most pressing questions still remain and require answering: why was Budo – a school specifically limited to the Kingdom's mannered elite – the setting, why did it take place now, and perhaps most importantly, what did it mean to Ganda politics and society and Budo's relationship with these spheres? Why was it significant?

¹ Alarmed Teachers at King's College Budo following 1942 riot, letter to Bishop of Uganda, Cyril Stuart, 13 Nov. 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

² Alarmed Teachers at King's College Budo following 1942 riot, letter to Bishop of Uganda, Cyril Stuart, 13 Nov. 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

In answering these questions, this project will reveal and support King's College Budo as a place in Ganda society entrusted with far greater responsibilities than simply its ostensible duty of educating Buganda's most promising young adults in the purely academic, curricular sense. After all, even this introductory glimpse at the 1942 riot exposes a charged, political essence quite suggestive of Budo's unique status, position, and functionality within Buganda, traits manifested in the school's capacity to accurately reflect Ganda social and political sentiments at large while concurrently mobilizing their expression against British interloping. Acutely aware of the school's extended significance in this regard, Isaac Baganda, the Secretary of the influential alumni society dubbed the United Budonians' Club and writing in the wake of Budo's closing on behalf of his fellow graduates, asserts:

As old students of Budo we aspire to the patriotic service of uplifting our school and country and by loyalty and obedience in all we do and say to make the name of Budo, of which we are proud, a name of stainless reputation. A tree is known by its fruits and all Budonians desire their beloved school to be well known and honoured for its Staff, pupils, and old boys.³

Replete with allusions to the institution's grander importance of representing Ganda pride, honor, and fostering the continued advancement of associated aims – as evidenced by their commitment “to the patriotic service of uplifting [their] school and country” – this statement foreshadows the analyses of this project to follow that will underscore and prove Budo's essential connection to voicing and upholding Ganda beliefs. Having dealt with over four decades of foreign presence and consequently attempting to reconcile their Kingdom's politics, social structures, and culture amidst the constant lurk of Britain's imperial shadow, it is unsurprising that irritation and tension arose between the two parties. Rather, the

³ Isaac Baganda, Secretary of the United Budonians' Club, letter to Bishop of Uganda, Cyril Stuart, 28 Dec. 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

interesting and crucial point to note – and what will therefore comprise the focus of this thesis’ discussion – is Budo’s active role within this landscape.

Thus, my project will situate King’s College Budo directly in the discordant crossroads of British colonial power, control, and subsequent administrative influence against the indigenous Baganda’s desires to defend their traditional pride and sovereignty. As the preceding sections of this introduction very briefly suggest, I insist that perceiving King’s College Budo as merely a school fails to adequately consider the institution’s true, meaningful operation stretching past this nominal designation. Budo undoubtedly was, and still is, an outstanding center imparting top knowledge to its fortunate and accomplished students. However, in the context of its formation and growth during the colonial period, I argue that its embodiment of Buganda’s elite culture, politics, and overall self-identity combined with its capacity to shield these Ganda institutions in the face of Britain’s imperial authority denote the ways in which King’s College Budo functioned as a vitally important hub conveying Ganda thought. Additionally, and in complete coherence with these declarations, I expand the argument further and assert that the school also promoted these nationalistic mentalities and endeavors by serving as a nucleus for the refinement of Ganda elite politics, with the aforementioned 1942 disruption representing a microcosm of Budo’s historical role in fostering the development and expression of these Ganda-centric dispositions. Indeed, as this project will exemplify, the Baganda and their elite class, in particular, viewed themselves and their society with utmost dignity and pride, concepts historically entrenched in Ganda consciousness. As such, I will demonstrate King’s College Budo’s vast political and societal relevance motivated by these ideals, rendering the school a symbol, defender, and facilitator of Ganda royalism.

Delving into this investigation, it is first imperative to recognize and comprehend where my project fits within the historiography of existing scholarship. Conducting this preliminary evaluation will allow for a better understanding of what exactly this thesis will contribute to Buganda's (and, accordingly, Uganda's) historical discourse during the age of imperialism. The literature on colonial Buganda's political and social history is fairly substantial, albeit dated. Inevitably emphasizing Buganda's relationship with the ruling British and the British-managed Uganda Protectorate government, these academic works provide for a wonderfully informative foundation from which to launch my project's endeavors.

The first of these publications, *Buganda and British Overrule: 1900-1955*, is the product of a joint effort between D. Anthony Low and R. Cranford Pratt. Together, the two historians describe the origins of the Britain-Buganda cooperative rapport – a bond eventually formalized into a practical alliance via the Uganda Agreement of 1900, as will be elaborated upon later – thereby cementing Buganda as the advantaged region in all of the Uganda Protectorate in the decades to follow.⁴ The authors' ensuing argument brands the Agreement as a fundamental source responsible for the maturation and expression of Ganda nationalism that would muddle Britain's imperial grip in the years to come, as the authors highlight the Agreement's lenient provisions allowing the Baganda to enjoy considerable privileges relative to the colonial standard.⁵ Likewise, in David E. Apter's account, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, Apter stresses Buganda's lofty standing within the

⁴ D. Anthony Low and R. Cranford Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule: 1900-1955* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), ix.

⁵ See Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 263-292. This section, or Chapter 11 in this edition and titled "Crisis and Reform in Buganda," offers a wealth of examples where the extensive liberties of the Baganda impeded British proceedings and signified the basis of Ganda contentions with British rule.

Protectorate and its distinct ethnic pride – a preexisting Ganda notion that received additional confirmation following the Kingdom’s alliance with Britain – as the main pivots for his historical review. Although written as an examination of the Uganda Protectorate as a whole, Apter “focuses primarily on the most important political group in Uganda, the people of Buganda,” taking particular care in explaining “their special relationship with British authorities as well as their devotion to their own institutions” in order to clarify how the Baganda “successfully prevented a wholesale assault on their ethnic autonomy.”⁶

As both of these publications accentuate, in light of their alliance with Britain, the Baganda obtained the highest, most favored rank within the Protectorate, reaffirming their historical ideals of superiority and societal exclusivity as a result. Indeed, this top position dictated much about how Buganda and its citizens would experience colonialism, act towards Protectorate authority, and eventually push towards the full restoration of their rights and independence. As such, it would be incredibly negligent and unscholarly not to fully develop the roots, evolution, and official establishment of the two parties’ alliance that would prove so germane and significant to Buganda’s increasingly ardent demands for autonomous operation as the twentieth century progressed.

However, the two aforementioned accounts portray the creation of this alliance predominantly from Britain’s viewpoint, resulting in an interpretation implying that the Baganda were stagnant, selected assistants and therefore wrongly stripping the Baganda and their sophisticated leadership of their agency. My project will rectify this fallacy and, in doing so, reinforce the above authors’ admittedly distinguished, yet incomplete illustrations of the Baganda. Thus, by utilizing the vital contextual details presented in these works

⁶ David E. Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), ix.

pertaining to both the formation and maintenance of the “special relationship” between the Protectorate government and Buganda – with added emphasis on Ganda leadership’s instrumental part in crafting the alliance – this project will extract the main claims of Apter, Low, and Pratt asserting Buganda’s supremacy within the Protectorate, defend and prove them through the invocation of supplementary sources, and, most pivotally in doing so, lay the requisite groundwork for this project’s true aim of locating King’s College Budo at this historical intersection where Buganda’s traditional status, typified by the Kingdom’s regional preeminence, collided with British imperial goals and interferences.

While the scholarship on colonial Buganda’s political and social history – a discourse innately shaped by the Kingdom’s relationship with the reigning British – is relatively deep and, as such, allows for a comprehensive framework with which to assess Budo’s relevance in both mirroring and guarding the broader Ganda social and political sentiments present within the Kingdom, the published texts regarding Buganda’s educational infrastructure during the colonial era is considerably scarcer. Moreover, the applicable literature that does exist concentrates principally on indisputable information and summary, offering no real critical analysis or complementary inquiry of the content provided. But, before continuing to an inspection of these sources and their utility in contextualizing and assisting my study, I must note one exception.

Carol Summers’ article, “‘Subterranean Evil’ and Tumultuous Riot’ in Buganda: Authority and Alienation at King’s College, Budo, 1942,” does a lovely job of teasing out the greater implications of the 1942 riot at King’s College Budo and will be referenced later in

this project.⁷ However, Summers' focus, as the article's title aptly infers, centers exclusively around this controversy itself, the years directly surrounding it, and what its events meant regarding Buganda's changing political atmosphere. While, in spirit, I certainly draw similar parallels, my project stresses Budo's historical purpose, grounded philosophies, and advanced, Ganda-centric operation in supporting my assertions, using the 1942 disruption as a discussion point buttressing these claims, as opposed to the fulcrum of the analysis itself. In this way, the disturbance acts as a lucid visual that helps and enhances my project's aim of exhaustively painting Budo's entire past and intrinsic role as one of irrevocable Ganda political and social relevance, and not just as an isolated occurrence suggestive of Buganda's environment and relationship with Britain at the time. Essentially, I explore and develop Budo as a place whose unique status and functionality within Ganda society, widely reputed esteem, and inherent ideological nature rendered it suitable to and accommodating of such a charged exhibition, an indicator of the school's high ceiling for political exercise and organic connection to societal outlooks.

With that being said, allow me to proceed to an evaluation of the scholarship on colonial education to which I alluded earlier. The observation that the majority of these works' substance serves informational, rather than analytical, purposes should not be interpreted as a slight at these studies; to the contrary, the factual subject matter that comprises them provides my thesis with the necessary material to properly understand the basic role, purposes, and significance of education – or, perhaps more appropriately, the institute of education – within the context of Ganda society. A review of two such works

⁷ For more information, see Carol Summers, "'Subterranean Evil' and 'Tumultuous Riot' in Buganda: Authority and Alienation at King's College, Budo, 1942" *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2006), 93-113.

commencing in the paragraph below will demonstrate how their content, though undoubtedly summation in nature, enables my project to contribute to colonial Buganda's historical exposition by linking these objective descriptions of the operation of both the education system, in general, and Budo, specifically, to the social perspectives and politics of the Kingdom in which the renowned institution resides. As such, this thesis will draw an important connection highlighting the congruence between educational and societal realms, employing Budo as an apposite example.

The first of these publications, titled *A History of Education in East Africa* and written by J.C. Ssekamwa and S.M.E. Lugumba, “looks into the pioneering work of missionaries in education and the direct involvement of the governments” and “examines policy administration, control, supervision and development of education.”⁸ In keeping with this stated agenda, this account simply, yet crucially, describes the scholastic background in which King's College Budo was constructed and explains the particulars of the manufactured academic pyramid at which Budo was the zenith. Thus, with the broader outline detailing colonial education's configuration pertinently laid out, G. P. McGregor's publication, *King's College, Budo: The First Sixty Years*, grants for an in-depth investigation of Budo itself. In consonance with its straightforward title, the book essentially recapitulates the school's activity from its founding all the way to the 1960s; indeed, McGregor's own abstract of his work frames it merely as a “story of a school in Uganda.”⁹ Thus, with the availability of chronicles illuminating the events, attitudes, and developments of Buganda's colonial history, influenced and characterized by its relationship with British governance – such as

⁸ J.C. Ssekamwa and S.M.E. Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2005), vi.

⁹ G. P. McGregor, *King's College, Budo: The First Sixty Years* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1967), ix.

Low and Pratt's and Apter's – along with the existence of objectively informative accounts on the education system and King's College Budo – such as Ssekamwa and Lugumba's and McGregor's – this project will fit neatly in between, tying the two histories together by arguing that, in the case of the prestigious Baganda, King's College Budo served as a precise symbol, reflection, and defender of Ganda thought, pride, and excellence, seen especially in the environment of British pressure and imposition.

However, the last component of this project's overarching argument is equally critical, and likewise obliges the composition of a literary framework in which to be presented and understood. In the interest of both verifying and advancing my claims of Budo's substantial, inherent relevance to Ganda politics and elite ethnic beliefs – in terms of their cultivation, expression, and protection – I assert that the school further legitimized this cultural role by also serving as a breeding ground for the development of the Ganda-centric political character of Buganda's most privileged and elite. Given the dearth of academic attention evidently paid to the larger links and overlaps between colonial Buganda's educational and sociopolitical spheres, it is unsurprising that little scholarship has been produced appraising Budo as a space where these uniquely Ganda political dispositions were refined. Derek R. Peterson's recent exploration of the contentions within mid-twentieth century East African politics, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival*, offers an insightful look into how the notable polish characterizing Ganda manners and customs – especially those of Buganda's highest social tier – manifested themselves pivotally in the politics of the Kingdom's leadership, endearing Buganda to Protectorate administrators and

impressing them further.¹⁰ Playing no small part in attaining Buganda's preferential standing and resultant political leverage, this project will probe deeper into both the seeds underlying and the nourishment of this influential sophistication, an inspection that will render Budo germane once more. Moreover, this project argues for the acknowledgment of the school as an arena fostering the realization and growth of pro-Ganda political ideologies.

To fully grasp these arguments, however, it is first necessary to build the foundation contextualizing the Buganda Kingdom's supremacy within East Africa. In other words, I must initially explain why the Baganda felt themselves superior and distinct to their indigenous African neighbors and describe how they proved this proud self-identity to the ruling British. Accomplishing this preliminary task will grant a thorough comprehension of how Buganda arrived at its peak position atop the colonial ladder, and consequently articulate the distinct Ganda ideals that King's College Budo embodied and defended. Thus, this project's first chapter considers the origins of the Ganda-British alliance and stresses how its creation both indicated and reinforced these historical notions of eminence. To fulfill this endeavor, I illustrate the Ganda elites' proactive role in establishing this incredibly advantageous relationship, invoking their avid acceptance and subsequent proliferation of western customs that immensely pleased and impressed colonial leadership, lending influence to Britain's perception of Buganda as East Africa's distinguished community. Specifically, I emphasize Ganda elites' approval of Anglican Christianity as the primary example of this endorsement of European culture and manners. Most importantly, though, was the fact that this agreement with western convention signified, in the eyes of Protectorate

¹⁰ See Derek R. Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 78-105. This portion of Peterson's book, titled "Civil Society in Buganda," provides numerous instances exhibiting the sophistication of Buganda's elite. For example, Peterson notes, "In their dinnertime conversations, Ganda people practiced the habits of polite speaking, deference, and civility."

authority, at least, the Baganda's capacity for sophisticated behavior. Additionally, this opening chapter shows how the Baganda's invaluable assistance in helping – or perhaps more accurately, enabling – the British to efficiently consolidate the entire Uganda Protectorate further proved their preeminent status and inevitably ensured Buganda would maintain a hierarchical distance separating themselves from the rest of the Protectorate's colonized regions and populations.

With the proper base effectively laid clarifying how the Buganda Kingdom obtained its privileged standing – and correspondingly reaffirmed the Baganda's traditionally elite self-identity – the second chapter displays King's College Budo's veritable significance within this esteemed society. More exactly, by proving the school's importance to Buganda's elite and its associated relevance in representing their ideals and character, the chapter most crucially commences the investigation of my project's principal argument declaring Budo's cemented connection to symbolizing and upholding Ganda politics and high society. Firstly, I delineate the education system's organization in the Uganda Protectorate, an imperative in order to well understand King's College Budo's prestigious rank as a part of this infrastructure and the related weight of such a position. Then, the chapter proceeds to an analysis of the institution's founding, an endeavor that amply highlights Budo as an instantaneous representation of Buganda's proud tradition and historical credentials. Indeed, this activity underlines the philosophical basis behind the school's origins, showing Budo's inherent purpose of educating and nurturing the Kingdom's next generation of bureaucrats, administrators, and political leaders, additionally exemplifying the school's importance to cultivating Ganda values and political beliefs. Finally, this second chapter concludes with an evaluation of Budo's logistical operation.

This assessment addresses how the institution's vastly independent financial self-support, classical, liberal arts curriculum, predominantly Ganda admitted student body, and employment of the finest instructors – both European and African – reflected and espoused the Buganda Kingdom's customary mindset of regional primacy. Furthermore, this last segment of chapter two focuses especially on how these specificities of Budo not only embodied and promoted Ganda principles, but also facilitated their defense in the face of British colonial intrusion.

Lastly, in chapter three, I reconstruct the histories and analyze two specific controversies in Buganda's colonial past – the 1942 riot at King's College Budo, to which the opening of this introduction briefly alluded, and Kabaka Mutesa II's arrest and ensuing deportation in 1953 – in order to demonstrate just how vital and relevant this renowned institution was to the personification of Ganda pride, preservation of this pride and its related concepts of cultural excellence against imperial interferences, and development of Ganda elites' nationalistic political personalities. Thus, to most convincingly achieve these goals, I first elucidate the societal background surrounding each controversy prior to diving into the occurrences themselves. This contextual elaboration allows the events that transpire within each situation to be most effectively comprehended, and therefore provides a sociopolitical structure with which to assess Budo's relevance in mirroring the broader Ganda sentiments saturating each controversy. Naturally, the chapter begins with an explanation of the 1942 riot's context, one greatly impacted by the passing of Kabaka Daudi Chwa in 1939. Amidst this unstable atmosphere, I note how British over-involvement and restrictive policies characterize an environment increasingly suggestive of Ganda irritation with Britain's interloping presence. After establishing this necessary setting, I demonstrate how the nature

and motivations of the disruption and its happenings closely resemble the frustrated emotions in Ganda society at large, an equivalence that offers considerable support to this project's argument by exemplifying a circumstance where Budo loudly echoed the spirit of political and social discontent in Buganda.

I then move the discussion forward to construct a similar contextual framework relating to Kabaka Mutesa II's removal in 1953. While acknowledging the initially improved rapport between the Baganda and British, this relationship would merely last temporarily. Due to a seemingly avoidable colonial mishap that sparked fears in Ganda perspectives of their Kingdom's continued autonomy, distrust typified the resultant feelings and opinions of Buganda's leadership and painted a scene of Ganda irritation within the Kingdom once more. Following this circumstantial description, I proceed to show the Baganda's unified stance and motivation to secure their banished Kabaka's return, with Budo again exhibiting analogous behavior and sentiment. Finally, I track the remarkable political significance in Ganda nationalistic endeavors of several former teachers at Budo – highlighted by their post-Budo careers – in order to further prove the school's critical relevance to Buganda's politics and societal elites.

CHAPTER ONE

Continuing a Tradition of Ganda Excellence

When Britain's imperialistic agenda saw its empire expand to Africa in the late 19th century, securing the Uganda Protectorate in 1894 was a crucial development in establishing a foothold in East Africa. Endeavoring to subjugate a region permeating with numerous disparate ethnic groups, kingdoms, and societies, however, the British Empire would need ample assistance in completing this formidable task. This opening chapter will demonstrate how, through the processes of imperial protectorate consolidation, the foundation was laid for a mutually cooperative (and beneficial) relationship between British colonial officials and the Kingdom of Buganda. Additionally, this chapter will illustrate how the Ganda elites' incorporation of Anglican Christianity and British manners into Ganda customs served as a means by which to further configure and balance their relationship with British governance, as acceptance of western religion and European conventions represented another mark of distinction in colonial eyes.

Together, these two developments facilitated the formation of a cohesive bond between the ruling British and the indigenous Baganda, one that would continue to elevate and reaffirm Buganda's self-identity as East Africa's preeminent, sophisticated community. Moreover, the following pages of this chapter will show that Ganda elites' prudent meddling and selective participation in these affairs resulted in an alliance with the British that was evenly co-created, and, as such, requires us to accredit the Baganda's veritable intent in asserting themselves as an entity not only unwilling to submit to colonial rule, but as a

Kingdom ready to advance its own interests and confirm its own proud historical credentials, as well.

For administrative purposes, the British divided the Uganda Protectorate into four different territories: the Eastern Province, the Western Province, the Northern Province, and Buganda. To best complete a thorough overview of how the British brought the whole Protectorate under their control – and to further illuminate Buganda’s unique, privileged status in comparison to the rest of the provinces – a synopsis of each region’s path to acquiescence is pertinent. As such, this chapter will take a step-by-step methodical approach to explaining and analyzing each Province’s route to formal Protectorate inclusion, but not before a necessary evaluation of what factors contributed to this Ganda-British alliance, an exercise that will help illuminate the vitally important origins of their relationship.

A History of the 19th Century Wars of Succession in Buganda

Thus, it is imperative to first investigate how the Buganda Province came under the Protectorate’s realm, a development conclusively linked to the formation of an official Ganda-British alliance. The Kingdom of Buganda, viewed as a province in and of itself, followed a route to official Protectorate incorporation quite dissimilar to those of the other regions. Dictated by relatively open conversation, the British and the leaders of Buganda were never destined to determine the fate of their political rapport on the battlefield. The Baganda acknowledged that “British rule was already a fact” and it was merely a matter of specificities within the arrangement that would ensure Buganda maintained its lofty status.¹ Indeed, the British likewise recognized Buganda as the most promising province, citing its

¹ Samwiri Rubaraza Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda* (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980), 100.

size, prime location, economic potential, and advanced political character as reasons for its preeminence.² Christian missionaries had already been in Buganda for almost 25 years prior to these discussions of formal consolidation, and the Baganda had been in contact with British administrative agents for nearly 10 years, as well. Consequently, the Baganda and their ruling class felt that they should have a voice in determining the future of their Kingdom, their relationship with the British, and their place within the Protectorate. However, before these negotiations could even realistically begin, the British knew that they first had to end the ongoing civil wars occurring in Buganda.

The second half of the 19th century – during the reigns of Kabaka Mutesa I and, particularly, Kabaka Mwanga II – saw the Kingdom of Buganda in a state of increasing political disorder. Emerging from a combination of enhanced trade networks and the proliferation of foreign religions, Ganda chiefs that were formerly completely subservient to the almighty Kabaka began to obtain much more regional influence and autonomy. As a result, and quite unsurprisingly, the two aforementioned rulers of Buganda were incredibly displeased with these new developments and the heightened degree of power they afforded Ganda chiefs. Greater trading opportunities signified an immense departure from Ganda customs, as “at first, goods from the coast flowed exclusively to and from the Kabaka.”³ Highlighting the strict requirement of absolute adherence to this rule, Kabaka Mutesa I “killed a chief... for acquiring cloth in Karagwe that he had not turned over to the king.”⁴

² See Gardner Thompson, *Governing Uganda: British Colonial Rule and its Legacy* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd., 2003), 44. This “political character” was so appealing to the British because, as noted elsewhere in this chapter, it provided for a blueprint with which to govern the other provinces. It offered structure and organization, as it was “highly developed and centralized” due to the presence of a chiefly hierarchy.

³ Holly Elisabeth Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003), 95.

⁴ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 95.

Likewise, Kabaka Mwanga II supervised all foreign trade with a similarly stern and ruthless hand, as his killing of Bishop Hannington in 1885 conveys; the Bishop “had aroused suspicion when he failed to enter from the correct direction and changed his travel route without informing the Kabaka.”⁵

Both of these examples demonstrate two facts: firstly, that the opportunity existed for chiefs and other comparably prominent residents to seek commerce (and the profits with which it came) in the surrounding areas and secondly, that the Kabaka did not approve of yielding any of his authority whatsoever to the possession of Buganda’s other elites. However, supremely powerful as they were, even the Kabakas’ fervent desires to maintain Buganda’s trafficking precedent was not enough to overcome the growing strength of the coastal caravan trade, which was probing closer and closer to Buganda’s realm in search of ivory. Merchants from the Arabian Peninsula, in particular, descended upon the region, and, given the nature of their trade, were naturally equipped with guns and ammunition.⁶ As such, ambitious importers could acquire exceptional weaponry, augmenting their muscle and further liberating them from the domineering clutch of the Kabaka.

Infuriated by this growing trade route and the commodities it encompassed, both Mutesa I’s and Mwanga II’s actions in acquiring these goods ironically resulted in a similar – if unintentional – transfer of power to Ganda societal elites. Attempting to increase their strength and Buganda’s dominance, “During the ‘seventies and ‘eighties... an increasing proportion of the imports took the form of firearms... Muteesa and his successor Mwanga acquired this new armament primarily with a view of increasing their ascendancy over the

⁵ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 95.

⁶ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 97.

surrounding tribes.”⁷ However, in order to achieve this aim, they distributed the arsenal to bands of select soldiers and prominent Ganda residents. Thus, during each Kabaka’s regime (the latter decades in regards to Mutesa), by equipping other powerful Baganda with modern firearms, they were simultaneously compromising their own totalitarian reigns. Indeed, Hanson echoes this sentiment, stating that chiefs’ “ability to control people, arms, and cloth without receiving them through the Kabaka gave [them] autonomous power and prestige and the central importance of the Kabaka began to deteriorate.”⁸

After Mutesa I’s death in 1884, with control of chiefs already collapsing markedly, the young Kabaka Mwanga II took a drastic misstep in a naïve, imprudent attempt to reaffirm the previous authority vested in the Kabakaship. Invoking an old Ganda custom where citizens and chiefs would exhibit their loyalty and allegiance by requiring them to partake in some form of work or service, Mwanga II demanded that every Ganda denizen, regardless of status, helped dig a large artificial lake in the capital in 1888. Mwanga II levied large fines on anyone arriving late, and mandated a payment from anyone wishing to leave the worksite, as well.⁹ Unsurprisingly, the fallout from this impromptu, senseless obligation was not positive; to the contrary, “Baganda remember not only the unreasonable fines, but also the horrifying humiliation forced on important, elderly chiefs who were made to sit in the mud if they arrived late.”¹⁰

Having already lost a great deal of obedience from and control over influential Ganda chiefs, the rapid spread of foreign religions in the form of Islam and Christianity – and the Kabaka’s subsequent disapproval of such beliefs – only served to further diminish Mwanga

⁷ C. C. Wrigley, “The Christian Revolution in Buganda,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1959): 40.

⁸ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 99.

⁹ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 103.

¹⁰ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 104.

II's power. Like the previously examined trade networks and opportunities, Islam and Christianity arrived during the closing decades of the 19th century. Arab and European traders and explorers introduced these novel religions to a genuinely accepting audience, causing academics to speculate why exactly the Baganda were so receptive. Jean Brierley and Thomas Spear surmise that "trade, arms, threats of conquest and new diseases" provided the Baganda with ample motivation to seek solace in Christianity, reasoning that could similarly apply to those Baganda who became followers of Islam.¹¹ Additionally, Wrigley suggests that the Baganda might have associated the new goods they were receiving from these European and Arab foreigners with the faiths that accompanied them, saying, "In a sense, the reception of Christianity and Islam in Buganda is of a piece with the peculiarly eager welcome which was extended here to the new kinds of material possessions which were becoming available in the same period."¹² Whatever the cause(s) may be, alien religion was gaining a formidable foothold in Buganda, therefore rendering the Kabaka's response to this occurrence as the crucial point to investigate.

As this chapter's prior study of the impact external trading had on granting significant Ganda citizens greater liberty and access to firearms, many of Buganda's converts came from these prestigious, influential classes, which further complicated matters for Mwanga II as he had to act with particular caution given their weaponry and overall strength.¹³ Moreover, Ganda converts were especially wary and suspicious of Mwanga II's actions because, as Michael Twaddle explains, Kabaka Mutesa I "had ordered a purge of Muslim Baganda" and

¹¹ Jean Brierley and Thomas Spear, "Mutesa, the Missionaries, and Christian Conversion in Buganda," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1988): 617.

¹² Wrigley, "Christian Revolution in Buganda," 42.

¹³ See Wrigley, "Christian Revolution in Buganda," 42. Wrigley writes of these new converts and what material privileges their class affords them: "To these people the king's attitude was almost necessarily ambivalent. On the one hand they were his boon companions and the indispensable instruments of his rule. On the other hand they were alarming to him, because they had guns."

“ten years later Mwanga II had done the same with Christian Baganda.”¹⁴ Wrigley expands upon Twaddle’s statement, specifying, “In 1886 some forty Christians were seized and burned to death. But the more important converts were spared, at any rate from the extreme penalty.”¹⁵ These critical facts concerning how the Kabaka treated religious converts illustrate his clear opposition to their presence while also showing the political and social influence “the more important converts” still maintained. Furthermore, they had the necessary firearms to act against the Kabaka should they so choose. Inevitably, a true boiling point was on the horizon.

In September of 1888, just months after his failed attempt to reauthorize his rule by commanding the construction of a large artificial lake, that boiling point arrived. Mwanga II summoned Buganda’s leading chiefs to gather at Entebbe – a city right on the shores of Lake Victoria – before embarking on an alleged raid across Lake Victoria. This expedition appeared harmless enough; the Baganda had gone on countless raids and plundering adventures before. But, considering the recent history of Kabaka aggression towards religious converts, the chiefs genuinely feared that Mwanga II was actually plotting to murder all of them before they journeyed home.¹⁶ As this suspicion spread amongst the chiefs at camp, the head chiefs made several attempts to delay the excursion’s departure. However, even after Mwanga II began to hear these rumors himself, he did not cancel the trip as the chiefs had hoped. Instead, the whole expedition assembled at the shores of Lake Victoria, but when the Kabaka issued the order to depart, no one obeyed. Afterwards, one of Mwanga II’s lead attendants fired his gun, inducing several chiefs on the shore to respond by

¹⁴ Michael Twaddle, “Muslim Revolution in Buganda,” *African Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 282 (1972): 59.

¹⁵ Wrigley, “Christian Revolution in Buganda,” 42.

¹⁶ Twaddle, “The Muslim Revolution in Buganda,” 59.

loading their guns. At this hostile juncture, the Kabaka was forced to readjust his plans and the team returned to the capital without ever crossing the lake.¹⁷

Once back within the familiar confines of Mengo, the overwhelmingly more powerful chiefs – recall their growing followings, ample access to firearms, and the resultant influence with which these benefits came – enacted their scheme to overthrow the Kabaka. Christian and Muslim forces, led by the Muslim chief Mujasi, the Catholic chief Honorat Nyonyintono, and the Protestant chief Apolo Kagwa, advanced to the palace's gates. Upon arriving, there was hardly any resistance. The Kabaka's lead attendants and advisers, clearly understanding of the dire situation, wisely stayed neutral. Mwanga II simply escaped with a few assistants and fled across the lake, essentially accomplishing his own overthrow for his bitter assailants.¹⁸

Although their foreign religious ties momentarily united them, it took only a few weeks for the Muslim division of the rebels – prompted by their Arab comrades – to turn on the Christians and defeat them. The Christians handled this somewhat treasonous aggression with surprising grace, withdrawing to the Kingdom's peripheries without much fuss. Not awhile later, the Muslims, needing a king to legitimize their rule, placed the new Kabaka, Kiwewa, on the throne, only to see him utterly fail in an attempt to depose of the Muslim chiefs that garnered him this power in the first place.¹⁹ Consequently, another new Kabaka, Kalema, became the new ruler. The incredibly short-lived post-Mwanga II leaderships of both of these kings represent an extension of what was already occurring during the latter half of the 19th century. The title of "Kabaka" was becoming increasingly nominal, with the

¹⁷ See Twaddle, "The Muslim Revolution in Buganda," 59-60 for a full explanation of that day's (and the days preceding) events.

¹⁸ Wrigley, "The Christian Revolution in Buganda," 43.

¹⁹ Wrigley, "The Christian Revolution in Buganda," 43.

previously investigated factors of religion and broadening trade opportunities serving as the primary avenues in which prominent Ganda chiefs were usurping power from the Kabaka. Indeed, this trajectory continued into the colonial era, as Buganda's elite chiefs became increasingly influential cogs in the Ganda political sphere.

However, soon after the Muslims seized total control of Buganda, the pendulum swung into the Christians' favor for two central reasons. Firstly, the new king, Kalema, did not endorse Islam with any sort of passion; he did not openly renounce it, either, but his ambivalent attitude towards the Kingdom's new faith placed an extremely shallow ceiling on Islam's regional potential. Secondly, with Mwanga II's official removal, many Baganda who had secretly been followers of Christianity began to openly admit their changed creeds, tipping the balance of power in the Christians' direction.²⁰ Seizing this prime chance to reconquer their Kingdom, "the Baganda Christian exiles re-associated with their former persecutor Kabaka Mwanga... allied with former missionary, Charlie Stokes, now turned arms trader... successfully intercepted the reinforcement of arms and ammunition which some Arab dhows were taking to Buganda" and thereafter "fought their way back to control of their country."²¹ Finally, after reinvading the capital, the turbulent experiences that permeated the years prior culminated with a Christian victory in October of 1889.²²

Undoubtedly one of the most significant effects of this Christian triumph was the fact that it completely opened the doors for British involvement.²³ Already accepting of

²⁰ See Twaddle, "The Muslim Revolution in Buganda," 64. While Mwanga II's ousting certainly resulted in the 'coming out' of many Muslims as well, Twaddle highlights how their numbers were much smaller than those of the Christians.

²¹ Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 8.

²² Wrigley, "The Christian Revolution in Buganda," 44.

²³ See Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 8. They write: "For [Christian control of Buganda] meant that Buganda was now, by 1890, in the hands of the one Baganda group that was favourably inclined towards a European advance."

European missionaries and their set of western beliefs, the British were finally able to establish a foothold in the most desired region of East Africa. In the immediate aftermath of the Christians' success, the British imperial agents and Buganda's Christian leadership struck several treaties that would set the framework for their future alliance, and instantly helped them defeat the remaining Muslim contingent. However, by 1892, Buganda's Christian governance had started to sever, as the Protestants and the Roman Catholics both wanted sole control of the Kingdom. With an eye on ensuring they would maintain their influence within Buganda, the British sided with the Protestants, leading to their victory at the Battle of Mengo in 1892.²⁴

Following their respective losses, the Muslims were restricted to a small place within the Kingdom, and the Catholics, despite their status as the sect with the largest number of followers, were forced to accept a lesser political position. After one last futile revolt by Kabaka Mwanga II in 1897 – whose rule, at that stage, was more nominal than ever – Kagwa and the other elite Christian chiefs installed the infant child Daudi Chwa to the throne.²⁵ Representing the final straw in the grand reallocation of power from the Kabaka to his chiefs, Wrigley writes:

But the structure of the state had nevertheless been drastically altered: it was no longer a despotism but an oligarchy. After his restoration Mwanga was little more than a puppet in the hands of those who had restored him, and his replacement in 1897 by his two-year-old son did no more than underline the degeneration of the monarch's power. Before the revolution the answer to the question, 'Who owns the land?' had been invariably 'the king', but in the 'nineties the British came to the conclusion that the land belonged to the 'Buganda Government.'²⁶

²⁴ Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule: 1900-1955*, 9-11.

²⁵ Neil Kodesh, "Renovating Tradition: The Discourse of Succession in Colonial Buganda," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (2001): 520.

²⁶ Wrigley, "The Christian Revolution in Buganda," 45.

In accordance with this shift in authority, the British conducted the terms of their future relationship with the Baganda and their role as colonial overseers with Buganda's head decision-makers, who were now decisively the chiefs. As this thorough exposition of the years leading up to official British involvement in Buganda demonstrates, the blueprint was established for much Ganda-British cooperation, and the Kingdom's authority was now predominantly bestowed upon its chiefs.

Recognized as the Uganda Agreement of 1900, this settlement outlined various aspects that would govern the Ganda-British relationship. Firstly, the Protectorate administration agreed that the Kabaka and his government's status would continue to be acknowledged as long as they remained loyal to colonial governance. Secondly, it defined the roles and responsibilities of Ganda chiefs and ministers, and officially introduced the Lukiko as Buganda's Parliament. Most importantly, the Agreement legislated a separation of the remaining land in Buganda; the British allowed the Lukiko to allocate the freehold land – known as *mailo* property in Buganda – unknowingly leaving themselves with the least useful land in Buganda.²⁷

Ultimately, however, this flexibility concerning land distribution resulted in Ganda elites garnering more power and territory as “the leading Christian chiefs gave themselves eight thousand square miles of some of the best land in Buganda” and “distributed plots of land to almost 4000 other chiefs and figures of authority in the kingdom.”²⁸ Still, by formally gaining the consent and obedience of Buganda, the British had successfully consolidated the most important province in the Protectorate. Simultaneously, these negotiations and the resultant Uganda Agreement of 1900 laid the foundation for a mutually

²⁷ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 103.

²⁸ Kodesh, “Renovating Tradition,” 520.

cooperative relationship between the Protectorate administration and Buganda, foreshadowed decades of favored status for the Baganda, and further affirmed the exalted standing in which the Baganda held themselves. But, as will become evident during the remaining portions of this project, the Agreement would also prove to be a significant hindrance to Britain's rule as the 20th century progressed. As succeeding British authorities would later learn, it gave the Baganda much more influence than was either intended or expected, and thus represented "the perennial obstacle to the free operation and evolution of British colonial rule in Uganda."²⁹

An Alliance of Joint Production

Unfamiliar with the surrounding territories, its populations, and their indigenous politics – and simultaneously lacking comfortable manpower – Protectorate leaders needed aid in order to most efficiently and calmly consolidate the Uganda Protectorate, a shortcoming rectifiable by mutual cooperation between British officials and their elite native partners. Thus, while the British imperial government certainly had much to gain by employing various Ganda agents as middlemen tasked with extending the boundaries of colonial influence and establishing a framework for orderly administration in these outlying districts, the Baganda likewise had ample reason to seize this expansionistic opportunity: to continue their Kingdom's tradition of regional superiority and territorial dominance.³⁰

²⁹ Thompson, *Governing Uganda*, 45.

³⁰ See Andrew D. Roberts, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1962): 439. Roberts states, "It is a mistake to see Ganda 'sub-imperialism' merely in terms of the needs of British administration. Rather, it was a well-established tradition of Ganda pre-eminence." Here, Roberts understands that Britain's need for Ganda assistance is obvious: they had to find a way to successfully subdue the many heterogeneous populations of the entire protectorate with limited manpower and resources. However, Roberts underlines the idea that the Baganda, too, benefitted, citing their history of East African regional authority and control.

Indeed, these joint efforts between the Baganda and the ruling British to formally establish the Uganda Protectorate as a British imperial entity merit a holistic, Ganda-inclusive interpretation and perspective, as they exemplified a “perpetuation of Buganda’s imperial past” that was accomplished through “the guise of Ganda participation in the extension of British influence throughout the Protectorate of Uganda.”³¹ Consequently, coupling Britain’s need for native backing with “Buganda’s imperial past,” Ganda royalty was happy to oblige as “this vision of colonial politics and culture complemented that of Buganda’s leaders, who viewed their actions as a continuation of territorial expansion, imperialism, and the extension of power that stretched back to the eighteenth century.”³²

Nevertheless, what particularly about the Kingdom of Buganda impressed the British to such a great extent and inspired so much confidence in their ability as colonial intermediaries? Roberts thoroughly addresses this question in his investigation, asserting that “[the British] were sufficiently impressed by [Buganda’s] form of government” to such a degree that they “envisag[ed] it as a model for creating a uniform administration throughout the surrounding regions.”³³ Already content with the notion of implementing Ganda-inspired forms of government across the Protectorate, the Baganda’s illustrious history of territorial expansion (and the style in which they did so) granted the Baganda much relevant experience, as “[Buganda’s] history is characterized both by territorial expansion and by the growth of royal power, expressed in centralized government through appointed chiefs.”³⁴ Closely resembling how the British envisioned their form of indirect rule to function, the

³¹ Roberts, “The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,” 435.

³² See Kodesh, “Renovating Tradition,” 533. “This vision of colonial politics” refers to Buganda’s historical comfort with the idea of pushing its boundaries, a comfort that evidently persevered despite the fact that the Baganda were now operating in conjunction with the British.

³³ Roberts, “The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,” 436.

³⁴ Roberts, “The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda,” 437.

Baganda's history of overseeing their conquered territories in this manner likely branded them as an even more appealing accomplice.

However, as this chapter's introduction suggests, the Ganda-British partnership ought not to be viewed as a mere recruitment of Ganda assistance by British agents, but rather as a co-production of sorts due to Ganda elites' implementation of judicious, religiously driven social engineering. Considering the fact that religious conversion and expansion were some of the pivotal goals for Europeans, "the enthusiasm with which the Baganda embraced the Christian civilizing mission served... as an indication of the mental capabilities of the Baganda," an opinion directly symptomatic of their belief that "they were well on their way to establishing a Christian kingdom."³⁵ The Ganda elite were not stupid; the Baganda were always keen on expanding their Kingdom's perimeters and maintaining their regional superiority, and recognizing that accepting and endorsing Christianity would help foster a Ganda-British alliance – a relationship that would doubtlessly advance those goals – Buganda's leaders acted with that motivation in mind.

Perhaps no activity better portrays Ganda elites' cognizance of the value of supporting Christianity (and British culture at large) than the construction of the Namirembe Cathedral. In 1901, Prime Minister Apolo Kagwa and Buganda's other head chiefs demanded the erection of this monumental cathedral, summoning an old Ganda tradition – recall Kabaka Mwangi II's futile attempt to invoke this same tradition in his demand for the construction of an artificial lake – that closely linked public labor with loyalty to royal

³⁵ Kodesh, "Renovating Tradition," 511.

authority.³⁶ However, unlike past invocations of this ritual, Ganda chiefs, whether they outright stated so or not, most certainly had a further goal in mind: garnering additional praise, respect, and, as a result, political flexibility, from the colonial administration. Indeed, while it was customary for the average Muganda to display one's submissiveness in this manner, pertaining to the Namirembe Cathedral's construction, observers saw "Kagwa and some of the other great chiefs occasionally [going] themselves to carry clay from the swamps to the brick fields."³⁷

By participating in this deferential occupation usually reserved for the Ganda public, Kagwa and his fellow chiefs likely regarded their involvement as an opportunity to display their respect towards the Europeans and their institutions (in this scenario, Christianity). The surmised target audience noticed and applauded Buganda's leaders, as "the efforts of these Ganda chiefs... endeared them in the eyes of the missionaries," who pronounced their labor as "a sight the angels must have rejoiced over, to see the greatest chief in the land carrying on his head... loads of clay for the House of God."³⁸ Employing a commitment to Christian evangelization as a vehicle for attaining favoritism, it is evident that the building of the Namirembe Cathedral – a project proposed and funded entirely by Ganda means – succeeded in ingratiating Buganda to its ruling European counterpart, representing an important step in creating a mutually accepted Ganda-British rapport.

In another example of Ganda approval and incorporation of European culture and Anglican Christianity, just a year before the Namirembe Cathedral's construction, in

³⁶ See Kodesh, "Renovating Tradition," 522-523. This tradition has roots deep into Buganda's history. Sometimes manifested in the building of roads, refining of settlements, etc., the important note is "communal labor served as a demonstration of political allegiance and administrative competence."

³⁷ Kodesh, "Renovating Tradition," 523.

³⁸ See Kodesh, "Renovating Tradition," 524. The latter excerpt Kodesh cites as: *Mengo/Uganda Notes*, July 1901, 62, a source I was unfortunately unable to locate.

November of 1900 “Bartolomeye, one of the two ordained men in Mengo, invited all the Europeans to his daughter’s baptism feast... he borrowed teacups, plates, knives, and forks... The leading chiefs joined the Europeans as guests at Bartolomeye’s rejoicing.”³⁹ Similar to the aforementioned Ganda chiefs’ virtuous contribution in building the cathedral, another societal elite’s overt commendation of Christianity exhibits the significance adopting the colonial religion had in fostering conviviality between the Baganda and the British. Yet, in this instance, religious agreement not only created British happiness, pride, and admiration for Buganda’s ecclesiastical conversion as previously seen with the cathedral’s erection, but actually facilitated a formal ceremony where native elites, using teacups, plates, knives, and forks, dined with influential European officials, for all intents and purposes, as equals. Undoubtedly, the Baganda were making much headway in their quest for distinguished influence within the colonial hierarchy by supporting Christianity and indoctrinating themselves to decorous British culture, as European administrators lauded their ‘progress’ in comparison to their ‘savage’ neighbors.⁴⁰ Thus, by showing themselves as the region’s most sophisticated community and concurrently differentiating themselves from the adjacent native populations in the process – and combined with Britain’s desire for an affiliate – it is apparent that Buganda’s leaders played a substantial role in orchestrating the Ganda-British coalition.

Actively trying to illuminate themselves as a refined, advanced society as the previously inspected examples demonstrate, this effort and awareness on the part of the Ganda elite represent a prudent utilization and acceptance of European customs and religion in order to gain British preference and approval, therefore rendering them as creditworthy,

³⁹ Kodesh, “Renovating Tradition,” 528.

⁴⁰ Kodesh, “Renovating Tradition,” 530.

proactive co-creators of the Ganda-British alliance, and not just as chosen, stationary associates to Britain's imperialistic agenda. With this contextual detail describing why and how the Ganda-British partnership arose completed – particularly emphasizing their respective motivations and desired gains – this chapter's ensuing discussion of how each of the remaining Provinces within the Uganda Protectorate came under colonial governance will illustrate how Buganda's esteemed history and reputation still vividly manifested itself despite the presence of an imperial power.

Establishing the Uganda Protectorate

Now, having accomplished this sweeping investigation of the roots of the Ganda-British alliance, it is possible to examine how this relationship manifested itself in the colonial effort to consolidate the entire Uganda Protectorate. Beginning with the Eastern Province, whose parameters, as far as the British were primarily concerned during this period of territorial consolidation, can be defined as the areas just north of Lake Kyoga (roughly 250 kilometers north of the shores of Lake Victoria) and extending east all the way to the East Africa Protectorate border, the British needed to formalize their rule without upsetting the indigenous population too greatly; but how? The incipient Protectorate government, which was managed by just a small quantity of British government officials at the time, enlisted the help of the Baganda in order to subdue the native population occupying the Eastern Province. This strategy quickly became the norm whenever British colonial administration needed extra assistance in fortifying its grip over the Protectorate. As will be demonstrated at length in this chapter, the Baganda were absolutely vital and complicit in helping the British preside over the rest of Uganda.

However, the very fact that this mutual cooperation between the Baganda and the British occurred – and at the expense of their African neighbors’ autonomy, no less – begs the question: what preexisting realities within the Uganda Protectorate fostered such cooperation? In addition to the partnership between the British and the Baganda that – as the preceding sections of this chapter detail – was established as a result of their interactions during the last decade of the 19th century (and formalized with the signing of the 1900 Uganda Agreement), the disparate nature of the relationships between the peoples of Uganda caused the Baganda to feel no loyalty whatsoever towards their rival kingdoms, despite the fact that they all fell under the broader umbrella term of “African.” They were much more concerned with preserving ethnic autonomy and distinction between themselves and the other kingdoms of Uganda than they were with securing self government for all of Uganda.⁴¹ An equally contributing factor was the Baganda’s own lofty self-perception. Indeed, the Baganda “accepted the view that as a people they were enlightened and advanced,” not only relative to their African brethren, but believed they were “envied by Europeans,” as well.⁴² Essentially, the British needed a professional class capable of subduing various regions within the colony, and the Baganda wanted another path to further affirm their own ideas of supremacy and prestige. As such, in the early stages of Uganda’s colonial history, Ganda compliance with British goals served each party’s interests well.

The British administration decided to send Baganda native Semei Lwakireenzi Kakungulu, who was already a well-known general at the time having had military

⁴¹ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 10.

⁴² Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 13.

experience commanding Baganda troops in the invasion of Bunyoro in 1893,⁴³ to “get in touch with the people [of the Eastern Province] and bring those ‘tribes’... under some kind of settled government and also persuade them to be well-disposed towards European presence.”⁴⁴ Given these rather inexact directions, Kakungulu began a military operation in the Bukedi region in January of 1896. During this time, it is important to note that the term “Bukedi” also encompassed the Bugiso, Teso, and Lango regions as well, so Kakungulu was endeavoring to take on quite a sizable task in the name of the British crown. Establishing the Teso region as the hub of his mission, Kakungulu was charged with dissuading “the people of this region from giving shelter and supplies” to the aforementioned “fugitive rulers” of the Eastern Province.⁴⁵ As such, the British supplied him with a limited number of government guns, but nothing else, not even manpower. Consequently, Kakungulu called upon his significant influence in Buganda to recruit a substantial number of Baganda followers to aid him in his endeavor.

Over the next five years, Kakungulu and his team of Baganda soldiers, fighting on behalf of the Protectorate government, experienced varying degrees of militaristic and expansionistic success. Kakungulu was occasionally overzealous and headstrong in his decision-making – certainly due in large part to unwavering British support – leading to

⁴³ See Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), 95-99. In December of 1893, Kakungulu, with the recommendation and support of British Colonel Henry Colvile, led a huge Ganda army of thousands of men to the Bunyoro frontier. He, along with co-commander Colvile, succeeded in breaking the Nyoro lines and advancing, but disease (particularly smallpox) forced a return back to Buganda (though the British and their Ganda allies would eventually succeed in conquering Bunyoro later in the decade).

⁴⁴ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 104-105.

⁴⁵ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 105.

costly, unnecessary setbacks.⁴⁶ For example, in May of 1896, he led an unauthorized plundering conquest into the Lango region, resulting in the deaths of many of his own followers in addition to the deaths of 30 of Prime Minister Apolo Kagwa's men.⁴⁷ Poorly executed, mistimed raids such as this one, coupled with the constant need to retreat, rearm, and reinforce his makeshift band of troops – duties and activities that serve to exemplify the already present alliance (and resultant favoritism) between the Baganda and the British – inhibited Kakungulu and his Baganda assistants from instituting total authority in all of the Eastern Province. Still, he had managed to establish the rudiments of an organized government infrastructure in the areas directly surrounding Lake Kyoga in the Kyoga peninsula where, as leader of the region, he called for three of his most prominent followers to lay claim to and establish Protectorate strongholds on Namulimuka, Kaweri, and Kigi islands in Lake Kyoga.⁴⁸

Moreover, this government infrastructure was predicated off the Baganda administrative model, providing additional evidence for the omnipresent links between British colonial rule and Baganda cooperative support. In the following couple of years, the existence of a reasonably sound governmental framework allowed Kakungulu to travel eastward into Bukedi. With newfound backing from various Church Missionary Society (CMS) stations, Kakungulu was able to begin formalizing his (Britain's) rule. As previously seen in his efforts to establish a legitimate foundation for governance in the Lake Kyoga areas, Kakungulu called upon his Baganda constituents to aid in this process and modeled the administration's foundation after Buganda's template. Karugire explains:

⁴⁶ See Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*, 119-121. Kakungulu had ample British support not only because of his military presence and necessity to armed campaigns, but because he was also the de facto 'governor'/'lord' of the Bugerere county hub in the Eastern Province.

⁴⁷ Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*, 119.

⁴⁸ Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*, 121.

[Kakungulu] divided the area into counties and over these he appointed his Baganda followers who were given the same chiefly titles as those of Buganda chiefs. He even made land grants to his followers along the lines of the 1900 land distribution in Buganda. Over much of the present Bukedi and Teso districts Kakungulu's agents had roads constructed and a sound foundation for an effective and unified administration was laid.⁴⁹

Once more, the Baganda presence, both in terms of administrative style and sheer authoritative manpower, made itself amply felt during these processes of British territorial consolidation.

However, Kakungulu soon fell out of favor and lost acceptance amongst the local populace, as lack of resources forced him and his Baganda followers to live on the livestock and agriculture that the native peasants produced. As a result, British officials learned of this resentment in due time, and replaced Kakungulu with their own European agents. With a solid structure already in place, the Protectorate government was able to further implement “an orderly and firm administration,” a development that was “rendered much easier by the fact that these societies possessed no sense of political cohesion.”⁵⁰ Thus, gradually gaining the obedience of each sect of the native population proved doable and relatively seamless. Additionally, some natives of these once noncompliant regions became increasingly obedient with Ganda/Protectorate goals after seeing the sharp rise in wealth and status Kakungulu's followers experienced. They witnessed men ascend up the societal ladder, gaining land and power merely by submitting and performing the requested duties, with the hope of one day becoming a chief.⁵¹ The British, aided greatly by Kakungulu and his fellow Baganda bureaucrats (a tendency that was already, and would continue to be, quite characteristic of the two parties' relationship), had succeeded in subduing the Eastern Province into the

⁴⁹ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 106.

⁵⁰ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 107.

⁵¹ Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*, 152.

Protectorate government's realm by 1902, reaching half of their Ugandan consolidation goals.

Regarding the Western Province, the British essentially needed to win subordination from the Kingdoms of Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole, in addition to the southwestern district of Kigezi, in order to adequately claim governance over the Western Province. The formal acquisitions of the Kingdoms of Toro and Ankole to the Uganda Protectorate proved fairly painless, both signing agreements to officially join the Protectorate's jurisdiction in 1900. Toro, facing relentless external threats from surrounding regions and populations, gained comfort and security from the British in exchange for its submission. Word of Toro's compliance quickly reached Ankole, and British agents, already traveling south to Ankole from Toro, were received with relative enthusiasm by a Kingdom ready to reach an agreement.⁵²

On the other hand, the Kingdom of Bunyoro endured years of war and struggle, a direct ramification of its initial resistance to British rule. Prior to these years of conflict, the Kingdom found itself enjoying far more regional influence than it had possessed in decades at the onset of the 1890s. Bunyoro's wealth was steadily rising, its leadership was politically stable, and, for the time being, military victories along the Kingdom's southern parameters assuaged population stagnation and livestock shortages.⁵³ As such, it is unsurprising that the Banyoro and its King, Chwa II Kabarega (or Kabaleega), were unwilling to simply roll over and submit to British expansion and rule. However, the British deemed it particularly necessary to gain subordination from Bunyoro for three primary reasons. Firstly, imperial leadership regarded the Kingdom as an "old class of Arab [slave] traders" that needed

⁵² Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 108-109.

⁵³ Shane Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 61.

European enlightenment. Secondly, in the interest of British trade and economic welfare, they wanted complete control of the Nile River and all areas surrounding it in the Protectorate. And lastly, as their efforts to fortify their colonial empire intensified, the British were particularly averse to strong, self-sufficient, and independent native leaders; these were boxes that Kabaleega of Bunyoro checked.⁵⁴ Accordingly, the British launched invasion after invasion, utilizing an army that consisted mostly of Sudanese and Baganda soldiers (forces that Kakungulu led).⁵⁵ The Banyoro valiantly resisted to the best of their abilities, employing guerilla warfare tactics in an attempt to compensate for their inferior weaponry and manpower.⁵⁶

After years of battle spanning across the last decade of the 19th century, the Banyoro were simply overwhelmed; Bunyoro was officially declared a member of the Uganda Protectorate in June of 1896, but uprisings and hostilities continued to persist throughout the better part of the next three decades.⁵⁷ This lack of obedience on the part of the Banyoro led to their abuse and neglect at the hands of British authority. To make matters worse, the British had again solicited the help of the Baganda to settle, organize, and moderate the Banyoro, thus placing the Baganda in an administrative position in addition to their

⁵⁴ John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1978), 288.

⁵⁵ See Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro*, 66. Just to provide an idea of the size of the imperial army invading Bunyoro, eight Europeans joined roughly 680 Sudanese troops and over 14,000 Baganda troops. Furthermore, nearly 4,200 of these soldiers were armed with rifles, while the force also carried two Maxim guns.

⁵⁶ Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro*, 72-73.

⁵⁷ See Doyle, *Crisis and Decline in Bunyoro*, 80-88. The Banyoro's guerilla warfare tactics aimed at merely outlasting the British proved relatively effective, as disease, exhaustion, and extreme resource expenditure all hindered the colonial advance even after Bunyoro's "official" inclusion into the Protectorate in 1896. However, the Banyoro's technological and numbers disadvantage, coupled with the social and economic costs of running a guerilla-style defense, eventually proved too great of obstacles to overcome.

militaristic role within Bunyoro. This development unsurprisingly led to rebellions whose “immediate target was the removal of Baganda chiefs from Bunyoro.”⁵⁸

Due to this perpetual cycle of unsuccessful rebellions by the Banyoro followed by colonial suppression and subsequent mistreatment of Banyoro elite, insubordination ceased only when Kabaleega – deposed as official King of Bunyoro in 1899, but merely ostensibly – died in 1923, leaving the resistance movement without its spiritual leader. Similar to what transpired in the Eastern Province, the invaluable assistance and cooperation of the many Baganda agents operating in Bunyoro must be emphasized, because without their support, the Protectorate administration doubtlessly would have endured more severe hardships. And to reiterate, this cooperation served a purpose for the Baganda, as well. Unconcerned with the wellbeing and freedom of the adjacent indigenous communities and kingdoms, it can be reasonably purported that the Baganda viewed Britain’s need to formally consolidate the various factions of the Uganda Protectorate as an opportunity to further separate themselves from their African comrades and reaffirm their status as the elite group of East Africa.

The Kigezi district, located in the Protectorate’s most southwestern corner, was likewise pacified through the extensive usage of Baganda officials. Here, the British encountered administrative difficulties because the indigenous peoples existed in so many incongruent factions. Before the British even arrived, the reigning native leadership “struggled to contain the rivalry of the petty hereditary chiefs” in the region, which further complicated the Protectorate administration’s task of organizing these populations under one uniform government.⁵⁹ The Kigezi district was “a segmentary society” where “clan rivalries had to be contained before an orderly administration could be established,” leaving the

⁵⁸ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 108.

⁵⁹ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 110.

British with more legwork and responsibility than their limited resources and manpower could handle.⁶⁰ Thus, they once more procured the aid of select Baganda agents to act as representative ruling chiefs on their behalf with the aim of systematizing these native groups into a more easily governable subservient body.

By the 1920s this task was accomplished, as Baganda officials were spread throughout the Kigezi district establishing order under the colonial banner. However, just as previously seen in the Eastern Province and Bunyoro, there were strong feelings of anger and contempt against these Baganda agents and by the late 1920s, the district's residents were crying for their replacement by indigenous chiefs. Serving as yet another example of Ganda-British allegiance, it must be reiterated that this cooperative relationship not only served to isolate the Baganda from their other native counterparts, but also helped in further legitimizing their own lofty views of themselves and their society, especially in comparison to East Africa's other ethnic groups.

The Northern Province's path to certified inclusion within the Uganda Protectorate followed a slightly different trajectory than either the Eastern or Western Provinces. During the late-19th and early-20th century, the Northern Province was of little interest to them. As far as the Protectorate government was concerned, these northern communities were "too weak to pose any threat to British interests" and the British could therefore "comfortably shelve the decision about the occupation of northern Uganda, especially as the area continued to generate revenue from the ivory trade without incurring administrative expenses."⁶¹ Essentially, the Northern Province was more or less seen as an area exploitable for natural resources.

⁶⁰ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 110.

⁶¹ Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 112-113.

As such, facing no real militaristic danger from the northern regions while simultaneously producing income, the British were content to maintain this course of action regarding the Northern Province until 1914 when “the activities of the Ethiopian traders were so harmful that... the vast herds of elephants of north-eastern Uganda were virtually exhausted... lead[ing] to the sharp decline in revenue the Protectorate had been used to collecting from this source.”⁶² In addition, the indigenous groups of northern Uganda were beginning to amass large amounts of guns from these same elephant hunters/ivory traders, a development that unsettled their previous feelings of ease (an understandable anxiety given the power shift they witnessed transpire in Buganda during the late 1880s-1890s). Lastly, and as highlighted previously as a primary reason for invading Bunyoro, Britain wisely prioritized securing the Nile River, an aspiration that necessitated formally occupying the Northern Province. In swift reaction to these occurrences and realizations, British officials ordered that military measures be taken to seize strict control of all districts and regions in the Northern Province. After several years of military skirmishes and the subsequent implementation of administrative structure, the British had established the northern boundaries of the Uganda Protectorate.

Conclusion

With this chapter’s aim of describing the political context and character of Buganda in the years directly before British intervention, analyzing both Ganda and British perspectives in the co-production of their alliance, explaining how their relationship reflected Ganda notions of self-superiority, and discussing their collaborative amalgamation efforts at

⁶² Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, 113.

the expense of Uganda's other native ethnic groups complete, it is evident that Buganda had secured the most privileged position in colonial Uganda's hierarchy. However, with the colonial era just beginning, the Baganda continuously felt the need to defend and reaffirm their esteemed status against not only British expectations and pressures, but also to reassert their own concepts of ethnic preeminence. As this project's second chapter will show, King's College Budo was an institution that both represented and facilitated Ganda notions of superiority, groomed Buganda's next generation of elites scholastically, socially, and politically, and, in functioning as such, provided avenues that the Baganda believed would allow them to appropriately uphold their Kingdom's dignified civilizational standing in the face of increasing colonial involvement.

CHAPTER TWO

Building the King's College

As the previous chapter clearly articulates, due to Buganda's prudent adoption and advocacy of British customs and Anglican Christianity along with its formidable role in helping the British accomplish its consolidation goals, the Baganda had succeeded in co-producing their alliance with the ruling British administration. Moreover, by doing so, Buganda's leadership displayed and substantiated their Kingdom's purported historical supremacy, reaffirming these ideals of Ganda cultural pride and gaining Britain's support and admiration in the process. With their historical credentials of cultural, social, and political prestige receiving further confirmation as a result of these early colonial interactions and collaborative activities with the ruling Protectorate government, it comes as no surprise that the CMS, with ample support from their Ganda constituents, wanted the leading academic institutions within the Uganda Protectorate – such as King's College Budo – to reside in Buganda.

To begin, this chapter will outline the infrastructure of colonial Uganda's education system, a necessity in order to properly understand King's College Budo's elevated position within such a system and the significance that accompanied it. Next, the discussion will proceed to an examination of Budo's origins, which will highlight the school's immediate relevance in representing Buganda's proud historical credentials and self-identity while concurrently underscoring its intrinsic purpose of educating and attending to the Kingdom's elite, brightest students. Afterwards, the chapter will progress to a related investigation of how these inherent, underlying qualities of Budo's establishment and philosophies, when

evaluated in the context of the Kingdom's decorous social atmosphere as manufactured and stimulated by Buganda's elite class, branded the school as even more significant to Ganda political thought. Lastly, the chapter will discuss and analyze the logistics of how King's College Budo operated, the curriculum and classes emphasized within its confines, the students fortunate enough to gain admittance and attend there, and how the instructors selected to teach there both mirrored and promoted Ganda ideals of self-eminence and prestige. In this final task, analysis will place a particular focus on illustrating how within these efforts to assiduously renew their society's lofty status was the desire to simultaneously defend their worthiness in relation to the British.

The Basis and Arrangement of Colonial Education

From the very onset of the 20th century, Protestant and Catholic missions maintained total control of native education and schools. Having been present in East Africa decades before the Uganda Agreement of 1900 was signed, various missions had already familiarized themselves with indigenous communities and laid the groundwork for a functioning, if not always effective, education system. In fact, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and White Fathers mission groups arrived with more missionaries in the late 1870s following Kabaka Mutesa's request for more teachers capable of providing literary English instruction.¹ Thus, these missions "pioneered the task of starting and keeping going a school education system for many years with very little or no financial assistance from the government."² While this misfortune certainly hamstrung monetary comfort, it was also a blessing in

¹ Holly Elisabeth Hanson, "Indigenous Adaptation: Uganda's Village Schools, ca. 1880-1937," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (2010): 159.

² Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 40.

disguise for the missions as they enjoyed complete influence over the Protectorate's educational plans and procedures.³

Attempting to establish a hierarchy of schools that would allow students to gradually climb upwards through the system as their academic achievement allowed, the CMS – undoubtedly the largest and most influential of the mission groups operating in East Africa at the time – implemented a rubric that included four different types of schools. At the bottom of the ladder were sub-grade schools, which were aimed at serving very young students with no concrete curriculum. Certainly, these schools could be viewed as more of a stepping-stone to advance to the next rung of education: central schools. These institutions were day schools offering rudimentary education and included primary and junior secondary schools. Following adequate completion of primary and junior secondary schools, students aspiring to continue their education progressed to high schools. High schools were much more academically challenging, and were “usually boarding and headed by a European with a high level of efficiency and education” and also “maintained that English be taught to all classes.”⁴ The goal of high school students was to perform proficiently throughout their years of enrollment in order to eventually sit for and (hopefully) pass the post-graduation continuation exam that would permit successful students to graduate to the college-level. This stage was the highest tier of schools in the CMS' education system, and King's College Budo would eventually come to represent the most prestigious college in all of the Uganda Protectorate, unsurprisingly located in the heart of the favored and elite Buganda Province.

³ See Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 40. With this administrative flexibility in regards to education and school curriculum, the missionaries were able to construct their own agendas and enjoyed control over education until 1925.

⁴ Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 41.

As was briefly mentioned, for the first quarter of the 20th century mission groups exclusively handled formal school education. Consequently, missionaries ensured that the material taught in these schools meshed with and furthered their own plans for native development. Accordingly, they made it “their cardinal objective... to make their converts literate so that they could refresh their religious knowledge in their homes by reading the Bible.”⁵ Evidently, as one would reasonably expect, mission groups utilized their total control over the education system to gain converts, spread religious literature and teachings, and essentially indoctrinate Christianity to the surrounding indigenous communities through the medium of school and academia. However, some of these indigenous communities soon desired more from their scholastic curriculum as they quickly recognized the value that a western education could hold in determining their future. Once again, the exalted Kingdom of Buganda spearheaded this movement and “following the request by... chiefs of the Buganda kingdom” the missionaries “began to consider seriously the need for a form of education designed to help build the character of the pupils and to prepare them for a wider and fast changing world in which they would live.”⁶

Creation and Principles

Such was the scholastic structure and academic environment in which King’s College Budo would be constructed. And, with this chapter’s first objective of detailing the formation and outline of the Ugandan education system complete, let us now advance to a discussion of the founding and philosophy of Budo before finally dissecting the finer properties of the school’s academics and operation. As was quickly underlined earlier,

⁵ Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 40.

⁶ Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 40.

missionaries had already set foot and established themselves in East Africa by 1877, thereby creating the rudiments of a system attempting to provide a “western” education. However, it was not until 1897, when Alfred R. Tucker (A. R. Tucker) officially became Bishop of Uganda (he had previously been Bishop of Equatorial Africa since 1890), that the missionary education system truly received the necessary attention to develop into an organized infrastructure.⁷ In actuality, this urgent need for structured education came about as a result of the mission’s evangelistic aims. Bishop Tucker explains in his firsthand memoir:

Education was not our first object in making this rule. It was made rather as a test of sincerity. Large numbers were coming forward and asking for baptism. Of their lives we knew nothing. They said ‘We believe and wish to be baptized.’ ‘Very well’ was our answer, ‘we don’t know you; we must test you. We must see that you have an intelligent knowledge of the way of salvation. Here are the gospels. We will teach you to read them and when you have read them we shall expect you to give an intelligent answer to the questions we shall ask you’... And so it came to pass that many thousands acquired the art of reading.⁸

Thus, with education and literacy irrevocably connected with the missionaries’ primary objective of spreading Christianity and gaining learned converts, the demand for a top-tier school that mirrored the prestige associated with the Kingdom of Buganda was absolutely vital.

As such, Bishop Tucker procured the assistance of CMS missionary C. W. Hattersley to help him in setting up a system of schools and to identify and train teachers for them. Hattersley’s support in this endeavor proved to be an invaluable asset, as John Vernon Taylor, a later missionary of the mid-20th century and eventual Africa Secretary of the CMS mission, attests, “With immense energy [Hattersley] at once set about providing for Baganda

⁷ McGregor, *King’s College, Budo*, 2.

⁸ Alfred R. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1908), 151.

children in their thousands.”⁹ Combining Hattersley’s “immense energy” with Bishop Tucker’s ambition and societal significance, the duo worked out of the CMS’s headquarters in Mengo on Namirembe Hill – in extremely close proximity to the Kabaka’s palace – pressing parents and chiefs to send their children to the newly opened schools.¹⁰ Their efforts did not go unheeded; according to Bishop Tucker’s records in his memoir, a year after his appointment in 1897 there had only been a few hundred students being taught. Conversely, by 1903, administration registers showed roughly 22,000 students enrolled in mission-sponsored schools.¹¹

However, these numbers reflected only primary school enrollment. While certainly encouraging and indicative of a positive trajectory, Bishop Tucker, Hattersley, and the rest of the CMS sought to advance forward in establishing a proper hierarchy of academic institutions. Spurred by the opening of the Mill Hill Father Mission’s Namilyango College in 1902 – an event that secured the school as the first post-primary boarding school in all of Uganda – the CMS and its leaders quickly realized the need for at least one prominent boarding school in the Buganda Province. Indeed, Bishop Tucker espoused these sentiments in his account, proclaiming:

So far little or nothing [has] been done for the children of the upper classes... We felt strongly that if the ruling classes in the country were to exercise in the days to come an influence for good upon their people, and have a sense of responsibility towards them, it was absolutely essential that something should be done, and that speedily, for the education of these neglected children, on the soundest possible lines.¹²

⁹ John Vernon Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1958), 93.

¹⁰ McGregor, *King’s College, Budo*, 3.

¹¹ Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, 327.

¹² Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, 327.

This statement not only foreshadowed the construction of King's College Budo in the years directly to follow, but also indicates exactly what type of school King's College Budo was intended to be and whom the target student population was. From its very onset – as evidenced by Bishop Tucker's aforementioned speech – King's College Budo was aimed at serving the children of the elite and was to be situated in the most influential region of Buganda, two realities that doubtlessly reflect the Baganda's desire to both promote and support their eminent self-identity.

Now, with the recognition of the definitive need for a top-flight boarding school and, to this point, a track record of success in administering new schools in Buganda, the CMS was ready to undertake the process of constructing King's College Budo. Bishop Tucker, speaking at a CMS meeting in Mengo in 1904, initiated the movement for a school that emphasized "intermediate" education after primary school and before university, but it was missionary H. W. Weatherhead who spearheaded the legwork to see through the school's erection.¹³ Weatherhead instantly took a keen interest in every minute detail of the institution's assembly; first and foremost, he had to select a proper site for the school's foundation. In a letter meant for Budo's fourth headmaster, H. M. Grace, who had inquired about the specificities of Budo's founding, Weatherhead writes, "I don't remember who first told me about Budo Hill, but it did not take me long to decide upon it as the most desirable place."¹⁴

However, Weatherhead would encounter serious resistance to this proposition. Budo Hill was also known as the King's Hill, and it represented not only royal property, but was

¹³ McGregor, *King's College, Budo*, 7.

¹⁴ H. W. Weatherhead, letter to H. M. Grace, undated, original copy in King's College, Budo archives, but found in McGregor's firsthand account. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the original letter never made it to Headmaster Grace, but was sent in manuscript to T. H. Cobb (Budo's seventh headmaster) in 1956 by Mrs. A. Weatherhead.

also of particular sacredness because it was the site on which every past King of Buganda had been formally crowned for generations. Still, Weatherhead was adamant in his request, and with the aid of Prime Minister Apolo Kagwa, Budo Hill was eventually obtained as the building site for the CMS's prized scholastic establishment.¹⁵ The sheer fact that such a venerated location was accepted as the construction site for King's College Budo proves what a substantial, valued institution it was (and would continue to be) in the eyes of the Baganda. Furthermore, by choosing to share Budo Hill and its hallowed traditions with the building of a school suggests that the Baganda were, in essence, accepting the idea that education could become another avenue by which to reaffirm their notions of superiority and sanctity. After all, given Budo Hill's irreversible relationship to Ganda royalty and kingship, it is only natural for King's College Budo to – inadvertently or not – receive some of those same historical parallels.

After successfully attaining his desired location, Weatherhead began planning the finer details of the school's construction. He desired to incorporate a central quadrangle larger than the biggest college court he knew of: none other than that of his alma mater, Trinity College, Cambridge.¹⁶ With such an elegant, illustrious template functioning as his inspiration, it should come as no surprise that the final product was one of great beauty and sophistication. Weatherhead seemed to think as much, as well. Again, referencing his letter intended for H. M. Grace, he writes, "I am glad that I started with what seemed a really ambitious scheme of a large quad. That quad with its stretches of green lawns, well kept, had a considerable influence on European visitors when they came... to have a look at the

¹⁵ McGregor, *King's College, Budo*, 9.

¹⁶ McGregor, *King's College, Budo*, 10.

missionary effort.”¹⁷ Although this is just one extract describing a particular portion of the structure, the care and architectural detail invested in this important segment of King’s College Budo undoubtedly support my previous assertions that the institution was, from the very beginning of its establishment, intended not only to be a school directed at serving the elite, but also a symbol of Ganda excellence.

Less than two years after Weatherhead and his team of missionaries broke ground on the school’s construction, King’s College Budo was officially open for education and ready to accept its first class of students. On March 29th, 1906, the date formally known as “Founder’s Day” to all Budonians, the crown jewel of mission education was christened with a huge, lavish celebration. Every prominent member of Ganda society was present at the event. The school’s lunchroom was said to have served 140 renowned guests, most notably the young Kabaka, Daudi Chwa, the three Regents, the Acting Commissioner, Mr. George Wilson, Bishop Tucker, various European officials, and the sixteen county chiefs of Buganda. Moreover, with the lunchroom nowhere near capable of accommodating every guest, a crowd of over 10,000 feasted on baskets of food, roasted goats and other meats, and gourds of banana juice in other areas of Budo’s compound.¹⁸

Representing additional evidence of King’s College Budo’s instantaneous status as a symbol of Ganda supremacy, this extravagant inauguration signifies the great pride that nearly every citizen of Buganda immediately took in their community’s sumptuous school. Moreover, bearing in mind that many of the Baganda likely did not initially support King’s College Budo because of its controversial location on Budo Hill, the fact that its opening was

¹⁷ H. W. Weatherhead, letter to H. M. Grace, undated, original copy in King’s College, Budo archives, but found in McGregor’s firsthand account.

¹⁸ McGregor, *King’s College, Budo*, 13.

such a popular success insinuates that the Baganda saw in it the vast potential to elevate their Kingdom's standing to even greater heights. After all, Bishop Tucker ended the inaugural proceedings by dedicating the new school and bequeathing it with the name "The King's School," showing respect to the site on which it was built and to the kabakas of past generations, while also exemplifying the institution's substantial significance in representing Ganda royalty, prestige, and distinction in the decades to follow.¹⁹

Given Budo's foundational, explicit purpose of educating Buganda's most promising young adults and ingrained position as a symbol of Ganda ethnic pride – as the above exploration of the school's roots thoroughly backs – it is vital to note an additional role King's College Budo played in influencing Ganda society. Recall the prior chapter's discussion of the Namirembe Cathedral's construction and the presence of European style feasts in Ganda society; these two examples only briefly denote the social procedures that had come to characterize Ganda high society. Indeed, "In their dinnertime conversations, Ganda people practiced the habits of polite speaking, deference, and civility," fostering comportments that certainly helped lead to "British officials in Buganda quickly [finding] common ground with Buganda's mannered elite."²⁰

Thus, concerning Budo, and again remembering its concrete link to Ganda ethnic distinction and entrenched duty of serving Buganda's elite (and therefore espousing the same respectful behaviors as "Buganda's mannered elite"), Budo was further pivotally important due to its capacity to impart these evolving, progressive etiquettes that saturated Ganda elites' social world to its students, essentially familiarizing them with these sophisticated practices. In doing so, the institution acted as not just a prestigious school charged with

¹⁹ McGregor, *King's College, Budo*, 14.

²⁰ Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival*, 82-83.

offering the best liberal education possible, but also as a breeding ground of sorts that cultivated and refined Buganda's next generation of elites.

This “common ground” that swiftly endeared the Ganda elite to British administrators proved quite suggestive of the political traction Buganda enjoyed as a result of their favored status, due in no small part to the aforementioned manners that had impressed their imperial counterparts. Exhibiting urbanity the British had not encountered anywhere else in the Protectorate, “the Ganda people affirmed their position within a political and social hierarchy” clearly elevated from the surrounding native communities, as “Buganda's elite could come alongside their British rulers in polite society” as well as in the political theater, where “Buganda's leaders positioned themselves beside Great Britain.”²¹

Here, just as was seen in this project's first chapter where Ganda ardent acceptance of European customs and Christianity assisted in the co-creation of their alliance, Ganda social behavior again resulted in beneficial, tangible political leverage. Relating this analysis to Budo, where teaching proper decorum doubtlessly received strong emphasis considering the school's relation to Ganda elite society, Buganda's finest students learned the correct propriety that had allowed the current generation of Ganda leaders to successfully navigate their political relationship with the Protectorate government. In other words, by serving as the Kingdom's choice institution geared towards educating Buganda's upcoming generation of chiefs – in more spheres than just academics – while likewise operating as an extension of Ganda elite society, King's College Budo represented a fulcrum for the growth and development of Ganda politics.

²¹ Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival*, 82-83.

Exploring Scholastic Operation and Specificities

Having completed this pertinent discussion of King's College Budo's origins, what its construction signified regarding Ganda notions of ethnic preeminence, and the school's relevance in fostering a uniquely Ganda decorum that assisted in shaping the Kingdom's politics, it is now appropriate to continue to an examination of the finer logistics of the school's operation and analyze what these proceedings imply about Ganda society. As the previous sections of this chapter illustrate, the very idea and intent behind constructing Budo, the fastidious work put into building it, the connotation of its location, and the significance of its completion to the entire Kingdom certainly depict a school of great societal importance. But, would its actual management and functionality properly reflect these preliminary ideas of grandeur? And further, as Britain's imperial presence began to seriously impose itself on Ganda politics, culture, and society, in what ways would Budo act as an outlet by which the elite Baganda could delineate themselves as a sophisticated and respectable community relative to their colonial authority? To answer these questions, the remaining sections of this chapter will investigate Budo's funding, curriculum, student body, and teaching staff in order to ascertain what exactly the school meant concerning Ganda concepts of self-identity.

Beginning with the institution's financial support, it is relevant to remember that practically all funding for Protectorate education came from the individual mission's and their dioceses themselves, with very little government involvement until several decades into the 20th century. Consequently, simply just to build Budo, Bishop Tucker financed the entire project, raising roughly 2,000 English pounds in funding from his diocese.²² Thus, Budo's

²² McGregor, *King's College, Budo*, 12. Also, a quick note on currency: in 1921 British administration standardized the currency in their East Africa holdings, introducing the East African shilling. As such, initial funding for Budo took the form of English pounds, switching to the East African

importance to Bishop Tucker, the community and his following, and the CMS becomes readily apparent as all costs of construction were fronted by them and them alone.

This trend of the Baganda natives and missionary administration absorbing the vast majority of financial costs in order to manage, maintain, and operate Budo would continue well after the school's completion. In a correspondence written to the *Uganda Herald* in July of 1922 from an evidently well-informed British man named W. Holden, the writer shows exactly how much money and how many resources the Baganda natives and the affiliated mission groups were investing into education.²³ Regarding Budo itself, Holden asserts that school fees amounted to roughly 10,000 East African shillings per year, and, together with the tuition collected from other mission-managed schools, the native Baganda spent at least 26,000 shillings on financing their own education every year.²⁴ Furthermore, the author highlights that “no less than 3958 clergy and teachers are being maintained at the present moment by the native church” in order to sufficiently staff not only Budo, but the other academic institutions and churches in Buganda, as well.²⁵ Taking all of these numbers into consideration, it becomes increasingly clear that the Baganda viewed education – more precisely, mission-sponsored western education – as an investment well worth making. As such, and keeping in mind that the Baganda always had their reputation and prestige at the top of their interests, it is fair to deduce that these elite members of Ganda colonial society regarded Budo as a place where these interests could be advanced.

shilling in 1921 (and therefore explaining the sizable differences in some of the figures presented in this study).

²³ W. Holden, “Correspondence: Native Self-Support,” *Uganda Herald*, 14 July 1922, 14. Holden substantiates these claims by providing hard evidence, saying, “I enclosed a copy of the Official Statistics of the N.A.C.” (Native Anglican Church, another name for the Church of Uganda – until 1961 – and was founded by members of the CMS).

²⁴ W. Holden, “Correspondence: Native Self-Support,” *Uganda Herald*, 14 July 1922, 14.

²⁵ W. Holden, “Correspondence: Native Self-Support,” *Uganda Herald*, 14 July 1922, 14.

However, in large part due to these financial stresses the missionaries were experiencing, the Protectorate government soon desired to harness greater control over native education, an aspiration that led to the employment of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to visit and assess the effectiveness of the existent educational system in the Protectorate. Arriving in Uganda in 1924, the Phelps-Stokes Commission was a philanthropic organization founded in the United States dedicated to the education of Africans, African Americans, and American Indians. Endeavoring to learn more about the state of education in sub-Saharan Africa, the organization caused the formation of the ten-person African Educational Commission, which was tasked with “find[ing] out how much educational work was being done for the Africans” and “find[ing] out the educational needs of the people” while also “ascertain[ing] the extent to which these needs were being met.”²⁶ In accordance with these duties, the Commission concluded that the omission of teaching agriculture was a prevalent issue, and neglecting to emphasize its instruction was inhibiting the native population’s children from learning about a crucial practice tightly “related to the needs of the children and the community.”²⁷ In close proximity to this complaint, the Commission also stated, “the education which missionaries provided was too exclusively literary” and therefore “failed to fit the pupil for village life.”²⁸

However, these central criticisms were really just suggestive of a broader reality: there was practically no government participation at the time. As such, the Commission’s propositions essentially revolved around the perceived necessity of gaining increased

²⁶ Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 42.

²⁷ Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 42.

²⁸ Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 44-45.

government involvement.²⁹ Indeed, the Commission made this observation abundantly clear, as Thomas Jesse Jones, speaking on behalf of the Commission, took it one step further, saying, “it has been proved without a shadow of doubt that missionaries are not undertaking and cannot undertake the work of the inspection of schools in any way approaching adequacy.”³⁰

Yet, even after the Phelps-Stokes Commission visited the Uganda Protectorate in 1924 and subsequently advocated for greater government involvement – a prospect that would naturally and expectedly come with considerably augmented government financing – King’s College Budo still relied predominantly on its own means for funding, seemingly eschewing a massive incentive in order to keep government interference at a comfortable distance. An inspection of the recently available Church of Uganda archival collection verifies this surprising financial reality. In a letter from a prominent church member (whose name is unfortunately cut-off on the original archival document) residing in Sussex, England to Bishop of Uganda John Willis in 1930, the author bluntly states that any improvements or changes that the Baganda wish to see implemented in Budo must be financed by them. The author declares, “if the Boys’ buildings, dining-halls, washhouses, and laundry are not what they want, then they must collect the money for new ones. They promised to collect 25,000 [East African shillings] in four years.”³¹ Again, the fact that the native Baganda promised to raise the necessary money to finance the school’s needs and to atone for its apparent

²⁹ See Ssekamwa and Lugumba, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 42. The Commission was openly critical of the absolute need for increased government participation, stating, “much of the weakness of the education system in Uganda was due to the absence of a government department of education and government inspectors of schools.”

³⁰ Thomas Jesses Jones, 1925, *Education in East Africa*, London: Edinburgh House Press, quoted in Ssekamwa and Lugumba’s publication.

³¹ Unknown Church Member, letter to Bishop John Willis, 20 Oct. 1930, folder 1345, box 234, Kings College Budo, 1930, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

shortcomings proves that they regarded Budo and its monetary requirements as a worthy expenditure capable of, in turn, providing them with the academic foundation to maintain and advance their society's own distinguished identity.

One might suggest that this letter, dated 1930 and therefore only six years after the Phelps-Stokes Commission's evaluation, did not allow for an adequate interval of time to pass in order for the Protectorate government to really make a substantial economic impact on the school's operation. However, documentation from the 1943-1944 school year shows similar financial responsibility and autonomy occurring at Budo. According to a file specifying the institution's revenue sources for the year, only 14,100 East African shillings came from government grants, while roughly 93,089 shillings came from other sources, with 90,000 alone from tuition fees. Additionally, Budo's accountants expected its expenses to amount to roughly 145,450 shillings over the course of the entire year, leaving the school, the missionaries, and native patrons to somehow cover the remaining 30,000 shilling difference.³²

Similar financial records from the year before suggest that this fiscal self-sufficiency was not just an idiosyncratic occurrence, but rather an annual reality at Budo. In 1942, the school's income from government grants totaled 24,099 East African shillings, with only 16,099 shillings actually going towards educational purposes.³³ On the other hand, the school received 30,321 shillings from tuition and an additional 149,656 shillings from other

³² King's College, Budo. Estimated Revenue, 1943, folder 6, box 27, Kings College Budo, 1943, 1944, General Secretary (GS), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

³³ See King's College, Budo. Income and Expenditure 1942, folder 4, box 27, Kings College Budo, 1934, 1939, General Secretary (GS), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. The remaining 8,000 shillings from government grants went towards building maintenance, construction, and other such endeavors. Also, although this document was filed under a folder supposedly encompassing 1934-1939, apparently the folder's latter content extended several years.

sources.³⁴ Although these numbers from 1942 depict marginally better government assistance, the figures representing non-government sources of revenue are indicative of the predominantly independent monetary situation at Budo.

Certainly, all of these numbers from the preceding paragraphs prove that the elite Baganda greatly valued Budo and its intellectual purpose. But to invest these enormous sums of money begs the obvious question: why? Why did Buganda's most affluent men and leaders think it wise and necessary to cover the vast majority of the school's expenses? I argue, and as the ensuing section will support, that eminent Ganda citizens, chiefs, and administrators alike devoted such considerable sums of money to Budo's operation in order to maintain the institution's curricular freedom from the potentially overbearing clutches of colonial governance. Essentially, by keeping Budo a predominantly independently financed school, its liberal academic instruction could represent a means by which the Baganda could distinguish themselves as an advanced, cultured, and worthy society in relation to their imperial sovereigns.

In the interest of supporting these claims, it is now necessary to assess the curriculum emphasized at the school. Completely in contrast to what the Phelps-Stokes Commission and numerous members of colonial authority desired, King's College Budo placed hardly any weight or resources into developing its students' vocational skills.³⁵ Again, citing correspondences from the institution's administrative and academic leaders, the substantial focus of students' curriculum was academia. In a memorandum written by Budo's eighth

³⁴ King's College, Budo. Income and Expenditure 1942, folder 4, box 27, Kings College Budo, 1934, 1939, General Secretary (GS), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

³⁵ See Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, 93. Taylor flatly states, "The curriculum was entirely academic and there was no attempt to relate school to life by any inclusion of agricultural, industrial, or health training." Indeed, this assertion may be a little overstated, but the general sentiment is quite suggestive of what the school's leadership deemed important.

headmaster, Ian C. Robinson, he articulates the school's specific scholastic agenda for students, writing, "We shall be able to offer the same subjects as are taken at Makerere for their Preliminary Examination – English, History, Geography, and Maths (Pure and Applied) on the Arts side; Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, and Maths on the Science side."³⁶ Additionally, in a short correspondence between Budo's seventh headmaster, Timothy H. Cobb and the Director of Education in Kampala in 1952, Headmaster Cobb conveys his fear that he may be forced to shut down the school's agriculture department due to the resignation of the department's head.³⁷ Further supporting Budo's identity as an academic, non-vocational institution, the fact that Budo's administration would even consider the possibility of eliminating the school's agriculture department – the genre of work that the colonial government regarded as the most economically viable and "useful" for its native African subjects to perfect and practice – verifies Budo's status as a place principally concerned with providing its students an education premised on traditional liberal arts curriculum.

These realities fall directly in line with what one would expect given Budo's predetermined status as the school created to serve the upper class children and children of chiefs. The school's concentration on classical academic curriculum undoubtedly echoes the Ganda cultural desire to affirm themselves as the enlightened, progressive, and overall choice ethnicity of East Africa. Furthermore – and recall the previous investigation of Budo's tight monetary situation and the resultant Phelps-Stokes Commission's report – by continuing to fund the school largely on their own initiative, Buganda's elite citizens and Budo's head decision-makers sustained much leverage, therefore allowing them to ignore the

³⁶ Ian C. Robinson, 4 Oct. 1958, folder 4, box 69, Budo King's College – Correspondences, 1958, Educational Secretary General (ESG), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

³⁷ Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, letter to the Director of Education, 24 March 1952, folder 8, box 68, Budo King's College – Correspondences, 1952-1953, Education Secretary General (ESG), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

Commission's suggestion for an altered curriculum that meshed better with Britain's colonial agenda. As such, King's College Budo further affirmed its position as not only a school characteristic of Buganda's noble self-identity, but also as an institution by which Buganda's elite leaders could defend themselves and their society as a refined and capable people against British judgment.

In addition to largely discounting the Phelps-Stokes Commission's strong recommendation to stress agricultural instruction at the expense of a "too exclusively literary" course-load, Ganda leaders' – and, in particular, Kabaka Daudi Chwa's – formidable resistance to the implementation of Swahili in Buganda serves as further evidence of how King's College Budo acted as both an outlet for Ganda cultural pride and also as an avenue to oppose British imposition. Between the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, the ruling British administration wanted to impose Swahili on all of the Uganda Protectorate's students. Dependent on a variety of factors such as the capability of teachers and the academic level of students at a given school, plans varied between teaching Swahili as a core subject to applying it as the official medium of instruction. Regardless of Swahili's degree of emphasis, the point remains that Britain's aspiration of forcing a foreign language on its colonial subjects denotes yet another way Uganda's natives could be stripped of their original identity and further controlled by their imperial conquerors.

However, such a circumstance would not be the case at King's College Budo. In a letter written as a response to this proposed linguistic substitution in 1935, Kabaka Daudi Chwa declares his staunch disapproval of these measures. Indeed, such a drastic change would deprive the Baganda of a massive component of their cultural identity, a hypothetical that could not be remotely entertained given their historically prideful ideologies and

credentials. In his reply, Kabaka Daudi Chwa not only rejects this possibility, but extrapolates upon the hazards associated with this potential language swap as symptomatic of a larger colonial fear he holds for Ganda society, writing, “Now my fears are that instead of the Baganda acquiring proper and legitimate education and civilization there is a possible danger that they may be drifting to ‘foreignization.’”³⁸ Chwa, clearly already concerned with the apparent growing cultural influence of western societies, continues, proclaiming, “instead of the Baganda acquiring proper education at the various schools... I am very much afraid the young generation... is merely drifting wholesale towards ‘foreignization’ of their natural instincts and is discarding its native and traditional customs.”³⁹

Mirroring Kabaka Chwa’s stance, Buganda’s educational authority ensured that the spread of Swahili would not infiltrate its schools. In a letter from the Director of Education, E. G. Morris, to the CMS’s Secretary of Education in 1932, Morris informs the CMS’s administration – located in Buganda – that Swahili would be retained “as a subject and to some extent as a medium of instruction” in all schools *outside* of Buganda.⁴⁰ The fact that the British were able to impose Swahili on all of Uganda’s other regions and provinces *except* Buganda illustrates several crucial distinctions regarding Buganda, its ideologies and status, and its schools. Firstly, and most broadly, Buganda’s resistance to this unwanted language imposition lends further support to the establishment and portrayal of the Baganda as East Africa’s most prestigious group, as their achievement shows not only their great pride, but also characterizes the respect and deference others showed towards them

³⁸ Kabaka Daudi Chwa, “The Ideology of Buganda” in *Education, Civilization, and Foreignisation in Buganda* (Buganda Province: 1935), 105.

³⁹ Kabaka Daudi Chwa, “The Ideology of Buganda,” 105.

⁴⁰ E. G. Morris, letter to the CMS Secretary of Education, 29 August 1932, folder 1280, box 222, Education: Teaching Swahili in Schools, 1932, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

considering Buganda's success in this endeavor. Secondly, this defiance demonstrates how Buganda's independent scholastic curriculum functioned as a vehicle for representing these distinguished Ganda ideals. Lastly, and conceptually similar to Budo ignoring the Phelps-Stokes Commission's suggestions, maintaining this linguistic freedom indicates that Ganda schools – and, given its preeminent standing, Budo in particular – likewise served as a manifestation of cultural pride resisting colonial interference. In other words, just as Buganda's and Budo's leadership neglected to conform to an agriculturally-focused curriculum, this opposition to Swahili in favor of their native Luganda further affirms the role of Budo as a means by which the Baganda could defend their society's cultured, respectable status in the face of British pressure.

Moving forward to an examination of which students attended the prestigious institution also conveys much information about how Budo represented the ideal Ganda character. As could be reasonably expected given its original purpose of serving the upper class children and children of chiefs, the student body that populated Budo's halls suggests much about its relationship with enhancing the historical ideals of Ganda identity. For example, in a letter from Headmaster Cobb to a concerned resident named Mr. Reaves, Cobb offers insight into just how impactful the students attending Budo and their families were, writing, "Practically all the people who cause political trouble in this country have children in this school."⁴¹ While "caus[ing] political trouble" certainly should not always be regarded as something good, in this instance, it exemplifies the great power, visibility, and overall influence these Budonian families and their children possessed.

⁴¹ See Timothy H. Cobb, letter to Mr. Reaves, 29 Nov. 1955, folder 1, box 69, Budo King's College – Correspondences, 1954-1955, Educational Secretary General (ESG), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. Also, note that this quotation is a reference to Kabaka Mutesa II's deportation in 1953, which will be discussed at length in chapter three.

Concerning where King's College Budo's student body came from, it is unsurprising that the immense majority resided in Buganda. As a list of admitted students to the renowned institution from 1955 shows, a sizable plurality of 36 out of 50 accepted students from that year were Ganda citizens.⁴² By displaying such a lucid partiality towards Ganda applicants, this statistic strongly supports this chapter's framing of Budo as an institution both representative of Buganda's exclusive ethnic superiority and also as an establishment designated to cultivate the continued production and refinement of Buganda's next generation of elites. Correspondingly, the 1957 list of accepted students corroborates this trend as typical. In that year, 27 out of 30 incoming students were from Buganda, signifying an even greater majority of matriculating Ganda students in comparison to students from other ethnic groups/regions.⁴³ As such, it appears increasingly evident that King's College Budo operated with a specific agenda in mind: to cater to its own Ganda young adults, and, by doing so, further confirming its status as a nucleus for developing the next class of Ganda leaders.

Finally, to thoroughly complete this sweeping examination of the logistical aspects of King's College Budo and how it relates to the school's role and significance within the Buganda Province and Ganda cultural notions of ethnic pride, it is now necessary to examine who was selected to teach there, who worked at the school's administrative level, and what their credentials suggest about Budo's standing in relation to Ganda society and its lofty ideals. Commencing with the individuals chosen to teach at King's College Budo, it appears

⁴² Admitted to Secondary 4, King's College, Budo; 1955, folder 1, box 69, Budo King's College – Correspondences, 1954-1955, Education Secretary General (ESG), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

⁴³ King's College, Budo: Admitted to J.S.L, 1957, folder 4, box 69, Budo King's College – Correspondences, 1958, Educational Secretary General (ESG), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

quite clear that their qualifications closely mirrored what one would expect considering Budo's elite academic identity. As previously stated in last chapter's introductory discussion of the school, Budo's primary language of instruction was English. Accordingly, numerous European instructors populated the staff, as evidenced by a letter from M. Martin Phillips, the principal of a school in South Africa. In his letter, he writes to inform Buganda Province authority and the Budo administration, in particular, that Mr. Baker, a new teacher set to join the staff, was "a first rate science master, a sound disciplinarian and one who puts the best into his work at all times." The author continues to shower this prospective teacher with accolades, adding, "I have no hesitation in recommending him to any authority, for I know that he will quickly prove his ability as a teacher and loyal staff member. He possesses tact and initiative and is one with whom it is a pleasure to work."⁴⁴ As the contents of this correspondence exemplify, teachers at Budo were more than just altruistic missionaries willing to devote a sizable amount of time to the education and literacy of native Africans. Rather, they were trained, experienced, and qualified candidates supported by the top members of colonial European authority. And further, the fact that Budo's administration and Buganda's elite went out and acquired these proficient instructors exemplifies the devotion the Baganda showed towards the school, a reality that renders additional support to this chapter's prior claim that Budo operated as a channel for promoting Ganda dignity amidst Britain's imperial aura.

In addition, the teaching workforce at Budo was supplemented by various African teachers whose merits and scholastic histories deemed them worthy of such an occupation.

⁴⁴ M. Martin Phillips, letter to King's College Budo Authority, 1 Nov. 1937, folder 1350, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1937, 1938, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

As was quickly highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, Bishop Tucker asserted that one of the main incentives for building and opening Budo was the Province's need for an intermediate school in between primary education and university education. Functioning as such, the university education to which Budo would eventually act as a precursor was Makerere University in Kampala. Pending post-graduation examination success, the most impressive students from Budo would enter Makerere University, where students would have the rare, yet privileged opportunity to emerge as the most academically distinguished persons in East Africa. As one would naturally expect, with scholastic achievement came a variety of job opportunities, one of which being the chance to return to Budo to teach amongst European professionals and educate Buganda's next batch of promising young adults.

Hiring Makerere University graduates was actually a fairly common practice, oftentimes to fill gaps caused by the constant departure of teachers leaving Buganda or returning home after the end of their assignments.⁴⁵ Thus, the fact that Makerere University graduates were regarded as suitable to replace European instructors demonstrates the supreme level of confidence they had in Buganda's most prestigious academic route (King's College Budo to Makerere University), while also illustrating the top-notch level of instruction available at Budo. Combining the presence of both European experienced professionals and Buganda's most gifted graduates, it is clear that the teaching acumen and standard at Budo mirrored the idealistic prestige upon which it was founded. Concurrently, hiring Buganda's most gifted scholars to teach alongside established Europeans shows the faith the Baganda had in its native students; their employment indicates that Budo was not

⁴⁵ See Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, letter to Education Secretary General, 27 March 1957, folder 3, box 69, Budo King's College – Correspondences, 1957, Education Secretary General (ESG), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. In this letter, Headmaster Cobb explains to the Education Secretary General that he did not retrieve "one of [their] old pupils" to fill a new teaching vacancy, because they instead obtained three qualified Makerere graduates to assume the position.

only a place where European teachers taught and developed the indigenous Baganda, but was likewise a place where select Baganda could demonstrate their comparable ability alongside these European professionals. Essentially, through these African teachers' employment and subsequent status as 'equal' relative to their European colleagues, it appears reasonable to suggest that Budo served as an avenue for exhibiting Ganda excellence in relation to the ruling British.

A brief glance at the personnel on Budo's Board of Governors likewise shows the administrative excellence entrusted to manage and oversee Budo. Utilizing the attendance sheet from the minutes of a meeting held on 31st March, 1944 as a point of reference, the individual societal significance of the members holding positions on this Board proves that the eminence permeating King's College Budo was not just restricted to its teachers and students. Present at this meeting was the Bishop of Uganda (who acted as the Chairman of the Board), the Secretary of the CMS and NAC, the Educational Secretary General, the Director of Education, the Government Accountant, and King's College Budo's Headmaster, Bursar, and Secretary.⁴⁶ This list does not require much in-depth analysis or strenuous thinking; the amount of influence each one of these board members carried speaks for itself. As such, it becomes increasingly more evident that King's College Budo was a powerful, important institution within Buganda (and all of the Uganda Protectorate, for that matter) about which its most prominent members felt strongly enough to ensure they maintained a position of executive control.

⁴⁶ Board of Governors, King's College, Budo, Minutes of Meeting, 31 March 1944, folder 1355, box 236, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1944, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

Conclusion

Having completed an assessment of King's College Budo's establishment – with particular emphasis on how the principles and motivations behind its creation reflected philosophies about Ganda self-identity – it is clear that this renowned institution embodied the culture of Ganda high society. In fact, following this preliminary evaluation, this chapter's ensuing, related study shows how Budo's designated societal role aimed at serving the Ganda elite facilitated a type of generational cultivation, acquainting its young adults with the well-mannered customs that characterized Buganda's politics and, in doing so, granted them the space to continue exploring their political personalities. Compounding these analyses with this chapter's inquiry into the finer logistical aspects of the school's operation, it seems increasingly apparent that King's College Budo functioned as vehicle of sorts for promoting and cultivating the elite status of Buganda and its residents. Indeed, its predominantly self-sufficient financial capabilities, exclusive, academic curriculum, select student body, and professional teachers strongly indicate its great significance to the people and leaders of Buganda and their historical notions of cultural/ethnic merit. Furthermore, as this chapter's sections pertaining to Budo's financial, curricular, and teacher employment operations attest, it is evident that the school also functioned as a means by which the elite Baganda could resist British influence while simultaneously promoting Ganda legitimacy. With this framework now fully established and explained, this project's third and final chapter will illustrate exactly just how relevant King's College Budo was in contextualizing and mirroring some specific events in Buganda's history. More exactly, investigating these controversies will allow for a comprehensive examination of Budo's position and importance within Buganda, as the institution displayed its significance as a symbol and hub for Ganda

pride and excellence, its ability to act as a vehicle for resisting unwanted colonial interference, and its role as a fulcrum for the development and enhancement of Ganda political belief.

CHAPTER THREE

Reconstructing Correspondence, Biography, and Activism

Combining the first chapter's analysis of Buganda's traditionally elite self-identity – exemplified especially during Britain's colonial consolidation processes – with the second chapter's investigation of King's College Budo and how its operation reflects these historically-grounded notions of eminence – while also serving as a means by which to develop the political personalities of Buganda's elite and to express Ganda pride against British pressures – the framework to explore how these nationalistic attitudes manifested themselves in specific noteworthy events in Buganda's past has been comprehensively laid. Accordingly, this project's third and final chapter will examine two particular controversies in Buganda's colonial history – the riot at and subsequent temporary closure of King's College Budo in 1942 and Kabaka Mutesa II's deportation in 1953 – in order to illustrate exactly how pivotal this prominent institution was in fostering Ganda pride, loudly upholding such sentiments in the face of British influence, and granting Buganda's elite the necessary space to understand, ripen, and articulate their political characters.

Frustration in Buganda

To best fulfill these objectives, it is first obligatory to thoroughly describe the historical context surrounding each occasion. Naturally beginning with the insurrection at Budo in 1942, the political situation in Buganda was, and had been, tense. Kabaka Daudi Chwa, after a reign of 25 years, passed away in 1939, leaving the Kingdom in a somewhat expected period of turbulence. As a transition in royal authority was required, “[The elite

politics of Buganda]... grew increasingly messy and open in the years after the death of Kabaka Daudi Chwa in 1939.”¹ Such was the case, and the apparent messiness and political commotion was characterized largely by Ganda resistance to British governmental interference.

Firstly, as the 20th century progressed and European involvement became more and more tangible, Ganda concerns over their potentially diminishing status, place within the social and political hierarchy, and overall level of respect unsurprisingly materialized and grew. Indeed, “as more [Europeans] came into Uganda as administrators or merchants, Europeans were living increasingly segregated lives,” which resulted in Kampala’s growth into a developed urban area with “almost no African residents... and a social life that was entirely European.”² Consequently, Buganda’s capital city and political hub, Mengo, became overshadowed and engrossed by European influence and presence, a development that expectedly irritated Britain’s native imperial subjects.³ While moderate territorial infringement – almost an inevitability given the British’s and the Baganda’s decades-long intimate, ordered relationship – might seem like a trivial gripe, it combined with several other emerging factors to establish the appropriate environment for more serious conflicts as the Baganda transitioned into an era that forced much introspective thought. After all, with the passing of Kabaka Daudi Chwa – essentially the only kabaka who had dealt with and reconciled Buganda’s colonial relationship with Britain – Buganda and its citizens were entering, in a sense, uncharted grounds.

¹ Summers, “‘Subterranean Evil’ and ‘Tumultuous Riot’ in Buganda,” 95.

² Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 196.

³ See Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 196. Apter declares, “Overshadowing Mengo... the towns became alien places, inhabited by Europeans and Asians whose houses were mushrooming up on a hitherto uncluttered landscape.”

Furthermore, years of discrimination in how the ruling British administration selected and recruited potential employees for civil service jobs only added to the aggravation many Baganda were already feeling. In 1929, the British created and implemented a tiered system of occupations that separated the inhabiting races according to their perceived capabilities.⁴ Africans were eligible for jobs as agricultural assistants, clerks, medical assistants, and the like; Asians had the opportunity to obtain more important positions, such as careers with the police force, immigration agency, and customs offices; lastly, at the top of the ladder were the Europeans, who occupied the highest, most significant senior government standings. This alarmingly restrictive employment structure/hierarchy irritated the subjugated Baganda, and deservedly so. Moreover, this frustration with British governance was not confined to only those aspiring to work in the civil service sector. Native school teachers and ministers were also irked, as both received less than market value wages, condescension from their European colleagues, and overall inferior treatment. Essentially, this occupationally based favoritism, which utilized race as a discriminatory prerequisite resulting in the suppression of Africans, expectedly led to the Protectorate government's worsening perception.⁵

These aforementioned issues – rigid, needless employment discrimination and increasing population/land takeover by unwanted foreigners – represent two critical factors that contributed in shaping Buganda's late-1930s and early-1940s antagonistic atmosphere. Certainly upsetting and bothersome in and of themselves, these grievances also facilitated a strong sense of Ganda ethnic solidarity as many citizens were communally afflicted, therefore classifying the Baganda as a much more formidable force against British governance and the interferences and injustices it encompassed. These reinvigorated feelings

⁴ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 197.

⁵ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 197-198.

of cultural unity led to “a recognition that with solidarity the Baganda could now employ a strategy to bring the Protectorate government to a more deferential position,” which thus enabled the Baganda to more effectively resist undesired imperial advances.⁶ Touching on their deeply rooted historical ideals of Ganda pride and honor, Apter elaborates on this bolstered solidarity, writing:

Traditional custom thus gave a unity and an enhanced sense of solidarity. There was great pride in being a Muganda. It kept all groups, whether cultural societies, old boys’ associations, traders’ associations, or others, from getting out of context. Common ground was found between such groups and the public as a whole.⁷

In addition to these long-standing, psychologically driven sentiments of ethnic intimacy, allegiance, and togetherness, there existed many mutual interests between Baganda from various realms of society that further enhanced the community’s unification in opposition to British impositions. For example, while this paragraph’s previous excerpts illustrate the importance of “the rediscovery of the traditional elements of Buganda,” it is crucial to also note that “much of the interest in cultural and literary societies brought school teachers, clerks, chiefs, clergymen, and others into association with one another on common ground.”⁸

With these strengthened attitudes of Ganda harmony and societal cohesion – feelings sparked by the unwelcomed proliferation of European settlers in Buganda’s prized territories and the Protectorate government’s overbearing, inequitable practices and nature, as its instituted occupational hierarchy exemplifies – the Baganda, by and large, came to exceedingly distrust imperial leadership. These developments, coupled with the Kabaka Daudi Chwa’s death, fostered an environment where the Baganda could more openly show

⁶ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 199.

⁷ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 199.

⁸ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 201.

their frustrations with the Protectorate government's reign and push for greater separation, freedom, and rights. During this tenuous period of regal transition, the acting Buganda government's agenda was characterized by "efforts... to resist the Protectorate government's encroaching pattern of direct intervention in the affairs of Buganda."⁹

McGregor's account provides a similar evaluation of the strained political relationship between the Baganda and the British during this unstable era, stating that "the Buganda government was finding it difficult to resist the encroachments of the Protectorate government within Buganda."¹⁰ Consequently, British administration and leadership recognized this shifting, regressing rapport between themselves and their Ganda constituents. The Governor of Uganda during this period, Sir Philip Mitchell, accurately interpreted this deteriorating relationship, as Governor Mitchell was well aware that the Protectorate government's early control of administrative matters had helped to create a pattern of increasing suspicion on the part of the Baganda and their native authority.¹¹ Likewise, Low and Pratt corroborate this foreboding assessment of the Ganda-British affiliation and its future, writing that "suspicion and fear of the European" depicted the indigenous viewpoint on colonial rule, its policies, its activities, and its decision-making.¹² Such was the rocky, uneasy, and essentially chaotic nature of Buganda's and the ruling British Protectorate government's relationship during the years surrounding Kabaka Daudi Chwa's death.

Keeping these pertinent contextual details in mind, this chapter's proceeding examination of the particularities of the riot at King's College Budo in 1942 will show how the famed institution undoubtedly functioned as an outlet to express these sentiments of

⁹ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 206.

¹⁰ McGregor, *King's College Budo*, 102.

¹¹ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 209.

¹² Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 273.

Ganda pride and nationalism. Prior to the disturbance's occurrence at Budo in November of 1942, conditions at the school were comparatively tense, mirroring the strain that had come to typify the Ganda-British political dynamic of the time period. Thus, it is necessary to properly outline the culture, circumstances, and functionality of the institution in the years leading up to 1942 in order to most comprehensively understand how the disruption materialized and what it denoted concerning Budo's relevance in representing Buganda's politics. Also utilizing 1939, the year of Kabaka Daudi Chwa's passing, as the starting point for this discussion, developments at the school doubtlessly reflected the Baganda's distrust of and dissatisfaction with the excessive British interloping that was afflicting Buganda, its organizations, and its denizens. Just as the above sections of this chapter demonstrate, the Baganda had become quite skeptical of and displeased with the Protectorate government's intrusive and restrictive policies and activities, and logically wished for more administrative control and representation. By the same token, the indigenous Baganda – in regards to how these broader observations of Buganda's relationship with the British manifested themselves in Budo's scholastic jurisdiction – were analogously wary of the Protectorate's ability to handle educational matters. In a letter from the Bishop of Uganda, Cyril Stuart, to CMS Secretary, H. D. Hooper, Stuart acknowledges the veritable existence and legitimacy of these Ganda sentiments, writing, "I am definitely alarmed at the situation out here. I feel that we have largely lost the confidence of the leading Africans in our Educational Policy."¹³

Given this "lost confidence" in Europeans' ability to aptly supervise educational matters – a feeling very much comparable to the skepticism permeating Ganda thought

¹³ Bishop of Uganda Cyril Stuart, letter to CMS Secretary H. D. Hooper, 21 March 1939, folder 90, box 14, General Correspondence – a, 1939, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

towards colonial authority, in general – the Baganda understandably desired a much greater presence on Budo’s overseeing school board. This school board, which would allow diocesan authority to nominate natives to represent Ganda interests and therefore grant them additional power, embodies a request that displays Ganda thirst for directorial influence similar to what was apparent in the Buganda Kingdom at large, albeit on a reduced scale.¹⁴ In the same letter from Stuart to Hooper, Stuart lends support to this demand for greater representation at Budo’s managerial level, noting Budo’s largely diocesan reliance for financial stability and continued functionality as a school built and maintained predominantly by local funds.¹⁵ Considering Budo’s iconic status in Buganda and overt purpose of educating and nurturing the future leaders of the Kingdom, its continued financial self-sufficiency renders the Baganda’s demands for an improved legislative presence at the school completely reasonable. Moreover, for the intents of this project, the vital takeaway from this appeal – and, equally pivotal, from the motivations behind this appeal – is the precision with which it parallels the contentions Ganda society had with imperial Protectorate authority.

Riot at King’s College Budo, 1942

The year 1942 presented the perfect opportunity for the aggravated Baganda to finally vent their opinions of dissatisfaction towards Protectorate governance and its impositions. Despite the fact that Kabaka Daudi Chwa had passed away nearly three full years ago, his son who was bequeathed with the right to inherit the throne, Kabaka Mutesa II (or Edward

¹⁴ Educational Developments in Uganda report, written by CMS Secretary H. D. Hooper, 27 February 1939, folder 90, box 14, General Correspondence – a, 1939, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

¹⁵ Bishop of Uganda Cyril Stuart, letter to CMS Secretary H. D. Hooper, 21 March 1939, folder 90, box 14, General Correspondence – a, 1939, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

Mutesa prior to his official coronation), was merely the Kabaka of Buganda nominally during these intermediate years before 1942. Only 15 years old at the time of his father's death, Mutesa II was still a student – at King's College Budo, of course – and therefore not yet fit to handle full responsibilities as the Kingdom's official head. Accordingly, Mutesa II ostensibly “ruled” under a more powerful council of Ganda regents until he came of age.

In 1942, the young Edward Mutesa was of age at last, and he would be formally crowned as the Kabaka of Buganda on the day of his 18th birthday. Recall from the previous chapter's examination that King's College Budo shared its location – Budo Hill, or, alternatively, King's Hill – with the site of official coronation ceremonies of kabakas dating back generations, and therefore would be the setting for Mutesa II's inauguration during this tangibly uneasy time. Certainly, a coronation would only supplement the existing, simmering tension that saturated Ganda-British politics; anytime a state, kingdom, community, or the like undergoes a change in leadership, it naturally represents a chance for those peoples to air their views and grievances, an opening to illuminate their potential complaints in a broadcasted fashion. Essentially, what better time to voice political feelings than during the most publicized political event possible? Indeed, the 1942 coronation offered the chance for “a re-statement of both the Kabaka's position within the kingdom of Buganda and of the kingdom's relationship with the British authorities that dominated the protectorate.”¹⁶ All eyes, both Ganda and British, would be fixated on King's College Budo for this occasion of royal conferral and, given the turbulence visible in both Ganda society at large and at the school itself in the years directly beforehand, a demonstrable outburst would not exactly epitomize the most surprising response.

¹⁶ Summers, “‘Subterranean Evil’ and ‘Tumultuous Riot’ in Buganda,” 98.

With the entire student body abundantly aware of Edward Mutesa's impending ascent to the status of fully-functioning Kabaka before the year's end – he was, after all, a peer and fellow student of theirs – 1942 started off in a boisterous, unruly manner that would prove to be veritably prophetic of the riot. For example, in February of that year, a group of 17 teachers sent a memorandum with the title “A Desired Reform of the School” to Headmaster Dennis Herbert conveying their worries regarding the noticeably destructive behavior of certain Budo students. The alarmed teachers state, “the school has retrogressed badly... People have approached some of us individually expressing their anxiety about what is going on here.”¹⁷

Expanding upon this initial declaration, the authors cite students' manners, cleanliness, appearance, and drinking, among several other issues, as the chief problems and indicators of regressive behavior. They assert, “Again and again parents and people... complain that our boys are not polite,” and continue, claiming, “they seldom address old people as ‘sir,’ or show polite manners when they are talking to them.”¹⁸ Although the other stated concerns are equally suggestive of a student body in need of substantial disciplining, for this project's purposes, the lack of deference towards elders and other social superiors is especially germane. Paralleling the hostility directed towards Protectorate governance, this disrespect on behalf of some of Budo's students for supervising figures signifies a behavioral overlap symptomatic of the school's connection to Buganda's current events and political

¹⁷ Teachers at King's College Budo, memorandum to Headmaster Dennis Herbert, February 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

¹⁸ Teachers at King's College Budo, memorandum to Headmaster Dennis Herbert, February 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

character, while also symbolic of Budo's role in facilitating resistance towards colonial authority.

Despite receiving this detailed report from his own colleagues, Headmaster Herbert swept their observations and criticisms under the rug, mandating no disciplining or punishment.¹⁹ Consequently, troublesome students' activities and misdeeds were allowed to continue. Likewise, and perhaps most importantly, their rebellious attitudes were allowed to develop unabated, a cultural reality at the school indicative of Budo's faculty for breeding – and subsequently conveying – the political opinions of its residents. Thus, by the time November arrived and the young Kabaka was nearly ready to begin his sanctioned reign, the students' mischievous, damaging behavior that had been pervading the school was set to reach a true zenith as the political spotlight would soon be shining directly on Budo.

The disruptions really commenced on November 2nd, when one of Budo's teachers, Miss Hamand, gave Herbert a note recounting a troubling event that had occurred earlier in the day. Hamand explains that “she saw a group of boys hiding in a bush near the playing field,” and when she approached them to investigate the matter, “a large stone [was] thrown at her with such force that she was very much frightened.”²⁰ This rebellious conduct towards school authority connotes a larger atmosphere of discontent, certainly not dissimilar to the displeasure many Baganda were concurrently feeling towards the Protectorate government.

¹⁹ See Summers, “‘Subterranean Evil’ and ‘Tumultuous Riot’ in Buganda,” 97. Summers notes that Herbert, speaking retrospectively, “perceived no crisis.” In a letter to CMS Secretary Hooper in 1943, to which I was unfortunately not able to gain access, Herbert proclaims, “I had no notion that there was any ill feeling.”

²⁰ See The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. It would seem understandable to expect Herbert to take some sort of action against this, especially since the report came straight from the victimized teacher herself, but, for various logistical reasons, the note did not reach the correct authority in due time to take appropriate action against the offenders.

At Budo, stoning was a quite normal occurrence, serving as a way for resentful students to demonstrate their unhappiness with the school's management. Indeed, such an activity offered students an outlet to express overtly any issues they might have, but without actually needing to confront the identified perpetrator or cause behind these issues. Similarly, outside of Budo's confines and in the Buganda Province itself, stonings "could simply indicate discontent or opposition" but were "also a very specific way for those unable to speak to express popular opposition to outsiders' interference in their affiliations."²¹ Exemplifying another congruence between Ganda unrest and culture, activity, and aggravation within Budo – a congruence, at this time, revolving around irritation with colonial authority and its growing, undesired presence within Buganda – this stoning would represent merely the tip of the iceberg for the coming days' proceedings.

On Friday, November 6th, when the first planned celebrations for Kabaka Mutesa II's enthronement were ready to begin, the parallels between the atmosphere engulfing Budo and the contentious aura that had been surrounding Ganda-British relations became loud and undeniable. The school had organized a farewell ceremony in recognition of the student, Edward Mutesa, followed by a feast scheduled to start at 7:00 p.m. and a concert at 8:30 p.m. At the surface level, these arrangements appear quite festive, respectful, and appropriate, but an examination of the finer details reveals why many students did not view them in this positive light. Herbert allowed the concert to run until roughly 10:40 p.m., at which point he

²¹ Summers, "'Subterranean Evil' and 'Tumultuous Riot' in Buganda," 98.

interrupted with a short speech, thanked the performers, and wished Edward Mutesa the best in whatever his future endeavors might hold for him.²²

However, many of Budo's students did not regard these proceedings as fitting or sufficient for the grandeur expected of such a royal, significant occasion. To the contrary, in a meeting Herbert had with one of the school's prefects afterwards, whom he refers to as "T," T informs Herbert that many students believed he "had insulted His Highness the Kabaka" by cutting the concert off so abruptly and had "planned a concert which would continue until about 11:30 p.m."²³ Herbert, in doing so, ignited feelings of ire and belittlement in the institution's populace, as they compared such a scenario to how they expected its counterpart to proceed in England, deducing that Herbert – or any analogous figure who would be in charge of this hypothetical coronation's management – would have allowed it to continue for at least twice as long.

Responding to this accusation, Herbert apologizes, admitting to T that his "cutting down of the program had not been done tactfully," but that he genuinely "tried, but evidently failed, to assure... that whatever [he] had done [he] had certainly not intended any slight to the Kabaka."²⁴ Regardless of whether or not Herbert is speaking truthfully, what matters is how students interpreted his actions, as their interpretation is what grants a view into their agitations with school (colonial) authority. In this instance, it is amply clear that a plurality of students took serious offense to Herbert's intervention, a fact that allows for a rational

²² The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

²³ The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

²⁴ The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

surmise that these sentiments of offense have roots in a broader Ganda annoyance with British intrusion, manifested never more vividly than in this, the biggest occasion of Buganda's politics.

Moreover, Herbert's interference represents an example of a further complaint Budo's student body levied against its Headmaster, as articulated by prefect T, and is indicative of yet another parallel between Budo's activity, culture, and politics and those of the Kingdom in general. T begins, saying, "I thought that [the coronation and the concert it entailed] was such a special occasion that you could not possibly interfere," enlightening Herbert that the students "dislike [his] knowing too much about the school and would prefer to have a Headmaster who lived in his house and walked about his lawns and smiled to the pupils."²⁵ Directly reflecting the previously inspected feelings of British over-involvement and meddling in Ganda affairs, this criticism simply adds to the compounding evidence supporting this project's assertion that Budo functions as an institution emblematic of Buganda's proud, independent self-identity and collective thought, while also serving as a means by which to defend these historical notions in the face of imperial pressure and imposition.

The following day, Saturday, November 7th, offered students another chance to display their mounting discontent with their school's – and, by extension, Britain's – authority, an opportunity they would not shun. That evening, there was a debate scheduled to include the Resident of Buganda, the highest standing British official in the entire Province. In accordance with their prior displays of anti-Protectorate behavior, the vast majority of

²⁵ The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

Budo's students boycotted the debate. To enforce this boycott, some boys decided to utilize stone throwing as a means to dissuade and punish anyone attempting to attend, targeting not just their fellow students and peers, but even a teacher and two prefects, as well.²⁶

Furthermore, T said to Herbert that "he'd seen at lunch time on Saturday a note which was passed round the tables telling boys not to attend the debate." As a result, Herbert noticed that there were only seven Baganda boys in attendance, an observation rather telling of the majority of Budo's resistance to the endorsement of an event that was supposed to foster mutual goodwill between the Baganda and British and portray the desired amiability of their relations at this time of new royalty's confirmation.²⁷ However, the administration's utter failure in this endeavor simply supplements this chapter's argument that, given its irrevocable connection to Ganda political thought, King's College Budo's elite, politically charged student body ensured that its esteemed institution would instead accurately reflect these feelings of frustration regarding Britain's ruling presence and imperial clutch.

While boycotting events, stoning authority figures, and criticizing leadership certainly depict several angles of Budo's students' escalating aggression towards their overseeing administration, the destruction and vandalism of some of the school's material objects shows another reason why this riot should be interpreted and assessed in the context of Buganda's rising unrest with Protectorate governance. For example, the day after the debate's successful protest, the "thatched roof of the carpentry shop began to burn and in a short time

²⁶ See *The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report*, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. Herbert explains, "Mr. Kisosonkole reported to me that he and two sub-prefects had approached a gang of boys... who had shone a torch on him and had thrown a bail of stones at the three of them that they had felt bound to retreat."

²⁷ *The Closing of the Term at King's College, Budo report*, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

the whole building was completely destroyed.”²⁸ Although this particular demolition contains no obvious, direct links to vexation with British/administrative authority, the fact that students took their devastation to the level of unadulterated arson testifies to the riot’s severity. Indeed, when viewed as a complement to the students’ other veritable attacks on controlling bodies and within the context of the tumultuous political environment afflicting the Kingdom at the time, it speaks to the irritation for colonial supervision at Budo and, by extension, in Buganda.

In a similar exhibition of material defacement, this time, students made no mistake about simultaneously showing the motivations behind their recalcitrant activity. Herbert recounts that one worried student, fearing for the wellbeing of the school, informed him that some students had resolved to destroy the King of England’s picture adorning one of Budo’s walls, a decision in “definite order because of [Herbert’s] action at the Friday concert.”²⁹ Not bluffing in the least, students acted on this promise; in a letter to Bishop Stuart from the school’s prefects, they verify the destruction of the picture.³⁰ The political implications of this particularly harmful vandalism mirror the tension characterizing the deteriorating Ganda-British relationship. Perhaps the iconic moment of the 1942 Budo riot, destroying the King of England’s portrait – and concurrent with the coronation of Buganda’s new Kabaka, no less – lends immense support to this chapter’s prior insinuations of the riot’s political relevance. With student discipline spiraling increasingly out of control each passing day – and

²⁸ The Closing of the Term at King’s College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

²⁹ The Closing of the Term at King’s College, Budo report, written by Headmaster Dennis Herbert, 14 November 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

³⁰ The Prefects of King’s College Budo, letter to Bishop of Uganda Cyril Stuart, undated, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

Protectorate/Budo supervision appearing less and less equipped to mitigate it – Herbert officially closed Budo on Thursday, November 12th, under substantial pressure from the Resident of Buganda and the Protectorate’s Director of Education. Formally forfeiting any reconciliation efforts in doing so – for the time being, at least – the school would not reopen until February of the following year after 18 Budo masters had resigned and 23 culpable students had been expelled.³¹

With this chapter’s exhaustive analysis of the context and events of the 1942 Budo riot complete, it is apparent that the controversy acted as a representation of Ganda frustration with British omnipresence and rule, indicative of King’s College Budo’s status as an emblem of Ganda heritage and pride and also as a vehicle capable of mobilizing the defense of these historic, cultural identities. Kabaka Mutesa II’s coronation was supposed to be a celebration of Ganda-British relations, a renewal of their allegiance and cooperative assistance. Instead, Budo students utilized it and the attention it would inevitably receive as a podium on which to demonstrate their irritation and grievances with school and colonial authority. As this chapter’s next half will illustrate, Budo would again prove its germaneness in epitomizing the emotions and reactions of Buganda’s citizens and its elite society due to the shocking exile of the Kingdom’s most elevated leader and indisputable figurehead. Additionally, and equally crucial, this controversy invigorated a strong sense of Ganda loyalty and honor in the Kingdom’s leaders, creating a political framework that helped spark the formation and ensuing growth of the Ganda-centric Kabaka Yekka party in the years to follow, yet another development that will further prove the link between King’s College Budo and Buganda’s politics and mounting nationalism.

³¹ Summers, “‘Subterranean Evil’ and ‘Tumultuous Riot’ in Buganda,” 110.

The Context of Royal Deportation

While the disturbance at King's College Budo in 1942 embodied the strain that had characterized the Ganda-British rapport in the years preceding it, the historical background leading up to Kabaka Mutesa II's expulsion starkly contrasts that discordant setting. To the contrary, the appointment of Sir Andrew Cohen, the former Under-Secretary for African Affairs in the Colonial Office, to the position of Governor of Uganda actually prompted a period – however brief – of conviviality and harmony between the British and the Baganda. A wisely diplomatic man, Governor Cohen made it a priority to familiarize himself with the Protectorate's territories, meet its inhabitants, and understand their political, social, and occupational standpoints.³² Speaking at a conference in Jinja, he proclaimed, “many people pretend to talk on behalf of the African but they do not really know what the African wants. I have come out here as one of the King's Ministers to see the people of Uganda and to find out what are their needs.”³³

Displaying his empathetic interests, approachability, and overall congeniality, most importantly, Governor Cohen emphasized increasing African participation in government affairs, desiring as much as possible for his administration “to bring the public into self-help schemes, local development projects, and political reforms so that they could begin to plan for their own future.”³⁴ Echoing Apter's interpretation of Governor Cohen's governmental aims, Thompson writes, “African interests and opinions were now the criteria by which any British policy, and its prospects for success, had to be judged,” suggestive of Cohen's

³² Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 265

³³ Andrew Cohen, transcribed in a report, *Uganda Herald*, 20 April 1948.

³⁴ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 265.

broader target of “accelerat[ing] Uganda’s progress towards self-rule.”³⁵ Finally, after over half a century of colonial rule, overinvolved external presence, and unrequested foreign meddling in native affairs, it seemed as if Buganda and its people were embarking upon a route that would eventually lead to the (hopeful) reestablishment of their total political and social agency.

Settling comfortably into his role as Uganda’s new head, it appeared as if Governor Cohen was not bluffing in the least pertaining to his initial proclamations that, under his leadership and guidance, all of the Uganda Protectorate would obtain the opportunity for augmented participation in political undertakings. Thus far, his public statements and known aspirations for catalyzing “the integration of Buganda into the political life of the Protectorate” affirmed as such.³⁶ In fact, Governor Cohen summoned the assistance of fellow British imperial bureaucrat, C. A. G. Wallis, to lead an inquiry regarding local governance in Uganda in order to ascertain methods of improvement and how to best apply them. In complete support of Governor Cohen’s asserted mission to not only bestow resident Africans with greater political rights and associations, Wallis actually emboldened these goals wholeheartedly, declaring, “it is... necessary that local people, councilors and officials should be encouraged to take an active interest in the machinery and operation of central government.”³⁷

In light of Wallis and his team’s findings and subsequent suggestions, a massive reallocation of political responsibility occurred, with Governor Cohen once again showing

³⁵ Thompson, *Governing Uganda*, 320-321.

³⁶ Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 289.

³⁷ C. A. G. Wallis, *Government Memorandum on the Report of an Inquiry into African Local Government in the Protectorate of Uganda* (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1953), 15-16.

that his original message of empowering Britain's colonial subjects was more than just manipulative speak. Apter explains:

Perhaps most startling of all, following recommendations made by Wallis and others, it was decided to transfer certain services from the departments of government to the Buganda government. It was agreed that the Protectorate government would hand over to the Buganda government responsibility for running primary and junior secondary schools, rural hospitals and dispensaries, subdispensaries, aid posts and rural health services, the field service for improvement of farming methods and soil conservation, animal health and livestock breeding, and so on.³⁸

At last tackling the Baganda's long-existent pleas for increased management of their own matters, Governor Cohen even addressed the Protectorate government's discriminatory employment system in the Civil Service sector that had infuriated the indigenous population – as this chapter's earlier sections demonstrate – in years past.³⁹ Indeed, the beginning of Governor Cohen's term was marked with more positive reform than had been seen regarding Britain's presence in Buganda in quite some time, and the native populace took notice of the new, encouraging changes. Completely divergent to the friction that depicted the Ganda-British relationship in the previously examined era surrounding the 1942 riot at Budo, native Baganda, civil servants, Protectorate officials, and the Governor began working together with decreased tensions over race, privilege, and status.⁴⁰ As a result of this empathetic cooperation and subsequent political reform, the Governor's public perception was one of relative popularity, a reality that should have presaged another epoch of prolonged collaboration between Britain and Buganda. However, one calamitous mishap – one that

³⁸ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 269-270.

³⁹ See Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 270-271. Apter writes, "The complaints about discrimination in the Civil Service were for the time being silenced by the appointment of Sir David Lidbury as chairman of a commission to examine and make recommendations about the civil services in the East African territories." Thus, while it is unclear if the discriminatory system changed, Governor Cohen's attempt to resolve it is the relevant point.

⁴⁰ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 270.

Governor Cohen could not have possibly prevented – altered this once promising course forever.

On June 30, 1953, the Colonial Secretary of Britain, speaking in London about the features and advantages of a Central African federation, made a passing, incidental allusion to the possibility of an East African federation. Instantly, the Baganda and its most important leadership took notice, as the speech and its contents were reported in the Kenyan newspaper, *East African Standard*.⁴¹ Convening immediately thereafter, the ministers of Buganda wrote a letter to the British government in London, affirming their unyielding objection to any proposed federation, now or in the future, only to receive a response from Governor Cohen claiming that the article in the newspaper was merely an interpretation of the Colonial Secretary's speech.

However, this reply did not outright state that Buganda's wishes to forever remain independent from a coalition with East Africa's other ethnicities and regions would be respected, igniting worries that "they had dropped their guard, removed their defenses, and in discarding their usual wariness been captured by the reforming zeal of the Governor."⁴² Now, in the aftermath of the Colonial Secretary's allegedly inadvertent reference and Governor Cohen's inadequate explanation, many Baganda felt that British leadership was intentionally brushing off their rebuttals, suggesting, to them, that their fears were at least moderately warranted.⁴³ Essentially, the Baganda felt as if they were fooled by Governor Cohen's initial reforms and empathy, surmising that Britain's higher authority was using him

⁴¹ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 276.

⁴² Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 277.

⁴³ See Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 286-287. The authors assert that, by disregarding such viable concerns with cheap explanations, the concerned Baganda "felt that every effort was made to hinder the effective expression of their opposition."

to lull their community into a state of comfort and complacency only to see them blindsided with unwanted political amalgamation.

As this chapter's prior examination of Ganda-British relations shows, lack of trust and pervasive suspicion were familiar sentiments in regards to the Baganda's view of British intentions, a stance they would understandably adopt again. With recently formed political organizations in Uganda – such as the Uganda National Congress and the All-Uganda Party – fully aware of this perceived duping, they applied intense pressure on Buganda's government to resist this most undesired federation from happening, resulting in a predominant Ganda perspective characterized by extreme suspicion of the British government and its Protectorate officials.⁴⁴ Indeed, Low and Pratt offer support and rationale for these feelings of utmost skepticism, highlighting that “proposals for colonial federations were moving forward in other parts of the British Colonial Empire,” a reality appearing all the more foreboding as these proposals “were receiving widespread and largely favourable publicity.”⁴⁵ Moreover, former Governor of Uganda, Sir Philip Mitchell, had assumed the same position in Kenya, and was known to be a staunch advocate for the federation's establishment.⁴⁶ Thus, compounding the already existent feelings of Ganda distrust of British administration and signifying another overlap between the frameworks underlying the 1942 Budo disruption and this, the eventual deportation of Kabaka Mutesa II, practically all of Buganda stood firmly behind their government in opposition to this federation in a unified viewpoint that rendered colonial leadership as a common enemy once again.

⁴⁴ See Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 278. Apter takes this sentiment even further, saying, “Suddenly every official of the British government was viewed as a persistent enemy.” Obviously, such a sweeping statement cannot be taken at complete face value, but it certainly represents the prevalent viewpoint in Buganda at the time.

⁴⁵ Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 288.

⁴⁶ Low and Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, 288.

This united position placed the Kabaka in a particularly hairy situation, as he essentially had no choice but to represent the face of this anti-colonial movement (or else be forever labeled as a traitor), thereby risking his own future and potentially having to accept whatever punishment the British could levy for his disobedience. In other words, the Kabaka would either symbolize the nation and fight for Ganda nationalism and endure whatever consequences that might entail, or brand himself a colonial sympathizer no better than an authentic British agent. Evidently choosing the former option, Kabaka Mutesa II met with Buganda's Lukiko (recall from the Uganda Agreement of 1900 that created the Lukiko as Buganda's Parliament) to establish their arguments and demands in preparation for his meeting with Governor Cohen which, as far as they were concerned, could very well determine the autonomous future of their beloved Kingdom.

As this project's first chapter quickly underscored, the Uganda Agreement of 1900 would prove to be a rather formidable obstacle in allowing the ruling British to act as they pleased. In accordance with this prognostication, the Lukiko devised an argument asserting that any hypothetical East African federation would undermine the Agreement's terms that ensured the Protectorate government would continue to recognize the Kabaka's and the Buganda government's statuses, therefore demanding that their affairs be handled by Britain's *Foreign* Office rather than their *Colonial* Office. Similarly, the Lukiko bluntly maintained that "we are not a colony and we have never been a colony," consequently stating their strong opposition to "any form of a political union affecting Uganda with the

neighboring territories.”⁴⁷ Lastly, the Lukiko implored the Kabaka to set a time limit for Buganda’s independence within the Uganda Protectorate.⁴⁸

With the conditions of how the Lukiko, Ganda elite, and Ganda society at large wanted him to respond cemented, Kabaka Mutesa II met with Governor Cohen, who was similarly burdened with external pressure to maintain an intransigent stance in his representation of Britain’s desires.⁴⁹ As such, in the six meetings held at the colonial Government House, little progress was made. The Governor gave no guarantees that an East African federation would never transpire and refused to provide Buganda with a timeline for its independence from the Protectorate’s realm. Likewise, the Kabaka was equally uncompromising in his demands for eventual separation of Buganda from the Protectorate, and when the Governor informed him that the Agreement mandated the Kabaka’s compliance with any formal advice Protectorate administration gave, he retorted that “if he had to choose between loyalty to the Protectorate government and loyalty to his people he would choose loyalty to his people.”⁵⁰ Consequently – and considering the absolute clarity both sides had regarding the stalemate in these negotiations at this point – the Governor placed Kabaka Mutesa II under arrest for breaching the terms of the Agreement.⁵¹ On November 30th, 1953, he was formally exiled and sent on his way to London, catalyzing a period where Ganda reactions and the resultant expression of these aroused feelings

⁴⁷ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 279.

⁴⁸ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 281.

⁴⁹ This was because Britain’s Colonial Office was very much concerned with and alarmed by the Mau Mau in Kenya (a revolutionary resistance group) and feared a similar movement was liable to sprout and proliferate in Uganda.

⁵⁰ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 285.

⁵¹ Again, the actual “terms” of this Agreement were quite blurred. I maintain that Ganda leadership likely believed that, in treating Buganda as a “colony” and not a foreign entity, the British were also breaking a condition of the Agreement as they were not recognizing the Kabaka’s and the Buganda government’s status.

demonstrated Kingdom-wide solidarity and exemplified staunch commitment to ensure the Kabaka's safe reinstatement.

Ganda Unity and King's College Budo's Response

Already thoroughly unified as a society prior to the Kabaka's removal – due to the threat of the potential formation of an East African federation – Ganda society supported their government's actions striving to secure the safe return of their banished king. Bishop of Uganda Leslie Brown – he assumed this position in 1953, taking over for Bishop Stuart – notified the expelled Kabaka of this unwavering support, writing him a letter in which he states that “the whole of Buganda is concerned for you and we are having daily prayers in the Cathedral that God's will for you and for the country may be clearly seen and obeyed.”⁵²

Validating this statement assuring Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda's palpable, absolute support for him and his reinstatement, another letter from 33 concerned Baganda to Bishop Brown provides for a firsthand evaluation of the ‘average’ Muganda's feelings. The authors declare:

We, the people and Christians of Uganda... do herewith express our own considered views as being exactly representing those of every individual person... most strongly repudiating the cause or causes of our most beloved King Edward Mutesa II of Buganda, as having been in any way justified... We most unanimously and cordially associate ourselves with our representatives' views and recommendations.⁵³

Combining the Bishop's assessment of Buganda's perspective pertaining to the controversy – one doubtlessly shaped by his lofty standing in society – with that of the authors of this letter

⁵² Bishop of Uganda Leslie Brown, letter to H. H. The Kabaka of Uganda, 2 December 1953, folder 977, box 171, Kabaka: Buganda Kingdom, 1953, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

⁵³ 33 Concerned Baganda, letter to Bishop of Uganda Leslie Brown, 21 December 1953, folder 977, box 171, Kabaka: Buganda Kingdom, 1953, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

– representing “the people and Christians of Uganda” – it is evident that Ganda society was vastly unified in their mindset to see the return of their exiled Kabaka.

While it is clear that the decided majority of Ganda citizens – I will stop just short of saying all of Buganda’s people, for fear of recklessly categorizing all parties under this idealistic umbrella – eagerly sought the Kabaka’s restoration, it is pivotally important to comprehend why they felt this way and why they reacted as they did. Completing this analysis will then enable this chapter’s concluding segment to exhibit how and why King’s College Budo and its occupants contributed to this field of discourse. Treating the matter with maximum seriousness, Buganda’s authority levied the responsibility to negotiate the Kabaka’s release and to properly articulate the Kingdom’s protests on their most influential and trusted political leadership. As such, the Nabegereka (the Queen) of Buganda appointed Musa K. Parma-Ntanda to represent her and the Baganda Women’s League in London. Accordingly, in an account written in preparation for his meetings with British colonial officials, Parma-Ntanda begins by asserting the steadfast unity of the Kingdom on whose behalf he speaks, conveying to Britain’s government that the consternation colonial administration has caused will not simply be forgotten, forgiven, or swept aside.⁵⁴ Furthermore, and most importantly, Parma-Ntanda clarifies the reasoning and emotions behind this nationalistic perspective, proclaiming, “Up to now, the Kingdom of Buganda has

⁵⁴ See Musa K. Parma-Ntanda, *The Deposition of H. H. the Kabaka Mutesa II* (an account prepared for the author’s negotiations in London), February 1954, folder 643, box 91, Papers relating to the deportation of H. H. the Kabaka, 1953, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. Parma-Ntanda writes, “All the people of Buganda support their Kabaka and are against the action taken by the Governor and the Colonial Office,” illustrating the veracity of this declared, solitary mindset by asserting, “The Baganda are determined to appoint no successor, and continue to recognize Kabaka Mutesa in spite of his banishment.”

never even been for a day without a Kabaka... throw[ing] the country into chaos.”⁵⁵ Thus, appealing to the historic, innate importance of the Kabaka’s presence in sustaining Buganda’s order, Parma-Ntanda elaborates:

From time immemorial the Kabaka has been the heart of the social structure of the Baganda, and his removal disrupts the whole nation. The people regard him with the same esteem and devotion as the British people do their own Sovereign. He is accessible to his people, meets many of them during tours of his Kingdom, and redresses their grievances and listens to their problems. In matters of tradition and clan precedent, his word is final.⁵⁶

Essentially, the Kabaka’s significance – and, therefore, the reason underlying Buganda’s seemingly universal uproar – is rooted in the fact that the Kabaka has eternally symbolized and acted as the nucleus of Ganda community, “the heart of the social structure of the Baganda.” This excerpt requires no complex interpretation or great critical thinking; his indisputable weight in allowing the entire Kingdom to function as it always has “from time immemorial” speaks to the Baganda’s unrelenting motivations to secure his return. Although this fundamental rationale behind their indignation might initially seem vague, it actually resonates soundly with an overarching theme of this project: Ganda pride and the importance of their self-identity. Faced with the unparalleled circumstance of losing their Kabaka, the Baganda naturally felt that their pride and ingrained self-identity had been attacked. Thus, and given the proven association of these two aspects with Ganda culture and ethnicity, such an assault represented more than enough incentive to ignite a unified response demanding his immediate reinstatement.

⁵⁵ Musa K. Parma-Ntanda, *The Deposition of H. H. the Kabaka Mutesa II*, February 1954, folder 643, box 91, Papers relating to the deportation of H. H. the Kabaka, 1953, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

⁵⁶ Musa K. Parma-Ntanda, *The Deposition of H. H. the Kabaka Mutesa II*, February 1954, folder 643, box 91, Papers relating to the deportation of H. H. the Kabaka, 1953, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

Heads of the increasingly powerful political parties in Uganda reverberated these same inducements for securing the Kabaka's return. For example, in a statement regarding a press conference held in London to discuss the controversy that appeared in an issue of the *Uganda Express*, Ignatius K. Musazi – President of the Uganda National Congress and, unsurprisingly, graduate of King's College Budo – communicates nearly identical sentiments as Representative Parma-Ntanda. Musazi bluntly describes the Kabaka's irrevocable connotation to the very nature of Buganda, saying, "It is altogether outside our realm of thought to imagine Buganda without the Kabaka," later explaining that "our loyalty to him... is natural and is taken for granted... It is woven into every fabric of our social framework, our culture, our economy, our religion, our politics, in short... our everything."⁵⁷ Again citing the Kabaka's inherent quality of intertwinement with Buganda's "everything," Musazi makes it patently clear that this everlasting connection to Buganda's functionality in basically every sphere of society marks the impetus for the Baganda's response commanding his restoration. In other words, without their Kabaka's steady presence – a presence manifested "into every fabric of [Buganda's] social framework" – a substantial piece of Buganda's historical, refined identity naturally goes with it, therefore signifying the Kingdom's stimulus dictating its reaction.

Musazi also invokes the severe insult – and subsequent hit to Ganda pride – triggered by the Kabaka's exile as a major component governing the direction in which Buganda's leadership wanted to respond. Feeling wrongfully slighted and attacked, Musazi states:

⁵⁷ Ignatius K. Musazi, statement regarding a press conference on Uganda in London that appeared in the *Uganda Express*, 19 May 1954, folder 645, box 91, Papers relating to the deportation of H. H. the Kabaka, 1954 (May-Dec), Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

I don't think the British people can realise the rude shock, the anger, the stupefaction, and the indignation caused by the British Government's act of kidnapping and exiling the Kabaka. It is a wound which shall ever remain unhealed, a chronic sore... the confidence of the people has oozed, and national pride has been pricked to the quick.⁵⁸

Already enduring the loss of their community's definitive leader and icon, it makes logical sense that such a forfeiture would generate resentment towards the perpetrator and incite "national pride" within the afflicted victims. Driven by these attitudes, coupled with the necessity to restore the rightful, comfortable operation of the Buganda Kingdom, its identity, and those of its aggrieved citizens, the reasons explaining the Baganda's enagement and the terms dictating their resultant negotiations with the British have been outlined. As such, this established context serves as the discourse in which King's College Budo's students' actions ought to be judged and understood.

Before delving into an evaluation of Budo's activity following the Kabaka's ejection, allow me to acknowledge from the beginning that Budo students' reaction to this controversy was not remotely as aggressive or public in comparison to their behavior in the 1942 uprising. However, such a fact certainly does not greatly weaken or invalidate this project's argument; rather, after a disturbance as explicit and chaotic as the 1942 riot, administration was doubtlessly more vigilant of possible breakdowns at the school and far more prepared to quell any potential unruliness. Indeed, after news broke of the Kabaka's exile to England, Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, in a report to the Board of Governors concerning the 1954 school year and its proceedings, informs them of how the school handled the impending political unrest:

⁵⁸ Ignatius K. Musazi, statement regarding a press conference on Uganda in London that appeared in the *Uganda Express*, 19 May 1954, folder 645, box 91, Papers relating to the deportation of H. H. the Kabaka, 1954 (May-Dec), Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

The school has been sensitive to the changing fortunes of the Buganda Kingdom. At the beginning of the year, the Headmaster made the following statement to the Staff, who approved of it: ‘the school, as a school, has no politics, and its business is to carry on with its work in the quietest conditions it can secure... The pupils will not be allowed to hold public meetings, but no check on private views or the talking about them is desirable, so long as no one is inciting others to disturb the school. The guiding principle is that the school must take precautions only to ensure that the peace of the school is not disturbed.’⁵⁹

Thus, by addressing this precarious situation immediately and openly stating the school’s policies regarding any sort of demonstration, outburst, or similarly political display, all acts made by any Budo student must be viewed with this disciplinary pretext in mind.

Furthermore, the sheer fact that Cobb had to issue such a statement further affirms the school’s political significance and recognized status as a Ganda institution irreversibly linked with their Kingdom’s distinct nationalism, historical pride, and capacity to stimulate political development while defending Buganda’s esteemed traditions against the impositions of colonial presence.

With that being said, student unrest and overt exhibitions of political discontent still occurred relatively prominently, despite Headmaster Cobb’s restrictive declarations attempting to govern Budo’s activism. In fact, it was the existence of these activities in the year prior – recall that Kabaka Mutesa II was deported in 1953, and though his removal happened late in the year (November 30th), ample school year still remained for students to react accordingly – that likely prompted Cobb to issue such a statement. In 1953’s report to the Board of Governors, he notifies the board of the delicate situation at the school, writing, “The deposition of the Kabaka had repercussions at Budo which were more marked... The

⁵⁹ Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, King’s College, Budo: Headmaster’s Report to the Board of Governors on 1954, 11 January 1955, folder 1366, box 238, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1953, 1954, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

inspectors found... a lack of order.” Only offering a slight expansion on these initial, vague accounts, Cobb states, “I still find that the school falls short of even a low ideal of orderliness, and I consider it the main brake on the school’s progress.”⁶⁰

Exemplifying the same type of student discontent that, as this project’s previous analyses have shown, typified the school’s political nature and proved its germaneness to Ganda political thought, students continued to uphold this established, reputed character of their school, seen again in the context of confronting undesired colonial interference. This time, British interference encompassed the removal of a massive part of Ganda self-identity and related assault on Ganda pride, offenses apparently still sufficient to spur Budo’s inhabitants to act. Furthermore, while it is unfortunate that Headmaster Cobb grants no substantial explanation or elaboration on these reported “repercussions” that indicated “a lack of order,” one can deduce the relevant inferences of student unrest caused by the Kingdom’s political consternation at the time. Simply by considering the precedent Budo had earned for itself due to its students’ behavior in comparable circumstances and also recognizing its foundational purpose of grooming Buganda’s elite and cultivating the Kingdom’s future bureaucrats, merely mentioning rebellious conduct by students during an unstable time reinforces the school’s significance in representing Ganda ideals, resisting British advances, and fostering the realization/expression of political mentalities.

Moving the discussion forward to an examination of the aforementioned displays of student discontent that transpired even after Headmaster Cobb formally announced the school’s reserved, cautious stance, the fact that such protests took place anyway further

⁶⁰ Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, King’s College, Budo: Headmaster’s Report to the Board of Governors on 1953, unspecified date (but most certainly sometime early in 1954), folder 1366, box 238, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1953, 1954, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

validates the claim that King's College Budo operated as a hub of Ganda ethnic pride opposing imperial influence and as a breeding ground for political refinement. In consonance with past Budo students' political radicalness, the institution was home to "a few demonstrations, such as the wearing of bark-cloth armlets, and beards."⁶¹ By wearing bark-cloth – a material worn for coronation ceremonies, funerals, and other similarly special, cultural events due to its association with indigenous heritage – these students were exhibiting the specific agenda of their protest aimed at recovering theirs and their Kingdom's compromised identity and displaying their ethnic pride, again showing Budo as a political reflection of Ganda society considering the above study that unpacked the motivations behind Buganda's larger reaction to the Kabaka's deposition. Additionally, while admittedly a rather reserved practice, even a peaceful exhibition of student anger concerning Kabaka Mutesa II's deposal – such as this one – illustrates the school's relevance in both symbolizing and facilitating Buganda's nationalistic resistance towards colonial infringement; students were just finding different ways in which to express it. In keeping with this theme of nonviolent protest, "On most occasions when there was a change in the situation [regarding the Kabaka's exile and hopeful return], the Buganda Kingdom and the Kabaka were a subject of special prayer in the Chapel."⁶² Again, although not as zealous in their rebellious tactics, Budo's student body still displayed its school's notable political spirit in the face of

⁶¹ Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, King's College, Budo: Headmaster's Report to the Board of Governors on 1954, 11 January 1955, folder 1366, box 238, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1953, 1954, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

⁶² Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, King's College, Budo: Headmaster's Report to the Board of Governors on 1954, 11 January 1955, folder 1366, box 238, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1953, 1954, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

increasingly offensive British interloping, a fact consistent with its past conduct in analogous scenarios.

However, that is not to suggest that Budo students did not portray their dislike of colonial authority exclusively with passive methods. Further proving Budo's acknowledged standing as a pivot for Ganda nationalism defending its society's revered customs and distinctly proud self-identity against British intrusion, Headmaster Cobb admits that "politics were always a factor to be reckoned with, and could be made the basis of any discontent," substantiating this observation by describing multiple students' "attempt to stop the Governor from coming to open the hall on Speech Day by anonymous notices and letters [leading] to... weeks of unpleasantries for the Headmaster."⁶³ Furthermore, the 1954 report details yet another disturbance, where "an anonymous attack was made on the girls who helped at the Government House garden party."⁶⁴ As both of these examples attest, students also vented their aggrieved feelings through confrontational means. However, note the "anonymous" nature encompassing both demonstrations; undoubtedly aware of Headmaster Cobb's stern position regarding student activism, Budo students likely operated with that constraint in mind. As such, the fact that determined students circumvented this potential hazard and still managed to display their criticisms of colonial governance testifies to their veritable sentiments of indignation, further compounding the idea of King's College Budo as a place that harbors Ganda pride and nationalism, cultivates the maturation and expression of

⁶³ Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, King's College, Budo: Headmaster's Report to the Board of Governors on 1954, 11 January 1955, folder 1366, box 238, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1953, 1954, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

⁶⁴ Headmaster Timothy H. Cobb, King's College, Budo: Headmaster's Report to the Board of Governors on 1954, 11 January 1955, folder 1366, box 238, Kings College Budo – Board of Governors, 1953, 1954, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

political viewpoints, and serves as a place enabling the opposition of Britain's tiresome and interfering presence.

Political Cultivation

It was not just through the occurrence of political protests and rebellious, nationalistic behavior emulative of Buganda's ambiance at large that branded King's College Budo as a center for Ganda ethnic representation, defense, and political refinement. To the contrary, this final section will vividly show how the school embodied these traits from a different angle. Keep in mind the prior section's exploration uncovering the specific reasons why Kabaka Mutesa II's deposal incited such fervent, resilient outcries; these reasons mirror the same motivations and philosophies behind the Kabaka Yekka party's establishment and activity: to uphold precedent, respect and guard Ganda tradition, and honor the Kabaka's supreme royalty. As was quickly alluded to at the conclusion of the 1942 riot's analysis, this emphatically nationalist party of Buganda had origins in King's College Budo, once more signaling the prestigious school's extraordinary relevance as a defender of Ganda royalty and institutions and also as a training ground for pro-Ganda politics. However, corroborating this declaration requires a look back at the 1942 Budo disruption, paying particular attention to its fallout.

Recall that 18 teachers resigned and 23 students were expelled in the aftermath of the riot. An inspection of the lives, activities, and careers of several of the resigning teachers following their tenures at Budo strongly supports the above claim that, in addition to symbolizing Ganda supremacy and protecting its Kingdom's traditions as necessitated by Britain's colonial presence, the school also acted as a space where Ganda political

dispositions saw growth, refinement, and expression. More specifically, the ensuing analysis of three teachers – Amos K. Sempa, E. M. K. Mulira, and Henry Kanyike – and their political undertakings aimed at preserving and advancing Ganda interests following their resignation from Budo will accentuate the institution's capacity in this regard.⁶⁵ Certainly, their politically charged actions and behaviors – such as their individual memberships in the Ganda loyalist party, Kabaka Yekka – exemplify this purported notion that Budo's importance to Buganda's political arena is felt in how it prepared and developed these sentiments for transposition outside of the school.

In order to fully comprehend the magnitude of what Kabaka Yekka membership means concerning the three former Budo teachers' political leanings and priorities, it is first necessary to more thoroughly explain the party's history and principal ideologies. The Kabaka Yekka party formed in 1961, a time that was essentially guaranteed to see the Uganda Protectorate attain independence from Britain shortly thereafter. Although this imminent autonomy undoubtedly appears positive, Buganda, its leaders, and a preponderance of its citizens feared that such a development would signify the end of their Kingdom's separation from the surrounding regions, an unacceptable possibility considering Buganda's proven status as an entity superior to and isolated from its East African neighbors. Within this context, the Kabaka Yekka party arose with the primary objectives of reaffirming ethnic solidarity, shielding the cherished Ganda identity from foreign constitutions, reinstating the sovereign operation of Buganda's institutions, and asserting the unconditional preeminence

⁶⁵ Resigning teachers at King's College Budo following the riot's conclusion, notice to the Education Secretary General, 10 December 1942, folder 1353, box 235, Kings College Budo, 1942, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. To show their endorsement of this notice's content, the three teachers signed their names at the bottom of the document. E. M. K. Mulira's signature can be found on line 2, Amos K. Sempa's signature occupies line 10, and Henry Kanyike's signature is on line 15.

of the Kabaka above all others.⁶⁶ With goals rooted in preserving the traditional order regulating Buganda's relationship with the adjacent territories and their denizens, it makes sense that Kabaka Yekka would materialize as Protectorate independence neared, as such an occurrence naturally would induce heightened progressive thought.

Thus, attempting to guard the historical precedent that rendered Buganda's distinct, superior position within East Africa as customary, the Kabaka Yekka party "had aroused patriotism in defense of a neo-traditionalist cause," attracting "patriots who assumed that Buganda was a separate nation" and "neo-traditionalists who saw in separate nationhood a barrier against social change."⁶⁷ In other words, by endeavoring to invoke past social and political hierarchies that fixed Buganda as the unquestioned alpha in order to combat the emerging reformist mentalities born during this era of impending Protectorate liberation, Kabaka Yekka created an atmosphere that positioned Buganda versus everyone else. Accordingly, the party's following all perceived Buganda as a separate body, both socially and politically, elevated above the rest of the Protectorate's provinces, districts, and peoples.⁶⁸ Basically, Kabaka Yekka's stance assumed Buganda's supremacy and pivotal position within the Protectorate, and revolved its thinking and actions around defending this standing.

Given these opinions and philosophies governing the Kabaka Yekka movement's aspirations, the sheer fact that Sempa, Mulira, and Kanyike joined the party attests to their decidedly Ganda-centric political outlooks. However, while certainly supportive of the argument that these perspectives received attention and refinement during the three teachers'

⁶⁶ I. R. Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda: The Kabaka Yekka Movement, 1961-1962," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1970): 419-421.

⁶⁷ Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda," 420.

⁶⁸ Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda," 425.

employment at King’s College Budo, what additional evidence exists to grant this claim further traction? Beginning with Amos K. Sempa, a letter he wrote to Budo’s Headmaster, Canon J. L. Castor, in 1940 – only two years before Sempa’s official resignation – provides for an incisive glance into his political beliefs over two decades before the Kabaka Yekka party even existed. Oddly enough, the apparent purpose behind Sempa’s letter seems to be informing Headmaster Castor of his intentions to resign. Obviously, that did not happen in 1940 (or, if it did, he evidently returned to Budo before his actual, permanent departure in 1942). Either way, the imperative detail to analyze and digest is the reasoning behind his withdrawal, as this investigation will allow for valuable insight into what was bothering him so greatly.

Thus, when articulating why he decided to take this drastic step, Sempa clarifies, saying that he was “beginning to feel dissatisfied with the state of [his] profession” because he “hold[s] a totally different point of view from the people of [his] generation who are responsible for the management of [his] profession.” Essentially, as Sempa bluntly writes at the conclusion of the letter, “[he feels he has] a grievance against the present generation.”⁶⁹ Although Sempa unfortunately does not provide any concrete elaboration on what exactly he means by saying that he holds an entirely different perspective than his generation and his superiors within it, it is sensible to deduce that this explanation operates as an unfavorable commentary on the worsening relationship between him, an indigenous African and colonial subject, and “the people of [his] generation who are responsible for the management of [his profession],” also known as the ruling European administrative elites.

⁶⁹A. K. Sempa, letter to King’s College Budo Headmaster Canon L. J. Gaster, 2 January 1940, folder 1352, box 235, Kings College Budo 1940, 1941, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources. A quick note: the letter, obviously, is written in first person, and thus the need for all of my bracketed grammatical edits. Apologies for the distraction!

In addition to the credence this chapter's previous analyses of Ganda-British discord grant this interpretation, Sempa includes in his letter a patently clear reference to Buganda's dignified, proud self-identity. He writes, "I have a burning desire for the existence of Luganda literature; it is utterly impossible to see the fulfillment of such a desire at my present salary, and it should be ignorance of what history teaches us to expect government support in a case like this."⁷⁰ In a lucid display of Ganda cultural pride – recall Kabaka Daudi Chwa's scornful response to the notion that Swahili should be forced upon Buganda's students as the language of instruction, or even just a subject of study – Sempa's cry for the production of Luganda literature reverberates similar feelings of Ganda ethnic defense and, simultaneously, promotion, in the face of foreign pressures. Although the opponent with whom Sempa takes issue and against whom he upholds Ganda pride and tradition is different in this case versus the one previously seen in the exploration of the Kabaka Yekka party – British authority instead of the rest of the Uganda Protectorate and its non-Ganda entities – the key point is that Sempa displays a political personality tangibly influenced by his desire to defend Ganda customs against foreign impositions. This observation renders the notion that the makings of his markedly Ganda political convictions that would come to complete fruition later in life (as seen by his decision to join the Kabaka Yekka party) were evident and expressed during his time at Budo, and therefore lends support to the argument that Budo functioned as a preliminary theater in which to recognize and apply one's political tone.

This assertion receives additional stability when one considers the prominent role Sempa obtained after joining the Kabaka Yekka party and assesses the impact he had as a

⁷⁰ A. K. Sempa, letter to King's College Budo Headmaster Canon L. J. Gaster, 2 January 1940, folder 1352, box 235, Kings College Budo 1940, 1941, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

result. Indeed, Sempa was absolutely instrumental in negotiating a compromise with the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) – a growing political party in the Uganda Protectorate as independence approached and became inevitable – settling on an agreement that required Buganda to send representatives to attend the Uganda Constitutional Conference in London in exchange for the UPC's support of Buganda's claim to special federal status.⁷¹ This "special federal status" contained a provision in the new Buganda Agreement that granted the Lukiko the right to personally choose Buganda's twenty-one representatives for the National Assembly, therefore giving Ganda leadership the ability to sustain and protect the Kabaka's authority within Buganda and quell the rise of the rival Democratic Party.⁷² Moreover, Sempa exhibited his further power and value within the Kabaka Yekka party by striking a supplementary deal with the UPC in which the UPC affirmed that it would not send any candidates to the Lukiko elections in order to ensure that a nominee from the Kabaka Yekka party would win, and consequently would select the appropriate candidate to represent Ganda interests in the National Assembly.⁷³ Occupying a position important enough to carry the responsibility of negotiating the terms of Buganda's representation in the National Assembly, it is apparent that Amos K. Sempa possessed praiseworthy political acumen and a veritable desire to apply it in the interest of defending and advancing Ganda nationalistic interests. Also, Sempa went on to attain several more highly remarkable posts in government and was

⁷¹ Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda," 427. Also, a note on the Uganda Constitutional Conference in London: It was a meeting held in 1961 to hash out the logistics of transitioning to an independent Uganda, like planning the timetable of the next elections and allowing the various political parties to state concerns.

⁷² Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda," 427.

⁷³ Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-Traditionalism in Buganda," 427. This supplementary deal was equally as important; after all, if the wrong (non-Ganda sympathizer/loyalist/neo-traditionalist) candidate were elected to the Lukiko, then the provision allowing the Lukiko to directly choose Buganda's representatives for the National Assembly would not be nearly as beneficial.

pivotal in securing Kabaka Mutesa II's return in 1955.⁷⁴ In light of this study of his impressive political career that discernably had roots during his days as a master at King's College Budo, the prestigious school demonstrated its value to Ganda politics as a scene where educated Baganda could begin to work out, mold, and sharpen their political tenets.

Henry Kanyike, a native Muganda intellectual, showed similar foundations of his unmistakably Ganda political disposition during his career as a school teacher at Budo, as well, before his departure following the 1942 riot saw his political visibility spike; Kanyike actively communicated his pro-Ganda beliefs and advocated for the improved status of Africans in a imperial hierarchy dominated by foreigners. Politically charged and fully aware of the restraints and suppression colonialism levied on native Africans, Kanyike used Budo as a space to advance and convey his thoughts, gaining instant attention by “preaching a sermon rooted in scripture that both denounced [Europeans']... efforts to teach Africans to accept a second-class status, and even hinted that European attitudes inspired resentment – and perhaps even a desire for violent resistance – among African Christians.”⁷⁵ Immediately adopting and proselytizing a political stance that incorporated a firm opposition to native oppression at the hands of Europeans, these initial sentiments, which he quickly proliferated upon his arrival as an instructor at Budo, are again suggestive of a later maturation that would see them develop into a more polished political character after Kanyike's resignation in the aftermath of the 1942 riot and his subsequent employment in other political and educational spheres. Comparable to the above examination of Sempa's political rudiments as

⁷⁴ Sempa was the Secretary in the first delegation to London to negotiate the Kabaka's hopeful restoration, then became Secretary to the Lukiko, and subsequently the Minister of Education and Treasurer (Omuwanika) in the Kabaka's government.

⁷⁵ Carol Summers, “Young Buganda and Old Boys: Youth, Generational Transition, and Ideas of Leadership in Buganda, 1920-1949,” *Africa Today*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (2005): 119.

shown at Budo, Kanyike likewise exhibited an early indicator of the variety of Ganda nationalism depicted in the Kabaka Yekka party, except, just as Sempa, Kanyike defended this pride in the face of European controlling interference, instead of against the other ethnicities residing in the Uganda Protectorate.

Kanyike's career in the wake of his resignation from Budo saw no break in political activism. Rather, he began working at the Aggrey Memorial School, an overtly African-influenced school aimed at "provid[ing] education for African progress, under the control of Africans."⁷⁶ Serving as a logical extension of Kanyike's original messages at Budo of repudiating the Europeans' repressive influence, Aggrey's exclusively African focus and related espousal of sentiments such as Kanyike's branded the school as a "hotbed of conservative education and radical politics," not all that dissimilar from the conservative, "neo-traditionalist" practices employed by the Kabaka Yekka party to protect Ganda separation and elitism.⁷⁷ Maintaining the same thematic spirit of his striking sermons that depicted his presence and noteworthy effect at King's College Budo, Kanyike persisted in promoting his politics, characterized by his demand for respect for "Baganda as Christians, educators, citizens and landowners," while also arguing for "individual autonomy, rights, and respect."⁷⁸ Thus, retaining the same motivations underlying his foundational political ideologies and priorities as articulated at Budo, the continuance and subtle evolution of Kanyike's beliefs and resultant career validate the renowned school as an environment that fostered the growth of pro-Ganda ideologies and as a stage on which Buganda's brightest minds could hone their political agendas.

⁷⁶ Summers, "Young Buganda and Old Boys," 119-120.

⁷⁷ Summers, "Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (2006): 768.

⁷⁸ Summers, "Young Buganda and Old Boys," 120.

Finally, moving the inquiry forward to an investigation of E. M. K. Mulira's political significance after his withdrawal from Budo, it is again clear that his career trajectory indicates Budo's usefulness in facilitating sustained, prolonged success and relevance in this domain, suggestive once more of the school's capacity to allow elite Baganda the room to understand and ripen their politics. Although there is an unfortunate lack of sources discussing Mulira's conduct, procedures, and methods while he taught at Budo, secondary sources testifying to his status as "probably the canniest observer of Buganda's politics during the 1940s" and his attendance at "various international meetings in the late 1940s" which resulted in his "honed" political views speak volumes to his distinguished reputation in civil and governmental jurisdictions.⁷⁹ Indeed, by acknowledging the dates cited in both of the above excerpts – the 1940s – Mulira was either still teaching at Budo, or had been rather recently. Thus, it is fair to deduce that, as the "canniest observer of Buganda's politics" during this time and therefore equipped with "honed" political views, the associated time overlap with his employment at Budo suggests the institution was at least partially responsible for this political sophistication. In addition, despite Mulira's prior, temporary criticisms of the Kabaka, he resurfaced as a decided Ganda nationalist, as evidenced by his vital role in campaigning and securing Kabaka Mutesa II's restoration in 1955.⁸⁰ Again, while the dearth of available resources pertaining to Mulira's presence at King's College Budo is disappointing, interpreting the secondary sources with the correct context in mind, coupled with his verified importance in enabling the Kabaka's return, allows for a reasonable, justified inference that Budo likely served as a platform on which he could

⁷⁹ Summers, "Young Buganda and Old Boys," 120.

⁸⁰ Coincidentally enough, Mulira, just like Sempa, was a part of the first delegation sent to London attempting to negotiate the Kabaka's return.

realize, groom, and convey his political character, providing for a solid basis that obviously led to a prominent career afterwards.

Conclusion

This chapter, by investigating King's College Budo's role in accurately reflecting and portraying Buganda's societal and political sentiments as seen in these two controversies, serves as evidence for the previous two chapters' foundational arguments that purported Budo as an institution uniquely aimed at symbolizing Ganda heritage, pride, and supremacy, facilitating the defense of Ganda tradition and ideals in the face of mounting colonial pressure, and fostering the political development and expression of Buganda's elite class. While indisputably different in the method, degree, and demonstrable harm characterizing Budo students' behavior in each of these instances, the fact that Budo – due to its concrete association with Ganda elitism and prestige – facilitated this type of response to societal and political dissatisfaction denotes the crucial takeaway in this study. Essentially, as these two examples verify, whenever Ganda leadership and its residents felt their Kingdom's historic self-identity threatened, their pride attacked, or became irritated with excessive colonial interference, King's College Budo could be assuredly counted upon to function as an avenue by which to guard its Kingdom's merit, customs, and institutions against Britain's overbearing, administrative comportment while concurrently upholding the Baganda's dignified traditional status and self-worth.

CONCLUSION

Having now completed this project's fundamental objective of demonstrating King's College Budo's extensive sociopolitical worth and relevance within the Buganda Kingdom by substantiating my claims that Budo acted as a symbol of Ganda ethnic superiority, served as a means by which the Baganda maintained and defended their historically grounded notions of pride and elite self-identity in the face of rising colonial pressure and interference, and finally, represented a vehicle mobilizing and facilitating the recognition, cultivation, and articulation of Ganda elite politics, it is clear that the prominent school's multifaceted functionality – and subsequent cultural importance – far exceeded what its titular status would suggest. The first chapter showed and established Buganda's traditional regional supremacy – and the maintenance of this elevated position during colonial times – as evidenced by their collaboration with the ruling British in consolidating the rest of the Uganda Protectorate's populations and their active participation in co-producing the Ganda-British alliance. The second chapter built upon this groundwork; given the Baganda's acknowledged preeminence in East Africa and their corollary mentality typified by such a distinction, this chapter illustrated King's College Budo as a place immediately symbolic of Buganda's dignity, sophistication, and prestige. Moreover, chapter two began to explore how Budo's predetermined societal role of attending to the Kingdom's elite implicated the school as a breeding ground of sorts familiarizing its students with the proper etiquette that depicted Ganda politics, and therefore enabled them to continue understanding and developing their political characters. Finally, this middle chapter investigated the logistical and academic operations of the school, coupled with an inspection of Budo's educational

workforce and exclusive student body, in order to ascertain Budo's role in both epitomizing and protecting Ganda merit and self-identity amidst imperial intrusion. This project's third chapter then further proved the assertions formed in the preceding chapters by assessing King's College Budo's substantial part in fostering Ganda pride, guarding it and Buganda's customary institutions against British authority, and providing the Kingdom's finest with adequate room and the appropriate environment in which to realize, polish, and voice their political attitudes as shown in relation to the 1942 riot at the school and Kabaka Mutesa II's deportation in 1953.

Indeed, in regards to their unwavering desire to procure the reinstatement of Kabaka Mutesa II as the rightful head of the Buganda Kingdom, the efforts of King's College Budo's activists and the rest of Buganda's leadership – efforts quite indicative of Budo's expansive significance within Buganda and historical accord with the beliefs of the Ganda elite – were finally rewarded. After two years of relentless uproar and protest, Kabaka Mutesa II was officially reinstated to his throne on October 17th, 1955. To the great pleasure of his loyal Baganda residents, government leaders, and European church officials alike, his return was met with jubilation and relief across Buganda. Indeed, the Bishop of Uganda, Leslie Brown, was among the first to welcome back Buganda's exiled head with warmth and cordiality, writing to him on the first day of his formal release: "First, may I join with all your people in thanking God for your return and pray every possible blessing for you as you resume your reign."¹ Reiterating these supportive, compassionate sentiments, CMS leaders, in an open letter written on behalf of all their constituents, state:

¹ Bishop of Uganda Leslie Brown, letter to H. H. the Kabaka Mutesa II, 17 Oct. 1955, folder 979, box 171, Kabaka: Buganda Kingdom, 1955, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

The Church Missionary Society rejoice to know that [Kabaka Mutesa II] has now been restored to his country, his people and his throne. The Society would put on record their admiration for the sincere determination, which has throughout animated all concerned, to find a peaceful solution to the constitutional problems confronting the Protectorate of Uganda as a whole, and the kingdom of Buganda in particular. The Society would likewise desire to pay tribute... to the dignity and patience of the Kabaka and his people throughout a time of great stress and anxiety.²

Finally exiting this period marked by “great stress and anxiety,” it only makes sense that the Baganda felt enormous comfort and happiness in seeing their deposed Kabaka liberated from imperial banishment. Moreover, and doubtlessly adding to these optimistic feelings, the negotiations that netted Kabaka Mutesa II’s restoration also included clauses that were rather beneficial to Ganda aspirations of continued autonomy within the Uganda Protectorate.

Buganda’s government, diplomatic leadership, and selected representatives masterfully worked the provisions of this compromise two years in the making. Not only securing the reestablishment of the Kabaka on his throne, the arrangement, officially titled the Buganda Agreement of 1955, also contained guarantees that Britain’s government had absolutely no intentions of forcing Uganda into a coalition with Kenya and Tanganyika (modern-day Tanzania) without the consent of the people.³ Furthermore, the Agreement allowed Buganda to take on “more governmental responsibilities from central government, in areas such as education and agriculture,” steps that essentially gave Buganda “a fuller form of internal self-government... than it had previously enjoyed” within the Protectorate.⁴ Certainly, these developments, especially when viewed in conjunction with the Kabaka’s reinstatement, seem to presage an era that would again be characterized by the Buganda

² CMS leaders, open letter on behalf of their followers, 9 Nov. 1955, folder 979, box 171, Kabaka: Buganda Kingdom, 1955, Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP), Church of Uganda Archives, BrillOnline Primary Sources.

³ Apter, *Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 352.

⁴ Thompson, *Governing Uganda*, 330.

Kingdom's separate, independent, and, for all intents and purposes, dominant status within the region. However, during this unique time of near-independence, when the entire Uganda Protectorate and all its historically disparate populations could palpably realize and anticipate their political freedom that would necessitate their amalgamation into a unified state, Buganda's dissent – and the Buganda Agreement of 1955's terms endorsing and enabling this mentality – could not be peacefully reconciled with the rest of Uganda's political ideas and objectives.

While I cannot elaborate upon this contentious scene to any significant degree – such an endeavor would necessitate an entirely different project – suffice it to say that these issues of determining Buganda's place within the Ugandan state demanded abundant attention in Uganda's post-independent political theater. On October 9th, 1962, Uganda gained formal independence after well over half a century of British rule, but the newly freed state's politics were not marked by celebration and ecstasy, but rather consternation and turmoil, most particularly because of the Buganda Kingdom's resolute goals of predominantly autonomous function. Consequently, Milton Obote, Uganda's first Prime Minister and subsequent President, abolished recognition of the Kingdom in 1966, and it would not be restored until 1993 by current President Yoweri Museveni after decades of pressure and tension finally forced his hand.

Despite these years of uncertainty regarding Buganda's position within Uganda and the related strife caused by such controversy, King's College Budo remained a constant in its historical purpose of educating, developing, and refining the most promising students into mannered adults with vast professional – and political – opportunities. Indeed, a simple search of the school's prominent alumni network indicates this continued relevance and

prestige.⁵ However, as the above paragraphs illustrate the inconsistent relationship between Buganda and Uganda, Budo's mission had to necessarily endure a relative transition. No longer just a center representing Ganda elitism and ethnic distinction, the prominent institution expanded its realm with utmost success and still commands the same traditional respect that depicted its colonial reputation. Yet, as Buganda and Uganda's rapport continues to play a sizable role in the state's contemporary politics, it will be quite interesting to see if, and how, King's College Budo adjusts to reflect and accommodate this traditionally capricious political theater. After all, with Budo's origins and decades of its functionality completely influenced by Ganda allegiances – and residing in a region filled with citizens forever concerned and aware of theirs and their community's dignified sociopolitical standing – it would be historically prudent to at least consider the possibility that King's College Budo could undergo a change accommodating its customary, proven Ganda loyalties, should the Ganda-Ugandan political relationship incite such a situation.

⁵ “King's College Budo: Cradle for Uganda's Key Players,” *newvision.co.ug*, last modified July 19, 2012, <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/633140-king-s-college-budo-cradle-for-uganda-s-key-players.html>.

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