“What was best for a white child need not be the same for a dark child”: Producing the ‘educated African child’ in colonial Uganda’s schools, 1877-1963

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"Therefore, since we are surrounded by such a great cloud of witnesses, let us throw off everything that hinders and the sin that so easily entangles. And let us run with perseverance the race marked out for us, fixing our eyes on Jesus, the author and perfecter of faith, who for the joy set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and has sat down at the right hand of the throne of God…" (Hebrews 12:1-2, NIV)

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the family, friends, and colleagues who made this research possible, and to Rilla Grace Lefebvre – whose timely arrival allowed me to complete my data collection, and of whom I am immensely and eternally proud.

Abstract

Childhood is generally understood to denote a universal stage of development between infancy and adulthood. However, recent scholarship calls for a reinterpretation of childhood as a historically- and culturally-bounded concept. This dissertation takes up a neglected chapter in the history of childhood, namely, colonial constructions of childhood that simultaneously identified childhood as a developmental stage experienced by all children *and* a particularly precarious period for African children. Focusing on colonial Uganda, this research illuminates how notions of race, gender, religion, and 'development' shaped educational policy for African children and how these categories continue to inform education in post-colonial contexts.

Keywords: childhood studies, Uganda, colonialism, education

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Akakyama amamera: tekagololekeka.

That which is bent at the outset of its growth is almost impossible to straighten at a later age (Kilbride & Kilbride, 1990, p. 89).

Chapter 1. The Problem of Childhood

Figure 1. "Pupils coming home from school, 1953"[1]

All the world's a stage, / And all the men and women merely players; / They have their exists and their entrances, / And one man in his time plays many parts, / His acts being seven ages. At first the infant, / Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms; / And then the whining schoolboy, with his satchel / And shining morning fact, creeping like snail / Unwillingly to school. And then the lover…Then a soldier…And then in the justice…The sixth age shifts / Into the lean and slippered pantaloons, / With spectacles on nose and pouch on side; / His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide / For his shrunk shank; and his manly voice, / Turning again toward childish treble, pipes / And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all, / That ends this strange eventful history… (William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene VII, c. 1599-1600)

[1] Memorandum of Norman James Turner. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (168).

In 1560, Flemish renaissance painter Peter Bruegel completed the now famous oil-on-panel, entitled “Children’s Games” (Figure 2). The children in the painting, who appear to range in age from approximately two to eighteen, play games in a town square with intensity and focus, embodying the first two of seven stages – which span infancy to school-age – in the famous monologue from Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*.

Figure 2. “Children's Games” by Peter Bruegel

Art historians such as Orrock (2010) have argued that Bruegel intended to show the value of play, that children’s games possessed as much significance as the activities of their parents. In other words, children were important as children – not only as potential adults – and should occupy themselves with things concerning children, principally, “Children’s Games.” Rather than present childhood as part of a larger life-cycle that begins and ends with helplessness, as Shakespeare did, Bruegel depicted childhood as a distinct moment

in time, shaped by particular activities. As children play together in a town square, they are separated, both literally and figuratively, from adults.

Figure 3. “African Child” by Joseph Ntensibe

Contemporary Ugandan artist Joseph Ntensibe’s (2006) painting “African Child” (Figure 3) also depicts a group of children. However, in this case, they are occupied in activities quite different from Bruegel’s children. Here, and in other paintings by Ntensibe,[2] the children are shown doing chores. In this case they are carrying water, an important daily task in Uganda. A recurring theme in his paintings is the integration of children into family life, rather than their separation. Children are seen on their own (as

[2] See, for example, “Exodus – Road to nowhere” (Ntensibe, n.d.).

in this painting), or with adults, but are not seen playing children's games qua Bruegel. Instead, they are shown contributing to meeting their families' needs. The activities performed in Ntensibe's paintings might also be done with play and encompass fun, though not always. Like Katz's (2004) discussion of children's work and play in rural Sudan, Ntensibe's paintings – if they depict play at all – show work and play as "bound temporally…simultaneous, overlapping, or punctuated by one another" (p. 67). Reflecting on pre-colonial indigenous education in Uganda, Ssekamwa (1997) made a similar point:

> If we were to learn anything from the Ugandan indigenous education systems, learning in our schools today should be arranged in such a way that boys and girls should learn knowledge and skills at the same time while they are using both to produce useful materials, food stuffs, and services for their use, for the use of their families, and for the rest of the Ugandan society. (p. 19)

This is an altogether different image of childhood from the one emerging in Renaissance Europe captured in Bruegel's work.

Defining 'the Child'

What is important to note about these paintings (as well as Shakespeare's monologue) – and the ways in which they contrast – is that they reflect socially, culturally, and historically situated notions of the child. Scholars often use the term 'childhood' or 'child' uncritically, assuming that the reader is aware of their personal definition of the term; however, as Alma Gottlieb (2000) pointed out, "if cultural anthropology has taught us anything over the past century, it is that the most seemingly transparent of categories often turn out to be the most unexpectedly non-commensurable" (p. 122). She went on to write that categories such as those related to religion, time,

space, and even color are contested and culturally specific. Despite this scholarly attention to the incommensurability of categories, like child or adult, universal definitions of 'the child' persist, insensitive to childhood's locally and historically mediated nature.

As one example, since 1989, the United Nations (UN) has provided a 'universal' definition – childhood encompasses birth to age eighteen. Concomitantly, development initiatives and policy efforts have been made to protect children's rights, under the assumption that the rights of children ought to be very similar, owing a perceived uniformity in notions of childhood globally (Cheney, 2008; Lefebvre, under review). Yet, the lived experiences of individuals throughout the world, and across time, belie a much more complicated picture. In the United States, age – bounded by the Gregorian calendar – is marked annually; individuals move from "infancy" to "toddlerhood" to "childhood" as measured calendrically. The United Nations' definition of childhood follows a similar logic: children are children because of the number of years that have passed since their birth. Specifically, childhood is the life-cycle stage between birth and age eighteen, at which point, regardless of context, a child becomes a 'young adult' if not an 'adult.'

However, not all cultures share this approach to determining who is and who is not a 'child,' or indeed a 'human.' Moreover, not all cultures recognize childhood as a part of life wholly separate from 'adulthood' (Raman, 2000). For instance, Morgan (1998) wrote that in Ecuador personhood, as well as childhood, is commonly understood to be "conferred incrementally as the fetus/infant is ushered through a series of socially meaningful transitions" that occur both during pregnancy and afterward (p. 70). Rather than draw strict boundaries between a person and non-person, a child and adult, many

Ecuadorians consider humans to gradually acquire personhood over a lifetime. Cheney (2008), writing about Uganda, also noted the importance of "socially meaningful transitions," contending that "marriage (and having children) makes an adult" (p. 56). Even in the same context, such as the United Kingdom, 'childhood' has varied in its legal definition across time. The first official 'definition' of childhood could perhaps be found in the 1833 Factory Act, which Hendrick (1997) noted "prohibited selected employment of children under nine, and limited the working day to eight hours for those aged 9 and 13" (p. 42). Underscoring the fluidity of notions of childhood, later legislation passed in 1880 made school attendance compulsory for children ages five to ten, then was extended to include children ages five to eleven in 1893 and children ages five to twelve in 1899 (UK Parliament, n.d.); today childhood would conceivably include all individuals aged zero to eighteen, following global norms.

This multiplicity of perspectives leaves us with the original problem – what is childhood? And, who is 'the child'? At its most concrete, childhood seems to be the period from birth to eighteen when today, in most countries, individuals are recognized – at least legally – as adults.[3] However, it is equally important to recognize the intersecting influences of biological development; gender; religion; family; cultural, material and historical contexts; and, in the modern era, the international profusion of formal schooling. Thus, childhood is perhaps indefinable in the universal sense. It may rather be a set of discourses and practices attached to a period of time punctuated by biological

[3] The "FAQs and resources" page for the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) explains that the convention was "the most widely and rapidly ratified treaty in history" (UNICEF, 2016). Only Somalia and the United States have not ratified the agreement. Somalia has no recognized government, and the United States has indicated that it intends to ratify the treaty, but has yet to do so.

development (learning to walk or talk) and social achievements (attending school, participating in initiation ceremonies, marrying, and having children of one's own). How childhood is bounded, if it is bounded at all, seems contingent on myriad factors.

Given this, it is essential that scholars examine childhood in particular, local contexts to better understand the intersectionality of childhood as a socially, historically, and politically mediated life-cycle stage. Additionally, because of formal education's role as an institution that shapes the activities and timing of childhood, schooling is another significant variable that should enter into this analysis. While considerable research attention has been focused on childhood in the global North – most particularly Western Europe and the United States – fewer scholars have focused on childhood in the global South.[4] Concomitantly, little has been done to examine the historical development of notions of childhood in and through education in global South contexts. Given this dearth of research, this dissertation will take up one particular case and look at the intersection of notions of childhood, the colonial project,[5] and the establishment of formal education in Uganda.

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[4] As a recent "Goats and Soda" blog post to the NPR website pointed out, any term that seeks to summarize a diverse set of countries (and communities therewith) under a simplistic label like 'global North/global South' (or as 'First World/Third World,' or 'developing/developed') is problematic (Silver, 2015). Yet it can be useful to have a term that encompasses a group of countries that share some common characteristics. In this context, referring to scholarship focused on children and childhood, I employ the term 'global North' to suggest that most scholarly attention has focused on children in North America, Europe, and to a lesser extent, East Asia. My use of this term is consistent with others within the field of childhood studies, including the recently inaugurated project "Exploring Childhood Studies in the Global South," organized by Afua Twum-Danso Imoh at the University of Sheffield, that has brought together an interdisciplinary group of researchers to explore "childhood and children's lives in diverse contexts in the Global South to engage in theory and development using the various empirical studies that have been produced on Southern childhoods as a starting point for dialogue and action" (Southern Childhoods Network, 2015).

[5] I use the term "colonial project," to imply not a single event (i.e. when a place was colonized), but rather a series of events, activities, and attitudes that together constituted the assertion of control of one people group over another. In this case, I examine British colonization of Uganda, which extends from earliest British contact with the Baganda in the 1860s to independence in 1963 and beyond.

My study focuses on the Baganda, a prominent tribal group within Uganda, during a period of prolonged contact with and eventual colonization by the British, from 1877 to 1963. Over almost 100 years of colonial rule, missionaries and colonial officials, together with a growing class of educated (and converted) Ugandans, developed and spread formal education across the protectorate,[6] modeled on British notions of schooling and childhood. I selected Uganda, and the Buganda kingdom, because of the relatively high levels of school enrollment and educational development (i.e. building schools, training teachers, etc.), they achieved within East Africa and the Protectorate, respectively. To examine this complicated history further, I address the following in my dissertation:

- How were British missionary, colonialist, and Bagandan notions of childhood reflected and inverted in the development of education for Bagandan children?
- What do changes in these notions of childhood indicate about shifting understandings of the 'African' and 'universal' child throughout the colonial period (1877-1963), especially in terms of the appropriate or imagined futures of Ugandan children?

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[6] Technically, a 'protectorate' was meant to be a territory 'protected' by Great Britain, but not officially subsumed under the British government. However, as Lugard (1965) pointed out in a lengthy discussion of the differences between these two legal terms:

> The moment at which the civilised Powers of the world have asserted the unequivocal right and obligation of the more advanced races to assume responsibility for the backward races seems an appropriate one to brush aside these archaic and anomalous distinctions, and to abandon the farce of 'acquiring' jurisdiction by treaties not understood by their signatories, and foreign to their modes of thought [i.e. as happened in Uganda]. The time would seem to be ripe to declare the annexation of the British African protectorates, and to merge them…with the Crown colonies. (p. 38)

Lugard's racist assumption of British superiority notwithstanding, his characterization of the negligible differences between colonies and protectorates seems to be consistent with actual governance. Although the official terms might suggest otherwise, in practice the British administered both in similar ways.

As the following sections show, I argue that examining this history, through the use of archival materials, elucidates how contested notions of 'the child' were mediated in and through British imperial education. Further, these materials help to make clearer our understandings of the "strange eventful history" of schooling, as it remade Ugandan childhood along British imperial lines, creating and maintaining religious, gender, racial, and class inequalities. Understandings of the ideal 'child' (and her childhood) were fundamentally reshaped during the colonial period, establishing a socio-institutional momentum that has continued to influence Ugandan schooling and child-rearing today.

Children and Education in Colonial Uganda

What is significant about the exploration of archival materials related to British development of formal education in Uganda[7] is that they allow us insight into British notions of themselves as colonizers, as well as (some) Ugandans as the colonized. For instance, an example, taken from R. H. Walker's (1917) account of Uganda's education history, each step in Uganda's educational development was precipitated by the "kindly help" of the British government and the "great desire" of the Ugandan people:

> Now in Uganda…there is a great desire to have things done as well as possible…This desire for thoroughly good work was at once seen by the first travellers who entered the country. They could see that in native arts the people of Uganda[8] were far ahead of the surrounding tribes…This naturally formed a very

[7] This is by no means to suggest that prior to British colonialism education did not exist. As Ssekamwa (1997) argued in his book *The History and Development of Education in Uganda*, informal patterns of education were well established across all of what would become the modern state of Uganda. See Chapter 4 for a brief description of precolonial education.

[8] In early accounts of the Baganda, British authors often used the terms "Buganda" and "Uganda" interchangeably. Here Walker seems to be referring only to the kingdom of Buganda, contrasting their 'development' with other tribes in the Uganda Protectorate. In this dissertation, I have chosen to use "Buganda" (or its cognates) when discussing only the land or people which would be identified as a part of that particular kingdom. I have used "Uganda" more generally to imply the land or people that would fall within the bounds of the Ugandan Protectorate, upon which the modern state of Uganda is based.

> fertile ground for educational effort…At first missionary efforts took largely the form of teaching the people to read and write….Contact with Europeans stimulated the people's desire for trade. And men to carry on this work were sent out into all the surrounding countries with goods for sale. Thus arose the need for being able to write and to keep accounts. Schools were started, at first, only in the chief towns, but as time went on every chief demanded a school, and now in every village schools are found where reading, writing, and simple arithmetic are taught. Owing to the kindly help given by the English Administration of the country, it soon became possible to put up schools in which the sons of chiefs should have a much more complete education. *Boarding schools* [emphasis in original], under European supervision, were provided, and then the whole character of the boys was developed and cared for in a way that is not possible in day schools…It soon became necessary to have *girls' schools* [emphasis in original]. (pp. 283-284)

It is interesting that Walker (1917) attributed the development of schooling to the "English Administration." Other scholars, such as Ssekamwa (1997), have argued that the British government had little to do with school administration until approximately 1925. Before then, schools were built and maintained almost exclusively by mission organizations – such as the White Fathers from France and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) from Great Britain – most notably due to the extensive network of schools they built. Here, by examining an archival text vis-à-vis other accounts of the development of schooling, one can see that Walker's narrative skews in favor of a benevolent colonizer. Further, exploring archival documents related to notions of childhood and formal schooling over the course of almost a century allows one to see how and which ideas took shape and grew, were challenged or interrupted, or shifted and changed in and through colonial processes. As Cooper and Stoler (1997) suggested, examining the intertwining of colonialism, education, and childhood affords significant insight into "how categories of race, class, and gender helped to define moral superiority and maintain cultural differences" (p. 4). Accounts of schooling and childhood are

framed by these contested notions of superiority, and as times of intense socialization and enculturation within the life-cycle, they serve as ideal foci for an analysis of colonialism and culture.

Turning again to R. H. Walker’s (1917) account as an example, we can see the crafting of this grammar of difference throughout his history of education: Boys and girls have different (gendered) needs and education must be developed accordingly. Likewise, sons of chiefs and other leaders needed a more advanced educational program that went beyond basic literacy and numeracy, leading to the establishment of different schools. The tribes of Uganda were particularly apt and ready pupils, compared to the other tribes in East Africa who had a “strong disinclination…for strenuous and sustained effort” (p. 283). The superiority of European child-rearing patterns is presumed, given the emphasis placed on the “whole” education of the child in boarding schools – which would remove children from their homes – as compared to day schools. Moreover, Europeans, bringing both education and morality, were considered to be uniquely positioned by their benevolence to help facilitate Uganda’s development such that “the country [would] proceed by leaps and bounds” (p. 286).

Reading this historical account, alongside other academic work, monographs, official reports, policy documents, letters and ephemera, penned by colonists, missionaries, and Ugandans over nearly a century facilitates the exploration of a complex historical landscape of intersecting notions of childhood and colonial education. Thus, this project aims to look more carefully at childhood and constructions of the ‘universal child’ and the ‘African child’ through a history of schooling in colonial Uganda.

Specifically, I will examine the development of colonial and mission education in the Buganda kingdom from 1877-1963, a period initiated when Kabaka Mutesa I, the Bagandan King, requested British teachers from Queen Victoria, and terminated with Ugandan independence and the establishment of a Uganda Education Commission to reflect on colonial schooling and make recommendations as to the country's future educational development.[9] This period can be further refined to focus on four critical moments: (1) the advent of the first formal primary schools, established by missionaries in the early 1900s; (2) the increase of government involvement in schooling, catalyzed by the Phelps-Stokes Report in 1925; (3) the analysis and subsequent reformation of schooling with the de Bunsen Commission in 1953; and (4) the creation and aims of the post-independence Uganda Education Commission (or Castle Commission) in 1963. In these moments, discussions surrounding the purpose and practice of schooling came to the forefront of colonial conversations, which had significant implications for the (re)shaping of Ugandan childhoods.

I have chosen the Buganda region because of the concentrated focus of the British colonial administration and Anglican missionaries on the Baganda as "colonial middle figures" (Hunt, 1999) who would assist in administering the Ugandan protectorate. Compared to most 'lazy' East Africans (Walker, 1917), the British perceived the Baganda to be well equipped to facilitate their imperial expansion (Low, 2009). In his

[9] The following conventions are used throughout this dissertation: *Buganda* refers to the kingdom or region; *Baganda* refers to the people; *Muganda* refers to an individual; and *Luganda* refers to the language of the Baganda. To avoid confusion some scholars and authors have used only the root –*Ganda*. However, I have chosen to use the same conventions as the Baganda themselves.

account of *Uganda and its Peoples*, James Frederick Cunningham (1905), a secretary for the colonial government, wrote:

> What strikes one nowadays is the advance made by the Christian Missions in the teaching of these people. They are a kindly, contented people, living in a country blessed with a charming climate and a generous soil. There are no famine seasons in Uganda.[10] Every month has its rain supply, and in consequence the groves of bananas are always green and flourishing. (p. 147)

This mix of imagery of fertile soil and fertile minds ready for cultivation underscores the British view of the Baganda as ideal collaborators, particularly when compared to descriptions of other groups, such as the Bunyoro – traditionally one of the most powerful kingdoms in the region – who were described by Cunningham as "a rather low type" (p. 28). As such, the British provided the Ugandan Protectorate in general, and the Baganda in particular, with some of the greatest educational access in colonial Africa (Frankema, 2012). The advent of missionary involvement in 1877 marked the beginning of almost a century of schooling, of one kind or another, organized and run by missionaries, later with increasing support from the colonial government. As education developed and spread, so too did Protestant and Catholic missions, and British governance. Thus, much of Uganda's educational history is intertwined with Christianity and colonialism, and its post-colonial system of schooling reflects this comingling of Christian and colonial notions of 'the child.' This is not to suggest that this collaboration occurred without disagreements – there were many moments when missionary and colonial visions diverged (sometimes sharply) and came into conflict. It is the

[10] This quote is from Cunningham's (1905) chapter on the Baganda – as with the earlier Walker (1917) quote, this reference to Uganda appears to be specific to Buganda.

convergences and divergences between these groups, and their interests and educational efforts aimed at African children, that form the focus of this dissertation.

The Child and the School

In her book, *Perpetual Motion*, Baker (2001) writes that "[i]n present-day educational literature there is much attention to the effects of schooling on the child but less paid to the effects of 'the child' on the school" (p. 435). She contends that "without the idea of childhood there could be no idea of the public school, and with the idea of the public school came reinforcement of the idea of child*hood* as something that must compulsorily be experienced as a segregated period of life" (p. 436). Schools in colonial contexts became particular potent sites for empires to remake their most 'vulnerable' subjects, namely children. Scholars have argued that formal schooling was used as a way to both maintain boundaries between the colonizer and the colonized (Colonna, 1997), as well as to "de-Indigenize" "child-like subjects in need of colonial intervention" (de Leeuw, 2009, p. 123). Drawing upon these ideas, this dissertation endeavors to fill a gap in the literature at the nexus of (post)colonial history, childhood studies, and education. Accordingly, in Chapter 2 I explore literature related to these three fields of inquiry, focusing first on a brief history of ideas about childhood and children and then on the literature used to frame my own research. Then, in Chapter 3 I outline the specific parameters of this dissertation, including my methodological approach, which blends comparative education and history. Together, these chapters provide an introduction for the remainder of this dissertation, which traces schooling and childhood through the pre-colonial period, to the establishment of formal schooling and its expansion and growth

through Ugandan independence. Chapter 4 analyzes secondary sources written by British colonists and missionaries, as well as a few Ugandans, to reconstruct what childhood may have looked like prior to colonial intervention. Chapters 5 through 8 focus on four critical moments, mentioned earlier in this chapter, when educational policy and child-rearing came to the forefront of colonial and missionary efforts. These chapters trace both the changing shape of and ideas regarding children and childhood, as informed by British notions of race, gender, religion, and African development. Finally, to conclude this dissertation, Chapter 9 discusses the implications of this research and contends that if we are to better understand current shortcomings in development initiatives and to address educational inequalities, we must continue to critically explore how disparate understandings of children were used to inform the introduction of a stratified system of schooling in colonial Uganda and elsewhere.

Chapter 2. History, Education, and Childhood in Uganda

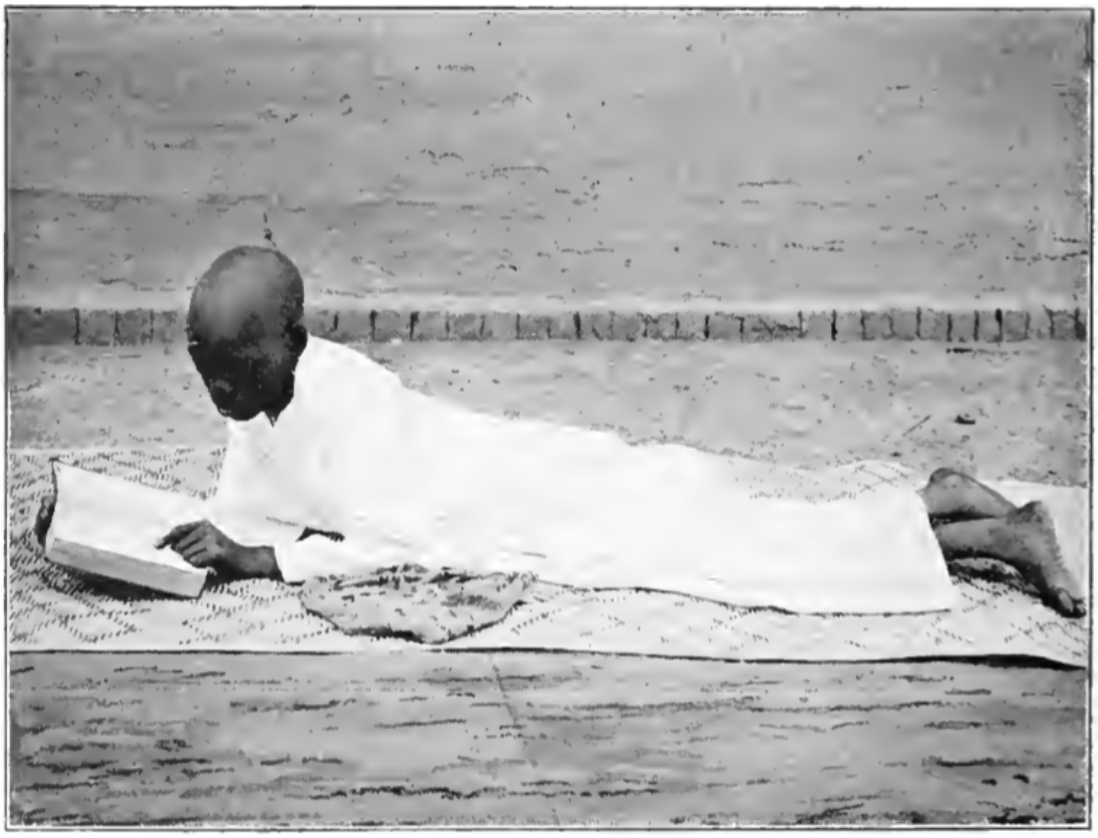

Figure 4. "Favourite Attitude of Baganda Pupils"[11]

> Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations which include notions that certain territories and people *require* [emphasis in original] and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with that domination. (Said, 1994, p. 9)
>
> As recent scholarship on gender and empire has shown, histories of childhood have been closely interconnected within imperial and colonial race policies. The dual interests of these politics were governing native races and improving the white race, both to be achieved through a focus on the rising generation. (Paisley, 2004, p. 240)

[11] This photo was one of many published in Hattersley’s (1908) book *The Baganda at Home.* Aside from being credited with establishing formal education in Uganda, Hattersley was an avid photographer and took hundreds of photos of daily life in Uganda.

Introduction

Notions of childhood have likely been contested and recontested for time immemorial. DeLoache and Gottlieb (2000) underscored the cultural importance of child-rearing – which begins in the womb, rather than infancy, as one might suppose – in their book *A World of Babies*. They showed how babies are carefully prepared for, birthed, and tended to during their earliest years in ways that are deeply, contextually embedded. Whereas the Balinese might avoid putting the baby down for the first several months of its life, the Walpiri and Wuro recommend that an infant come into contact with the ground during or shortly after its birth to cement its relationship to its homeland. Similarly, Lancy's (2008) *The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings* showed cross-cultural elements of continuity and difference between notions of the child, and relatedly the upbringings and imagined futures deemed appropriate for them. He highlighted how in modern American and British cultures, parents are encouraged to begin teaching their children as soon as possible, if not in the womb itself – a view Lancy credited to the Renaissance, which "ushered in the novel idea that children were sensible or educable at a much earlier period" (p. 167). In contrast, as I explore in Chapter 4, traditionally, the Baganda viewed children as having been born with no 'sense,' and were therefore seen as being incapable of instruction until they could talk. All of these beliefs about when and how a child might progress through various biological and/or social milestones have implications for the types of education deemed appropriate for them.

The structure of society and its economy also has an impact on the child-rearing process. Although "prior to the modern era, 'education' was not confined to a classroom or textbooks," (Lancy, 2008, p. 235), today schooling constitutes a significant aspect of child-rearing. As Baker (2001) asserted in her work, referenced in the previous chapter, childhood and formal schooling have a mutually reinforcing and delimiting relationship. Just as formal schooling sets childhood apart as a period of life often segregated from the community, where children are tasked with learning more or less abstract concepts to be applied later in adult life, without the idea of a 'child,' as distinct from adults and in need of special care or instruction, there could be no school (at least as we know it).

While it would be impossible to trace the entire, global history of notions of childhood and the development of modern schooling in this chapter,[12] Anderson-Levitt (2005) asserted that worldwide, an increasing number of children experience similar forms of schooling vis-à-vis formal education:

> The spread of Western-style schooling means that children growing up around the globe have a more uniform experience of socialization than in the past. That is because, varied as it is, schooling is a more uniform experience than family socialization, which has taken several different forms. In spite of local and national variability, classroom experience has roughly a single structure. (p. 998)

Although I contend in this dissertation that schooling and childhood can still vary significantly, understanding the processes by which Western-style schooling spread, often displacing traditional and more locally-contingent child-rearing practices as it went,

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[12] Although neither author would view their work as all-encompassing, both Lancy's (2008) *The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel,* Changelings, and Stearns' (2006) *Childhood in World History*, 2nd Ed. are two of the best cross-cultural analyses of childhood. Ariès's (1960) earlier *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* is also worth noting, as it is considered seminal to the field of childhood studies and argued that concepts of childhood, child-rearing, and the experiences of children vary across time and space.

is important. This is especially true in colonial contexts where childhood was changed abruptly and through outside intervention on the part of colonists and missionaries who often viewed native populations as (inherently) inadequate. Explicating the ways in which schooling was *imposed* – thereby in some ways creating a similar (global) experience for school children – and *appropriated* – as local communities adapted elements of policy and retained aspects of traditional child-rearing practices – helps disrupt normative assumptions that either schools or children have always been as they are today.

Moving forward, the first section of this chapter focuses on the development of ideas about childhood in the United Kingdom, as they pertain to the eventual establishment of formal schooling across the British Empire and especially in Uganda. My purpose in briefly tracing this history is to help make sense of the theoretical framings that either consciously or unconsciously underpinned the educational efforts of missionaries and colonial officials contemporary to the period under study. Understanding these epistemologies of the African child will help make clearer the ways in which the meaning and experience of childhood was decoupled and reshaped through the introduction of schooling in colonial Uganda. The second section outlines my own theoretical framework, which largely draws on more contemporary literature, to explicate my approach to the reading of these historical texts. Both culturalist scholars, who demonstrate in their work the tremendous variety of childhood and educational experiences globally, as well as postcolonial scholars, who have decoupled tropes of development, the 'African,' and in some cases 'the child,' offer much to research like this

aimed at showing the ways in which competing ideas about the child and his or her proper education came to inform the development of modern schooling in colonial Uganda.

Historicizing 'the Child' and 'the School' in Colonial Uganda

The child, human nature, and universalism. At their most basic, universalistic notions of the child – often predicated on the idea of a common human experience guided by biology – emphasize "that underlying the diversity of human experience it is possible, first, to discern a universal and given human nature, and secondly to find it revealed in the common language of nationality" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 27). Scholars and laypersons taking up this premise have seen the universal human as being "made human by the things [s]he knows" (p. 29). As such, education has been accepted as integral to the proper development of man. Concomitantly, childhood has been seen as the ideal time to model and develop the mind, and likewise, to inculcate a national (or imperial) sense of identity, and to impart moral and cultural values. Coupled with a biologically-oriented understanding of life-cycle progression, these humanist-influenced ideas have perpetuated notions of a 'universal childhood' in the Western world since at least the Enlightenment (Lancy, 2008).

While clearly not an exhaustive review of Enlightenment-era scholars, three are worth noting as foundational to this universal view. First, Locke – whose theory of the mind is considered foundational to modern concepts of the self and identity – proposed the notion that a child came into the world as a *tabula rasa* [blank slate] and that knowledge was based on experience, gained through sensation and reflection (Cleverley

& Phillips, 1986). Locke believed that "the child required specific guidance and instruction…in order to acquire virtue, reason, and learning, [and] to positively mediate the dangerous loves constantly arising within" (Baker, 2001, p. 203). Education, then, was an antidote to man's less developed, baser instincts. In contrast, Rousseau – a Romantic reacting to the Enlightenment's rationalism and to the advances of industrialism and capitalism – drew on the concept of a *tabula rasa* to assert the opposite: Children were amoral. Humans came to understand both good and evil – and to develop reason – through interactions with nature. Instead of being born with baser instincts, "God [made] all things good; man [meddled] with them and they [became] evil" (as cited in Cleverley & Phillips, 1986, p. 34). For Rousseau, an ideal education should be oriented around nature and protection of children's innocence. Taking a third approach, Wesley – an Anglican preacher whose work catalyzed the birth of Methodism – wrote extensively on man's inherent sinfulness and immorality, and the concomitant need for parents to train their children from a young age. Rather than view children as either undeveloped or amoral, Wesley saw children as in need of spiritual reformation. Consequently, he advocated for secular and religious education – along with strict routine and corporal punishment – to "restore the rational nature of man so far as this was possible" (as cited in Cleverley & Phillips, 1986, p. 29) from its fallen form because of the original sin of mankind.

Reading across these early scholars, their work coalesces around several key themes that (re)emerged in later discourses surrounding childhood, education, and colonialism: First, children were generally understood to develop in universally-similar

ways along a linear path that reached its conclusion in rational (male) adulthood.[13] Second, children's successful development could be ensured through the proper cultivation of their minds – subsequently understood to be enacted through formal schooling and developmentally appropriate child-rearing techniques. A third and a fourth contested theme related to the relative 'goodness' or 'evilness' or children, and whether or not children's innate characteristics were most attributable to the environment or heredity (often expressed with the phrase 'nature versus nurture'), respectively, were unresolved. While the British did not come into direct contact with the Baganda kingdom until 1862 – well after the lifetimes of Locke, Wesley, or Rousseau – the ways in which the answers to these questions were variably answered in the 18th and 19th centuries informed the notions, discourses, and practices taken up by colonists and missionaries.

Universalism and the British imperial project. Concurrent with the rise of Britain's imperial century (marked by historians as occurring from 1815-1914), Victorian middle-class ideals, undergirded by the idealization of the family as the basic unit of society, came to prominence. As a part of the family, children were seen as separate and unique from adults; as non-adults, children needed protection to ensure their proper

[13] Concomitant to attention to the rational, Enlightenment (male) ideal were conversations surrounding the 'female nature' and women's roles within society, and as well as the proper education for the girl child. Goodman (1997) pointed out in her chapter on "Women and the Enlightenment" that scholars coalesced in two different groups. The first group, informed by the work of François Poulain de la Barre argued that women and men had equal capacity to reason and that women's subjugation was only due to a problematic use of force: "[t]he equity of men and women was grounded in the commonality of the reasoning faculty; the historical oppression of women could be explained by the subordination of reason to force" (p. 238). In the second group, scholars took up a "Cartesian" gender ideology that suggested that women and men played unique and complementary roles within society. Moreover, "[t]he triumph of reason would negate men's unwarranted power and lead to a harmonious and peaceful existence in which neither sex dominated the other but each had its own role to play based on its particular nature" (p. 239). As is shown later in this dissertation, it is the second of these two views, which emphasized the 'complementary' nature of (inherently more powerful) men and (less powerful) women, that would largely come to inform colonial education in Uganda.

development – picking up the ideas put forward by Locke and Wesley. To ensure proper development, social reformers in Great Britain became increasingly concerned with the child-rearing practices of the lower classes, something that had significant implications for children as well as their mothers, who were considered primarily responsible for their upbringing. Many of the causes of indigent and licentious behavior in the British lower classes at home were credited to poor parenting. As one example, Reverend Micaiah Hill (1853) published a prize-winning essay on juvenile delinquency, in which he identified the causes and consequences of the delinquent or 'unchildlike child':

> The neglect of children by their parents is not invariably to be censured, but oftener to be pitied. Can as much be said in favour of society? We fear not. The dereliction of parental duty will be found associated with (1) ignorance; (2) helplessness; (3) too early exposure of children to the hardships and temptations of life; (4) cruelty; (5) depravity. So far as the corruption of the large portion of the children of the nation depends on society, it may be traced to (1) selfish indifference to the condition of the dependent classes; and (2) injudicious and harsh interference. (p. 26)

Correspondingly, Hill and others argued that deficiencies in children's home environments, often caused by their parents, and in particular their mothers, necessitated: schooling to ensure the proper 'rearing' of lower-class children; legislation aimed at protecting children from work and other social ills (e.g. idleness, prostitution, and alcohol); and most importantly, that – as Mary Carpenter, a social and educational reformer stated – "a child…[be] treated as a child" (as cited in Hendrick, 2004, p. 44). As I will show in Chapters 5 through 8, similar arguments would later be used to advocate for intervention into the rearing of the 'African child.'

The social reform movements of the Victorian and Edwardian periods facilitated the rise of a national, more state-centered construction of childhood. Building on earlier

theorists, politicians, educators, and psychologists pushed toward a 'universal' understanding of children as integral to the pursuit of national and imperial interests and advocated for schooling as a way to ensure the proper development of the British citizen and/or imperial subject. These reformers argued that through racial hygiene, education, responsible parenting, social purity, and preventative medicine, the nation might be strengthened (Hendrick, 2004). Underscoring this increased attention to the role of public institutions in policing childhood was the view that education was panacea that could ensure the proper development of children along a particular, universal model (an almost two-century old zeitgeist that continues to permeate modern development discourse). In 1845, Henry Moseley, a school inspector in Britain, wrote: "I have found the hopes of all enlightened men to rest, as the great hope of staying to some degree this flood of evil, upon education" (as cited in Johnson, 1970, p. 96). In response to increasing attention to the needs of the child, in 1870, the British government passed the Elementary Education Act, which encouraged an expansion of education provision, especially for under-served areas and communities. Prior to this, schooling had been managed by voluntary agencies, the majority of which were religious (especially Anglican) in nature – an interesting parallel to the historical development of schooling in colonial Uganda, which also began as an enterprise of voluntary agencies. Although the government stopped short of mandating enrollment, only a decade later, compulsory education was instituted throughout the country, and in 1902 Britain's education system was organized under a national administration (Ramirez & Boli, 1987; UK Parliament, n.d.).[14] For the first time,

[14] It is interesting to note that the organization of Britain's educational system happened at almost the same

the boundaries of childhood were less defined by families or local communities than by law and government institutions.

Parallel provisions for infant and child-welfare were also enacted as increasing the population came to be seen as crucial to Britain's continued economic and political power.[15] Explaining this new public emphasis on children, Charles Kingsley wrote: "It was a duty, one of the noblest of duties, to help the increase of the English race as much as possible" (as cited in Davin, 1978, p. 10). Children's proper development, as future imperial leaders and subjects, became a matter of political necessity:

> The birth rate then was a matter of national importance: population was power. Children…belonged 'not merely to the parents but to the community as a whole'; they were 'a national asset', 'the capital of a country'; on them depended 'the future of the country and the Empire'; they were 'the citizens of tomorrow'. (Davin, 1978, p. 10).

In light of the arguments of Malthus – who contended that the earth's finite resources would be depleted due to over-population, unless the world's economies followed a more 'Western' pattern – and Social Darwinism – which "rested on a common belief in the centrality of biology of human affairs" – "[m]any Europeans saw the nation in racial terms and viewed warfare and political conflict as biological struggles for superiority in which the size and 'quality' of the nation would play a critical role" (Ittman, 2010 p. 62).

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time as the first formal primary schools were opened by missionaries in Uganda (see Chapter 5).

[15] In her article on "Imperialism and Motherhood," Davin (1978) cited several examples of legislation targeted at infant and child health in the early 20th century:

> Laws designed to improve the conditions of infancy and childbirth were passed: midwives were required to have training (1902 – though with delayed execution), local authorities were empowered to provide meals for needy children (1906), and obliged to organize medical inspection (though not treatment) in schools (1907), births had to be notified within six weeks so that health visitors could be sent round (1907), while the Children Act of 1908 made detailed provision across the spectrum of child welfare. (p. 11)

These efforts and others were aimed at securing Britain's imperial power and ensuring that Germany and the United States – or other countries – would not outpace the UK in size and prominence, eventually overshadowing the British.

In Britain, Ittman (2010) argued, this manifested itself in concerns about population “quality” (p. 62).

Colonial experiences played into these more locally-mediated discussions, just as British national conversations informed colonial policy regarding child-rearing, education and citizenship. For instance, the outbreak of the second Boer War in South Africa in 1899 and its disastrous conclusion affirmed the need for greater attention to national health. Although the British ultimately defeated the Boers, their poor military performance and rejection of approximately a third of their recruits as unfit for military service because they were “too small…too slight, or [had] heart troubles, weak lungs, rheumatic tendencies, flat feet, or bad teeth” (Davin, 1978, p. 15) raised questions about the presupposed superiority of the Empire and of racial degeneration. These deficiencies were ultimately attributed by many to “ignorance on the part of the mothers of the necessary conditions for the bringing up of health children” (Major General Sir Frederick Maurice KCB, as cited in Davin, 1978, p. 15). Consequently, greater attention was paid to national health and child-rearing practices, most notably vis-à-vis local schools because they afforded greater access to and leverage over school-aged children in particular (Davin, 1978). If the British were to maintain their global dominance, they would have to be careful to ensure that its population, both at home and abroad, was up to the task.

More specifically to this case study, authors contemporary to the colonization of Uganda took up universalist, understandings of childhood in two principal ways: first, humanity – like children – was believed to develop along a linear path, and second, that it

was the responsibility of more advanced civilizations to ensure the proper development of more child-like peoples either within Britain or outside it. Indeed, the idea of a *tabula rasa* and innocent natural world was abandoned for 'scientific' observations of the 'inadequacies' of African development; the category of 'child' was often assigned to African adults themselves.

To the first point, early British colonists and explorers to Uganda noted the positionality of the Baganda vis-à-vis a larger universal narrative of development. For instance, Captain Lugard, a leader of the British campaign to annex Uganda to the empire, explained:

> So far, however, as my observation goes, domestic slavery among the Christians in Uganda approximates rather to a system of serfdom or a feudal system…Such a system is possibly as good a one, in the ordinary development of our early civilisation, as any other; if indeed it is not (as would appear from the history of our Western civilisations) *a natural stage in the evolution from savagery to civilisation* [emphasis added]. It has therefore its advantages in the prevention of idleness, the enforcing of respect for rank, which alone enables the government of a semi-savage country to be carried on. (as cited in Bentley, Frederick, & Dealtry, 1892, p. 43)

Lugard's reading of Uganda's society in light of Western history suggested that Uganda could be expected to proceed along a similar model of development from slave or feudal to capitalism and was reminiscent of other European theorists at the time, including Marx (Peet & Hartwick, 2009).

To the second point, just as adults were considered responsible for the proper development of children, so too was it the responsibility of more advanced civilizations to ensure the proper development of others. In their justification of British imperial expansion to Uganda, Bentley, Frederick, and Dealtry (1892) wrote, "There is no lack of

inducement, concurrent with obligations of a high duty, to encourage the British nation to undertake its responsibilities in East Africa" (p. 48). Colonialism was generally understood (by colonizers, at any rate) to be for the common good of humankind – a civilizing force. Likewise, any inclination that the peoples of Africa were similar to Europeans was credited to their pre-colonial exposure to the advances of Western ideology and practice, via other peoples who had the 'benefit' of earlier contact with Europeans. Johnston, the Commissioner of Uganda from 1899 to 1901, noted in his account, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1904):

> The Negro, in short, owes what little culture he possessed, before the advent of the Moslem Arab and the Christian white man, to the civilising influence of ancient Egypt; but this influence…travelled to him, not directly up the White Nile, but indirectly, through Abyssinia and Somaliland. (p. 487)

In dealing with the uncultured "child races of the world" (Lugard, 1965, p. 72), it was essential that the British use education as a tool to "ameliorate the childlike qualities of Indigenous subjects, which in turn would result in a civilized (grown-up) Indigenous population" (de Leeuw, 2009, p. 128). With adults conceptualized as 'children,' children became important to colonial policy only insofar as they had the potential to progress toward the imagined ideal of European 'adulthood.'

These ideas, which conceived of humankind as progressing along a linear development trajectory toward civilization and, likewise, of children as progressing along a linear path toward adulthood, continued to influence Uganda's education policy beyond earliest contact and colonization at the end of the 19th century. In the years immediately prior to and following Ugandan independence, scholars theorized about the expected development trajectories of newly independent African countries. For instance, in the

1960s Rostow posited that 'economic growth' would follow a regular pattern globally (Peet & Hartwick, 2009); as countries moved from 'less' to 'more developed' they would do so along a particular path and educating people was considered to be an essential part of this development. This linear, humanist model was also taken up and codified by regional and international organizations, such as the UN or the World Bank, who stepped forward to intervene in Uganda's development as the British stepped back. Predicated on the protection of human rights, 'developed' nations have continued to justify their intervention in 'underdeveloped' nations, most particularly in the case of children, through the diffusion of global schooling well into the 21st century (Cheney, 2010; Lefebvre, under review; Pence, 2011; Raman, 2000).

British domination and African under-development. Toward the middle of the 20th century and the end of the colonial period, a counter-narrative addressing childhood, schooling, and colonialism emerged and is relevant to understanding documents from the late colonial period – most particularly the views of Marxist- and/or socialist-influenced pan-Africanists who argued that British colonialism was directed at their own economic gain, rather than the purported 'civilization' of African subjects.[16] As one example, Siegel (1946) argued that the educational provisions of the British, French, and Belgians in colonial Africa were less directed at social 'betterment' than at exerting economic

[16] This is not to suggest that Marxist critiques of colonialism were unique to pan-Africanists; there are others who made similar arguments. For instance, Gramsci posited that states used cultural institutions – such as schools and churches – to maintain the social order by presented bourgeois values as 'normative' or 'natural' (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Writing about Africa specifically, Hobson (1902), a political scientist, linked Europe's imperial expansion to its capitalist economy, arguing that growing production that outpaced demand created a need for new markets and foreign investments. Gluckman and others at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute were similarly critical, and critiqued colonialism from a structural perspective (Schumaker, 2002).

control: "…education aimed at preparing a dependent people for full political and economic independence will differ significantly from an educational program designed to hold a people permanently under the aegis of an outside power" (p. 552). Expenditures and enrollment figures for colonial African education in the 1940s show that even in the comparatively best-educated British colonies, primary school provision was scant. Only one-third of Uganda's school-aged children and over 50% of Nyasaland's school-aged children were enrolled – Nyasaland having the highest African school enrollment rate and Uganda the second highest. Concomitantly, in Uganda in 1943, £3 s10 was spent to educate each European child, while only s9 d10 was spent on each African child.[17] This would be roughly equivalent to £140 per European child and less than £20 per African child in 2016 (Officer & Williamson, 2016); the difficulties of translating past amounts into the present notwithstanding, in Uganda the British spent approximately one-seventh on each African child of what they spent on each European child. Siegel (1946) argued that this gross under-enrollment and lack of funding belied the British (and French and Belgian) commitment to eventual self-government and African independence. He contended that education was created primarily to facilitate colonial exploitation of raw materials and to create a caste of marginally educated workers. Implementation of an educational policy more on par with schooling in the metropole – truly equal education – would disrupt this process "tear[ing] down the very foundations of the colonial system or else precipitate grave disorders in the territories" (p. 562).

[17] A pound (the symbol for which is: £) is the basic unit of British currency. Prior to decimalization of the currency in 1971, there were 20 shillings (the symbol for which is: "s") to the pound and 12 pence (the symbol for which was: "d") to a shilling.

Reflecting on colonialism in the early years of Ugandan independence, Okoth (1993) similarly critiqued the ways in which colonial schooling maintained inequalities, asserting that British colonial education systems used cultural and ideological domination to destroy the culture of the Ugandan people, and – concomitantly – to prepare Africans for participation in a stratified economic system that perpetuated European control:

> The purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private firms owned by Europeans…It was not an educational system that grew out of the Ugandan environment; neither was it one designed to promote the most rational use of material and social resources. It was not an educational system designed to give young Ugandans confidence and pride as members of the Ugandan society; but one that sought to instil a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist. (p. 139)

From this perspective, schooling was seen primarily as a vehicle for capitalist domination and control. Wandira (1972) suggested that education's emphasis on 'manual' or 'communal' activities perpetuated the under-preparation of Africans. Certainly the long hours "spent out of doors cleaning the compound, sweeping paths, planting flowers, cash and subsistence crops, scrubbing floors and doing a number of odd jobs" (p. 217) seemed contrary to the stated purpose of preparing Uganda for independence. What is important about these critiques of colonialism is that they highlight the ways in which childhood could be used by those in power to exert cultural, political, and economic control and to (re)shape colonial-indigenous relationships.

Complicating historical perspectives. Of course not all missionaries and colonists shared the views of 'universalists.' Many missionaries, in particular, sympathized with African struggles, were troubled about their roles, and questioned how

'civilizing' the influence of Europeans actually was. As Uganda neared independence, Reverend Poulton wrote in his 1959 annual letter:

> It is an interesting phenomenon (in so far as one can get outside oneself at times like this), that one feels closer to them [Africans] than ever (sharing in the excitement and hopes and visions), but at the same time so far off [emphasis in original], as a European basically. David, our three year old, has been given a record recently in which a gollywog sings 'I do wish my face wasn't white'... We enter into it with feeling!![18]

Other missionaries felt that the British had only succeeded in importing some of the worst aspects of their home culture, namely materialism. Nor did many officials or missionaries share pan-Africanist views, although there are instances where a radical rejection of Uganda's colonial legacy and an assertion that the country must 'Africanize' found their way into other documents (most notably in the memoranda submitted to the Uganda Education Commission and discussed in Chapter 8). Still, it is important to understand pervading ideas about childhood, colonialism, and schooling because government officials, missionaries, and Ugandans would likely have been aware of, if not influenced by them. There are instances of convergence and divergence from these ideas throughout the materials used in this dissertation. As such, this short history of ideas should be seen as a compliment to the much more detailed analyses of this dissertation's history of childhood and schooling in Uganda.

Theoretical Framings of the Child

While the aforementioned history is useful for understanding some of the perspectives at play in writings contemporary to the British colonial project in Uganda,

[18] Emphasis in original. Letter by Reverend J. F. Poulton, 1959. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF AL 1950-59 PH-RN.

they were of limited use for my own analyses and understandings of this time period. How individuals (i.e. Ugandans, missionaries, or colonists) understood and interpreted their experiences is important, but it does not replace new interpretations that might be made in hindsight, with the benefit of a broader (though still incomplete) historical view. If the authors of archival materials, as S. C. Wood described his perspective, took a "worm's eye view"[19] – one from below, but close to the events as they transpired – then as an author of this history perhaps my perspective could best be described as a "bird's eye view" – one from above, but far away, reflecting on events long after they had passed. Accordingly, the second section of this chapter highlights two theoretical perspectives that were useful to understanding the production of the 'educated African child' in Uganda – culturalism and postcolonialism – and each will be discussed in turn.

Culturalist childhoods. Culturalist scholars, as I group them here, come largely from the field of anthropology and have argued that childhood is best understood locally. Instead of speaking of a universal childhood, culturalists have suggested that scholars should seek to understand local childhoods (in the plural). One of the earliest pioneers of this perspective, Margaret Mead (1928, 1930; Mead & Wolfenstein, 1963), argued that 'the child' as a knowable, theoretical category did not exist. Certainly children grow up and develop, but so too do adults. Therefore, each individual's childhood had to be understood as contextually specific and each individual's development lifelong; as Mead (1975) explained, "things must be relatively homemade in a given locality" (p. 23).

[19] Interview with Mr. W. L. Bell & Mr. S. C. Wood by A. Kirk-Green, 1982. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (171).

Lancy's (2008) more recent work made a similar assertion; the life cycle is relative not only to a given locality or home, but to the 'child' him or herself, "getting sense" or growing up can occur across an age span of several years (as a new parent myself, the tremendous variety in timelines, trajectories, aptitudes of each individual child is made apparent to me daily).

Local constructions of childhood. Building on the suggestion of plural childhoods, rather than the assumption of a universal child, culturalist scholars seek in their work a deeper understanding of the ways in which childhood can be constructed and understood locally. For instance, Gottlieb (1998, 2000; DeLoache & Gottlieb, 2000), whose work was referenced earlier, has written extensively on infancy across cultures and on the ways in which local understandings of infancy, as well as spirituality, history, and culture, inform infant care. Even if biological development dictates, in a limited sense, what "pattern[s] may be common (though not universal), the local cultural systems that give it meaning are variable. The same behavior may make sense in very different ways, and for very different reasons, in diverse contexts" (1998, p. 130). Similarly, Tobin's (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989; Tobin, Hsueh, & Karasawa, 2009) studies of the quotidian experiences of students and teachers in Chinese, Japanese, and American preschools suggest that all three (i.e. students, teachers, and schools) "are meant to do and be" (p. 158) very different, contextually-specific things.

Although there are few examples of culturalist scholarship that specifically focus on Uganda, Cheney's (2007) ethnographic research stands as a notable exception. While her work is situated in contemporary Uganda (and outside the scope of this dissertation),

she examined modern constructions of childhood and the ways in which they have been informed and shaped by the country's past. Based on her ethnographic research, and as was mentioned earlier, Cheney found that children in Uganda are commonly seen as working toward full personhood over an entire lifetime. For that reason, in public discourse children are often cast as stewards of Uganda's development who will 'grow' with their country; their personal growth will result in the nation's collective progress. Rydberg's (2016) forthcoming dissertation, based on a year long ethnography conducted in Northern Uganda, also examines childhood and youth in the Ugandan context, exploring the ways in which local teachers appropriate messages from an USAID-funded sex education curriculum to talk about self-discipline, God, and 'morally upright' ways to be a boy or a girl. What all of these scholars point to is the idea that universalist notions of the child can obscure (or ignore) the locally mediated nature of all life experiences and trajectories.

Socio-cultural context and schooling. Beyond local childhoods, culturalist scholars have also examined the "*social* and *cultural foundations of education* [emphasis in original]" (Levinson, 2000, p. 1). Rather than emphasize only the economic function of schooling (to maintain inequalities) and the developmental function of schooling (to ensure proper maturation), culturalist scholars examine education, defined broadly as process of cultural transmission and (re)production:

> …the very foundations of the educational process are rooted in the human penchant for making meaning out of experience and communicating that meaning to others…education *is* culture [emphasis in original], that is, education involves the continual remaking of culture as human beings transmit and acquire the symbolic meanings that infuse social life. (Levinson, 2000, p. 15)

As one example, Lareau’s (2011) work in the United States has shown how middle-class parenting practices of “concerted cultivation” are rewarded in the classroom, while working-class and poor parents’ cultivation of “the accomplishment natural growth” is seen as inadequate. Whereas parents who practice concerted cultivation might provide significant enrichment activities outside of school and oversight of day-to-day studies through homework, parents who practice the accomplishment of natural growth may provide unstructured, mixed-age play and emphasize the importance of family relationships. While both practices have positive and negative aspects, school teachers largely from the middle-class are likely to consider other middle-class parents to be more effective, more supportive, more loving, and more attuned to the types of futures for which they imagine schools to be preparing children. Thus, normative ideas of childhood are transmitted to school children as they interact in a middle-class mediated environment and can result in symbolic violence. Similarly, Demerath’s (2009) work explored the ways in which education perpetuates social inequality through the “construction of advantage” (p. 2). His ethnography of a suburban high school in the Midwest showed the interplay between the school’s celebration of personal advancement, which awarded students for their achievements (and sometimes awarded them for receiving awards) while also pushing parents toward manipulation of the school system and students toward unhealthy coping mechanisms.

To a lesser extent, some scholars have begun to turn their attention to the exclusion of global South notions of childhood from international discourses about development and schooling, and have written about what global South ‘childhoods’

might look like. Notably, the University of Sheffield’s Centre for the Study of Childhood and Youth hosted a conference “Exploring Childhood Studies in the Global South” aimed at setting an inter-disciplinary research agenda focused on children in the global South. Still, there is considerable work to be done, most especially that which focuses on the ways global North notions have disrupted notions of childhood in the global South. For instance, Raman (2000) has argued that in many global South contexts, including her home country of India, “the child’s world and adult’s world were not so separate and was characterised by greater inter-generational reciprocity” (p. 4056). The ‘child’ was not even viewed as a separate social category, but as part of a larger whole (i.e., a family, tribe, clan, or nation). Thus, children were traditionally more fully integrated into daily life, including work and leisure activities. Development efforts, underpinned by documents such as the UNCRC (1989), are aimed at guaranteeing children the right “to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development” (Article 32) and the right to an education (Article 28) and leisure (Article 31). These rights, as constructed by the UNCRC, leave little space for fluidity between what might be considered work, education, and leisure (Raman, 1998). Further, the divorce of education from work has shifted the role of children in their families from contributors to dependents (Katz, 2004) and “given way in the West to the ‘sacred child’ syndrome” (Lancy, 2008, p. 234).

In highlighting locally-specific and continually mediated meanings of child-rearing, and concomitantly education, as well as the interplay between the global and the

local, these culturalist scholars argue against the essentialization of childhood and highlight unique experiences of childhood within particular cultural contexts, or even across individuals. As Alanen (2011) wrote in a recent editorial in the journal *Childhood*:

> Childhood Studies is built around a rejection of the ‘essentialism’ that is endemic in traditional theorizing; [scholars] favour the recognition of the multiple ways in which childhood is socially constructed and reconstructed in relation to time and place, age, gender, ethnicity, class, etc. What has long been ‘hidden’ and naturalized in children’s lives [can] now be seen as socially and historically constructed, therefore always also ‘political.’ (p. 147)

Further, these scholars have used counter-narratives to critique the Western ideal of childhood and critiqued the normativity of modern schooling. For instance, James (2002) has challenged discourses of the ‘normal childhood,’ which are often embodied in English school settings and policy-making, writing that teachers’ perceptions of “hidden dangers lurking in a child’s family background” often affect their perception of classroom behaviors; a child whose family deviates from “the implicit scale of normality” is often expected to misbehave or under-perform in school (p. 146). This approach offers much to historical research like my own, which seeks to explicate culturally-specific notions of the child as they interplay with local factors and are enacted in and through formal schooling. Still, culturalist studies of childhood are inadequate on their own for my work because of the historical, colonial context in which my research is situated. The nuances of childhood’s socio-cultural context must also be understood in light of constructions of the ‘self’ and ‘other,’ as well as the creation and maintenance of power – a perspective offered by postcolonial scholars.

Postcolonial childhoods. Postcolonialism’s origins as a theoretical framework are often traced to the work of Edward Said (1978), author of *Orientalism*. Said argued

that as the British Empire expanded to India and the Middle East, what came to be constructed as the Orient – vis-à-vis the discipline Orientalism – “was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, “us”) and the strange (the Orient, the East, “them)” (p. 43). Said understood European colonialism to be a discourse, “the project of representing, imagining, translating, containing and managing the intransigent and incomprehensible ‘Orient’ through textual codes and conventions” (Gandhi, 1998, p. 143). Moreover this binary discourse of African (or Orient) versus European, civilized versus uncivilized, and child versus adult was used to perpetuate unequal economic and political relationships by various European empires.

Since *Orientalism*’s initial publication in 1978, Said and others have argued that European colonialism was an insidious exertion of control over the ‘Other,’ not only because it involved the economic and political domination of a few over the rest (usually at the expense of the rest), but also because it involved the ideological work of constructing and reconstructing Europeans as superior and the rest (most notably Africans, in this case) as inferior. Building on these central arguments, postcolonial scholars focus on two related themes relevant to this dissertation: (1) the reflection and inversion of colonial identities, and (2) understanding colonialism as a process of enculturation through which both colonizers and the colonized were changed. In the remainder of this section, I will explore these themes, as well as related studies that focus on the ways in which these ideas are taken up in child-rearing practices and education specifically.

Reflection and inversion of colonial identities. Much attention has been paid in postcolonial scholarship to the way in which the identities of the colonizer were both reflected and inverted in their relationship with the colonized. This mirror analogy functions on multiple levels. On one level, the British (and indeed other colonizers) often saw indigenous populations as reflections *and* inversions of themselves. For instance, as has already been explored in this dissertation, Johnston's (1904) laudatory account of the Baganda was punctuated by his view of them as a reflection of all that was positive and British, using examples such as their road-building and house-building skills, and their politeness, presumably in contrast to those around them. Whether or not the Baganda were truly "more British" than those around them was not as important as the fact that the British saw the Baganda as "more British" and therefore as ideal collaborators. The gaze of the colonizer was also inverted; for instance, Cleall (2012) and Grimshaw (2004) noted the way in which British notions of gender roles were disrupted and challenged by the important role southern African women played in their family's economic and trade relationships. Similarly, as will be explored in several of the following chapters, in Uganda, missionaries were surprised at the reversal of gender roles – for instance, while British women were responsible for sewing, in Buganda men traditionally made barkcloth and made clothing. On another level, the British became reflections and inversions of their own idealized selves through the colonial process:

> Europe's colonies were never empty spaces to be made over in Europe's image or fashioned in its interests; nor, indeed, were European states self-contained entities that at one point projected themselves overseas. *Europe was made by its imperial projects, as much as colonial encounters were shaped by conflicts within Europe itself* [emphasis added]. (Cooper & Stoler, 1997, p. 1)

This idea of reflection and inversion leads itself to the second key point of postcolonial scholars, namely, that colonialism must be understood as dialectical.

Understanding colonialism as a dialectical process of enculturation. To understand colonialism, postcolonial scholars have argued that that historians must explore the tensions between universal and particularistic notions, and inequalities and boundaries maintained between the 'colonizer' and the 'colonized':

> We are concerned here not only with the ways – complicated as they are – in which colonial regimes regulated sexuality and biological reproduction but also with how categories of race, class, and gender helped to define moral superiority and maintain cultural differences that in turn justified different intensities of violence. (Cooper & Stoler, 1997, p. 4)

Taking up this argument, several scholars have examined the way in which Europeans and indigenous populations negotiated these categories, particularly as race, class, and gender related to childhood and family life. What is most interesting for my research is the way that Europeans understood both their own families as well as indigenous families.

Although comparatively little work has been done that examines children specifically, and in particular indigenous children, a large body of literature focuses on the idea and practice of family in colonial contexts. Cleall's (2012) book examined the ways in which "family" was used as an ideological construct by the London Missionary Society (LMS) to reaffirm the superiority of missionary families, as well as to call for the (re)creation of Indian and African families. For instance, she noted that both European and Indian Christian families were viewed as "object lessons" (p. 32) for other backslidden or not-yet-converted Indians. As such, protection of the family, and policing

of boundaries between ‘civilized’ and ‘uncivilized’ family life were important – a job often assigned to females in particular (Grimshaw, 2004). In contrast, missionaries saw African peoples as non-conforming and, concomitantly, unconcerned with ‘home’ and ‘family’ at all (Cleall, 2012). To put it simply, Africans had no concept of family upon which to improve. This had the discursive power of allowing missionaries to introduce the concept of family, while ignoring events precipitated by colonization that might have undermined or interrupted traditional family structures, and to eschew alternative family structures altogether. Building on these ‘family types,’ Cleall argued that the LMS saw their work as transformational in Africa (and elsewhere) – as they reformed families and communities in the image of Europe.

These dual concerns about the preservation of European ‘uniqueness’ in and through family structures, as well as about the (re)creation of the African family in the image of a European ideal, led to attention to and intervention in child-rearing and education, albeit in contextually-specific ways. For instance, Duff (2013) found that the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Colony published a range of child-rearing advice books, as well as child-oriented items in church periodicals with the purpose of educating the White population on children’s needs to be loved, educated, and protected from outside threats (threats which presumably included ‘native’ influences). Grimshaw (2004) noted that these European ideals were extended to native children as well. In Australia, she wrote that particular ideas about child-rearing informed British colonists’ views of what was in the ‘best interest’ of the child. As one example, Grimshaw quoted an Australian colonist who wrote, “Children’s formal education must have priority over

family needs for their labour, and girls must, like their brothers, have an education beyond household tasks. The early betrothals of children should be done away with” (p. 272). When these needs were not perceived to be met by Aboriginal communities, Haebich (2000) showed how children were removed from their families, sometimes to state or church institutions but also to settler families, where it was assumed that these children would be more adequately cared for in a European family setting (never mind that these children were almost always treated more like household help). In this way a particular notion of the child (predicated on British experience) was upheld over traditional family structures and practices.

This concern for proper child-rearing extended to motherhood and education. Hunt (1997) found that the interventionist nature of Belgian colonialism in the Congo extended to educating women about proper marital sexuality, birth-spacing, and nursing – something which occurred in other colonies, such as Tanzania (Vavrus, 2003) and Uganda (Musisi, 1992), as well. Educating women to be more ‘European’ in their infant and child-care was seen as an essential part of improving the morality of families. Likewise, children’s proper care and development was to be ensured through education. de Leeuw (2009) pointed out in her article on Aboriginal education in Canada – aptly titled, ‘If anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young’ – children were seen as educable in a way that adults were not. Thus, removal from the home to boarding school or institutional care was a way to ensure that the indigenous characteristics the British saw as problematic could be addressed away from the

intervention of parents. Furthermore, as Long (2011) noted in a study of parenting in colonial Lebanon:

> Education was on the colonial agenda from beginning to end…It was also something that missionaries and colonial administrators believed they could collaborate on together, as they imagined a similar citizen-figure into which Lebanese children were to be crafted by the West. (p. 263)

These colonial schooling efforts challenged traditional family and educational structures and were often incredibly disruptive. For instance, Smythe (1997) found that schools in the Ufipa region of colonial Tanzania dislocated traditional ways in which cultural knowledge was kept and shared across generations, as education was remade in the image of Europe. Traditionally, Fipa elders controlled access to the economy, knowledge, religion and rituals, and information about reproduction and sexuality. Knowledge was disseminated as youth passed through socially meaningful transitions from infant to child to adult. The presence of Catholic missionaries challenged these distinctions by changing the means through which Fipa children learned about adult knowledge and were initiated into adult society. For instance, she explained:

> [m]any children thus lived in the haze of vague threats without certain knowledge until they needed to know something or had grown old enough to be privy to the knowledge of elders… But, as one young man noted, information about reproduction and sexuality is now readily available in the [missionary] school environment and he soon learned the truth. (pp. 98-99)

This is not to suggest, however, that these transformations from 'backward African' to 'enlightened European' were considered to be altogether possible.[20] For instance, Cleall

[20] While this dissertation focuses primarily on British notions of childhood, I do not intend to imply that indigenous populations were non-agentic; there are instances throughout the period under study where Ugandan voices come to the forefront of policy and practice. Postcolonial scholars have established well the ways in which various groups ignored or adapted European practices to their own ends. For instance,

(2012) pointed out that as the number of converts to Christianity – and to more European patterns of family life – rose, concerns about 'back-sliding' and where the dividing lines between 'Christian' and 'non-Christian' might exist solidified. Underscoring this point, she included a quote from Chatterjee, who argued:

> [the] modern regime of power [was] destined never to fulfil its normalizing mission because the premise of power was preserving the alienness of the ruling group.' The constant moving of the goal posts was a feature of colonising writings and necessary to the justificatory logic of colonial discourse. (p. 57)

Indeed, concerns over the growing ambiguity over the category of 'European' and 'non-European' led to increased attention to and policing of these categories.

Making a similar argument, Stoler (1997) argued that *métis* children – born of European and French or Dutch parents in French Indochina and the Netherlands Indies – were an area of concern because of their ambiguity as neither wholly Europeans, nor wholly indigenous. How might *métis* children be properly socialized and "taught both their place and race," if their family – a "crucial site in which future subjects and loyal citizens were to be made" (p. 203) – was neither European nor Indian? If "place and race" were potentially negotiable, then the *métis* socialization process – and the assigning of fixed social categories – would be difficult, if not impracticable. Highlighting the relevance of this question, these debates over the status of European and *métis* children in the colonies were built on "a popular neo-Lamarckian understanding of environment in which racial and national essences could be secured or altered by the physical, psychological, climatic, and moral surroundings in which one lived" (Stoler, 1997, p.

Hunt (1997) showed that despite years of concerted attention to infant care, Congolese mothers largely ignored European recommendations to use formula and continued to breastfeed.

214). In other words, it would not be enough to look European or to 'be' European, but it was also necessary to live like a European, something that would be altogether impossible in a different context. Cleall (2012) noted a similar concern about the role of environment in child-rearing in a quote from the Foreign Secretary of the LMS, who emphasized the "necessity for sending [missionary] children away to [England] when they reach the age of five or six…chiefly that they may be separated from the polluting moral influence of contact with heathenism" (p. 60). His call for literal removal of European children from colonial contexts speaks to one of the questions that drives my own work, specifically: *Which education* was deemed 'appropriate,' and *for whom*? This need to send European children away – and to address the issue of *métis* children – speaks to the ambivalence of Europeans as to the possibility of indigenous populations ever becoming 'civilized enough' and the instability of the category of European civility because of the fear that *metis* children or 'purely' African children might negatively affect European children.

Reading Across Childhoods

Aside from the studies cited above, there are few other culturalist or postcolonial scholars who have taken up notions of childhood in historical analyses of colonialism and education in East Africa. Certainly the structure of education systems have been studied, as have the outcomes of those systems, but not the way in which those systems came to be – influenced by particular ideas about the 'universal,' the 'European,' and the 'African' child. Few extant studies (Cleall, Ishiguro, & Manktelow, 2013; González & Premo, 2007; Long, 2011) have explored the ways in which ideas of childhood brought

by colonizers informed, shaped, and changed in various colonial settings. Most often, these colonial notions of the child are assumed to be static or singular, if they are addressed at all. Despite this dearth of research, historians such as Mintz (2012), have pointed to the significance of studying childhood because its history intersects and overlaps with the growth of state institutions and regulation, the development of the welfare state, and the establishment of compulsory primary education. Likewise, González and Premo (2007) argued that “historians, by scrutinizing the definitions of childhood and the history of children, also gain unique perspectives into the social norms of the past” (p. 3).

Accordingly, in this dissertation I draw on the work of culturalist and postcolonial scholars for my own analysis of the mutually constitutive relationship between colonial notions of childhood and education in two principal ways. First, both culturalist and postcolonial scholars critique binary categories like ‘adult’ and ‘child,’ or ‘African’ and ‘European.’ Culturalist scholars have challenged the notion of a singular childhood, suggesting that to better understand children’s experiences we must explore them, disregarding the assumption that an African child in Buganda would have much the same experience as any other African (or non-African) child. This is not to suggest that childhood is without similarities – certainly Lancy (2008) found that “all societies acknowledge stages or milestones in the child’s development” – but that “there is considerable variation in how these are identified and marked” (p. 7). Postcolonial scholars have critiqued the establishment of these categories, which were created and maintained based on a European middle class ideal. Their work makes room for careful

analyses of power relations that were simultaneously discursive and material within the colonial context.

Second, culturalist and postcolonial arguments for the fluidity of categories such as gender or race have been used to conduct analyses of how these ideas have been employed in colonial contexts. Because so much of childhood is concerned with inducting new members into society, understandings of gender, race, culture, and history permeate child-rearing and schooling practices. Definitions of the 'child' – in part because of the fluidity of childhood as a bounded category – are contested and recontested in societal decisions as to the proper education of and imagined futures for children. As such, in studying the historical development of Uganda's modern education system, and in particular the influence of colonial-era missionaries, my dissertation will address a gap in the literature on childhood in colonial contexts. Moreover, my research will contribute to culturalist and postcolonial scholarship in arguing for the salience of age – as well as race and gender – as a category of historical analysis. Moving forward, the following chapter (Chapter 3) discusses my methodology, which draws on the various fields referenced above – comparative education, anthropology, childhood studies, and history – to make a case for how studies of childhood and schooling in a colonial context can inform and improve our understandings of the global development of schooling, as well as related policies and practice.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Figure 5. "Black and White: A Little Negro Boy and the Son of the Author" (Hattersley, 1908)

> Histories of childhood – and especially of childrearing – have also played an increasingly important role in scholarship associated with family and empire…While the focus of this scholarship varies…as a whole, it suggests that the relationship between parents and children, and the experiences of colonial childhoods, operate as useful lenses for understanding configurations of colonial power and identity. For example, concerns about children demonstrated anxieties about family life and racial ‘degeneration’ in colonial contexts for ‘colonizing’ families, societies and governments, while institutes looked to regulate or eliminate childrearing in indigenous communities as part of a wider ‘civilizing mission’ or colonial state policy…Both within and beyond the British empire, this work suggests, the ways in which childrearing and childhood were understood and experienced operated as “part of the very process of creating an empire, of establishing the cultural and social boundaries of life… as well as the racial and political domination of Europeans over others. (Cleall, Ishiguro, & Manktelow, 2013, n.p.)

Introduction

Much of the work that focuses on conceptions of children and childhood – even as they relate to colonialism – has focused on the global North. However, as Cleall, Ishiguro, and Manktelow (2013) suggested, concerns about children and the ambiguous ‘African child’ – who at once had the potential to be ‘Europeanized’ and was limited by her assumed ‘capacity’ as an ‘African’ – were part of “the very process of creating an empire” and “of establishing the cultural and social boundaries of life” (González & Premo, 2007, p. 7). Just as taking a gendered approach to empire has allowed for new perspectives and understandings of the colonial experience, so too can we learn from using age as a category of analysis. Going forward, the remainder of this chapter outlines the following dimensions of my dissertation research: my rationale for choosing to explore constructions of the ‘educated African child’ in the Buganda kingdom during the British colonial period, already explained briefly in Chapter 1; the archives upon which this research is based; my analytic approach to understanding these archival materials; the limitations and delimitations of this dissertation; and the contributions of this research.

Site Selection

Space. While there are certainly many places in which a study of this kind could be conducted, the Buganda kingdom is particularly relevant for an examination of constructions of the ‘educated African child’ because of the significantly more positive perception of the Baganda by early British explorers, missionaries, and colonists as compared to other colonized groups in East Africa. Moreover, the role of the Baganda as “colonial middle figures” (Hunt, 1999) – who mediated the evolving nature of Ugandan

society as teachers, nurses, and government officials – uniquely positioned them to 'benefit' from the 'development' European child-rearing practices and education could offer. This role also enabled the Baganda themselves to exert considerable control over the other tribal groups and kingdoms that were a part of the protectorate (Low, 1971).[21]

In the Baganda, early European authors saw a certain kind of kinship lacking in other groups within the region (although they never suggested that the Baganda were equal to Europeans). In one book, penned by a former Commissioner of the Uganda Protectorate, Sir Harry Johnston (1904) described the Baganda as "the Japanese of Central Africa" (p. 647).[22] Johnston also noted that the Baganda had powerful kings that "maintained a certain civilisation and a considerable amount of law and order" (p. 684); kept clean homes with steeply pitched roofs and separated privies; were relatively tall in stature; wore clothing and shoes; eschewed heavy jewelry or adornment; built straight roads of "tolerable correctness" (p. 657); "adopted Christianity more whole-heartedly than any Negro race existing" (p. 686); and quickly learned English. In other words, the Baganda were remarkably, surprisingly, 'British.' Johnston's account of the Baganda –

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[21] In "The Policy of the Uganda Mission," published in 1913, the CMS underscored this middle Bagandan role:

> Coming to the question as to how such new districts should be occupied, it must, in the first place, by **Europeans** [emphasis in original]. While paying the highest possible tribute to the Baganda, as missionaries and pioneers, and remembering how much is owed to them in Bunyoro, in Toro, in Ankole, and in the Eastern Province, we must all recognize their inevitable limitations. European leadership is necessary as is European initiative.

Uganda Mission, Standing Committee and Sub-Committees, 1913. Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP). Church of Uganda Archives. Yale University Library. CUA-1 I 16/114

[22] In a new introduction written for a second edition of Ashe's book *Two Kings of Uganda or, Life by the Shores of Victoria Nyanza*, Rowe (1970) wrote that Ashe appeared to have been the first writer to refer to the Buganda as "the Japanese of Africa." He suggested that "such a comparison place[d] both the Japanese and the Ganda on some middle rung of the evolutionary ladder, hopefully ascending, but still well below Europeans. Ashe's frequent and bitter descriptions of being rebuffed at the court of Buganda seem[ed] to indicate that the Ganda did not share his view of their relative position on the ladder" (pp. ix-x).

particularly when compared to other peoples of the protectorate, whom he repeatedly compared to apes – is altogether positive. As one example, he wrote that Bagandan men often wore white cloth, emphasizing the color in particular: "Attired in this way, wholly in white, a Baganda crowd moving amongst the stately groves and emerald-green lawns of their fertile country recall irresistibly…the conventional pictures of evangelical piety which represented the Blessed walking in the Vales of Paradise" (p. 649). These white Bagandans seemed almost angelic in their Edenic kingdom. Johnston used a similarly laudatory tone elsewhere:

> The Kingdom of [Bu]ganda is the most important province (politically) in the [Ugandan] Protectorate, and perhaps one of the best organised and most civilised African kingdoms at the present day…Uganda would take a high place among those purely Negro kingdoms, which retain any degree of national rule, and would compare favourably in importance with Sokoto, Wadai, Lunda, or Barotse.[23] (Johnston, 1904, p. 636)

In the Baganda, the British saw the distinct possibility of social development. This sympathetic view of the Baganda was compounded by their perceived need for 'salvation' both literally and figuratively. Johnston (1904) and others noted with concern that Bagandan women generally gave birth to few children, and fewer still survived into adulthood. Disease and poor animal husbandry and domestication, among other things, were believed to threaten the Bagandan kingdom. Even more concerning, the "wild" Kavirondo (and others) gave birth at a "prolific" rate (p. 748). Similar to their worries about falling birth rates at home in Britain, the British were concerned that if they did not preserve and support this comparatively civilized people, the 'wrong' type of people

[23] Sokoto was a Caliphate located in the extreme northwest of present-day Nigeria. Wadai was kingdom located near to the east of Lake Chad in present-day Chad. Lunda was a pre-colonial African confederation of states in central Africa, in parts of what are now the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, and Zambia. Barotse is located in western Zambia and is the homeland of the Lozi or Barotse people.

would proliferate.[24] With such a promising beginning, Uganda – and especially the Buganda Kingdom – continued to be upheld as a model colony throughout most of the colonial period.

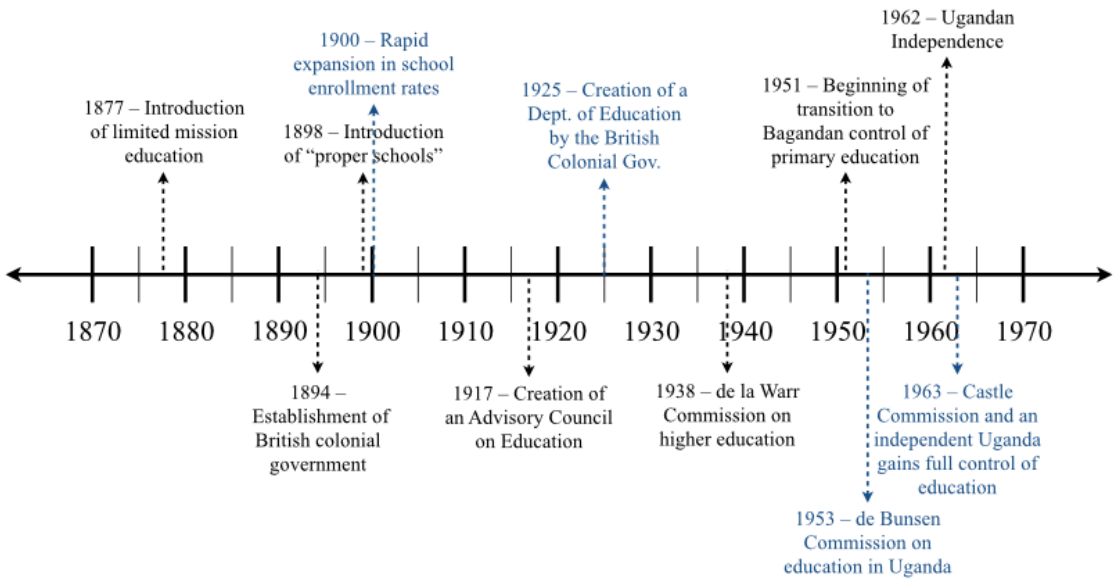

Figure 6. Timeline of schooling in colonial Uganda

Time. In a historical study, time becomes as important to site selection as location. My decision to limit this study to four critical moments – specifically, 1900, 1925, 1953, and 1963 (shown in blue below) – within the period from 1877 to 1963 was based on Ssekamwa's (1997) and Evans and Senteza Kajubi's (1994) identification of several key dates in Uganda's colonial education history and educational policy formation (see Figure 6). My purpose in including this timeline is not to suggest a strict linearity to the development of Uganda's education system. It is, rather, to identify key

[24] The Baganda were not the only comparatively civilized Africans the British sought to 'save.' Vavrus (2003) noted a similar phenomenon in Tanzanian colonial discourses related to Chagga fertility, culture, and colonization.

moments when attention to Ugandan schooling – and concomitantly to children – came to the forefront of colonial discourse and policy. In focusing on these moments, I examined what transversal and horizontal differences could be discerned between mission and colonial government education, particularly in making the transition from missionary schooling in 1900, to increased participation by the British colonial government in 1925, to greater Ugandan control of education in 1953 and independence in 1962. In foregrounding the horizontal and transversal, I have drawn on the work of Bartlett and Vavrus (2016) to "historically [situate] the processes or relations under consideration" across different sites within colonial Uganda and amongst different groups active in education, to "[trace] their creative appropriation through educational policies and practices across time and space" (p. 555). Framing the study in this way has allowed me to outline an history of colonial education, and the ways in which global and local forces intermingled to change how children were educated in Uganda.

Archival Sources

The largely French Catholic White Fathers and the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) were the primary supporters of formalized, European education across the Protectorate, establishing schools at a rate that far exceeded any other missionary agency.[25] Given the CMS's additional shared national heritage with British colonists and

[25] In 1950, the Education Department listed various "voluntary agencies" active in the African educational milieu throughout the Protectorate. Aside from two primary foreign mission societies – Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Roman Catholic White Fathers – who were responsible for administrating the vast majority of schools, the Protestant Africa Inland Mission, Bible Church Missionary Society, Seventh Day Adventists, and Salvation Army; and the Catholic Mill Hill Mission and Verona Fathers each ran a small number of schools. However, none of these organizations ever reached the size or breadth of the CMS or White Fathers. There were also a small number of Muslim schools, however they often functioned

administrators, as well as its privileged place in policy making,[26] focusing on the archival materials from this society in conjunction with national archives in Great Britain and Uganda, and relevant publications contemporary to the period under study, allowed for examination of the ways in which church and state intertwined in their establishment of formal schooling. There were instances, in fact, where former CMS missionaries later served in official government positions – most notably Miss Evelyn Cafe, a CMS missionary and later Assistant Education Secretary General for the Protectorate. Moreover, the mix of personal and official documents afforded greater insight into the ways in which personal identities and experiences, cultural and religious beliefs, and official duties converged and diverged in British accounts of children and their education as proper imperial subjects. For these reasons, I concentrated on policy documents related to these critical, transitional periods, as well as at official reports and documents written by key colonial figures – such as the British commissioners of the Uganda protectorate – and moved outward from there to examine the personal papers of teachers and others involved in the education system either directly or indirectly, creating a sort of purposive sample of materials.

There are five primary archives which house materials relevant to this study, two of which are located primarily in Uganda, and three of which are located in Great Britain. I will explain the available archival materials at each, as well as my purpose in exploring these particular sets of sources.

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independently and "had little cohesion." 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[26] To give one example, discussed in Chapter 6, the CMS was disproportionately over-represented in the interviews conducted by the 1925 Phelps-Stokes Commission's, and in its subsequent report. Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

Church of the Province of Uganda (Anglican) Archives. First, the Church of the Province of Uganda (Anglican) Archives – digitized through a collaborative project of the Yale University Divinity School Library, Ugandan Christian University in Mukono, and Brill/IDC Publishers – was relevant to this project. Ugandan Christian University was initially founded as a theological college in 1913 before becoming a university in 1997. The university is part of the Church of Uganda, a branch of the Anglican church. The archives include 280 boxes of records related to the administration and development of the church, institutions established by the church (such as schools and hospitals), and the church's relationship to the Church of England. The earliest materials date from 1877, when the Church of Uganda was founded, although most were written after independence. These documents were primarily written in English by European missionaries and Ugandan church officials working in Uganda, and provided insight into the early development of education in Uganda, as well as the way in which the CMS and Church of Uganda perceived its adherents.

Makerere University Archives and Africana Collection. Second, Makerere University serves as the National Reference Library for the country of Uganda. As such, it houses government publications, all locally-published books and reports, UN publications, and an Africana collection, which includes significant archival materials related to the Buganda Kingdom, the Church Missionary Society, and the early years of the post-independence Ugandan government. Makerere's Africana collection complemented the sources available at the Church of Uganda archives as the former houses documents related to the transfer of British control to the Ugandan government.

As such, there were significant materials related to the transfer of responsibility for education in the country, as well as to the design of Uganda's post-colonial education system. Additionally, the personal papers of Sir Apolo Kaggwa (1864-1927), an ethnographer and historian, and prime minister (*Katikiro*) of the Kingdom of Buganda from 1890 to 1926, are housed there. His personal papers and monographs provide insight into Buganda's pre-colonial history and culture, as well as a Muganda perspectives on the early colonial period.

Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. Third, the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, now available through the Weston Library at the University of Oxford, houses many relevant materials to this dissertation, including books and journals related to the British Empire published well before Uganda's colonization; colonial government publications, including annual departmental reports and colonial Blue Books; and manuscripts and archives related to British colonial administration. The Bodleian Library also houses memoranda gathered as part of the Oxford Colonial Records Project and the Oxford Development Records Project, which ran from 1963 to 1984 to archive the experiences and memories of individuals involved in education, either as missionaries or colonial officers. In contrast to the materials available through the Church of Uganda, which focuses more heavily on the missionary and church perspective, or at Makerere University, which focuses on indigenous archival materials and national government documents concentrated in the later part of the period under study, the Bodleian Library materials focus more heavily on the British colonial administration and the personal papers of British colonists. For instance, it includes

official documents and personal papers from several Commissioners and Governors of the protectorate, and their wives; various Education Officers who worked as part of the Education Department; and a few CMS missionaries. These archival materials provided greater insight into the ways in which British colonists made sense of their experiences and position in Uganda.

British National Archives. Fourth, the British National Archives, in Kew, London, includes significant material related to British administration of the Ugandan protectorate, such as census reports, geographical surveys, memoranda, educational policy documents, and official correspondence. While the Bodleian Library holds many personal papers, the British National Archives holds the records of the Colonial Office and Commonwealth Offices. It provides greater insight into the official capacities and occupations of the British government.

Cadbury Research Library Archive of the Church Missionary Society. Fifth, the University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library houses a collection of archives of the Church Missionary Society's overseas work. While there are other collections of CMS materials elsewhere (notably, an archive of the work of the CMS at home is held at its headquarters in London), and these materials overlap to a small degree with some of the CMS materials held by Makerere University and the Church of Uganda Archives, the Cadbury Research Library holds the most extensive collection of the personal papers of former CMS missionaries. These include letters, photograph albums, postcards, and autobiographies and memoirs. Most significant for this dissertation, are the annual letters written by missionaries in Uganda to the CMS central office regarding their work for the

year, and the personal papers of several important missionary educationalists. These include letters and/or papers from missionaries, such as Mr. Charles Hattersley, who was credited with helping to establish formal schooling for children; Miss Joan Cox, who served as a teacher, then headmistress at Gayaza Girls' School from 1938 to 1972;[27] and the aforementioned Miss Evelyn Cafe. These materials, along with others, such as the CMS annual reports, gave unique insight into the ways in which CMS missionaries active in colonial Uganda's education system understood their roles and the context in which they worked.

Reading Archival Sources

Reading archival texts. How archival texts are read is as important as which archival texts are used. Scholars have noted the possibilities and problems of archival analysis in general (Stoler, 2002; Munslow, 2013), which include the limitations imposed by the availability (and quality) of texts, as well as the cultural production of 'truth' owing to the preservation of some materials and not others aimed at crafting a particular narrative about the past. Others have noted the particularities of using letters or personal narratives as compared to official reports and government documents because of what they might offer for understanding official policy versus quotidian experiences (Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2012). For the purposes of this dissertation, I focused on official correspondence and policy documents relating to Ugandan education, as well as the personal narratives and/or autobiographies and private letters of colonial administrators

[27] Miss Joan Cox provided an interesting case for analysis as her annual letters are included in the CMS Archives, but she also later submitted materials and her then current reflections to the University of Oxford as part of their Development Records Project. As such, I have drawn on materials written by Miss Cox contemporary to and well after the critical moments focused on in this dissertation.

and missionaries. My purpose in drawing from a wide variety of sources was to better understand the linkages between public and private conceptualization of the types of schooling deemed appropriate for Bagandan children. Additionally, drawing from both colonial administrators and missionaries allowed me to better understand the continuities and differences between missionary and government education discourses and practices.

Certainly, the use of official policy reports and government documents in historical analysis is well established (Stoler, 2002). What becomes challenging about using these documents is not so much defending their utility as is the problem of perpetuating colonial relationships and ideas through their use. As Stoler (2002) pointed out, "Colonial archives were both sites of the imaginary *and* [emphasis in original] institutions that fashioned histories as they concealed, revealed, and reproduced the power of the state" (p. 97). Indeed, as she went on to argue, power and control are inherent in the term archive: "From the Latin *archivum* [emphasis in original], 'residence of the magistrate,' and from the Greek *arke* [emphasis in original], to command or govern, colonial archives ordered…the criteria of evidence, proof, testimony, and witnessing to construct moral narrations" (p. 97). Because of this, historians must be attentive to and wary of the '(re)fashioned histories' of purported facts. For instance, Lord Frederick Lugard's (1965) book *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, cast Great Britain as the reluctant defender of missionaries[28] and selfless economic partner of local populations.[29] Reflecting on the breadth of indigenous peoples in British tropical

[28] "Missionaries – as in Uganda and Nyasaland – were often the pioneers, and it was in defence of their interests that the [British] Government was forced to intervene" (Lugard, 1965, p. 10).
[29] "In one very notable particular the policy of Great Britain differed from that of her rivals. The great territories which she controlled were entirely free to the trade and commerce of all nations. Not merely

Africa, Lugard described Uganda as "organised despotism and [a] barbaric display of a negro kingdom…where royalty is hedged about with more observance than in a modern palace in Europe" (p. 72) – forgetting, conveniently, that the British initially found the highly centralized and organized bureaucracy of the Buganda kingdom to be an opportune tool of territorial control throughout the Ugandan Protectorate (Low, 1971). While policy documents and historic accounts written by former colonists provide insights into 'official' opinion, they are idealized narratives – and particularly in the case of monographs, often written years after the actual events they recount.

In contrast, letters and personal narratives – to a degree – lack the 'weight' of official documents. However, their usefulness lies not in an abstract ideal of 'authority' or 'truth;' rather, their strength lies in their grounding, in their inclusion of subjective, temporal accounts or personal thoughts that point to the "historical and social specificity of all viewpoints and subjectivities, and emphasize the perceptivity intrinsic to knowledge production" (Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2012, p. 2). If reports and official correspondence present a sanitized or idealized version of colonialism, then letters and personal narratives allow one the opportunity to read between the lines and to understand better whose and how understandings of the 'African child' came to inform British missionary and government education in specific places at specific moments in time. Comparing and contrasting the 'official' and 'informal' has enabled me to gain greater

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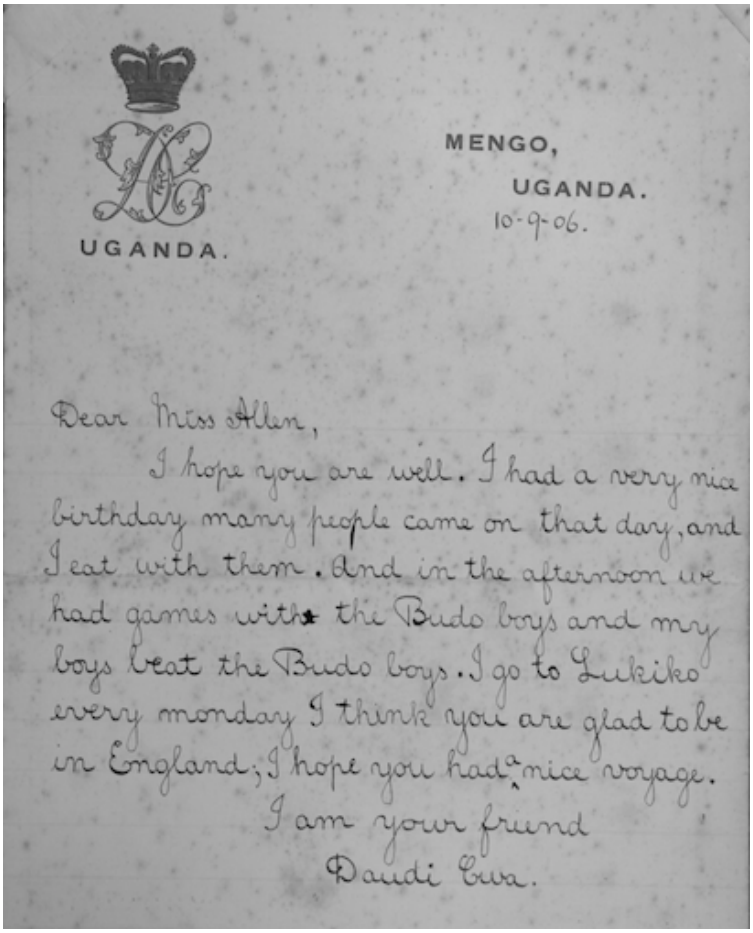
were there no discriminating tariffs, but the French and German merchants who established themselves in British territory were treated with precisely the same cordiality, and were afforded the same facilities for travel in the interior, and for acquiring land, as our own nationals" (Lugard, 1965, p. 11).

insight into contiguities and divergences between colonial government officials and missionaries, and discourse and practice.



UGANDA.

MENGO,
UGANDA.
10-9-06.

Dear Miss Allen,
I hope you are well. I had a very nice birthday many people came on that day, and I eat with them. And in the afternoon we had games with the Budo boys and my boys beat the Budo boys. I go to Lukiko every monday I think you are glad to be in England; I hope you had a nice voyage.
I am your friend
Daudi Cwa.

Figure 7. Letter written to Miss Allen from Kabaka [King] Daudi Cwa[30]

Finding ‘the child’ in the archives. Another unique challenge that presents itself in attempts to trace historical notions of childhood is that children, and especially girls, are “[marginalized] from centers of power and also from the processes of record keeping that are the bases of historical analysis” (Maynes, 2008, p. 115). In colonial archives

[30] This letter was written by Daudi Cwa while he was a student at Kings College Budo, which had, only a few years earlier, been started by the CMS. Church Missionary Society Archives. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS ACC.354 Z2

where indigenous voices are often missing, even more so are indigenous children's voices. Some scholars have used creative ways to reconstruct children's voices and lived experiences, most notably through autobiographies and personal narratives (Flores, 2007; Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2012). Another way of examining notions of the child is to look at documents related to family life, such as letters and diaries of wives living in the colonies often address concerns about maintaining 'Europeanness' in a foreign land (Cleall, 2012). Unfortunately for my case, there were few narratives written by Europeans living in Uganda, aside from those of explorers, government officials, and missionaries. Unlike Kenya or Rhodesia, Uganda was not a settler colony. Still, there were discussions of Bagandan children that worked their way in to what materials were available. In these it was possible to gain insight into both Bagandan child-rearing patterns, as well as British reflections on these practices. For instance, Johnston (1904) wrote of the politeness of the Baganda in this way:

> Chiefs and peasants have frequently said to me, 'Thank you for coming,' 'Thank you for having enjoyed yourself,' 'Thank you for having painted such a nice picture,' 'Thank you for having slept well,' 'Thank you for admiring those flowers.' 'Thank you for having slapped my son' was once said to me by the father of a boy who, with most un-Uganda-like impoliteness, had, when romping with another boy, dashed through the verandah of my tent and upset a glass of water over my drawing. (p. 686)

Here one can see Johnston's characterization of Bagandan politeness largely in terms of their concerns for his well-being and concerns. He is pleased at a father's support for his punishment of the father's son for upsetting a glass of water; and, arguably, the preeminence of his needs over the child's. Additionally, I found a few examples of essays and letters written by Ugandan children and saved by missionaries. For instance, Miss

Joan Cox saved several essays written by girls at Gayaza High School, which are referenced in Chapter 7. Likewise, Miss Allen saved a letter written to her by Daudi Cwa while she was on furlough (see Figure 7).

What was also problematic about disentangling conceptions of childhood – and the schooling deemed appropriate for children – was that the discourses of the ‘childlike African’ was sometimes applied to adults, something which many scholars have examined in their work. For instance, in his book, *Imagining the Congo*, Dunn (2003) quoted Stanley’s early writings on the Congolese social identity: “A barbarous man…is like a child which has not yet acquired the faculty of articulation” (p. 30). He noted that weaving together rhetoric of the African ‘victim’ and ‘child,’ European authors justified their paternalistic imperial expansion. Summers (2010) also invoked this discourse of “a parental colonial authority and a childlike African population” (p. 178) in arguing for ‘adolescence’ as a potent symbol in the late colonial period, as the Ugandans asserted their independence from Great Britain. Together these scholars, and others (de Leeuw, 2009; Strayer, 1978), point to the ways in which adults in colonial contexts were understood to be neither wholly adults, nor children.

Despite these potential limitations, the archival materials upon which this dissertation draws show the British generally did acknowledge Bagandan children as separate from adults and were concerned about their roles within society, as well as their legal recognition. For instance, the Church of Uganda Archives included correspondence related to recognition of illegitimate Buganda children by both the church and the

government.[31] In these letters and memoranda, the authors discussed the importance of following the tenets of the Christian faith – and encouraging monogamy – while also acknowledging potential legal problems and religious backlash in not acknowledging illegitimate children. This lengthy discussion of children's status within society emphasizes the importance of mediating indigenous children's roles within British colonies.

For the purposes of this study, I focused primarily on school-aged children, defined as those aged 5 to 14. In 1870, the Forster Elementary Education Act made education in Great Britain compulsory for all children between the ages of 5 and 10. By 1918, education was extended to include full-time schooling for those between the ages of 5 and 14, and part-time schooling until age 18. While education in colonial Uganda was never near universal – gross primary-school enrolment rates for those ages 5-14 in 1950 were less than 20% (UNESCO, 1964)[32] – this age range for the 'school-aged child' is consistent with Uganda's historic and current formal education system. My purpose in defining a 'child' in this way was not to reify false binaries between 'child' and 'adult', nor was to oversimplify a complex category.[33] Rather, my intent in using these ages was

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[31] General File/Correspondence. Archives of the Bishop of Uganda (BP). Church of Uganda Archives. Yale University Library. CUA-1 I 169/968

[32] Uganda's enrollment rate was above average, compared to other African colonies. At their highest on the continent, primary-school enrollment rates in British-controlled Lesotho were near 59%, and at their lowest, enrollment rates in British-controlled Somalia were near 1%, with a median enrollment rate in Liberia of just over 10%. (Frankema, 2012)

[33] For instance, in James's (2010) article on the state of the field of childhood studies, he pointed out the multiplicity of ways in which "the English language distinguishes, for various purposes, between a newborn, an infant, a babe-in-arms, a toddler, a child, a tween-ager, a juvenile, a teenager, a youth, a kid-dult [a term that presumably signifies the liminal space between 'kid' and 'adult'], a young person, and a young adult" (p. 491). He went on to write that these distinctions were determined both by context and by "the attribution of clear, broadly age-based, social and relational differences." For example, "babe-in-arms" implies one too young to walk on his own, in contrast to a "toddler," which implies the opposite.

to bound 'childhood' such that it included individuals considered to be of "school-age" – and who attended primary and secondary school – and reflected the categories most salient to the original authors of the archival materials I explored.[34]

Archival Analysis

I have used these texts – official reports and correspondence, personal narratives and private letters – drawn from the archives discussed above and from relevant publications, in two principal ways. First, I have used them to understand how and why British missionaries and colonists established and shaped formal schooling (and likewise childhood) in the Ugandan protectorate in the way that they did, and second to examine the ways in which these texts reflected discourses of difference, drawing lines between "who and what [was]" 'African' and/or 'Bagandan' or 'European' and "who and what [was] not" (Sobe, 2005, p. 3). By strategically narrowing my focus on archival materials and publications connected with British and/or Anglican missionaries – primarily from the Church Missionary Society – and with British colonists, I examined 'knowledge' as a cultural practice and reflected on the shifting beliefs and orientations of colonists and missionaries about and toward the Ugandan people. Tracing knowledge about children and childhood, as it was expressed through and in the development and practice of formal education, made clearer the ambiguous nature of colonial categories created largely based on race, gender, and religion (de Groot, 2000).

[34] See, for example, Smith (1932), who wrote a several part analysis of "Education in British Africa" for the Royal African Society and used ages 5 to 14 to bound his study, suggesting a parallel between compulsory education for European children aged 5 to 14, and African children's education. For the purposes of his analysis he chose to leave out educational opportunities for older children, classifying them as 'adult education.'

In particular, in my examination of archival materials and related publications, I focused on areas of both divergence and continuity, through the collocation of ideas about the 'child' and 'schooling' for particular groups of people, across time and space. This approach built on Maxwell and Miller's (2008) idea of contiguity analysis, which defined this process as involving "juxtaposition in time and space, the influence of one thing on another, or relations among parts of a text; their identification involves seeing actual *connections* [emphasis in original] between things, rather than similarities and differences" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 106). This idea also reflected the work of historians, such as Cooper and Stoler (1997), who examined:

> how both colonies and metropoles shared in the dialectics of inclusion and exclusion, and in what ways the colonial domain was distinct from the metropolitan one. We hope to explore within the shared but differentiated space of empire the hierarchies of production, power, and knowledge that emerged in tension with the extension of the domain of universal reason, of market economics, and of citizenship. (p. 3)

Taking this approach required knowledge of Uganda's pre-colonial history and local context, of the broader context of the British colonial project in Uganda, of how the 'child' had been constructed, of how education was practiced in Britain and Buganda, and of how all of these disparate pieces intermingled and changed from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century.

While history is understood to be the study of past events, and historiography is often understood to be the body of work on a particular subject, informed by changing understandings of history across time and space, all work that might be considered 'historical,' like notions of childhood or the practice of education, is in "perpetual motion" (Baker, 2001). 'Doing' history, then, at its most fundamental, is a process of

colligation – or binding together to seek to make sense of the past – and is fundamentally an iterative process. As Munslow (2013) explained,

> Colligation is the process of discovering/imposing new explanations *for* the past, while (perhaps) never turning up a new source (although this remains the Holy Grail) but just seeing (inferring) empirical connections differently, i.e. ‘more accurately’ in terms of probability theory. It is affected and effected by the attested empirical past, but also by ideology, ethics and/or the authorial need to cut a few thousand words from a chapter. (p. 288)

As such, it was necessary, with a project of this kind, to acknowledge and hold in tension both the interpretive and emergent aspects of historical research.

To address this difficult balance, I drew on the work of Sobe (2013) and the idea of entangled history:

> Entangled history can refer to analyses of tangling together of disparate actors, devices, discourses, and practices, with the recognition that this tangling is partly accomplished by said actors, devices, discourses, and practices and partly accomplished by the historian her/himself. The critical leverage of such an approach inheres in the attempt to develop a situationally specific understandings of why-this-and-not-that. Put in terms of subjectivity, this is to foreground the question of what makes people who they are and who they aren’t. In terms of sociocultural forms and dynamics, this foregrounds the contingency of the worlds we inhabit, constitute, and change through our actions. (p. 101)

For my purposes, I examined the entangled histories of British colonists and missionaries, and the Bagandan people to better understand why the British chose to develop the forms of education they did and for which groups of students, toward what end(s) they hoped schooling would work, and through what processes they enacted these ideas. Put simply, my research relied on the idea that particular moments and persons are not discrete but were rather bound together and connected both literally and figuratively. Examining the meta-themes within the materials I used was particularly helpful in making clear the way

in which the authors of the archival materials I examined grappled with this entanglement.

For the purposes of this project, I examined areas of contiguity and divergence in understandings of the 'child,' first in terms of *time and location* (e.g., was this letter written prior to Britain's colonial intervention in Uganda by an explorer reflecting on his or her travels? Was it written immediately prior to independence by a Bagandan government official, trained in a British missionary school?), *role in the colonial project and/or affiliation of the author* (e.g. missionary, school director, or colonial administrator), and *type of source material and intended audience* (e.g. personal letter, journal, official correspondence, policy, or meeting minutes). The *gender, religious, and racial/national/tribal*[35] affiliations of the authors were also considered as significant to understanding of particular source materials. This criteria for analysis drew, especially, on the work of Vavrus (2002) and Stoler (2002) to trouble not only what information was presented but also how it came to be presented in that way. Accordingly, each data chapter begins with a discussion of the source materials used as a way to frame what can be known about this period and from which available materials, as well as to consider what might be missing.

While attention to the source materials themselves (as well as their availability) facilitated my better understanding of the juxtaposition of ideas across texts, materials were also examined thematically, according to an emerging set of themes to better

[35] I use these interchangeably, not to suggest that these terms are the same, but rather because sources contemporary to British colonization of Uganda often used them in this way. For instance, Cunningham (1905) used 'Buganda,' 'Uganda,' 'African,' and 'negro,' among other terms, to describe one particular tribal kingdom and group of people in what is now the country of Uganda. This made the seemingly clear categories of 'nation' or 'tribe' difficult to disentangle.

understand areas of divergence and continuity within the texts themselves. This iterative process began in the archives as I gathered relevant materials in consultation with archivists familiar with each library's holdings, as well as my research project. As I photographed materials, I took careful notes on not only what each folder or box contained, but also on *areas of tension or difference* (e.g., references to tensions between missionary practices and colonial policies, or between local educational demands and colonial offerings), *areas of change* (e.g., references to specific changes in policy or practice), and on the *juxtaposition of ideas* (e.g., contrasting ideas about children and adults, or Europeans and Africans). At the end of each day, I reviewed my notes and wrote a short set of "field notes" that highlighted significant documents, referenced specific quotes or important events to which I might return, and posed questions to be considered as I continued my archival research. The purpose of these notes was to help make sense of a growing set of materials, gathered across two countries and five archives. It was through this process, as well as the summaries of colonial Ugandan education mentioned earlier in this chapter, that I was able to focus on the four critical moments examined in the following data chapters.

My analysis and writing process took a similar approach. I began writing each chapter by listing all documents written immediately before or after, or contemporary to each of the critical moments. For instance, for the second chapter, which focuses on the Phelps-Stokes Report, written in 1925, I examined documents written from 1920 to 1928. I then re-read all relevant documents focusing first on more general or official documents (e.g. Blue Books) and moved toward more specific documents (e.g. letters), while taking

careful notes and highlighting emerging themes. Again, using Chapter 6 on the Phelps-Stokes Report as an example, I began by reading the Colonial Blue Books, Education Reports (instituted in 1925), and various CMS annual reports. These helped me better understand the broader educational context for this time period. I then read all of the documents I found relevant to the Phelps-Stokes Report, followed by annual letters written by CMS missionaries. In some cases, documents cross-referenced each other, and other events and documents, which I would then examine as well.

Notes from each period were grouped thematically, based on an emerging set of themes. In the case of the Phelps-Stokes Report, considerable attention was paid to the responses of the colonial government and missionary agencies to the proposed reforms of the Phelps-Stokes Commission throughout both personal and official papers. Additionally, in this moment, I found rich descriptions of the various types of schools within the Protectorate, which were relevant to better understanding the aforementioned reforms. By focusing first on the proposed reforms, and then on the types of education available to Uganda children, I was able to examine the shape schooling began to take in this first period of direct colonial government intervention. The analysis conducted in the other data chapters followed a similar pattern. By taking an iterative approach to understanding these archival materials,[36] I was able to better understand their nuances. Further, by focusing on critical moments, rather than attempting to record a chronology of schooling, I was able to examine ways temporal shifts influenced perceptions and practices, and parallels and divergences.

[36] I have purposefully used the term 'material' rather than 'data,' to subvert positivistic notions of the unambiguous nature of archival material (Fendler, 2013).

This approach necessitated authorial discretion as to what was included and what was not. As much as possible, I chose to focus closely on events explicitly linked to childhood and schooling in the Ugandan Protectorate. While there were instances when significant political events, among others, influenced Ugandan society and thereby children and schools, these were sometimes only briefly mentioned or not mentioned at all. For instance, only half a paragraph in Chapter 8 is devoted to the exile of the Kabaka, despite its significance for both the Kingdom of Buganda and its relationship with the British, as well as for Uganda's national unification prior to and after independence.[37] Likewise, 'Asian' and 'European' schools developed alongside African schools during the colonial period, but are generally only mentioned as they relate to 'African' education. Certainly an historical narrative of these schools would be a complementary extension to this dissertation. Teacher training is also side-lined for the most part, although as I will discuss in the conclusion, it is a potential area into which this research could be expanded.

It is important to note one final writing convention before moving forward. All readily available publications used as materials for this dissertation were cited using the typical conventions of the APA style. For instance, Johnston's (1904) book, which has been referenced above, follows this pattern. However, in the case of publications that may not be widely available, such as out-of-print editions of books or dissertations, or in the case of materials that are exclusive to an archive (or archives) I have footnoted their reference information. For example, for Uganda's Colonial Blue Books, I footnoted the

[37] For more details see Ward's (1998) article "The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Muteesa II, 1953-55," and D. A. Low's (1960) book, *Buganda and British Overrule*.

title of each volume, the archive that holds it, the archive's location, and its specific reference number. In my references, I also included a general entry for each of the five archival collections listed above, as the number of archival materials upon which this dissertation draws would make a reference list with individual entries prohibitively long.

Limitations of this Research

The idea of entangled history (Sobe, 2013) related to another aspect of 'doing' history I aimed to address with this research, namely the challenge of writing about and understanding the past. As Munslow (2013) wrote, "…history and the past are ontologically dissonant. While the past once existed (I am happy to assume), it is no longer materially available to us for what it probably was or even what it could possibly have meant" (p. 287). While the distance between the researcher and the research subject is always challenging, when writing an account of a particular people or place in the present it is possible to consult with one's research subject. In the case of an education history that begins in 1877, this is not entirely possible. Moreover, as an education historian in the present writing about the past to try to say something meaningful in the present, "The challenge that we face…is to recognize the interaction between the historically constituted temporalities we study and the temporalities produced/imposed by the tools and methods we use to conduct these studies" (Sobe, 2013, p. 100). Taken together these scholars suggest – and I agree – that it is impossible to 'know' anything about the past.[38] Instead, we must be content using what tools are available to us at this

[38] This was underscored for me this summer, as I began my analysis, when I listened to a Radio Lab episode on the Mau Mau rebellion that discussed how documents from the period had been suppressed to allow the British government to tell the 'story' it wanted (Kielty, 2015). Likely there are similar cases from

particular time, in this particular place, to hopefully make one snapshot a bit clearer. This is not to discredit the value of historical research, but rather to ground it in what it can be truly – narrative, rather than what we might want it to be – fact. Accepting the premise above, the historian becomes a tool through which history can be narrated. Consequently, there are two principal limitations of this research, each of which I will discuss in turn.

The problem of the 'haunted' archive. The first limitation relates to the archive itself, which focuses closely on some events or individuals and leaves others out entirely. Fendler (2013) suggested that as education historians we must never forget that the archive, and our reading thereof, is continually produced and reproduced by historical fluctuations and shifts in understandings:

> Histories are haunted by dead people whom we occasionally bring to life in reading, writing, interpretation, and imagination. Histories are also haunted by our hopes, fears, ambitions, and memories, and by intuitive senses of what constitutes high quality scholarship. […] If we act as if history were not haunted, if we pretend that our historical research is free of the spirits of the ages, then we (ironically) dehistoricize history. To assume that historiography can be spirit free, or to act as if we have access to pure and timeless tools of discovery – such as triangulation, fidelity to the archive, interrater reliability, or safeguards against presentism – is to deny the historicity of history. (p. 225)

As an account of the ways in which notions of the child informed the practice of education during the colonial period, this dissertation is a snapshot of one time and place, told through archival materials. It is, to use Fendler's analogy, "haunted" by each author's decision about what to write or ignore in each document, and what to keep or discard; by each archivist's curatorial decision about what should be preserved; by time's wear and tear that bears on different places with different force; and by my own pursuit

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all former colonies, British and otherwise, although it would be impossible to know what or why. Suffice to say, all history is provisional and incomplete.

of some materials and not others, and interpretation of source material in particular, "presentist" ways. It is important, then, in pursuing an emergent design to leave room for the archival material to "speak," while also acknowledging the historically-, epistemologically-, and culturally-mediated ways in which I can be "spoken to."

Researcher subjectivity. This brings me to the second limitation of this study – my own subjectivity as a researcher. My interest in this topic has grown out of countless experiences that seemed unconnected until presented with the task of preparing for and writing this dissertation. Without engaging in too much navel gazing, I recount these as a way of positioning myself vis-à-vis this topic. First, beginning in childhood and through adulthood, I have long enjoyed children's literature and memoirs. I have read widely throughout my life and have often spent time imagining what it would have been like to live in another time or place. Second, I worked as an elementary school teacher for four years, first in Louisiana, then in Casablanca, Morocco. In the first instance my first grade – predominantly African American – students came from largely rural, socially- and economically-disadvantaged backgrounds. In the second instance, my second grade students came from a growing economic hub for North Africa, less than 300 miles from Spain. They were economically privileged and many had travelled widely. While the majority of students were Moroccan, many came from South Africa, India, Syria, the United States, Egypt, Jordan, and elsewhere. In neither instance did my students' lived experiences recall my own childhood, spent growing up in a largely middle class, university town in southwestern Ohio. Subsequent travels to Uganda on a youth livelihoods research project in June 2013 and 2014, only served to underscore the

importance of questioning the assumption of a normative, universal child or childhood. Additionally, since I began writing this dissertation, my daughter (now almost one) was born and I have once again been confronted with a very different set of child-rearing expectations, practices, and experiences. More than anything, these encounters have made me think more deeply about what it means to be a ‘child’ and how (significantly) that might differ across time and space.

Third, when pursuing my Master’s degree in International Studies at the University of Oregon, I set out to answer what I thought were questions about multilingual education and language acquisition, when in fact my questions were really about student experiences and childhood. Prompted by my advisor, I began thinking about studies of childhood as a discipline. Childhood Studies took on a more structured form as I read widely from a variety of (predominately) European and American authors reflecting on time and space, culture and history, and so on. I have since been involved with the previously mentioned Southern Childhoods Network at the University of Sheffield and its affiliated scholars, as well as the yaSOA (Youth as Subjects, Objects, Agents) Research Circle hosted by the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change and the Childhood and Youth Studies Across the Disciplines Collaborative hosted by the Institute for Advanced Study at the University of Minnesota – all of which are strongly influenced by the field of Childhood Studies. Perhaps because of my own past experiences, my initial introduction to the field via anthropology (rather than, say, educational psychology), or my continued connections and involvement, I firmly believe

that a fixed definition of childhood is illusionary. This predisposes me to see difference where others might see continuity.

Related to this is my positionality as a White, middle-class, female researcher born and raised in the United States in the late 20th and early 21st century. I am both literally and figuratively removed from the subjects of my research. The history that I have written is not my history, aside from, perhaps, a family genealogy that includes the emigration of various ancestors from the British Isles to the United States. This history, which has put me in a position of power, has also allowed me to do this research; as Thapar (2007) pointed out, writing history is a privilege. All this to say, I do not believe that my position of power is something I can resolve. However, I have tried use this position of power to, borrowing from Warming (2011), write a history infused with "critical social empathy" that seeks to acknowledge the colonial past of Uganda's children and schools. And so I wrote this history, not because I wanted to seize the right to speak on behalf of others, but because I wanted to understand how particular notions of childhood came to prominence in the colonial period and continue to inform the practice of education today in Uganda, and also globally.

Significance of this Study

Despite these challenges, this study of the history of childhood and schooling in Uganda is significant in three principal ways. First, exploring different conceptualizations of childhood is important because similar models of schooling, largely based on western notions of childhood, have been appropriated by governments around the world. However, as I have shown in my literature review, particular ideas about children and

education have influenced the discourse and practice of formal schooling. Specifically, colonial models of education often predicated on an Enlightenment ideal of the 'educated man,' as well as gendered and racial discourses of 'African' and 'European,' framed the development of schooling throughout East Africa. While the ubiquity of western models of schooling today might suggest that notions of childhood and 'the child' were quite similar globally, my analysis of archival material, explored in the following chapters, suggests otherwise. The establishment of Uganda's formal schooling architecture, thereby (re)shaping many formative childhood experiences, is steeped in a racially, religiously, gender, and class-bound colonial past. By studying the historical development of schooling for Bagandan children, my dissertation reveals how particular ideas about childhood were codified and enacted in formal education, challenging notions of a 'neutral,' 'universal' model of schooling or childhood.

Second, there is a dearth of research on histories of childhood in the global South, though schooling has been studied extensively by education scholars, economists, and demographers. If one assumes, as I do, that notions of childhood bear on the schooling deemed appropriate for different groups, then it is also necessary to examine how discourses and practices of childhood informed educational policy and practice during the colonial period when systems of schooling were established. Despite this relationship, in none of the Ugandan Millennium Development Reports – published periodically since 2003[39] – is the country's colonial history mentioned. This avoidance of colonialism's

[39] Five reports have been published thus far, in 2003, 2007, 2010, 2013, and 2015.

impact results in a problematic and myopic view of educational inequality, a point that has been made by other scholars, such as Vavrus (2015), who wrote:

> contemporary economic and educational disparities at multiple scales reveal not only the enduring strength of colonial geographies that privileged certain regions and ethnic groups, but also, at the local scale, have produced advantages for residents residing near some long-established schools.

While Vavrus draws on data from the Kilimanjaro Region in Tanzania, the same could be said of Uganda, where "contemporary economic and educational disparities" are also shaped significantly by the country's colonial past. Accordingly, historical analyses that foreground notions of childhood and education help us better understand the establishment of systems of education – based on particular notions about the appropriateness of some forms of education and not others – which continue to frame education systems in Uganda, and elsewhere, today.

Finally, in examining the archive as evidence of the production of knowledge about children and education, this study contributes to our understandings of how British notions of their own identities were informed and changed by discourses and practices related to child-rearing and schooling in the colonies. As Cooper and Stoler (1997) pointed out, modern British identities were formed in and through colonialism, as much as indigenous identities were; it would be a mistake to assume 'colonist'[40] or 'missionary' as a static or universal category. While scholars have traced understandings of British childhood and education in the UK itself (Hendrick, 1997), less has been done to better understand the relationship of this national history to its imperial history.

[40] I have used the term 'colonist' and 'colonial official' or 'government official' interchangeably, although these could certainly encompass different things. However, Uganda was not intended to be a settler colony and so aside from missionaries, there were few Europeans who were in no way affiliated with the British Protectorate government.

Writing about an empire shaped by its colonial projects as much as it shaped other nations decenters any lingering power or mythology surrounding a certainty of vision or unity of process. This history, then, has the discursive power to facilitate the decolonization childhood and schooling.

Chapter 4. Precolonial Education and Child-Rearing

Figure 8. Map of Buganda c. 1908[41]

> Children had free scope to enjoy life to the full, because there were many of them to herd the large flocks of goats and sheep which belonged to the communities, and to play as they herded them. Food was plentiful, restrictions were few, clothing was not required, and the children were free to do as they liked; when tired they would go and lie down near the fire, which was always burning on the hearth, and would sleep, and then go off to play again. (Roscoe, 1911, p. 15)

Introduction

Toward the end of the 19th century when European explorers first made contact with the Baganda while in search of the source of the Nile River, what is now southern Uganda was a collection of Bantu kingdoms. Buganda, located along the northwestern shores of Lake Victoria, was bordered by Nkore, Toro, Busoga, and their historic rivals –

[41] The map at the beginning of this chapter was included in C. W. Hattersley’s (1908) *The Baganda at Home*. The Buganda Kingdom roughly covers the area over which “Uganda,” “Mengo,” and “Budu,” are typed.

Bunyoro-Kitara (Maxon, 2009). While each of these kingdoms certainly shared similarities, in part because of their shared histories and proximity, for the purpose of this dissertation I will focus on the pre-colonial practices of the Baganda. In this initial chapter, I will give a broad overview of Bagandan society,[42] with particular attention to child-rearing and education practices from the late 19th century to serve as a context and foil for later colonial interventions.

Unlike later sections of this dissertation – which draw on a much broader set of documents, some written by Bagandan authors themselves – this section is almost entirely based on early European explorers' accounts, which focused very little on children or education; on an early ethnography of the Baganda by John Roscoe, and based on his time spent as a CMS missionary from 1893-1911; on a volume on the protectorate published in 1904 by Sir Harry Johnston, former Special Commissioner to the Uganda Protectorate; on two books published posthumously on the life and work of Alexander Mackay,[43] early CMS missionary to Uganda, one of which – entitled *Uganda's White Man of Work* (Fahs, 1907) – was written for children; and on a few early missionary letters aimed at describing the precolonial practices of the Baganda. One notable Bagandan voice is that of Sir Apolo Kaggwa, *Katikiro* [Prime Minister] of the Baganda, who published a work on *The Customs of the Baganda* in 1934. As one of the

[42] It is important to note that the Baganda are subdivided into clans, and although individuals largely were required to marry outside their clan, there are still a few differences between them as to various traditions, including some that relate to child-rearing. For instance, Roscoe (1911) explained that some clans required that children's baby teeth be kept after they fell out, while other clans buried them with the child's placenta and others put them at the root of a plantain. I have largely left these distinctions aside in this description, referencing instead practices which were said to be followed by most Baganda.

[43] After his death from malaria on February 8, 1890, Alexander Mackay's sister A. M. Harrison wrote a memoir of his life, drawing on their early lives spent together, and from extracts from his letters and journals written during his time spent in Germany, and then as he traveled to and lived in Uganda (Harrison, 1896).

primary informants for Roscoe’s ethnography, Kaggwa’s volume can be considered an expansion and annotation of Roscoe’s work. As such, this is certainly – at best – an incomplete picture of precolonial Buganda, and at worst a cultural artifact of colonial authority, a story told to support the historical narrative of those in power (Stoler, 2002).

Still, it is important to include these documents at the beginning of a history of colonial childhood and schooling for three principal reasons. First, many of these documents – especially those written by British colonial government officials – allow insight into the “production and consumption of…‘facts’” (Stoler, 2002, p. 91), which were used to build an argument for, and were ultimately foundational to, the production of British colonial rule in the Ugandan protectorate. For example, Johnston’s (1904) *The Uganda Protectorate* is significant as it reflects the views of a colonial administrator whose earlier efforts on behalf of the colonial government led to the 1900 Buganda Agreement, which established British control over the area. Second, these documents also reflect early attempts to craft the Church Missionary Society’s mission to Uganda through letters edited and published in annual circulars, through biographies of early missionaries, such as Mackay, and most notably through works written for children themselves. Fahs (1907) dedicated her biography of Mackay “to the boys and girls who delight in true stories of people and who may come to regard the white man of work as one of the real heroes of their acquaintance” (n.p.). Finally, though imperfect, some of these works – of the few extant sources available – were recognized by contemporaries as reliable. Edel, editor of Sir Apolo Kaggwa’s (1934) book, suggested in his preface that Roscoe’s ethnography of the Baganda was viewed by Kaggwa as incomplete on its own,

but also that Kaggwa's own book was best read as an annotation to Roscoe's work, rather than as a stand-alone volume. Further, Edel suggested that Kaggwa and Roscoe's accounts varied little in their presentation of the Baganda, implying that Roscoe's (1911) ethnography proved to be at least one example of a relatively reliable European-authored work.

With these caveats in mind, this chapter attempts to capture a picture of what pre-colonial childhood and education might have looked like while acknowledging the distortions of the particular views available. Further, it is important to note that while many scholars have written about the history and customs of the Baganda (Kaggwa, 1934; Kiwanuka, 1972) and on motherhood (Stephens, 2013) – and I do not wish to reproduce their efforts – none to my knowledge have focused especially on children. As such, this chapter is unique, in that it draws together a variety of sources to examine childhood in particular. To this end, I have attempted – where possible – to draw out what is distinctive and relevant to understanding Bagandan child-rearing during its late pre-colonial history to establish some understanding of Bagandan childhood prior to the establishment of formal schooling, before moving into an examination of colonial education and attendant changes to childhood in the following chapters.

Pre-colonial Buganda

Community life and structures of the village and home. The pre-colonial Baganda were a powerful and centralized kingdom, ruled by the *Kabaka* [king] who had recently led his people through a period of expansion and consolidation of power (Fallers,

1960). Speke, who visited the kingdom in 1862 described the kingdom in glowing terms:[44]

> The roads, as indeed they were everywhere, were as broad as our coach-roads, cut through the long grasses, straight over the hills and down through the woods in the dells – a strange contrast to the wretched tracks in all the adjacent countries. The huts were kept so clean and so neat, not a fault could be found with them – the gardens were the same. Wherever I strolled I saw nothing but richness, and what ought to be wealth. The whole land was a picture of quiescent beauty, with a boundless sea in the background. (Speke, 2009, n.p.)

For most Baganda, life centered around their gardens or plantations, which adjoined the gardens of friends and families. Roscoe (1911) described the Baganda as living in communities that formed more or less contiguous gardens with vague boundaries marked by gutters dug into the ground or shrubs, each maintained by a family who also lived on the plot.[45] Children travelled more or less freely within these gardens and plots, participating to a large degree in community affairs from a young age (Roscoe, 1911).

Drawing on an intensive literature review and field work from 1950 to 1957, Fallers (1960) wrote that family homesteads themselves would consist of either a

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[44] Despite this account, Speke was not at all complementary to Africans in general. He began the introduction to his book, *The Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, with the following:

> In the following pages I have endeavoured to describe all that appeared to me most important and interesting among the events and the scenes that came under my notice during my sojourn in the interior of Africa…I profess accurately to describe native Africa – Africa in those places where it has not received the slightest impulse, whether for good or evil, from European civilization. If the picture be a dark one, we should, when contemplating these sons of Noah, try to carry our mind back to that time when our poor elder brother Ham was cursed by his father… (1863, p. xiii)

Speke connected Africa's 'uncivilized' state to the Biblical curse of Ham, by his father Noah, to be the servant of his brothers (Genesis 9:19-29, English Standard Version), thereby also implying that Europeans, as the 'civilized' descendants of Noah's other sons, were to rule over Africans.

[45] Fallers (1960) also wrote that the Baganda did not typically live in extended family households. Rather, men would establish their own households upon marriage. However, as is discussed later in this chapter, it was common for the Baganda to send their children to live with family members after weaning. Presumably then, Fallers was referring only to adults when she made this remark.

building or group of buildings – traditional huts, which were round and thatched from the top to the ground – surrounded by a fence.[46] These huts were used for various purposes:

> Where there was only one wife, the whole family might share a single hut; in a polygynous homestead, each wife had her own hut and there might, in addition, be a dormitory for older boys. Livestock might share the family hut or might have a separate shelter, depending upon their numbers. Although the hearth was the central feature of every hut, there might also be an outdoor cookhouse. (p. 54)

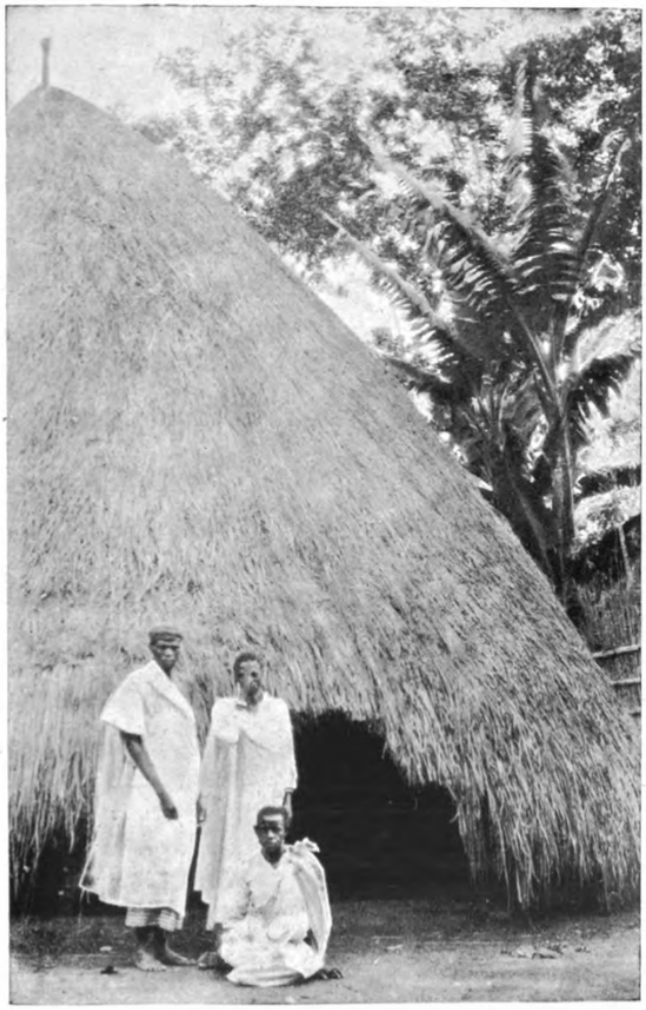

Figure 9. "An Uganda House" (Johnston, 1904)

[46] For a description of the building plans and practices of the pre-colonial Baganda, see Kaggwa (1934) or Johnston (1904).

The basis of Buganda's economy were these peasant land holdings on which families planted bananas and other annual crops, including beans, millet, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, and cassava. Some wealthier families also engaged in animal husbandry, raising herds of cattle, and most kept goats and chickens. The Baganda also hunted for wild pigs, buffalo, and antelope, and gathered fish and grasshoppers for consumption (Fallers, 1960). As was true in many traditional societies, children supported their families in performing these various tasks planting, tending, and hunting. Europeans writing at the time were impressed by Buganda's verdant and productive landscape: "Uganda [is] an evergreen country, with trees in leaf, and grass and pasturage of far better quality than that found in other parts of the Continent" (Roscoe, 1911, p. 4). Mackay wrote of the endless agricultural (and economic) possibilities that might exist for the nation:

> The trees grow with no attention, and each bunch is a man's land. The natives are rather prodigal with the trees…but so extraordinary is the vitality of the tree that it sprouts again immediately…This country is really a rich one and might produce anything. (Harrison, 1896, p. 107)

Like the land that they inhabited, and as was demonstrated in Chapter 3, the Baganda themselves were viewed as more civilized than their putatively more barbaric African neighbors. To the first Europeans who made contact with the Baganda, these central Africans were uniquely noteworthy – 'extraordinary' by one description. In contrast to "[m]ost African nations,"[47] which "were small tribes of a few hundred or thousand people…The kingdom of Uganda was a most notable exception. Here was a

[47] Fahs (1907) seems to be referring to all of Africa in this quote, although it is not entirely clear. She may only refer in this quote to East and/or Central Africa. However, her description is consistent with other contemporary authors, such as Johnston (1904) and Ashe (1970) who compared the Baganda favorably to the Japanese.

country as large as the New England States, with four million people,[48] all ruled by one powerful monarch" (Fahs, 1907, p. 9). As Stanley (1889) wrote in his account of his search for the source of the Nile, published in the book *Through the Dark Continent*:

> The little insight we obtained into the manners of Uganda between Soweh Island, Murchison Bay, and Kiwa Island, near Ukafu Bay, impressed us with the consciousness that we were about to become acquainted with an extraordinary monarch and an extraordinary people, as different from the barbarous pirates of Uvuma, and the wild mop-headed men of Eastern Usukuma, as the British in India are from their Afridi fellow-subjects, or the white Americans of Arkansas from the semi-civilized Choctaws. (p. 125)[49]

British authors of the time period set up the Baganda as comparable to the British or White Americans, rather than other semi-civilized groups, and commonly used language that emphasized the similarity of the Baganda to Europeans or Americans, rather than their difference. For instance, Fahs (1907) described the leadership of the Kabaka thusly:

> Nor did he [King Mutesa I] rule in the fashion of most African chiefs. His House of Lords met daily in his palace for counsel…He had also his prime minister, his chief judge, his commander-in-chief for the large army of black soldiers, and his grand admiral for the navy of canoes. To the white man, Mutesa seemed like some great Caesar of Africa. (pp. 9-10)

Appearance, race, and clothing. Parallels between the Black Baganda and White Europeans extended to a sort of racial apologetics. In his account, Stanley (1889)

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[48] This number is likely far too high. Stanley (1889) estimated the 1878 population of Buganda to be approximately 750,000 and a 1948 census listed 836,091 Baganda (Fallers, 1960). The first Blue Book from the Uganda Protectorate, published in 1901, listed the Buganda population at 600,082 and the entire protectorate population at 1,145,858. Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1901-1902. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 613/1.

[49] Stanley (1889) mentioned the Wavuma as fighting a war with the Waganda; they are believed to be an African tribe in what is now Zimbabwe. The Wavuma's putative barbarity lives on in the apocryphal story of a book bound from the skin of a European who had been flayed alive by them (Annear, 2014). The Usukuma lived along the southern shores of Lake Victoria and would have encountered the CMS missionaries on their trek to Buganda (Mullins, 1908). The Afridi lived in what is now Pakistan and were known for their defiance against the British (Tripodi, 2011). Finally, the Choctaw are a Native American group who occupied territory covering parts of Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. Historically, they were considered to be one of the "Five Civilized Tribes" in the United States, a designation which also applied to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole (Wesson, 2005).

went to great lengths to explain that the "pure Waganda are not black by any means'" rather, "the best specimens of Waganda, are nearly all of a bronze or a dark reddish brown, with peculiar smooth, soft skins" (p. 126). Alexander Mackay, who reached Buganda only three years after Stanley in November 1878, provided a similar account in his journal on January 10th, 1879:

> The [Baganda] are not savages nor even barbarians. They are out of sight far in advance of any race I have met with or even heard of in Central Africa; they are exceedingly neat-handed, far more so than the coast people, who call themselves along 'civilized.' (Harrison, 1896, p. 106)

In this way, Stanley (1889) and Mackay (Harrison, 1896) foreshadowed the later special treatment of the Baganda by the British, and their unique status within the protectorate. Writing a few decades later, Johnston (1904) started his description of the Baganda similarly:

> The Kingdom of Uganda is the most important province (politically) in the Protectorate, and perhaps one of the best organised and most civilised of African kingdoms at the present day. In fact, putting aside the empires of Abyssinia and Morocco (as entirely independent states ranking with other world Powers), Uganda would take a high place among those purely Negro kingdoms which retain any degree of national rule, and would compare favourably in importance with Sokoto, Wadai, Lunda, or Barotse. (p. 636)[50]

Johnston also wrote about the "peculiar golden brown" skin color of the Baganda and noted that their "features are quite negro (though in a pleasant form)" (p. 640).

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[50] The Fulbe people form the largest group of nomadic herders in the world and live in what is now northern Nigeria. Prior to their conquest by the British, their capital was at Sokoto. It is likely this quote refers to them. The Wadai Sultanate or Empire was located east of Lake Chad, covering parts of modern Chad and the Central African Republic. The Kingdom of Lunda was a precolonial empire in Central Africa, covering parts of the modern states of Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Zambia. Finally, the Lozi people live in what is now called Barotseland, a region within modern Zambia. All four were successful empires within precolonial Africa, likely the reason for their comparison to Buganda. For more details on these groups within precolonial Africa, see Olson's (1996) *The peoples of Africa: An ethnohistorical dictionary* and *The Cambridge history of Africa, Volume 4*, edited by Gray (1975) and *The Cambridge history of Africa, Volume 5*, edited by Flint (1976).

In contrast to other tribes in the region whose nakedness shocked European sensibilities (Johnston, 1904), the 'civilized' pre-colonial adult Baganda bathed daily (Roscoe, 1911) and primarily wore barkcloth, although historically they had dressed in animal skins (Kaggwa, 1934). Grant (1864) described the Baganda in this way:

> The dress of this people was formed of gaily-coloured goat-skins and bark cloths, well arranged, striking, and becoming; their accouterments and drums were got up with neatness and simplicity; their drapery perfectly concealed the whole body, except the head, feet, and hands. (p. 135)

As in many cultures, children (and adolescents) were marked as distinctive, in part, by their appearance (Lancy, 2008). Infants wore no clothing except a string of beads at the waist and were washed by their nurses or mothers daily. Until the naming ceremony, which occurred around weaning, or as late as four or five years, a baby's hair was not cut. After this point, Roscoe (1911) contended that both male and female children:

> were careless about bathing during their minority; custom obliged them to wash their hands before meals, but they seldom did more than that until they were twelve or fourteen. When they approached puberty, they became cleaner, and took more interest in their appearance. (p. 75)[51]

In terms of clothing itself, Kaggwa (1934) described female children's dress: "Girls wore pieces of wood strung together about their waists, and small varicoloured pieces hanging down in front, until they were twelve, when they changed to barkcloth" (p. 136). Roscoe recorded a similar description:

> Girls up to about twelve years of age were unclothed, but they had a ring round their waist, made either of lizard skin or from the plantain fibre. When they arrived at puberty, they were given a piece of barkcloth to wear round their loins. (p. 79)

[51] Given Roscoe's (1911) explanation that Bagandan children cared about their appearance beginning during puberty, it is likely that "minority" aged children were pre-pubescent.

In Roscoe’s (1911) image below (see Figure 10), it appears that older boys wore fabric draped and knotted at their shoulders, while those younger – like their female counterparts – wore very little. To the British, this lack of attention to dress would later indicate a more pervasive and problematic lack of care for children – especially when children’s lack of dress was compared to their more clothed parents. As will be discussed in the following chapters, European-style clothing and ‘care’ for one’s appearance would come to distinguish educated children from their uneducated peers.

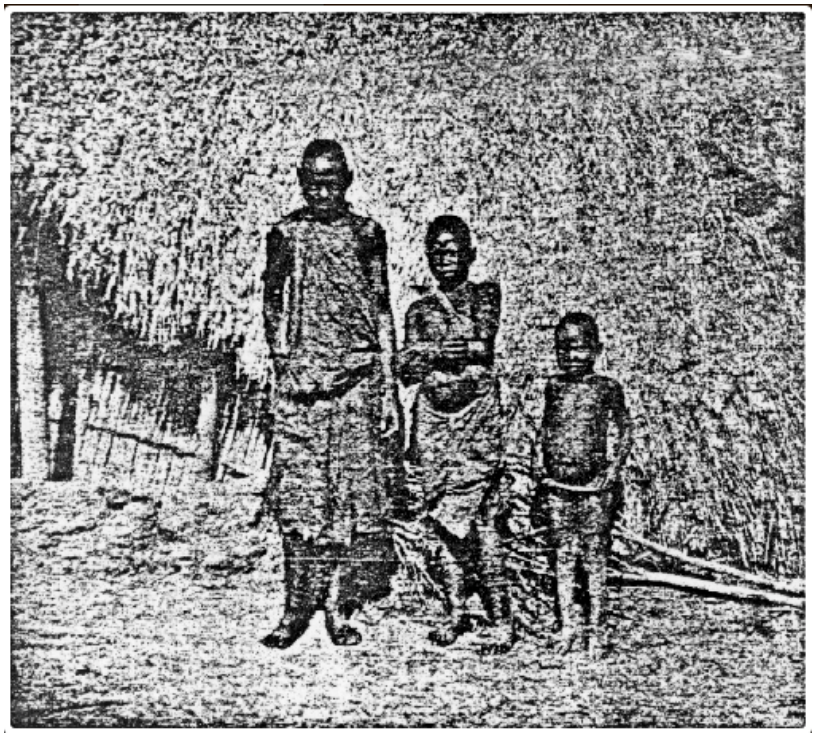

Figure 10. "Boys and girls in usual dress" (Roscoe, 1911)

Work and activity. Like their distinctly gendered clothing, men and women divided labor largely along gendered lines. Nsimbi (1956) recounted “eight important occupations” for men in precolonial Uganda: bark-cloth making, blacksmithing, pottery, woodwork, fishing, house building, administration, and fighting, and wrote that women

were responsible for food cultivation and preparation, child-rearing, basket weaving, and cutting grass.[52] As is explored in the following section on child-rearing, Bagandan children would be brought up to perform these tasks based on their respective genders.

Beyond daily tasks, the Baganda engaged in arts and leisure activities. Grant (1864) praised these efforts: "At light work they are highly ingenious. Their spears, knives, drums, shields, ornaments, houses, &c.,[53] are made with great taste and exactness" (p. 233). That they had time to develop extensive arts and leisure pursuits was attributed to the ease with which the Baganda were able to provide for their daily needs. In a letter written in 1879, shortly after his arrival in Buganda, Mackay explained, "The people are an active, intelligent, but excitable race; they have little or nothing to do for their daily food, as the rich soil yields of itself all that is wanted in this way" (Harrison, 1896, p. 107). This bounty and perceived lack of need to engage in extensive and time-consuming agricultural practices was later fodder for British critiques of Bagandan idleness and assumed need for colonial and/or mission intervention.[54] A case for British

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[52] C.W. Hattersley (1908), a CMS missionary credited with the establishment of primary schooling in Uganda at the turn of the century, would later explain:

> Uganda is a country the habits of which, when compared with England, appear to be entirely reversed. The men do the sewing and the washing; they visit the friends of the family; they buy their wives, or in other words find a dowry; the bridegroom must in all cases provide the wedding presents and the feast. On the other hand, a woman may propose marriage to the man of her choice, and, indeed, goes off on a tour of exploration for that purpose, even though the year be not leap-year. This is, however, quite reasonable; for she engages to provide food for the household, collect the firewood, carry the water, and do all the cultivating, besides attending to the duties of motherhood. (p. 108)

Ironically, in his book Hattersley went on to credit the British with the emancipation of Bagandan women who before their arrival (apparently) were mere drudges.

[53] "&c." was a commonly used short-hand in letters from this era and functioned like "etc." in modern writing.

[54] The aforementioned Hattersley (1908), while generally one of the greatest advocates for African equality and capability, also saw them as inherently and pervasively idle:

> Some of us have been born with a feverish desire to do something, even from the time that we were babies, but that is one of the products of centuries of training. The average African is born

involvement in child-rearing by means of schooling was perceived to be especially important, as children were able to be better trained than adults because of their youth – a sentiment apparent in other colonies as well (de Leeuw, 2009). Although explored in more detail in later chapters, to give one example Hattersley (1908) would later write that boys under eighteen made the best servants, as it was easier to train them when they were young – in his estimation, between the ages of thirteen and fifteen.

Child-Rearing and Education

Although some information can be gleaned about childhood from these more general descriptions of the Baganda, as explored above, and it is necessary to understand the broader social context in which children were brought up, it is also important to examine the limited references to and descriptions of Bagandan children specifically. Many accounts exist of pregnancy and child-birth among the Baganda, as well as – in some cases – of childhood (Fallers, 1960; Roscoe, 1911; Stephens, 2013). Given my focus on child-rearing, I have chosen to begin this section with infancy and conclude with puberty. The following section sketches, as best as possible, what pre-colonial childhood might have looked like. Further, when relevant, I have commented on the particular areas of Bagandan childhood that concerned Europeans in their first encounters, and were later used to argue for intervention.

Pregnancy, birth, and babyhood. Prior to childbirth, an expectant mother would have been cared for by her husband's father's mother, or another older woman closely

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with no such desire; his only desire is to do as little as possible. His needs are few; his house only takes three days to build, and everybody helps; his food, his clothes, and his bedding he obtains in his own garden; his bear, his tobacco – in fact all his needs are supplied. (p. 119)

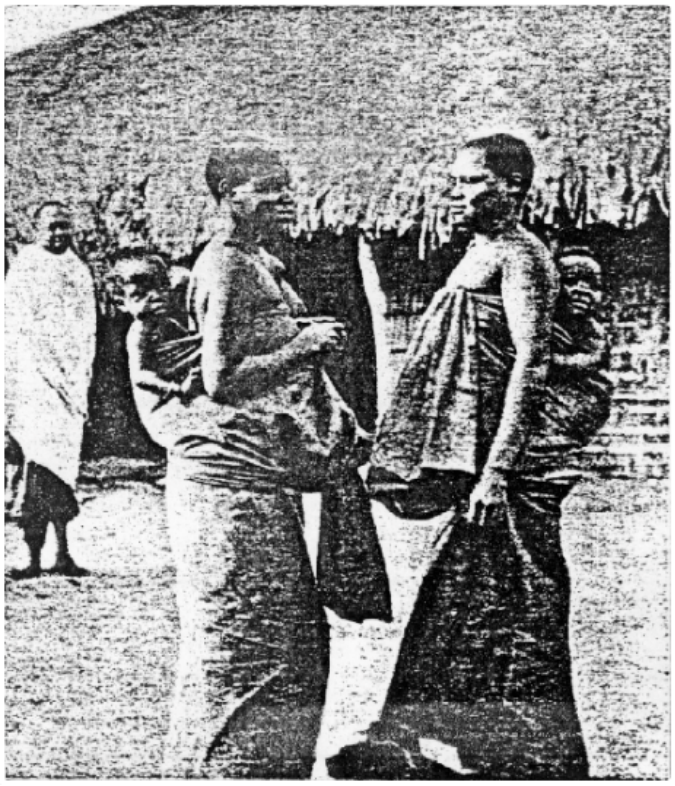

Figure 11. "Mothers and Babies" (Roscoe, 1911)

related to her husband’s father (Roscoe, 1911). Following birth, until weaned at about three years of age,[55] Bagandan babies were cared for by their mothers, although in many cases, “a nurse appointed to take charge of it soon after birth; this girl was expected to be in constant attendance upon the child, and to be ready to amuse it and keep it quiet” (Roscoe, 1911, p. 58). This nurse was ideally to be part of the father’s clan and likely a young girl – suggesting that infant care was a part of educating and socializing girls for the work they were meant to do as adults. While nursing, a wife would live apart from

[55] Roscoe (1911) acknowledged in his account that the relatively long time spent nursing would tend to decrease the number of children a woman would have. Still, since many women bore their first child early (some at the age of fifteen), some families had as many as ten or twelve children. He wrote, “A man with one hundred children [by multiple wives] was not regarded as having a large family” (p. 58).

her husband, with her child, if the husband had multiple wives. Otherwise, a wife would remain at home while nursing.

As a patrilineal society, Bagandan babies belonged to the husband; in the case of divorce (even before weaning) or in the case of extramarital relationships, children would live with their fathers' clan.[56] Roscoe (1911) wrote:

> [I]f a girl was with child prior to marriage…she was compelled to tell who was the cause of her trouble; and the man was fined a cow and a fowl, and had also to pay the dowry and marry the girl. Even while he was seeking the amount for the fine, the girl had to live with his relations; though she did not intend to marry him, she was obliged to go to his relatives until after the birth had taken place, because the child was their child, and it was they who would see that the birth customs were observed, and, after the child was weaned, to take charge of it. (p. 79)

Concerns over pre-marital child-bearing seemed to have more to do with ensuring that a child was able to be brought up by his or her proper clan – determined by the father – rather than censuring a girl or boy for having a child prior to marriage. From earliest infancy, babies were to be raised by the clan according to their practices. This, of course, ran contrary to later British missionary and colonialist agendas, which cast pre-marital sexual relationships as wholly undesirable and problematic and expelled girls from school if they were found to be pregnant.[57] Later accounts written by missionaries chastised parents for sending their daughters away when they became pregnant[58] – it is possible however, that British intervention had stigmatized pregnancy without providing

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[56] Bagandan practices were not entirely patriarchal in nature. Nsimbi (1956) noted that while "[a]n heir must be a son or a nephew or a brother or a grandson to the deceased. For a woman the heiress must be her sister or a daughter of her brother" (p. 33). In this way, inheritance was kept by the clan to which an individual belonged.

[57] In many cases, Ugandan girls continue to be expelled from school when they are found to be pregnant, although it is officially illegal (Lefebvre, E. E., Pekol, A., & Krause, B. L., 2015).

[58] See, for instance, the self-published memoir *Re-Joyce* by D. Joyce Hoyle, written about her life in Uganda during the 1950s and 60s. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS Afr. r. 271.

an alternative form of care for expectant mothers and their eventual babies, who traditionally would have been provided for by the father's family.

Other aspects of Bagandan babyhood had features similar to early life everywhere. At a few months of age, babies received solid food and began to be trained to sit up (Southwold, 1965). Roscoe (1911) also noted that:

> When the time came for an infant to learn to walk, the grandmother came again and tied some small bells on its legs, which answered the double purpose of strengthening its legs, and also of inducing it to make an attempt to walk, in order to hear the bells ring. (p. 59)

A few key ceremonies also marked the passage of time from nursing infant to young child. First, a ceremony in which a baby was placed on the floor for the first time was performed once it had reached about three months of age. Until then, a baby had to be carried by the nurse or mother, or be put to lie down. Roscoe (1911) opined that these early days on a mother's back "were never very interesting" (p. 60).[59] Second, at some point during these early years, either while still being nursed, or at the latest by four or five years of age, children participated in a "naming ceremony, (*kawlula*), which gave its standing in the clan, and it was on this occasion that its legitimacy was established once and forever" (Roscoe, 1911, p. 62). During the naming ceremony, a child would be given a name belonging to his father's clan, to which he or she was a member.[60] This ceremony signified full membership in a clan: "Once a child was officially named he could go to

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[59] Of course now in modern Western child-rearing, baby-wearing is strongly advocated and considered to facilitate mother-child bonding (Sears, 2003).

[60] It is worth noting that this system was modified for the Kabaka. Instead of joining the clan of their father, the children of the Kabaka would join the clan of their mother – a practice that continues today. Further, as children (royal or otherwise) were bound by rules of exogamy not to marry the clan of either his mother or father, this system was meant to ensure that no one family would come to dominate the kingship of Buganda (Fallers, 1960).

clan functions, and not before. Perhaps the most important clan functions were funerals and end-of-mourning ceremonies" (Roscoe, 1911, p. 53). After a baby had been weaned and named – likely to occur by the time modern children attend kindergarten – their lives would change as they became, if not formally, children.

Child-rearing and childhood. In pre-colonial Buganda before a child could talk, he or she was "considered 'to have no sense'" (Southwold, 1965, p. 107) and it was only after these early years that children were rebuked or received moral training. After a child began to talk, parents made an effort "to teach it good behavior, especially respect toward adults; toddlers kneel before a visitor and timidly squeak out the formal greetings, and thereafter sit quietly on the floor until dismissed to play or work" (Southwold, 1965, p. 107). Nsimbi (1956) remembered that traditionally, Bagandan children were instructed in important social rules, including: visiting the sick; running to the rescue of others when an alarm had been raised; and keeping friendly relations with neighbors, who, he wrote, were to be treated like family members. The overwhelming emphasis of this instruction seemed to have been directed at training children to participate in an ever-larger social sphere, moving outward from their family to their clan, and from their community or village to Buganda as a whole.

Still, even once this 'work' of child-rearing began, Bagandan parents took a more hands-off approach than the British would have liked. Even the relatively neutral Roscoe (1911) criticized Bagandan parents because their children wore no clothing, washed rarely, and received little direction or structure: "so long as they obtained their meals and were in good health, they cared nothing for their own appearance; they slept on the floor

near the fire, and picked themselves up when they woke in the morning, going off at once to play" (p. 9). Additionally, parents were unrestrained around their children and grown-ups spoke openly about "delicate matters…hence the children knew of many things which they ought not to have heard of for years to come" (p. 10). These practices contrasted with the sentimental Victorian ideal of an innocent child and a nuclear family-oriented child-rearing approach that emphasized discipline (Frost, 2009).

Along these same lines, the Baganda often sent their children away to live with relatives once they had been weaned; girls were sent to live with, ideally, an elder married brother and boys were sent to live with a paternal uncle (Roscoe, 1911). The purpose of this practice was to cement a child's relationship to his extended family and clan.[61] Additionally, Hattersley (1908) wrote that the Katikiro, Sir Apolo Kaggwa, had also told him: "women [would] not allow their children to be beaten, and that if their boys [were] kept at home their fathers [would] lose control of them" (p. 92). By sending children to be brought up by others, their mothers would not be available to object and they could be disciplined appropriately. In later years, this practice was almost universally deplored by the British. Reverend M. J. Hall wrote in an 1896 letter, "Until quite recently, multitudes of boys and girls had no idea of who was their father or where their proper home was, and even now 'home ties' are almost unknown."[62] This practice of sending children away would, according to the British, prevent children from properly

[61] This practice had an added benefit of providing for orphans. Roscoe (1911) explained: "Owing to the clan system, no occasion arose for the adoption of orphans; children belonged to the clan, and when their father or mother died, they were still under the care of some relative who took the place of the father" (p. 81).

[62] Letter by Reverend Hall, 1896. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Reel 36. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

bonding with their parents. Instead, as is explored in the following chapter, they would recommend (paradoxically) that children be sent to European-run boarding schools. As will be explored in more detail in later chapters, European authors largely saw Bagandan child-rearing as negative.

Figure 12. "Baganda Boys Wrestling" (Roscoe, 1911)

This is not at all to suggest that Bagandan parents did not care for their children’s well-being or take an interest in their education and development. For instance, familiar rituals marked milestones like losing a first tooth or cutting a child’s hair for the first

time. In the case of first teeth, Bagandan traditions were similar to that of the modern American tooth fairy:

> When children were losing their first teeth, it was their guardians' duty to assist them to get rid of the teeth quickly. Yet they seldom, if ever, extracted them for a child, but persuaded to do this for itself. They induced the child to believe that, if the tooth were drawn, and placed in a rat run, the rat would take the tooth, and replace it with a few cowry-shells. The child would try this plan, extract the tooth, and place it in the rat run, and early the next morning would go to see the result; of course, the guardian had seen to the removal of the tooth, and had put two or three cowry-shells in its place. (Roscoe, 1911, p. 74)

Additional attention was paid to children's education vis-à-vis their participation in the family economy and eventual work as an adult. From an early age children were expected to perform household tasks, their experiences determined largely by their gender. Roscoe (1911) wrote that boys, for instance, were often sent to herd goats and sheep, or at least to assist in their herding as they were able. At approximately age ten, boys would be expected to help male relatives by carrying his beer or mat, or by carrying messages for him. As boys grew up, if they were shown to be intelligent and hard-working, a relative

> would possibly get him into the household of some chief; there the boy, if he was attentive, might soon make his way and become a trusted servant, and be sent upon important business. He might even become a page to the king, and in this position, if he gained favour by his alertness, promotion would be certain. (p. 79)

Through this work a boy could also gain favor with the chief or king and might be rewarded with "barkcloths or the means to buy them" (p. 79). Less "clever" boys would be put to work as assistants to other peasants in apprenticeship-like positions, learning how to make barkcloth and fences, and to build houses – essentially the types of vocations common to Bagandan adult males. Girls, on the other hand, would be taught the occupations of Bagandan adult females:

> Girls were taught to cook and to cultivate as soon as they could hoe; to be a successful manager of the plantain grove and to be an expert cook were regarded as a woman's best accomplishments...Peasant girls were frequently sent to herd the goats, when there was no boy available to do it. (Roscoe, 1911, p. 79)

In this way both their living situation (with extended family members) and their traditional, apprenticeship-style education (learning tasks relevant to adult life) "prepared the young members of a community for specific responsibilities they were going to shoulder in maturity. It was education for life with all its complexities" (Tiberondwa, 1978, p. 7). As Tiberondwa (1978) eloquently explained, "[e]ducation was, as it is today, part of living" (p. 1).

Children also had opportunities to play, although there may have been fewer opportunities for such pursuits for girls, at least as perceived by Europeans – Roscoe (1911) contended that girls were kept busy with chores all day long. Of boys, Roscoe wrote, "Boys had a free and happy life while the time of herding lasted; they met together daily, and while the animals browsed, they had ample time for all kinds of games (pp. 75-77)." Kaggwa (1934) also recorded common games for small children – both male and female – including "Dust-Building," in which one team would hide a "small red grain with a dark spot on it from an *Olusiti* tree" in a long pile of dust, which was then sub-divided into heaps (p. 135). Players on the opposing team would guess where the grain was hidden, and if correct took charge of the dust pile making. Children would also take a long strip of outer bark from a plantain tree to make a sort of "sledge" or "toboggan" to slide down hills. Kaggwa wrote that older children too played games and sang and danced, sometimes joined by adults. That Kaggwa spent so much time describing traditional play in Baganda contradicts arguments made by Europeans that emerged

almost as soon as they arrived that Bagandan children – and in particular girls – lagged behind their European peers because they had no opportunity for such activities. As early as 1900, Europeans noted that Bagandan childhood afforded little space to play – a critique of African child-rearing practices that continued throughout the colonial period and is explored in the following chapters.

After the work day ended – the sun setting regularly throughout the year because of Uganda's equatorial location – boys and girls alike would spend time with adult community members. As Nsimbi (1956) wrote in *The Uganda Journal*:

> The best time for women was at night after supper about 7 p.m. They would collect in one home with the children and start telling traditional stories and legends, and they would play riddles. Some of these stories required the group to move to and fro from one friend to another. Story-telling by women and children lasted until late in the night. This is how the children learnt about the traditions, customs and fables of their country. (p. 31)

Thus, Bagandan education for the young extended beyond experiential learning of trades or household chores, to the history and traditions of their country. This learning – in which work and play intertwined, and in which boys and girls gained practical and environmental knowledge "within a community of practice" (Katz, 2004, p. 60) – allowed children to participate in and ultimately reproduce Bagandan social and economic life. Further, as Hanson (2010) noted in her article on indigenous schooling, this type of education was predicated on the idea that everyone had knowledge worth sharing.

Despite these well-established and holistic child-rearing practices, and as I discuss later in more detail, early Europeans decried Bagandan neglect of children and lack of attention to their education. In an annual letter to the Church Missionary society written

in 1896, Reverend M. J. Hall claimed the reformation of child-rearing practices as a Christian mission:

> If Luther's words be true, 'No greater harm is done to Christendom than by the neglect of children; therefore, to advance the cause of Christ we must begin with them'; – if such are true words, then the Uganda Church had better look to itself without delay, for it entirely ignores its children.[63]

Following this logic, European missionaries – and later colonists – set up themselves as benevolent benefactors of Buganda's youngest citizens. Through the establishment of formal schooling at the turn of the century, the British would remake childhood in their image and in turn import the racialized, gendered, class and religious-based stratifications of their home. By 1963, when Uganda regained control of education, the ideal childhood would look very different than it had in precolonial Buganda.

Young Adulthood

Similarly to many other traditional societies (Lancy, 2008), Bagandan children were considered to near social maturity with the onset of puberty and physical maturity. For girls, this occurred around age twelve:

> they were described as having breasts, and when the breasts began to hang down, they were spoken of as full grown women. Both men and women, when speaking of a girl, indicated her age by the size of her breasts, which they represented by the closed hand. (Roscoe, 1911, p. 80).

When a girl reached menarche, her menstruation was "often called a marriage, and the girl spoken of as a bride" (Roscoe, 1911, p. 80) – she was secluded from others and attended to by her female relatives. Once she "recovered" – to use Roscoe's term (1911, p. 80) – the relative with whom she was staying, perhaps an uncle or her father, would

[63] Letter by Reverend Hall, 1896. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Reel 36. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

jump over his wife (understood to be symbolic of having intercourse with her), ensuring that the girl would not be barren or her children die in infancy. Roscoe (1911) did not explain the meaning of a girl's male caregiver jumping over his wife once she'd recovered from menstruation. However, another author, Frazer (2009), writing about the sources of religious taboos, argued that "the pretense of sexual intercourse between the parents or other relatives of the girl was a magical ceremony to ensure her fertility" (p. 686). Whatever its particular meaning, following this ceremony the family would "[partake] of food" together (Roscoe, 1911, p. 80). From this time forward, girls were called "*Mulongo* [emphasis added], a term used of a cow when it was old enough to have calves" (Roscoe, 1911, p. 81). During the intervening period between the onset of puberty and marriage, a girl's virginity was closely guarded, seemingly more to ensure that children were raised by the appropriate (paternal) clan than because premarital sex was forbidden, as explained earlier in this chapter.

For boys, oddly, none of the authors writing about pre-colonial Buganda mentioned any special ceremonies or rites of passage to mark puberty, although the terms used for male and female youth referred to their physical changes, and later to their social status. "…when [a boy] matures (age and size) the male youth is called *embula-kalevu*, or man without beard, and the girl with breasts *ekijjujjulu*. But if they marry, it is an insult to call them *omuvubuka*, or a youth" (Weeks, 1973, p. 264). Southwold (1965) noted that "There is no initiation among the Ganda, who express scorn for other tribes who mutilate

their bodies" (p. 107).[64] Instead, Weeks (1973) later contended, Bagandan youth of both genders were distinguished from children (and presumably adults, who were married) because they "respond[ed] to sexual stimulations, [were] aware of the opposite sex, and [had] sexual adventures" (p. 263). It seems for both girls and boys that marriage "really [marked] the assumption of adulthood" (Southwold, 1965, p. 107). Marriage itself, Fallers (1960) later wrote:

> was a secular and non-romantic institution in Buganda…the basis of choice of a partner was, for the girl, a man who would provide for her housing and clothing and treat her fairly, and for a man, a wife who was hard working, a good cook, and able to bear children. (p. 54)

After choosing to marry a woman, a man would approach the woman's paternal aunt or her oldest brother with a gift. If the gift was received, the two families would then negotiate a marriage payment from the man to the woman's family, "beer, bark cloths and perhaps a goat" (Fallers, 1960, p. 54). As noted earlier, once married (to someone outside their own clan) a couple would set up their own household and begin to raise children of their own. As in previous life-cycle stages, adulthood was marked in part by biological milestones – the onset of puberty – but also by social construction and achievement – marriage and child rearing.

Understanding the Significance of Precolonial Bagandan Childhood

When European explorers, then missionaries, and later colonists later arrived to Buganda, education was primarily experiential and highly communal. Boys and girls learned as they performed relevant, gendered, adult tasks. While boys might learn

[64] This could be a reference to practices such as male circumcision, which was common amongst the Bagisu, a tribe that lived in eastern Uganda (Weeks, 1973).

barkcloth making, fence making, or herding, or might go to live in the household of a chief or the king – and in so doing, shore up and build family connections – girls would learn cooking, child-rearing, and agricultural skills alongside their female relatives. All children lived in a world where work and play intermingled, and stories and legends were passed from adult to child, from generation to generation. This is not to overstate, or to present a native idyll – the Buganda reportedly struggled with high infant and maternal mortality rates, as well as infertility because of syphilis and other diseases (Johnston, 1904). I do, however, want to argue that education existed prior to European intervention. Perhaps not in a formal classroom setting, but in the broader sense children learned to be productive Bagandan citizens. Precolonial education was environmentally and practically oriented, and embedded within broader society, rather than assumed to occur only in a formal, separate schoolroom environment.

Additionally, precolonial Bagandan cultural practices continued to shape childhood in modern schools, and should not be attributed solely to British intervention. For instance, the Baganda regularly sent their children away to live with family, clan members, and other respected individuals. Once Europeans arrived and introduced formal schooling, it is not so difficult to see why Bagandans quickly adopted the practice of sending their children to boarding schools. Kulubya (1942) himself later made this connection:

> This custom of giving young boys in service was also practiced in the case of big chiefs, to whom boys were sent by their followers and relatives. The king however had the right of taking from them any one who he thought would be serviceable to him, in the same way as to-day boys leave lower schools to go on to high institutions. (p. 54)

Likewise, some of the more practical elements of British schooling that emphasized agriculture and handcrafts had been an integral part of children’s education long before colonization.

Focusing on precolonial childhood and education is important because serves as a sort of starting point for later reforms. Missionaries and colonists did not invent schooling; rather, they reformed existing patterns of education to fit within their ideal paradigm. Likewise, childhood was not introduced or invented by the British, rather it was reshaped and changed by colonial encounters. An historical narrative of schooling and child-rearing that focuses only on colonial interventions might run the risk of being short-sighted. Accordingly, in this chapter I have outlined what Bagandan childhood may have looked like prior to British intervention. As I have drawn upon extant sources – primarily written from the period immediately following Buganda's first encounters with the British and without much attention to children in particular – this is a challenging and likely incomplete task. Still, this chapter is essential to understanding the later educational efforts of the British, and foreshadows many of the arguments to come in the following sections.

Moving forward, I draw on available archives to examine four critical moments attendant to colonial education and childhood: in Chapter 5, I examine documents written around 1900, which marks the advent of modern schooling; in Chapter 6, I examine the recommendations of the 1923 Phelps-Stokes Commission and the concomitant involvement of the British colonial government in education for the first time; in Chapters 7 and 8 I explore the transition from colonial to Ugandan control of schooling,

an exchange that began with the 1953 de Bunsen Report and concluded with the 1963 Castle Report – both named for the committees’ chairs who directed government efforts to review educational provision and make recommendations as to its improvement and expansion. Throughout these historical moments, the entangled histories of childhood and schooling are explored to develop a more complete understanding of how Ugandan schooling, as it is practiced today, came to exist as it does.

Chapter 5. Mission Education

Figure 13. Early CMS Missionaries, c. 1897[65]

…The harvest truly is great, but the Labourers are few! O Thou Lord of the Harvest, send forth labourers into Thy Harvest! Fill with Thy Spirit those whom Thou has sent forth; and enable them faithfully and boldly to preach…Upon all the Native Converts whom Thou has gathered to Thyself, through Thy laboring servants throughout the world, pour out Thy Holy Spirit, that, as Thou has begotten them again unto a lively hope, so they may never be followers of Thee as dear children. Deliver them from all remaining darkness and ignorance; destroy and abolish in their hearts all that remains of Satan’s kingdom; grant that their faith and hope, and love may grow exceedingly; make them to be ready to every good work, and more especially to exert themselves for the salvation of those around them; that so, by their zeal and faithful testimony, by their holiness

[65] This photo is from an 1897 photo album belonging to Minnie Culverwell entitled "Historical Photos of Eastern Equatorial Africa, 1897.” Top row, left to right: Rev. B. E. Wigram, Rev. H. W. Tegart, Dr. A. R. Cook, Rev. G K. Baskerville, Rev. J. S. Callis, Mr. A. Whitehouse, Rev. H. W. Weatherhead. Bottom row, left to right: Rev. H. Clayton, Miss B. Taylor, Dr. E. J. Baxter, Miss G. E. Bird, Miss K. Timpson. Church Missionary Society Archive. Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham. CMS ACC 211 F1.

> and fruitfulness, they may glorify Thy name before their countrymen, and bring in unto Thee, from the midst of them, such as shall be saved.[66]

Introduction

The arrival of Europeans in Uganda was the result of both intention and accident. Bagandans first embraced literacy when it was introduced by Muslim traders who traveled to the inland kingdom. Hanson (2010) explained that Kabaka Mutesa required that all pages be taught to read and often asked of their progress, "are they learning?" (p. 159). Upon the arrival of journalist and explorer Henry Morton Stanley two decades later – he had been sent by the Royal Geographical Society to confirm Speke and Grant's claim that the Nile River flowed from Lake Victoria – Kabaka Mutesa welcomed him and asked whether European teachers could be sent to teach his people. The Kabaka's intent was to build diplomatic connections and to better defend his country against the encroachment of Egypt and other foreigners (Ssekamwa, 1994). Forwarding the Kabaka's request to the British, Stanley wrote a letter that was eventually found in the boots of a dead Frenchman along the Nile by a group of English soldiers. The text of his letter was then published on in November 1875 in the *Daily Telegraph*:

> The King Mutesa of Uganda has been asking me about the white man's God. Although I [Stanley] had not expected turning a missionary, for days I have been telling this black king all the Bible stories I know. […] Oh, that some pious, practical missionary would come here! Mutesa would give him anything he desired – houses, lands, cattle, ivory, and other things. He could call a province his own in one day. It is not the mere preacher, however, that is wanted here. It is the practical Christian, who can teach people how to become Christians, cure their diseases, build dwellings, teach farming, and turn his hand to anything, like a

[66] This prayer was used at the annual meetings of the CMS and the opening of meetings of the general committee and was published in the 1888-1889 "Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East." Church Missionary Society Archive. Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

> sailor – this is the man who is wanted. Such a one, if he can be found, would become the savior of Africa. (Fahs, 1907, pp. 4-5)

The Church Missionary Society (CMS), and later the French Catholic White Fathers, quickly responded to this call to be the ‘saviors’ of Africa, resulting in the advent of almost a century of British influence and colonial rule.

As outlined previously, the remainder of this dissertation examines the advent of colonial-era schooling and the (re)making of Ugandan childhood. While Chapter 4 explored extant literature on precolonial Bagandan education and child-rearing, this chapter and the three following explore four principal moments when education – and concomitantly children – came to the forefront of colonial discourse and practice. Specifically, this chapter examines Bagandan schooling in and around 1900, a point in time when enrollment grew exponentially from only a few hundred students to well over 1,000. As the CMS played a foundational role in the establishment of modern schooling, their early missionary efforts (addressed in the first section) and the establishment of these turn of the century primary schools (addressed in the second section) are the focus of this chapter. I contend that by examining these early CMS efforts, it is possible to better understand the underlying architecture and institutional momentum of colonial schools. Particular notions of the ‘universal’ and ‘African’ child – based on gender, race, class, and religion – predicated the unequal development of schooling in Uganda. The early missionary influences discussed in this chapter began and perpetuated these discourses of difference. Thus the broader themes, germane to my research project and present throughout the colonial period, first emerged in this earliest epoch of colonial schooling.

Unlike the previous chapter, this one extensively draws on primary source documents written by CMS-affiliated authors and gleaned from the National Archives of the United Kingdom, the Bodleian Library of African and Commonwealth Studies at the University of Oxford, and the Church Missionary Society Archives housed by the University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library. During this period the CMS published two periodicals useful to understanding education: First, the CMS Missionary Annual Letters, which were compiled and edited for publication in a volume then sent to CMS supporters, and second, the Annual Report and Statistical Returns, which summarized the mission's work in each of its regions, drawing on quotes from the CMS Annual Letters. These two sets of documents give insight into the ways in which the CMS sought to present itself to the world and are thus limited by the editorial decisions of both the original authors and the missionary publishing team, but also highlight what the CMS deemed most important about its work. I also draw on meeting minutes of the CMS Education Committee whose records date from 1901 at the earliest. In these it is possible to see what issues and concerns rose to the organization's larger, international decision making body.

Further, I draw on memoirs written by CMS missionaries from the period, including *A Doctor and His Dog in Uganda,* written by Dr. A. R. Cook and edited by his wife, Mrs. H. B. Cook (1903); and *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, written by Bishop Alfred Tucker (1908); as well as on church histories and autobiographies written by others about missionaries and their activities during this period, such as *The Wonderful Story of Uganda* – written by Reverend J. D. Mullins, the Secretary of the

Colonial and Continental Church Society (1908) – and Uganda's White Man of Work (Fahs, 1907), and The Story of the Life of Mackay of Uganda (Harrison, 1896) both published posthumously about Alexander Mackay, the latter of which was authored by his sister. An additional text by C. W. Hattersley (1908) entitled The Baganda at Home, which focuses on Bagandan society following colonization, takes a similarly ethnographic approach to Roscoe's (1911) work. Together, these present a 'story' of early colonial life in Uganda from a slightly different vantage point from the 'official' narratives of the CMS. As Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett (2008) pointed out, these narratives can "help to explain historical processes or events from the perspective of people defined through a particular relationship to that event" (p. 130) – in this case, from the perspective of missionaries integral to the CMS mission to Uganda. Across all of these documents from the period, I have sought to highlight continuities and tensions between British missionaries and colonists, and Ugandan notions of childhood, child-rearing, and schooling, keeping in mind that the archival record is a story states (or organizations) tell themselves (Stoler, 2002).

Finally, it is important to highlight what is *not* here. Few documents have been included from British colonial officials; at this first critical moment, British government officials had very little to do with education either in terms of funding or administration. A Blue Book dated from 1903-1904 said only: "Such education as there is [in the Uganda Protectorate], is carried out by the different Mission Societies,"[67] and it was not until 1906-1907 that a Blue Book recorded a monetary allocation for education – a small

[67] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1903-1904. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 613/3.

amount paid out as grants to missionary agencies.[68] Another omission is that almost none of the documents are written by Ugandans themselves, as I have yet to find much written on and germane to this period, with one notable exception. Hanson's (2010) article, which traced the development of indigenous education in Uganda, included testimonies of individuals alive during this period, though they had been recorded years later by the 1936-1937 De La Warr Commission – which aimed at examining higher education in British East Africa. I have drawn on Hanson's work when relevant to critically examine and provide a counterbalance to an otherwise European-heavy historical record. Though Ugandan voices are missing – as the other government perspective 'chose' its silence during this period – what documents are available give insight into the preoccupations and practices of a mission organization that (un)intentionally fomented a much broader educational shift.

The Church Missionary Society in (B)uganda

The first missionary agency to respond to Speke's call, the CMS, was founded in 1799 almost 100 years prior to its mission to Uganda by a group of activist evangelical (primarily Anglican) Christians with three primary goals: abolishing slave trade, pushing toward social reforms in England, and evangelization (CMS, n.d.). By the time the CMS commissioned and equipped a group to be sent to Uganda, the organization had already sent missionaries to New Zealand, Malta, India, Ceylon, Egypt, the West Indies, Sierra Leone, Abyssinia, South Africa, China, Palestine, Niger, Japan, and other parts of East

[68] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1906-1907. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 613/6.

Africa (CMS, n.d.). In *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Stock (1894) wrote that Speke's stories of his time in Uganda were so compelling – "all the world wondered at the organized nation of comparatively intelligent and civilized people thus found in the heart of the Dark Continent" – that the organization felt "the discoveries…summon[ed] the Church Missionary Society to prepare itself for an advance into the interior" (p. 183). Although the CMS usually followed a gradual process of expansion from treaty ports, Uganda presented a unique opportunity to reap a tremendous 'harvest.' This sense that the Uganda mission was "comparatively" unique would later support the CMS's assertion that its work there – and its religious, educative, and civilizing results – were an unprecedented miracle.

At the outset of each annual report on the Uganda Mission,[69] the Church Missionary Society began with an account of its first group of Uganda-bound missionaries:

> In November, 1875, in consequence of information sent home by the traveler Stanley of the readiness of Mtesa, King of Uganda, to receive Christian teachers, and of two anonymous donations of £5,000 each being offered in order that a missionary expedition might be sent to his dominions, the Society resolved, in dependence upon God, to organize a Mission in Uganda, and a well-equipped party proceeded accordingly to East Africa in the spring of 1875.[70]

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[69] The CMS published an annual "Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East." Although its exact content changed over time, in the late 19th century – the period contemporary to the establishment of a CMS mission in Uganda – the volume included lists of secretaries, governors, members, and missionaries; the text of an annual sermon; a short statistical review of the society's various missions (i.e. the ordination of missionaries, decease of missionaries, and departure or return of missionaries); laws and regulations for the CMS; a review of the budget; and a brief overview of each mission, published alongside excerpts from annual letters. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

[70] This introductory history changed little from the late 19th century on – although as time passed the CMS added to this history. This particular passage is excerpted from the 1900 Annual Report. Proceedings of the

In addition to offers of financial support, men “who wanted to give their lives” volunteered to go to Uganda (Fahs, 1907, p. 25). One member of this initial CMS party, Alexander Mackay – who had worked as an engineer – remembered receiving a letter in which the CMS committee had “very thankfully accepted [his] offer of [himself] for the Lord’s work in connection with their mission to the Victoria Nyanza[71]” (Harrison, 1896, p. 30).

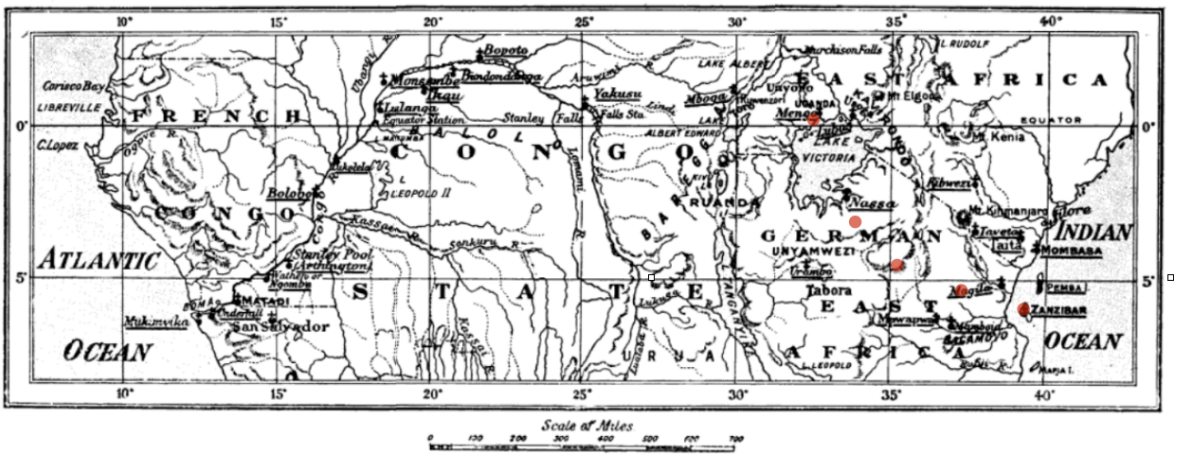

Figure 14. The approximate Uganda-bound route of the first missionaries, with dots added to depict the place names described in the text (Mullins, 1908)

After assembling supplies – including a light cedar boat, an engine, and tools – and porters to carry them, a group of eight men embarked on their journey from Zanzibar through Ussagara, Ugogo, and Unyamyembe to the southern coast of Lake Victoria, then

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Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

[71] Dugard (2014) noted in his popular historical account of Speke that “Nyanza” was a Bantu word meaning “a large body of water, or sea” (p. 197). Although the lake already had several names given to it by various indigenous people groups living within the region, including *Ukewere*, *Sango*, *Lolwe*, and *Nalubaale*, Speke chose to rename the lake after Britain’s queen, hence its modern name Victoria Nyanza or Lake Victoria.

north to Uganda (Mullins, 1908, p. 10). Amongst the original party was a former officer of the British navy, Lieutenant G. Shergold Smith; Irish architect Mr. O'Neill; the Reverend Mr. Wilson and Bishop Parker; Mr. Mackay and Mr. Clark, both of whom were engineers; Mr. William Robertson, an artisan; and Dr. John Smith. Only Smith had previous African experience to draw upon, having served in Western Africa (Mullins, 1908). Highlighting the treacherous nature of travel, three of the original party survived the interior-bound trek and subsequent life in Buganda and its environs.[72] Of the surviving missionaries, the first two – Wilson and Lt. Smith – reached Buganda in June 1877, although Smith died shortly thereafter in a local conflict. Wilson would claim that after rejoicing their arrival, the Kabaka's first question was whether or not they had "brought the book – the Bible" (Mullins, 1908, p. 15), a query which implied his strong interest in Christianity to the missionaries.[73] Given Kabaka Mutesa's embrace of literacy (Hanson, 2010), it is quite possible that his question indicated, rather, an interest in learning. Mackay – who had been delayed by illness – joined Wilson in 1878 (Cook, Cook, & Stock, 1903). Wilson and Mackay took up work translating the Bible into Luganda, holding church services and baptizing converts, and teaching the Baganda to read, as well as how to do carpentry and iron work. In the following years, the small group of CMS missionaries was slowly joined by others, including Rev. G. L. Litchfield

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[72] In the book, *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*, written based on the compilation of annual reports, Mullins (1908) informed his readers:

> Thirty years ago African travel was still a great undertaking, whose conditions were known to very few; Uganda lay at the distance of at least seven hundred miles from the nearest missionary base; the temper of the chiefs whose territory must be traversed was unknown; communications were uncertain, the climate dangerous. Altogether, there is no part of the world which could now afford such a 'leap in the dark' to missionary enterprise as did Uganda thirty years ago. (pp. 5-6)

[73] Both Fahs (1907) and Mullins (1908) included versions of this story, with an excerpt from a letter written by Wilson.

in February 1879, who brought with him a printing press, which allowed the mission to print reading sheets and to better meet demand for reading materials. The White Fathers also arrived in February 1879, contributing to the CMS's early literacy efforts (if not their religious purposes).

These first few decades of European involvement in Uganda were marked by ebbs and flows in support for the CMS's efforts, and the mission's continued presence in the region was by no means certain. Fahs (1907) suggested that while the 'natives' were easily persuaded to learn to read, "At first the king [Kabaka Mutesa] forbade any going to the white men even for this purpose, probably because he was afraid they would soon be able to outstrip him in their ability to read" (p. 97). Mullins (1908) placed blame for the mission's difficulties on the arrival of French Roman Catholic Priests, who "at once began to act in opposition to the English missionaries" (p. 23), refusing to join in worship and denouncing the competing group to the king. By 1880, though, the CMS had translated the entire gospel of Matthew into Luganda and by 1881, the Kabaka had consented to send boys attached to his court to be taught literacy and vocational skills (Gateley, 1970).

In 1884, Kabaka Mutesa died; Reverend Mullins (1908) reminisced in the book *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*, "He passed away as he had lived – intellectually, perhaps, convinced of the truth of the Gospel, but in heart and life a Pagan" (p. 30). Following traditional Bagandan accession rules, his son Mwanga succeeded to the throne at eighteen and was immediately perceived as a foil to his father: "Fickle, vicious, cruel, treacherous, his character showed its bad points from the beginning" (Mullins, 1908, p.

30). Mullins (1908) suggested that the new Kabaka's resistance to the continence of the CMS mission was because Mwanga was influenced by Arab and pagan chiefs who (rightly) advised him that "the white man would 'eat up' the land" (p. 31). Harrison (1896) similarly recounted that the growing presence of European missionaries stoked "long-standing fears…that the appearance of white men from the east, and by what they called 'the back-door of Uganda,' was the sure precursor of conquest" (p. 255). Under Mwanga's rule commenced a three-way struggle for political control and a period of marked violence against the missionaries and their converts,[74] eventually resulting in the expulsion of all CMS missionaries (Karugire, 1980).[75]

What is important about this complicated period of Ugandan history[76] is that it served as the impetus for the CMS's concerted demands on the British government to intervene in Uganda, the ultimate result of which was the area's subsumption into the empire. As Hattersley (1908) would later assert,

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[74] This was not the first time violence took a religious form. Under Mwanga's father Mutesa, a significant number of Muslim converts had been killed (Kassimir, 1991). Still, the best remembered from this pre-colonial period are the Uganda Martyrs, a group of 23 Anglican and 22 Catholic conflicts who were executed between November 1885 and January 1887 and have since been canonized by the Roman Catholic church. In 1968 and in 1993, respectively, the eponymous Basilica of the Uganda Martyrs was built and Uganda Martyrs University established.

[75] In *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*, Mullins (1908) wrote that the two remaining missionaries – Ashe and Mackay – asked Mwanga if they might leave, but only Ashe was permitted. Mackay was kept, purportedly, "not only because he was so useful, but because [Mwanga] looked upon him as a hostage against the possible vengeance of the white man" (p. 46). Mackay remained as the only European in Uganda from August 1886 until July 1887 at which point he was expelled.

[76] To recap this history briefly, Mwanga was eventually defeated in a coup by his half-brother and replaced by another brother, Kiweewa, in 1888; Kiweewa only ruled for one month, then was replaced by another brother, Kalema. In the intervening period, Mwanga escaped and negotiated a treaty with the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) in which he ceded some sovereignty to them. The British shifted their support from Kabaka Kalema to Mwanga, and he returned to power. The IBEAC transferred these powers to the British government in April 1893 and just over a year later, in August 1894, Buganda became a Protectorate. Mwanga would go on to launch two additional attacks on the British (in 1897 and 1898) before eventually being exiled to the Seychelles, and (ironically) baptized into the Anglican Church. For more details on the period see Karugire's (1980) book *A Political History of Uganda* and Low's (2009) book *Fabrication of Empire: The British and the Uganda Kingdoms, 1890-1902*. For a contemporary account, see Tucker's (1908) book *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*.

> One may safely say that, but for the presence of the British government, there could be no Uganda…At the same time it must be remembered that, if the C.M.S. missionaries had not first entered the field, there would have been no British Government. (pp. 25-26)

Although the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) received a royal charter in 1888, it announced its intent to withdraw from the region only a few years later in 1891, citing the challenges and expense of working amidst political turmoil and civil war (Low, 2009). Though they had not initially sought British protection, the CMS expressed grave concerns about the withdrawal of British control. The 1892-1893 Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society[77] included an excerpted presentation to Lord Rosebery, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, pertaining to the matter:

> It appears to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society that the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1890, which brought Uganda within the sphere of British influence, and the subsequent occupation of the country by the Imperial British East Africa Company…have imposed a direct responsibility upon the British Government with respect to the maintenance of order in Uganda, and that in consequence it behoves [*sic*] them to express again, as they did last year, to Her Majesty's Ministers of State, the grave apprehensions which they entertain regarding the results of the withdrawal of the British power.
>
> We venture, therefore, respectfully to ask, in the name of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that Her Majesty's Government will take immediate steps to maintain British influence in Uganda, and so avert the evil consequences of the withdrawal of the Imperial British East Africa Company so far as in them lies. (p. 31)[78]

Taking a much different tone, Ugandan scholar Karugire (1980) contended that the CMS engaged in a "thrill campaign" to garner British support for the region's occupation. "Lurid pictures were drawn of the terrible suffering that would befall Christians and

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[77] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1892-1893. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4548 BV 2361.A1C5.
[78] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1892-1893. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4548 BV 2361.A1C5.

'savages' alike if the British were to withdraw from Uganda and what a blot such a step would be on the march of 'civilisation'" (p. 83). In any case, CMS efforts were successful and "saved Uganda from abandonment" (Stock, 1894, p. 490).

In 1893, the British government took control of an IBEAC treaty that had been signed with the Kabaka giving the company limited economic powers, and in 1894 declared Uganda a Protectorate. Following two more attempts to throw off colonial control, Mwanga was deposed in 1897 and his one year old son, Daudi Cwa, ascended to the throne (Karugire, 1980). Both missionaries and British officials saw the infant king as moldable – likely even more so because of recent experiences with his father – and took advantage of the opportunity to (re)educate Buganda in its own image:

> The National Council (Lukiko) was, under the fostering care of Mr. G. Wilson, rapidly becoming a power in the land…One could not but feel thankful that an instrument so potent for good, and so calculated to promote the best interests of the country, was being so wisely guided and fostered by those in authority. (Tucker, 1908, pp. 118-119)

Mr. Hattersley (1908) explained to his British audience that he was "being carefully brought up in much the same style as a European prince" (p. 6).

This long precursor to a discussion of formal, mission education, specifically, is necessary because from their earliest experiences in Buganda, the early CMS missionaries themselves saw the initial work they did as foundational to later educational efforts. Alexander Mackay looked forward to the future in a journal entry dated from July 9th, 1878:

> More than ever I am longing for the day when the necessary rough work of pioneering will be done, and I can settle down to spend every day in teaching the little ones. I cannot think the day far distant when I shall see my daily school for themes children, and watch them grow in wisdom and understanding, and in the

> fear of God. Such a class I dream I see a nucleus of a training college, which shall furnish manifold seeds of life in place of the unites which we white men must ever be in Africa…But much soil must first be turned up, and a deal of what may be called dirty work done, and many weeds rooted out before the good seed be cast in with success, and then we know for certain that some will bring forth a hundred-fold.[79] (Harrison, 1896, p. 73)

Mackay cast other very 'necessary' civilizing efforts and religious instruction as always, also building toward education. Any setbacks or native resistance were interpreted vis-à-vis the larger and more important relationship between missions and "human progress."[80] Looking back on this early history of the Uganda Mission, Mullins (1908) exclaimed:

> The Uganda Mission is rightly regarded as a Christian miracle of modern days. A nation remotely situated in Central Africa, which twenty-seven years ago had not received the Gospel, and had not even a written language, is to-day the home of thirty thousand Christians under Christian chiefs; its language has been reduced to writing; the whole Bible, translated into their own tongue, has been for years in the hands of the inhabitants; the people support their own ministry and even undertake Missions to the countries round; and they have enriched the roll of martyrs with many names. So rapid a transformation, though not unparalleled, cannot fail to cause amazement. (pp. v-vi)

Education and religion – missionary agency and colonial government – were seen as complementary and transformative efforts in the pursuit of 'civilization.'

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[79] This passage seems to refer to the well-known parable of the sower:

> That same day Jesus went out of the house and sat beside the sea. And great crowds gathered about him, so that he got into a boat and sat down. And the whole crowd stood on the beach. And he told them many things in parables, saying: 'A sower went out to sow. And as he sowed, some seeds fell along the path, and the birds came and devoured them. Other seeds fell on rocky ground, where they did not have much soil, and immediately they sprang up, since they had no depth of soil, but when the sun rose they were scorched. And since they had no root, they withered away. Other seeds fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked them. Other seeds fell on good soil and produced grain, some a hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty. He who has ears, let him hear.' (Matthew 13:1-9, English Standard Version)

[80] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1902-1903. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4553. BV2361.A1C5.

Mission Education and the Growth of Primary Schooling

Learning to read, reading to be baptized. In the early years of its mission, prior to 1899, the CMS primarily focused on adult instruction in the catechism – basic religious principles – as a prerequisite to baptism. That literacy skills were included at all, was as a means to an end – namely, conversion, religious instruction, and eventually, baptism. If Africans could read, they could also be more regularly exposed to religious instruction; Mackay wrote in his diary in November 1879 "…and as we put portions of the Scriptures into their hands as soon as they get over the first difficulties of reading, we have very frequent means of instructing them in the truths of eternity" (Harrison, 1896, p. 141). Thus, education and religion became closely linked and this relationship eventually codified. Reverend Alfred Tucker (1908) – the Bishop of the Anglican church in Uganda – explained in his memoirs on mission work that "the rule of the Mission had been not to baptize any one (except blind and infirm persons) who had not learned to read the Gospels" (p.151). In requiring literacy, Tucker (1908) contended that the missionaries were also able to test the "sincerity and purity of motive" (p. 151) of those coming forward to ask to be baptized. Presumably learning to read required a greater commitment than simply expressing the intent to convert. Roscoe (1911), who later authored the anthropologically-styled text discussed in the preceding chapter, described baptismal class efforts aimed at religious instruction in a letter dated from April 1894:

> We have on the books this year 400 names for baptism, the largest number there has ever been at one time; they are divided into classes of about ten, and are taught by some of the best of our teachers. We have a regular course for them: first they learn a small catechism almost like the one for the Indian Christian Vernacular Education Society, when they pass that they go on to a Gospel, and from that to general teaching by one of the most able Native teachers, and lastly to

> one of us; in this way they have three examinations before they are baptized. Pilkington helps me in this work each day, as a change from his transitional work. Each morning the Natives assemble in the church from about seven to nine. They form themselves into classes and read under a teacher, chiefly the Gospels; others teach letters and syllables… (p. 55).

Despite the limited view missionaries may have taken of this early instruction, Ugandans who learned to read and write did not keep their knowledge for themselves. Tucker (1908) again explained:

> Many of these [baptized natives] taught their fellows and so the thing [reading] spread. Then with regard to the other two R's – writing and arithmetic – a few young lads about the various Mission stations were taught to write and cypher. These taught their friends and so on. (pp. 150-151)

Tucker estimated that by 1897, two decades after the arrival of the first CMS missionaries in Buganda, there were at least 100,000 readers – an incredible number when one considers that the 1901 Colonial Blue Book estimated the population of Buganda to be just over 600,000.[81]

Beyond these brief references to religious (and literacy) instruction, the CMS Proceedings commonly cited "the eagerness for books" as "enormous and very surprising," and indicative of a broader interest in (Christian) education.[82] Growing from Mackay's initial printed sheets of syllables and easy words in Luganda, produced on a toy printing press (Harrison, 1896), Reverend E. Millar wrote that in 1894 approximately 20,000 reading sheets (largely religious in nature) were sold by the CMS bookshop, a tremendous increase from the previous year when over 11,000 reading sheets were sold.

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[81] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1901-1902. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 613/1.

[82] Excerpted letter by Reverend Millar, 1893. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1893-1894. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4548. BV2361.A1C5.

Only two years later, 40,000 printed books were sold.[83] Another missionary, Mr. Lewin, wrote:

> The Baganda are most eager to get books, and a poor person who has not shells to buy with, gladly does work in order to obtain them: a woman will hoe for a fortnight for a New Testament, or a man or a boy work at building a fence for a week for a Gospel.[84]

Not all missionaries viewed this rapid spread of literacy as entirely positive, however; some complained that Bagandan eagerness seemed more secular than religious (a criticism which would resurface again and again throughout the colonial period). Rev. E. Millar grumbled in an annual letter:

> …I see a tendency to wish to understand merely the literal meaning of the words, and not so much to take in the spiritual meaning. If, for example, in a class I spend some time in bringing out the spiritual meaning of a passage, I often see a restlessness in some quarters, as if to say, 'When *will* he go on to the next verse?' or at the beginning of the next lesson someone remarks, 'We read very little last time.'[85]

Hanson (2010) argued that African Christians pushed for the rapid expansion of educational opportunities at a pace that out-stripped European missionaries' capability or desire. She contended that historically, "A critical dimension of East African's heritage regarding education was that everyone had the capacity and responsibility to teach others what they knew" (p. 158). As such – as can been seen in the speedy adoption of literacy skills evident in missionary letters from the late 19th century – the progress of education

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[83] Excerpted letter by Reverend Millar, 1896. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1896-1897. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4550. BV2361.A1C5.
[84] Excerpted letter by Mr. Lewin, 1896. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1896-1897. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4550. BV2361.A1C5.
[85] Excerpted letter by Reverend Millar, 1896. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1896-1897. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4550. BV2361.A1C5.

was rapid, as Ugandans took their knowledge and used it to instruct others. It is likely that this spread motivated missionaries to expand their own educational efforts, so as not to lose control entirely. Certainly there are cases in later periods when indigenous educational efforts pushed missionaries and colonists to reform or expand schooling. For instance, in 1953 (discussed in Chapter 7) the growth of un-aided private schools in Buganda, which taught English at a much earlier stage in the school curriculum, catalyzed aided missionary schools to do the same.

"Get-at-able"[86] children. Whether the desire for continued control was, in this historical moment, a catalyst or not, Tucker (1908) attributed the CMS's first attempts at organization schools for children to growth in both in the number of European missionaries and native converts, as well as the arrival of female missionaries in 1895 who were viewed as better-equipped to teach girls and young children.[87] In the statistical reports published each year by the CMS, the organization noted that the number of children educated in mission schools lingered in the hundreds in the late 1890s before growing to over 9,000 students (4,855 males and 4,308 females) in 1900 and over 11,000 (5,992 males and 5,258 females) in 1901.[88] Bishop Tucker (1908) gave a slightly higher number, reporting that there were 12,000 children "under instruction" (p. 263) in 1900, as

[86] Excerpted letter by Miss Brown, 1896. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1896-1897. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4550. BV2361.A1C5.

[87] Although Tucker did not expound on the significance of the arrival of female missionaries, Grimshaw (2004) contended that "Few mission men, moreover (usually clergy), found sufficiently heroic the task of teaching restless school children" (p. 266). More commonly single women were recruited for and tasked with the responsibility of educating young Christians, and missionary work following similarly gendered lines to work at home in Great Britain. This certainly seems to have been true to the Ugandan case; after the arrival of female missionaries, many took on the task of teaching and administrating schools, as well as instructing women in 'mothercraft' lessons. Single women who did not teach worked as nurses.

[88] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

compared to a few hundred in 1895. At one boys' school in Mengo, the Bagandan capital, approximately 150 students attended each day; a school at Gayaza had a similar number of students.[89] (Although it's worth noting that a 'day' sometimes only extended to a few hours of instruction.) Prominent Bagandan political leaders, such as the Katikiro, and chiefs lent their financial and material support to the building and maintenance of new schools – many attending classes themselves.[90]

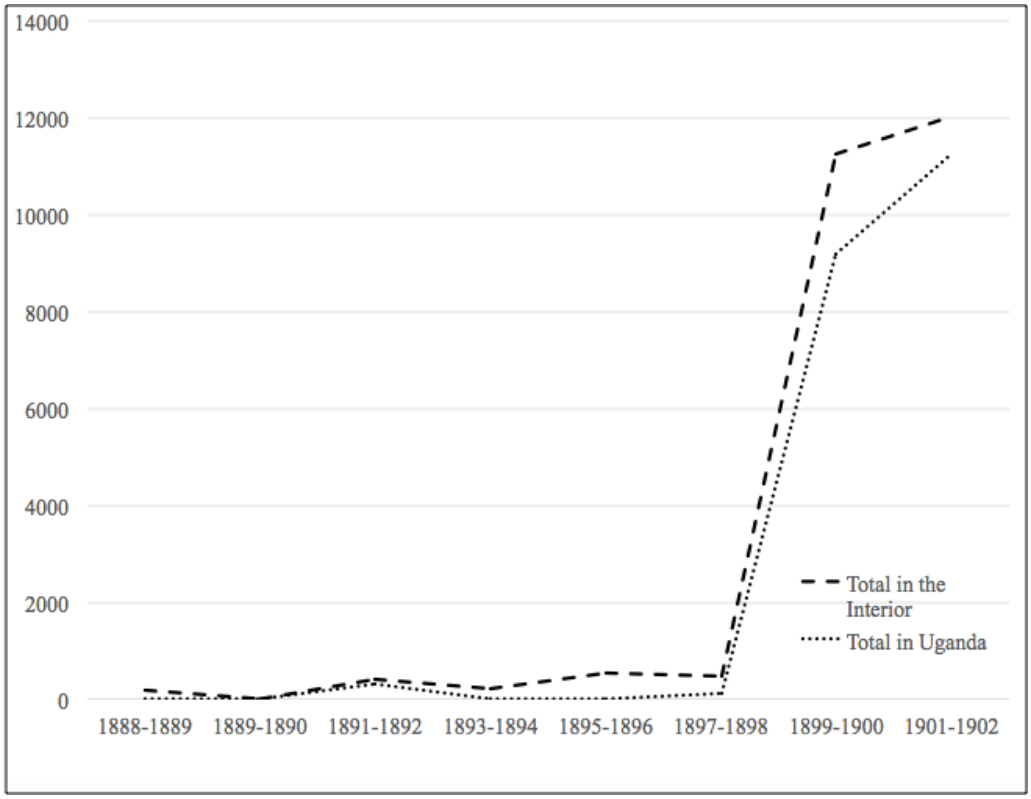

Table 1. Number of school children reported for the "Interior" and "Uganda"

Other motivations for this increase were reported in missionary letters, and it is worth noting that an unusually large number of missionaries focused on the growth of

[89] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.
[90] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1901-1902. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4553. BV2361.A1C5.

schools in letters dated from 1900-1902. Miss E. L. Pilgrim credited native interest and support for the uptick in attendance:

> I have a school for boys and girls, from tiny babies upwards. We meet from 8 to 9.30 a.m. every day. Our average attendance is about 200, with 250 names on the register. This, you will observe, is a great increase on the numbers of last year. This has been mainly owing to the action the chiefs have taken. They are determined that their children shall be taught, and have issued a proclamation that every child must attend school. Of course, in a country like this, it is very difficult to enforce this rule, but still it has brought many who otherwise would not have come to us, and after attending once or twice they seldom fail to come again.[91]

Miss Thomas, who taught at Ngogwe, attributed attendance rates to the great interest of her pupils, explaining that they came "every day of the week except Monday and have a strong aversion to holidays."[92] When the teachers tried to create a school holiday on Saturdays as well as Mondays, Miss Thomas wrote that the children came anyway and the plan was abandoned. In one case when the school was to be closed for two weeks during the summer while the teachers were away, the children expressed their sadness and she asked if they ever tired of school: "One [student], a boy of about twelve, said at once, 'Do we ever get tired of hearing the Words of God?'"[93] In another letter, dated two years later in 1902, Miss Thomas told the story of the opening of a new school building, when,

> Old Mambuli, the Sekibobo's steward, made a speech in the absence of his chief: "We have built this fine school," he said, "and for what? that you may come and

[91] Letter by Miss Pilgrim, 1899. Church Missionary Society Archive. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[92] Children would come for Sunday School each week and teachers would take Monday off instead. Letter by Miss Thomas, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[93] Letter by Miss Thomas, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

> look at it, and admire it? No! That your children may be taught…Well then, send your children."[94]

A clear and compelling record of native interest in education – as well as CMS encouragement – exists from this period.

Figure 15. Miss Pilgrim with girl in Elgon (Gateley, 1970)

This is not to suggest that all missionaries took such a positive view of Bagandan interest in education; some missionaries felt that students, or likewise their parents, were less committed than they should have been. Reverend Rowling, who was at Mityana, felt that although the school was "prospering very nicely," attendance was irregular because

[94] Letter by Miss Thomas, 1904. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

of other demands on children's time – notably many of the traditional tasks children had performed prior to colonization. Additionally, Rowling complained that their parents were "mostly very indifferent to their being taught."[95] Miss E. E. Brown, one of the first female missionaries to Uganda similarly opined about "the problem of getting the children, as they do the principal work in the country, and do not seem to be get-at-able."[96] Mr. Lewin, writing in 1900, felt that the progress the CMS had seen was remarkable as "only last year the Baganda as a whole were much against their children being taught"[97] – a surprising comment, given Miss Pilgrim's report from the same period about the Bagandan proclamation that all children should be educated. Attendance rates continued to rise exponentially, contradicting notions of disinterest; instead, it seems from enrollment numbers that the Bagandan were quick to appropriate schooling practices and skills. Why some missionaries felt they were well supported and others did not is unclear; perhaps it depended on the picture each individual constructed in his or her head, as to the 'African native,' or perhaps it was a continuation of earlier missionary misgivings about the sectarian interests of Bagandans.

More to the point, CMS missionaries emphasized in annual letters the broader significance of their growing work amongst children. Miss E. M. Brewer, writing from Mengo Girls' School at the close of 1903 commended missionary efforts: "The children are very bright and happy, and seem to enjoy school. They get very little home training,

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[95] Letter by Reverend Rowling, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[96] Letter by Miss Brown, 1896. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1896-1897. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4550. BV2361.A1C5.
[97] Letter by Mr. Lewin, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

and so grow up to be rather unruly little mortals. I think the discipline of school is rather good for them."[98] That native parents were unable to adequately care for their children – a belief supported by the general horror that children rarely lived with their own mothers and fathers and were "treat[ed]…as if they were adults"[99] – was assumed. Miss Taylor explained from Gayaza in 1899 to her readers back home:

> If children, or at any rate these wild, uncivilized specimens we have here, are to be taught, they must be got hold of by someone who really cares for them, and who will take the trouble to sympathize with them and understand them. This at present the Natives seem incapable of doing, until they themselves have been trained for this special work.[100]

Similarly, Mr. Leakey, whose son was the first European child to be born in Uganda in April, 1901 – observed:

> The Natives never 'bring up' their children, they simply let them grow up. They cannot understand our making our boy obey and punishing him if he is naughty. Also washing him and dressing him carefully and feeding him at regular times are all new ideas to them. I hope and believe that they will try to do more for their children as they see how we treat ours.[101]

Using terms like "unruly little mortals," and "wild, uncivilized specimens," European authors contrasted African children with their European peers using language with strong racial overtones. Comments on the practices of "the Natives," who did not properly dress, feed, or discipline their children, distanced British authors (and their letter readers) from Ugandans. Moreover, this language compellingly made the case for the CMS's

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[98] Letter by Miss Brewer, 1903. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[99] Letter by Miss Brewer, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 39. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[100] Letter by Miss Taylor, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[101] Excerpted letter by Mr. Leakey, 1901. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1901-1902. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4553. BV2361.A1C5.

significant efforts toward the (re)making of modern Ugandan childhoods through the introduction of formal schooling. As Hattersley (1908) explained, connecting schooling to a larger civilizing mission predicated on direct European intervention: "if the nation is to be reborn, the children are far better removed entirely from their surroundings and shown how to make a fresh start" (p. 178).

One notable aspect of this educational expansion was the development of boarding education. While not all Ugandan children attending boarding schools – many lived with family while attending as day students – the best schools were generally boarding schools. In 1905 Mengo High School was the first to be built along a familiar British model. The new school was organized into a 'house' system whereby a number of boys would be supervised by a native house-master. To ensure the necessary financial backing, Hattersley, who organized the project, asked the wealthier parents of boys to build the houses, "each of whom should have a right to nominate one pupil in perpetuity" (Tucker, 1908, p. 328). These parents would be required to provide financial support for that nominee. In this way, the CMS could educate future Bagandan leaders, while also extending their influence.[102] While pragmatic given the limited funding available to educate Africans in this early part of the colonial period, the house system likely (re)entrenched educational and economic inequalities, as only parents who were able to afford the cost of building a house were rewarded with the right to send a pupil (likely a son) for years to come. As will be explored in later chapters, enrollment in boarding

[102] Hattersley (1908) explained the unique impact his High School might have in this way:

> The influence the boys in the High School may exert when they come into power in their own chieftainships cannot be over-estimated. What the chief is, so his people imagine they must be, and his example is copied to a tremendous extent. (p. 180)

schools became highly competitive and selective; having a guaranteed spot would have been no small thing.

However, what was even more curious about this embrace of boarding school education was that it was instituted as a response to the purported neglect of native children by their parents – discussed above and in Chapter 4 – and removed children from their parents influence altogether. In a tract written by Bishop Tucker likely around 1898, and translated into Luganda from English (and excerpted below), he entreated native parents:

> God has given to every human being wonderful powers of mind. These powers may be exercised either in good works or works of evil. 'As a twig is bent, so will the tree incline.' As you train the child so the man or woman will be. Solomon says (Prov. xxii. 6), 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' If a child is untaught, what wonder if he grows up to be a fool? If he is allowed to grow up in the midst of wicked surroundings, what wonder if he becomes a wicked man?
>
> Every chief and every parent has a responsibility laid upon him with regard to the children under his care.
>
> First, I would speak a word to parents. My friends, your children are God's gifts to you, and He expects you to train them for Himself…*Many parents send their children to be brought up in other homes. This is an evil custom. It is the work of the parent to watch over the child, and to train it in good habits*… When at the last day you are called upon to give an account of the way in which you have dealt with the children whom God has given you, it will be no good excuse to say that the persons to whom you entrusted your children trained them ill. *It is your duty to train them yourself, or to send them to school where you know they will be well taught* [emphasis added].
>
> Now, I want to tell you, that we on Namirembe are establishing schools all over the country, and that we are prepared to teach your children not only the law of God but other good things, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. A great change is coming over the country. There will be work to be done which can only be done by those who have learned to read and write. The better taught your children are, the better work they will be able to do, and the happier and more prosperous will be their lives. I would advise you, therefore, to make it a rule of your house that your children go to school every day to be taught. […]

> Well then, my friends, if these things be so, hearken to my words, and do that which in your hearts you know to be right. (1908, pp. 205-208)

Tucker's appeal was rooted in parents' Christian beliefs – if parents followed biblical principles, they would need to take individual responsibility for their children. The communal child-rearing practices of the past were likely, he argued, to result in ill-trained, wicked children. Instead, Tucker (1908) recommended that children be raised, if not by parents themselves, by European missionaries who had begun to build primary schools only a few years earlier. The irony of Bishop Tucker's letter – that the evil custom of parents sending their children away to live with other Africans should be prevented by sending their children away to live with other Europeans – seems to have been lost on him and the other missionaries. The draw of boarding schools for Europeans simply may have been that they made children more "get-at-able," an aspect of schooling highlighted by Smythe (2006) in her work on the Fipa and by de Leeuw (2009) in her work on Aboriginal children in British Columbia. Additionally, since "Mothers [knew] nothing about the art of bringing up a family," removing boys from their home entirely would ensure that African children were raised properly, "in such a way that they would realise their mission in the world" (Hattersley, 1908, p. 161). If missionaries were to participate in the colonial mission by Christianizing and civilizing Ugandans, then the school was an ideal place for this work.[103]

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[103] Hattersley (1908) argued that the civilizing mission of the CMS was important for two primary reasons: (1) native converts might, eventually, administer their own church; and (2) it complemented the British government's work:

> But such civilisation as can be imported by a Government, even when it does (it rarely does) establish schools or industrial works, can never be satisfactory…The Mission [CMS] in Uganda has always been a truly civilising influence; and therefore the Christian natives fully appreciate the efforts that are now being made by the British Government for their welfare. (p. 28)

Constructing mission schools. Scholars such as de Leeuw (2009), Long (2011), and Smythe (2006) have suggested that when European missionaries began to build colonial-era schools, they did so in their own image. As expected, children's education, as established by missionaries in Uganda, largely followed this pattern, and all schools took on a familiar British form. While early schools were largely informal, mixed-age, and coeducational, as enrollment increased, European missionaries quickly sorted pupils along familiar lines, concomitantly (re)shaping (putatively racially-inferior) African children to look much more like European children – an effort which sometimes took a literal form, extending to the clothing students wore. Additionally, CMS missionaries seem to have projected challenges to schooling at home, namely educating (separately) girls and children of the upper and lower classes, on their new environs – and their opinions and efforts were furthered by curricular and pedagogical choices.

The shift from informal 'bush' schools to more formal schools, complete with buildings, blackboards, and in a few cases even desks, was rapid. While Miss J. E. Chadwick described her girls' school in 1896 as "gathering together with all who will come, in a shady spot under the big fence, and holding our meeting amidst various distractions of straying and inquisitive goats, &c.,"[104] by 1900 formal schools began to be constructed across the Baganda kingdom – often attached to churches. Writing from Ngogwe in 1901, Reverend Baskerville wrote that Miss Chadwick's aforementioned school – now managed by Miss Scott – had grown so much that it was necessary to

[104] Letter by Miss Chadwick, 1896. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 36. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

construct a larger building.[105] No longer round, the school, "built by Natives at native expense," took on a more familiar (European) architecture. It had "a well-constructed roof of good mud, and strong walls with good windows and door frames; the whole building 60 ft. by 30 ft.; a large central room with classrooms each side."[106] Other schools took on a similar form, as funding and enrollment allowed, although desks and other classroom furniture were desired but slower to arrive. Endeavoring to make the strange stranger still, in 1902 Miss Turnbull explained her rural school to her letter readers:

> Let no one imagine as they read the word 'classes,' neat rows and forms and desks. Our *classes* [emphasis in original] consist of little groups seated on the mud floor, round their respective teachers. Most of the children come to school equipped with a bag of books and a mat or skin to spread on the floor to sit upon, or in lieu of the latter, a piece of newspaper is greatly prized.[107]

Teaching at a school in the capital of Buganda, Mengo, that same year, Mr. Hattersley commissioned the first desks ever made for Ugandan schools, citing the "slowness" of progress achieved by students sitting on the floor as reason for the change.[108]

CMS missionaries also pressed students to attend more regularly and to comport themselves as (imagined) British children might have done. Miss Dyke explained that her children had only recently begun to learn how a student should act: "The children are really getting to understand that school is a serious thing, and that they have to come to

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[105] Letter by Reverend Baskerville, 1901. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[106] Letter by Reverend Baskerville, 1901. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[107] Emphasis in original. Letter by Miss Turnbull, 1902. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[108] Letter by Mr. Hattersley, 1902. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

learn, and can't run in and out just as they like, and talk the whole time!"[109] Still, missionaries were often frustrated in their efforts as British classroom ideals conflicted with traditional Bagandan practices, which had integrated learning into everyday community activities. Miss Turnbull, writing from Rakai explained:

> There are great difficulties in obtaining a regular attendance, owing to the fact that even small children here are made very useful by their elders, the girls being sent to fetch wood and water, or kept to look after the babies and mind the house, whist the boys must often herd the sheep and goats, or accompany their masters when they travel, as the Baganda very frequently do. A boy will often attend school for a few weeks and make good progress, and then disappear for several months. When he next appears you will probably find he has forgotten much of what he had learnt.[110]

This emphasis on behavior and the proper school environment extended to clothing; missionaries hoped for their students to literally embody the idealized British child to whom Ugandan children might be compared. To attend school, pupils were required to provide themselves with school supplies – paper, pens, ink – and to appear clean, with laundered clothing.[111] In the view of missionaries, this marked a significant departure from their pre-schooling life, during which "the children of Christian parents [ran] wild and nearly naked until old enough (say nine or ten years) to begin to read for baptism."[112]

Mr. Hattersley's capital-area school, which was the first to acquire desks, made it a rule that students dress a certain way to use them:

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[109] Letter by Miss Dyke, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[110] Letter by Miss Turnbull, 1902. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[111] Mr. Hattersley (1908) recounted an amusing story of one student who instead of laundering his dirty clothing, threw items away until he had nothing left to wear.
[112] Letter by Reverend Hall, 1896. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 36. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

> No one may sit at the desks who does not keep his clothes well washed, the result is that the higher classes, at any rate, have a much more respectable appearance, and a lecture before the whole class once or twice soon makes a dirty boy ashamed of himself, and he turns up clean. One case in December of a lad dressed in a barkcloth, writing on a slate, whom I spoke to in this way, resulted in the lad starting off on a journey of over 200 miles to carry a box for a European traveler to earn the money for some new clothes and writing materials, and immediately when he got back he appeared as a most respectable pupil, and he is only one of a good number.[113]

A photograph taken *circa* 1906 showed 'high class' boys (likely the upper-class sons of chiefs who attended Mengo High School) neatly arrayed in white – a testament to Mr. Hattersley's efforts.[114]

Figure 16. "High Class Boys," c. 1906[115]

[113] Letter by Mr. Hattersley, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[114] Photo album by Miss Allen, n.d. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS ACC.354 Z2.
[115] Photo Album likely belonging to Miss Allen, n.d. Church Missionary Society Archives. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS ACC.354 Z2

Miss Brewer, who taught at a girls' school in the same city at Mr. Hattersley, Mengo, taught her female students how to sew – before colonization, a solely male task – such that when they became mothers they would be able to clothe their babies, instead of dressing them traditionally in strings of beads or leaving them naked until they were a bit older. She explained, "we think that if children get used to wearing clothes from their infancy, it may be a help to them as they grow up."[116] How wearing clothes would be 'helpful' (outside of being required to sit in a desk at school) is left to the imagination of the letter reader. What is most interesting about this element of schooling is its way of refashioning the pupil in the image of the colonizer. Gone were the barkcloth and beads of precolonial childhood, replaced by a more 'civilized' costume. Further, clothed in this way, educated Bagandan children distinguished themselves from their uneducated peers.[117] This point is made, most strikingly, in a pair of photographs taken by Mr. Hattersley (1908), captioned: "An up-country postman: the cowrie shells [in the bag] are for buying food," and "how some boys present themselves at Mengo High School" (pp. 60-61).

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[116] Letter by Miss Brewer, 1903. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[117] Ripples of similar attentions to the appearance of Uganda school children continue to be seen in newspaper articles from *New Vision*, the self-described "leading daily" in Uganda. Despite the high cost of uniforms, seen as a barrier to school participation (Jjuuko, 9 Feb. 2003), and the reported "stress of forcing their children into the school uniform" (Businge, 22 Mar. 2011), in a recent article on O-Level examination success, Kironde (16 Oct. 2007), "Without proper school uniform, you are not part of the student body." In another collection of reader responses to the issue of "students keeping hair" (New Vision, 17 Feb. 2010), although many decried the forced cutting of girls' hair (one anonymous respondent pointing out that "the issue of having short hair was brought by colonialists"), others supported the ban, arguing that "long hair can prevent most girls from performing well in school," and that "long hair leads to failure in exams because girls waste time maintaining it instead of revising books." Embodying 'studenthood' remains an important feature of educational discourse.

Figure 17. Photographs of a postman and a Mengo High School boy (Hattersley, 1908)

Curriculum, too, took on a European form. While earlier adult education had been more directly focused on theology and catechism, primary schooling slowly moved toward an academic (albeit still heavily religious) curriculum. Courses in arithmetic, writing, geography, English, letter-writing – as well as "blackboard-writing" – were added to instruction in reading and catechism,[118] although many schools maintained a

[118] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1902-1903. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4553. BV2361.A1C5.

simpler and more religiously-focused curriculum. In 1899 Mr. Hattersley explained in a letter to the CMS,

> At our first school we teach little else than the Gospel and Bible history and reading, and each child gets a really good grounding at any rate in the first and last named; but as a change now and then we teach a little geography and singing.[119]

Some efforts were made to make instruction relevant to the African context; for instance, later in the same 1899 letter, Mr. Hattersley included an example word problem:

> Forty canoes go to Usukuma to fetch loads, each canoe carrying twelve bales, the rate of pay for each of which is five rupees plus 200 cowrie shells. The Katikiro takes of this one-fifth, the chief of the canoes takes one-seventh, another under-chief takes one-twelfth part, and the headman takes one-twentieth. Each canoe has twelve paddlers. How much does each paddler get when the balance is divided amongst them? One rupee = 16 annas, or 64 pice, or 600 cowrie shells.[120]

Still, most curricular efforts were largely unchanged from what a missionary might have found at home. Tucker (1908) listed in his memoir titles which had been translated into Luganda and were available for purchase in the Protectorate: the Bible, a prayer book and hymn book, various biblical commentaries, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Robertson's *Church History*, Aesop's Fables, a book on the life of Mohammed, and educational texts, including those focused on the subjects of geography, arithmetic, grammar, and vocabulary.

Schooling for girls, for chiefs. As schools grew, so too did concerns that girls would be neglected in the more rigorous 'male' educational environment – a 'challenge'

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[119] Letter by Mr. Hattersley, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[120] This anecdote showing a 'native' math problem was shared widely. Hattersley (1908) and Bishop Tucker (1908) both quoted this passage, as did the Annual Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society. Letter by Mr. Hattersley, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

imported from the British context. More and more 'student' came to imply 'male' in official documents, like the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, as girls' education was tracked and reported on separately by the CMS. Despite near parity in school attendance rates for males and females in and around 1900, many CMS missionaries asserted that girls "had little desire to be taught, and book-learning appeared to be distasteful to most of them, which was hardly surprising seeing that digging, cooking, and gossiping had for so long been the sole occupations of the Baganda women."[121] One female teacher, Miss Chadwick lamented that "the educational ambition of the girls did not extend further than to read sufficiently well to attend baptism class and so 'acquire a Christian name.'" As soon as girls could read and was a candidate for baptism, she explained, they would disappear from school entirely.[122] Accordingly, as educational opportunities for children expanded, schools split to form new and separate institutions for girls and boys, "because there was a danger lest the former, being intellectually backward, should be pushed aside and neglected in the crowded classrooms."[123] Further, whenever possible, female CMS missionaries advised girls' education and male CMS missionaries advised boys'; in Mengo this meant that Miss Chadwick took on the girls, while Mr. Hattersley took on the boys.[124]

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[121] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.
[122] Excerpted letter by Miss Chadwick. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.
[123] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.
[124] Letter by Miss Chadwick, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

Miss Chadwick, newly transitioned to teaching girls alone, lamented her lack of contact with the 'brighter,' 'more committed' male students. Still, she saw her task as significant:

> But to us it seems a matter of no small importance that our Christian girls should have a better education than their mothers before them, so that they may be able to take a more responsible position in their own future homes, as undoubtedly the social position of the Christian women is altering rapidly.[125]

Accordingly, the mission approached girls' education differently. First, they attempted to address what they perceived to be a lack of interest by African parents and "prejudice still existing against the education of girls."[126] Second, as Miss Thomsett put it, they made an effort to teach "the women the sinfulness of sin, and that they should keep their children and young girls from the sin around, and teach them the necessity of purity of life."[127] This often entailed a more direct focus on educating women as future wives and mothers – a complimentary task to their other concern that child-rearing practices be improved. Tucker (1908) later reflected on these efforts in his memoirs: "The degraded woman-hood of Central Africa could not but be the better, and therefore the children the better for those years of devoted service" (pp. 330-331).

When opportunities arose, the CMS also addressed a concern that "little or nothing had been done for the children of the upper classes, who in many respects were worse off than the children of the peasantry" (Tucker, 1908, p. 327). Included in this group were the children of more important chiefs and Bagandan political elites, whose

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[125] Letter by Miss Chadwick, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[126] Letter by Miss Chadwick, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 39. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[127] Letter by Miss Thomsett, 1896. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 36. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

status had been consolidated by the arrival of the British government and introduction of the hut tax.[128] The reason given for this concern was that these upper class children, unlike those of the peasantry, were even less likely to be brought up by their parents and "were in consequence neglected, out of hand and allowed to run almost wild" (Tucker, 1908, pp. 327-328). Additionally, chiefs were once and future leaders, whose support for schooling would have a comparatively high impact. Hattersley noted in 1902 that a letter circulated amongst chiefs "calling their attention to the advantages of educating their children" resulted in them sending their own children, and sometimes attending themselves. Similarly, the Katikiro, Apolo Kaggwa, sent his children and most of the youths who lived with him.[129] As was discussed earlier, Mr. Hattersley had proposed and established a boarding school in 1905 to better address the unique needs of the Baganda elite.[130] Bishop Tucker (1908) applauded these efforts in his memoirs:

> It will easily be realized what an influence for good such a school is likely to have upon the future of the country. God-fearing men, well taught, with a sense of responsibility towards their dependents, will we trust take the places which were only too frequently occupied in the days gone by, by ignorant, unscrupulous, and vicious ruffians. A unifying influence too will also, we believe, be brought to bear

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[128] Reverend Blackledge critiqued the new land distribution scheme, which consolidated and solidified power under a few chiefs and political elites. Prior to colonization, all chiefs had taken a certain percentage of taxes (either cowrie shells or payment in kind) collected from those living on their lands as "an assured income, small or great, in proportion to the office or degree of chief." However, under the new British administration, all taxes (now cash only) were paid to the Protectorate Government, which redistributed a portion of the funds to only 24 "great" chiefs. The effect of this policy shift on childhood and schooling was that it limited the funds 'non-great' chiefs had to support education and pushed families toward participation in the cash-economy. Letter by Reverend Blackledge, 1902. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[129] Letter by Mr. Hattersley, 1902. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 41. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[130] It's worth noting that Mengo High School – renamed Mengo Senior School – remains one of the top secondary schools in Uganda. Another top school, Kings College Budo was also established as a part of these efforts (Talemwa & Mwesigye, 2010). Gayaza was listed amongst the top 100 private and government schools in Africa, ranking as the second best school from Uganda and 68th overall (Ninsiima, 2013).

> upon the diverse elements of which the Uganda Protectorate is very largely made up. At the present moment we have in the school young chiefs from Busoga and Uganda, as well as members of the royal families of Toro, Nkole, and Bunyoro. These young lads, living together, taught together, sharing the same joys and sorrows, bearing the same punishments, joining in the same games; in fact, living a common life, imbibing the same ideals, and serving the same Lord and Master, cannot be but knit together in a common bond of friendship and good will. Racial antipathies and jealousies will be forgotten, and a godly rivalry in whatsoever things are honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, will take their place. And so it will come about that the divisions which hamper and hinder the development of the Protectorate will, to a large extent, disappear, and union with all its beneficent results will take their place." (pp. 328-329)

With the growth of elite boarding schools, Tucker linked together the lofty aims of missionaries, colonists, and imagined future leaders, imagining benefits for all. In these schools, racially diverse (race seemingly intended to imply 'tribe') youths from across the Protectorate would be raised in a manner in keeping with upper class British traditions. Yet, the establishment of these schools would also lead to a stratification of education whereby an educated elite became separated from their less educated countrymen, and those in regions with good schools better educated than those from regions without – a significant challenge in the move toward independence.

Early Educational Encounters

In this earliest period of missionary education, three principal themes emerged that are relevant to later chapters. First, as schooling was established and grew, it took on a European appearance and form. School buildings were constructed, desks installed, and uniforms required – all while ever-growing number of children were instructed from curricula reflective of the missionaries' home context, albeit with some small modifications. Second, increased enrollment allowed for the concomitant creation of

separate schools for girls, for the sons of chiefs, and other high status individuals. This facilitated the creation of new categories of differentiation based on class and gender. Although some distinctions existed before, the form they took shifted and was reinforced by newly created institutions (e.g. churches and schools). For instance, girls were trained in traditionally male vocational skills (e.g. sewing), while also encouraged to pursue 'feminine' activities as defined vis-à-vis Europe,[131] and existing cultural distinctions between 'high class' chiefs and 'low class' others were codified and amplified by separate schooling. Third, schools – and especially boarding schools – enabled European missionaries for the first time to take a more direct role in the rearing of Bagandan children, largely outside the influence of their parents, extended families, and communities. From a meta-analytic perspective, two additional themes are worth discussing. One is that the more sustained contact with Buganda (and other) native children led to a robust conversation about 'African' children's capacities and the form schooling might or should take. The other is that missionaries reflected – often negatively – on the affect Europeans were having on natives living in the Uganda Protectorate. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

European missionaries' discussions of Ugandan children's capacities belie complicated, and sometimes conflicting, views of their potential, especially when compared to adults (and likely their future adult selves). Several missionaries praised their students in annual letters home, comparing them somewhat favorably to English children. Miss E. L. Pilgrim, wrote with pleasure in late October, 1899, "I have been

[131] Musisi (1992) similarly found that the curriculum at Gayaza Girls School "reinforced the stereotype that an accomplished woman [was] 'a successful manager of plantation grove and an expert cook'" (p. 175).

cheered several times by the remarks of various missionaries (who have come to speak to the children) that they answer well, and sometimes better, than a similar class of children in England would."[132] Others seemed to have a more complicated view. Bishop Tucker (1908) quoted Mr. Hattersley's general appraisal of African students in his memoir:

> It is a real pleasure to teach the majority of the children. Their intelligence is far in advance of anything I ever anticipated, and given the same advantages they would compare very favourably with English children, and I do not say this without a very considerable knowledge of the capabilities of English children, gained in teaching them at home. (p. 152)

Although this passage is generally positive, Hattersley's surprise at the intelligence of the 'racially inferior' African child is significant – as is, potentially, the underlying meaning of Miss Pilgrim's reference to a "similar class of children." Likewise, only a page later Tucker (1908) discussed potential limits to African children's capabilities. While he acknowledged that "with such material to work upon," – referring to Hattersley's comments – "the education of the rising generation in Uganda was well worth undertaking, and presented no insuperable difficulties," (p. 153) this capacity was only to be achieved through European intervention and the proper training of both students and teachers. In these passages, missionaries constructed African children as theoretically as capable as European children, but not as naturally capable – especially without supposedly needed colonial intervention. Despite African children's demonstrated aptitudes, they still needed a firm White hand to realize their potential.

Taking an even dimmer view that highlighted perceived limitations to this 'potential,' Archdeacon R. H. Walker opined of his mission efforts in 1899,

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[132] Letter by Miss Pilgrim, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

> I am not sure that it would not be wise to let things be done less well and be done by Natives than to give so much help. It was unlawful to yoke a camel to an ass to the same plough, and I fear that the more Europeans do of the actual work itself, the less the Natives will feel their duty and responsibility in the matter.[133]

While Walker was not referring to children specifically – his comments were directed at native adults trained by the church as ministers and teachers – there is a definite sense that he viewed Africans in general as both inherently less capable (who is the "ass" and who is the "camel" is unclear) and therefore in need of instruction; they also appear in the passage as intrinsically lazy and unlikely to take responsibility with too much help (a view that parallels others discussed earlier). Even Mr. Hattersley, who in general was quite positive about his African students, wrote about what might be expected of boys educated at the top schools in the protectorate:

> It will probably be asked, What do the elder lads do with their knowledge? Many of them are engaged as clerks or storekeepers to the chiefs or the king, and a few others have taken posts under Government, very minor ones, of course, but they will get better ones later. The best of the lads, so far, we have tried to keep as teachers.[134]

While chieftainships and kingships were hereditary, and so presumably boys could not be trained for these positions in schools, the fact that they were only well equipped enough to take "very minor" posts in the colonial government seems to conflict with other comments by Miss Pilgrim and even Mr. Hattersley that their African students could compare favorably with Europeans. In these later quotes, African potential is cast as unlikely or at least very limited. These conflicting views are significant when one thinks about anti-self-rule arguments that would come later when Ugandans called for it, as well

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[133] Letter by Archdeacon Walker, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[134] Letter by Mr. Hattersley, 1900. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 40. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

as about discussion of what type of schools would be most appropriate for African children later on in the colonial period, as is explored in later chapters of this dissertation. Race – often masked as class – seems to have been a pervasive factor in the establishment of Ugandan schooling.

This ambivalence is mirrored in discussions of the adoption of European cultural artifacts and practices. The CMS saw its role in Uganda as both religious and modernizing in nature (of which schooling was one part):

> Missions have a very true relationship to human progress, and anything that tends to make men more free, anything which conduces to the abolition of cruelty, drunkenness, and lust, must be of interest to those who long and strive for the inauguration of the reign of Peace, and the coming of Him who is known as its Prince. The advent of European authority in Africa, while attendant, it may be, with some disadvantages to the Natives, yet appreciably ameliorates their condition, as is shown by the remark of a Central African chief: 'Before the Europeans came there was nothing but fighting and quarrelling here, but since they came people have lived in peace.'[135]

Illustrating the zeitgeist of the time: despite 'some disadvantage' to the Native, missionaries writing about their experiences noted visible signs of colonial 'progress' and African benefit in their letters home. For instance, Bishop Tucker (1908) observed the changes he saw during his eighteen years in Uganda: "In the outward aspects of things also a very remarkable change had taken place. Instead of the beehive-shaped house in which I had lived for a fortnight two years before, there was now a well-ordered Mission station with two-dwelling houses" (p. 128). Mr. Hattersley explained to his CMS readers that some chiefs were beginning to sit at tables and eat with forks and "plates, knives, and

[135] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

forks"[136] [137] – pointing out both their growing similitude to Europeans, as well as their complete otherness since they had not already adopted this practice on their own.

Writing about similar changes, albeit with a more negative view, Archdeacon Walker wrote:

> The sudden introduction of the Government troops and increased demand for labour of all kinds has created a desire to become suddenly rich. The chiefs are all anxious to be traders, and it is with some feelings of regret that I see a shop has been built just inside the royal gateway. Where armed men stood in barbaric splendor when I first came to the country you see now a shop with cheap calicoes for sale, a fragment of Petticoat Lane, but with more fun about it, as the lads who act as a shopman often try the clothes on. Some wretched trader brought up a load of hard felt hats, 'billycocks,' and these were worn with a string of cowrie shells round the place for the hatband. Others removed the brim as being unnecessary, and wore the brimless hate, making their black heads look abnormally enlarged. We are passing through a most curious stage, a revolution in everything, and it is very difficult for the people to know what is worth imitating and what is purely a Western excrescence on civilization."[138]

These quotes suggest that missionaries in this period – and likely colonists as well – were beginning to affect notions of the 'good life' and 'Westernization.' The uptick in school attendance also reflects a reconstitution of previous ideas about child-rearing and the newly integral part formal education might play in that process.

However, this adoption of English customs and schooling – along with secular curriculum – also signaled to the CMS an area for greater concern moving forward. Whereas schools, religious education, and adoption of European practices had once gone

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[136] Excerpted letter by Mr. Hattersley. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1902-1903. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4553. BV2361.A1C5.

[137] Hunt (1992) wrote an interesting chapter on the ways in which domestic imagery, such as the knife and fork, was used by British missionaries in the Belgian Congo to support a larger evolutionary discourses of "darkness to lightness, savagery to civilization, heathens to Christians, and monkey stew to roast beef" (p. 146). This same preoccupation with the material adoption of European-ness is apparent in Uganda as well.

[138] Excerpted letter by Archdeacon Walker. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

hand in hand – Reverend Millar wrote in 1896, "there is such eagerness to be taught the Bible, these secular matters get pushed aside"[139] – by 1902 the CMS Educational Committee discussed over several meetings their concerns about a perceived growing secularism of educational efforts throughout not only Uganda, but the rest of its missions as well. On June 2nd the committee secretary recorded in the minutes:

> …The Committee thankfully recognize that the general tone of educational work has been, and in a majority of cases been consistently, spiritual, and God has abundantly honoured the labours of Educational Missionaries in the way most desired, by bringing out through their agency many of the best converts from Heathenism and Mohammedanism. But it has been urged in more than one quarter that in many parts of the Mission-field, and especially in some places where religious education is really most urgently needed, circumstances are seriously changing, and that from several reasons conditions are becoming more and more unfavourable to the continued predominance of the spiritual character of teaching in our non-Christian schools and colleges. It is said that the rate of intellectual progress has to be accelerated, and that this tends to draw the attention of the teachers more and more to the secular side; that in fact increased competition with secular or heathen institutions makes it more difficult to maintain the religious character of our own.[140]

To combat this competition, the CMS Education Committee recommended that daily attendance for religious instruction be made compulsory[141] and suggested that some institutions might be closed – namely primary schools – so that monies might be channeled toward "more spiritually effective work," such as the instruction available in

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[139] Excerpted letter by Reverend Millar, 1896. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1896-1897. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4550. BV2361.A1C5.
[140] CMS Educational Committee Meeting Minutes, 2 June 1902. [CMS] Educational Committee, 1901-1917. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS E/C1/1.
[141] CMS Educational Committee Meeting Minutes, 2 June 1902. [CMS] Educational Committee, 1901-1917. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS E/C1/1.

secondary schools – either "High School or College."[142] Further, in an example of dramatic irony, they anticipated the shift in British policy, following the Phelps-Stokes Report, which inaugurated the slow move toward colonial government and eventually native (rather than missionary) control of schooling, and likewise toward greater secular influence on childhood.

Reflections on the First Critical Moment

This chapter examined the early years of British missionary intervention and the establishment of the first academically-oriented schools for Ugandan children in and around 1900. While the earliest years of European intervention were marked by religious education and Christian evangelization aimed at native baptism and conversion, as the CMS's numbers – and concomitantly their efforts – expanded, missionaries focused more attention to child-rearing and education. Attendant to this change was a concerted effort to (re)shape childhood along European lines. Children who had previously been instructed by community and family members, were now encouraged to attend European-run schools and in some cases removed from their homes entirely and sent to boarding institutions. School attendees wore European clothing, sat at desks, used knives and forks, and were taught school subjects based British notions of gender and class – girls were trained to be mothers who would rear their future children along Western lines, and elite or wealthy boys were intended as political leaders, or at any rate, lower-level colonial government officials, whose influence might 'civilize' even greater numbers of

[142] CMS Educational Committee Meeting Minutes, 2 June 1902. [CMS] Educational Committee, 1901-1917. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS E/C1/1.

Ugandans. Additionally, while CMS missionaries praised the successes of the Uganda mission, describing it in some cases as miraculous, many were incredulous about the imagined futures of Africans, who were often perceived to be less capable and too secular. These nascent matters, now set in motion and relevant to understanding colonial British perceptions of African children and child-rearing, reemerged and continued to take shape in later moments (discussed in subsequent chapters), all the while perpetually influencing childhood and schooling.

Chapter 6. The Phelps-Stokes Report, Rising British Colonial Intervention, and the Waning of Missionary Control Over Schooling

Figure 18. "A village school," likely in Lango District, c. 1920-1930[143]

> Each term brings us new bright little ones for the Baganda are realising more and more the importance of sending their children, girls as well as boys, to school while they are still young. One Christian father came to us begging us to make room for his little girl as she was beginning to understand the talk of the old people at home. This gives us the opportunity of teaching and training them before their minds have become filled with undesirable things. When we remember what many of the homes are and how much lurking heathenism and sin there is in them we realise the importance of taking these children whose minds are just awakening and placing them in the Christian atmosphere of a Boarding School where they are daily taught to follow [and] love the Lord Jesus, their Saviour and example.[144]

[143] This photo was labeled "A Village School," and included in an album of photos taken in Lango District circa 1920-1930. A small note, written on tape, near the binding gives a name of the possible owner of this album: "Don Garthap Rhees, Esq." University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. t. 23

[144] Miss Ainley, 1924 Annual Letter. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

Introduction

During the two decades that passed between the events discussed in the previous chapter and those discussed in this chapter, education continued to grow under the supervision of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), and the Catholic White Fathers', and to a more limited extent the Catholic Mill Hill Mission, a third, much smaller missionary organization working in Uganda. In 1905 – the first year the Colonial Blue Book included educational statistics – the British government reported that there were 45 CMS primary schools, attended by just over 9,500 students. A decade later, around 1915, there were between 300-400 CMS schools with over 30,000 students, and by 1925 the colonial government estimated that 46.9% of school-aged Bagandan children attended school.[145] There were 409 CMS-affiliated schools in Buganda alone, offering instruction to roughly 50,000 students. At the same time, colonial expenditures on education grew from an initial £200 in 1908[146] to £24,595 in 1925.[147] This growth in enrollment and British funding, along with the findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commission (named for its funding organization), prompted a reevaluation of colonial involvement in education, and by 1925 culminated in the speedy creation of a new Education Department. Scholars (Adyanga, 2011; Berman, 1971) have argued that the reports of the

[145] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1925. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London, CO 613/25.
[146] Y. K. Lule wrote in a paper entitled "Education in Uganda," presented at the 1961 Oxford Conference on Tensions in Development, that the first grant given by the government in 1913 for education was £850 and divided between competing missions. Whether or not this was the first, or the 1908 line-item in the Colonial Blue Book-reported budget was the first, for over a decade, the Protectorate government was not at all involved in schooling. Memorandum of Mrs. Margaret Chamberlain. Oxford Development Records Project. Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. University of Oxford. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (43) Box XIX.
[147] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1925. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London, CO 613/25.

Phelps-Stokes Commission constituted a "watershed" moment in African educational history because they prompted a move toward greater British colonial involvement in schooling in Uganda and elsewhere. While certainly significant, other factors – including rising enrollment rates and locally-organized educational evaluations – also contributed to this shift in policy.

Using the Phelps-Stokes Report as a starting point, this chapter examines the findings of the Commission that pertained to Uganda. Additionally, this chapter highlights the resultant changes made by the British government to its education policy and the impacts this had on schooling in the Uganda Protectorate generally, as well as on the specific responses of the CMS missionaries and Bagandan community. More to the point, this chapter attempts to tease out underlying view(s) of the African child relevant to this period to show that earlier themes – such as the development of schooling along gender, class, and racially-based lines – were perpetuated and in many cases further entrenched by colonial reform efforts. In this way the growth of schooling caused an associated shift in the bounds of and boundaries within Ugandan childhood experiences. Accordingly, this chapter begins with a discussion of the Phelps-Stokes Report before turning to British colonial and CMS responses and the (re)organization of education and institutionalization of a particular (European) form of childhood.

As in previous chapters, Chapter 6 relies on documents generated by, primarily, the CMS and colonial government, as well as on the personal reflections of colonists and missionaries captured in ephemera and letters from the period. Specifically, the primary sources for this chapter are Colonial Blue Books, published annually by each colony and

protected territory and submitted to the British government for their review; the newly inaugurated Education Report, written by the Protectorate Education Department beginning in 1925; published copies of syllabi produced by the same department in the years following its creation; and unedited Annual Letters, submitted by CMS missionaries to the home office each year. More than in the previous chapters, in the aforementioned documents, many missionaries and colonists reflected on the 'native perspective' and the ways in which it diverged from their own. While usually cast as problematic (and wrong), these reflections allow insights into alternative, dissenting views of colonial educational pedagogy and practice. Additionally, in lieu of a more complete archive from the period, they allow insight – however limited – into what common Bagandan perspectives may have been.

The Phelps-Stokes Report

In the first annual report published by the Education Department in 1925, Eric Hussey, then Department Director, credited mission societies for the founding of "education work" in the Protectorate of Uganda before giving a recent history of government efforts to do the same:

> In 1921 the Government began to take an active part in Education by opening a technical school…at Makerere, a hill two miles distant from Kampala. In 1922 the scope of the school was enlarged by the addition of a class for training medical assistants…In the same year Sir Geoffrey Archer, who had just been appointed Governor of the Uganda Protectorate, decided that the Government should assume a much larger share in the responsibility for and control of Education and determined therefore to call in someone from outside to report on existing institutions and submit concrete proposals for the future.[148]

[148] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

These outside reports came in two primary forms. First, P. R. J. Hussey wrote a report on existing educational institutions and submitted proposals for the future direction of Ugandan schooling,[149] after which arrangements were made with the Sudanese colonial government to allow him to serve as Uganda's Director of Education.[150] Second, the Phelps-Stokes Committee, whose work was an extension of an earlier 1921 West, South, and Equatorial African report, conducted a second trip to survey education in East and Central Africa in 1923.[151] In Uganda, the Phelps-Stokes East African Commission[152] met with the current protectorate Governor, W. F. Gowers; the Director of Education, the aforementioned Hussey; the Bagandan Kabaka, Daudi Cwa, and Katikiro, Sir Apolo Kaggwa; and representatives from the White Fathers', the Mill Hill Mission, and the CMS.[153] The Commission also considered the findings of Hussey's earlier report. Impressed with this second, Phelps-Stokes Report, Hussey used it as the basis for the colonial government's new educational policy (Adyanga, 2011).

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[149] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

[150] Hussey was an Oxford-educated, former officer of the Sudanese Educational Service who had been invited by Governor Archer initially to advise him on Somali education. Later, when Archer was transferred to Uganda, Hussey was again asked to advise the Governor on Native Education. His proposed reforms were significant in both the crafting of the subsequent Phelps-Stokes Report, as well as in the (re)organization of Ugandan schooling under British colonial supervision. Upon endorsing the initial Hussey report, Archer also asked that Hussey be transferred to Uganda as Director of Education, a request which was granted in 1925 (Whitehead, 2003).

[151] The committee's itinerary included stops in Abyssinia, Kenya and Uganda, Ruanda, Tanganyika Territory, Beira of Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, Buluwayo, and Cape Town. Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

[152] Personnel of the Phelps-Stokes Committee included Hanns Vischer, chairman of the Colonial Office's Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, James Dillard, president of the U.S.-based Jeanes Fund (also known as the Negro Rural School Fund) and a Phelps-Stokes trustee, and J. E K. Aggrey, an African born on the Gold Coast, who had become a professor at Livingstone College in North Carolina. Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

[153] It is worth noting again that more CMS representatives were interviewed than from any other missionary society in the Protectorate. Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

The general report on East Africa reiterated many of the findings from its previous West African report, recommending a stronger relationship between the development of education and local needs; greater emphasis on character training, as well as hygiene and sanitation; and the advancement of agricultural and simple technical training.[154] Further, the report recognized the that the loudest cries for expanded educational opportunity came from the native community (a finding consistent with earlier local initiatives aimed at the expansion education in Uganda, mentioned in the previous chapter):

> In all the Territories visited the most persistent demand for schools came from the native community. In many places the school is still regarded as the place where the white man for reasons of his own will impart some of his knowledge to the native enabling him to earn more money and live more comfortably. But through the activities of the Missionary Societies the school has become a native institution forming part of native life.[155]

In addition to this acknowledgement of high demand and the integration of schooling into native life, the Phelps-Stokes Commission noted several problems. First, they found that teacher training did not match demand: "In Uganda, for example, a report received from the Church Missionary Society says that out of 2,870 native teachers employed there are '2,000 local teachers with no qualifications beyond a very primary knowledge, quite substandard, in all except Bible knowledge.'"[156] Second, they argued that provisions for inspection and supervision were inadequate – especially in Uganda where the number of

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[154] Scholars (Adyanga, 2011; Berman, 1971) have also documented the strong influence the Tuskegee Institute had on the findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, as well as on resultant colonial reforms.
[155] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.
[156] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

native-run schools made it "out of the question."[157] Third, the disparate efforts of various missionary bodies (of which Uganda had comparatively few) toward education necessitated greater integration and cooperation.[158] Beyond these structural issues, the Phelps-Stokes report critiqued the lack of vernacular texts and noted that most books in use were only slightly adapted from books from the British context: "In some instances this adaptation was confined to a difference in the colour of the skin of the little children engaged in European pastimes shown in the pictures."[159] Additionally, no uniform policy had been adopted regarding the vernacular and the teaching of English, resulting in varying literacy and instruction, as well as access to further schooling, which was conducted in English. Regarding girls' education the report said little except that it was complicated and neglected. Its 'findings' are well summarized by the following statement:

> One cannot help feeling that the question of female education in Africa presents so many problems and difficulties that the whole matter can only be approached with the greatest circumspection. This is also the unanimous view of the Government officials in charge of native education, who all so far have left female education severely alone.[160]

The findings related to rural communities were similar; the problems presented were seen as complicated and in need of systematic redress, though little was specified.

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[157] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.
[158] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.
[159] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.
[160] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

About education in Uganda specifically, the Phelps-Stokes Commission noted that the Uganda Protectorate had the second highest number of native students at almost 10%; only Nyasaland had a higher native school enrollment rate.[161] The committee's report also echoed compliments of earlier Europeans who noted the robust Bagandan administrative system, which – although unacknowledged for their efforts toward furthering education – contributed to these relatively high enrollment rates:

> Uganda is remarkable for the very complete system of administration which the rulers and the people of Buganda have built up in the course of centuries on the basis of the old Bantu tribal community. This system has been followed by our administration and is gradually being perfected and extended over the different parts of the Protectorate outside the limits of the Kingdom of Buganda.

Instead, early missionary efforts received sole credit for the "very widespread system of native schools…Forming part of what has been called the most successful Christian Missionary enterprise in Africa, the Mission schools have become a feature of the social and political life of the natives."[162] It was estimated that there were approximately 2,000 schools across the Protectorates, serving almost 300,000 students of both sexes. The majority of these schools were led by native teachers; the report included an estimate from the CMS that of their 140,000 pupils, over 130,000 attended 'out-schools' – a pejorative term for village schools that operated largely outside European supervision and administrative efforts.

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[161] This number was calculated from a table showing the native population and total number of native pupils for each of the countries under study. Only Nyasaland had a higher native school enrollment rate at 12%; Kenya (less than 1%), Tanzania (3%), Zanzibar (less than 1%), and Bechuanaland (3%) had the lowest enrollment rates. Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and Basutoland had enrollment rates ranging in between 5 and 7%. Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

[162] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

Despite these successes – and indeed strong native interest in and support for schooling – Uganda received some of the harshest criticisms of any East African country from the Phelps-Stokes Commission,[163] most particularly because of this same "great mass of out-schools under native teachers" that existed without "efficient control and supervision even on the part of the Missionary Societies…There is no doubt a possibility that this development as long it remains unchecked may get beyond the control of Missionary Societies and of the Government."[164] Although not cast as such at the time, the greatest concern of the Phelps-Stokes Committee, and likewise the Protectorate government and missionary organizations, seemed to be the run-away growth of native education. As a result, many of the colonial government's initial reform efforts, discussed in the following section, ran counter to the demands of the Ugandan population for expanded access and instead emphasized conformity to a certain European model (and European controlled) form of schooling. This had significant implications for children enrolled in the Protectorate's schools as it resulted in an institutional crystallization of educational stratification.

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[163] Hawes (1970) wrote in a later article surveying the historical development of the primary school curriculum in Uganda,

> The [Phelps-Stokes] commissioners visited Uganda for two weeks in March. Their report is highly critical. Indeed no territory in East or Central Africa came in for quite such abuse. Lack of supervision is castigated, as also are lack of organisation and administration. There is probably no British colony in Africa more immediately in need of educational supervision as Uganda… (p. 184).

[164] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

British Colonial and Missionary Responses to Proposed Reforms

The first change on the part of the British Protectorate government was to create a separate Educational Department in February 1925.[165] The new department staff included the Director of Education, Mr. Hussey; a Superintendent of Technical Schools, Mr. H. O. Savile; an Inspector of Schools, Mr. E. G. Morris; a Clerk, Mr. R. K. List; and two Native Clerical Staff, Gabriel Walakira and Yosefu Semugoma. Tasked with addressing the concerns of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, as well as of Hussey's earlier report, the department set about to (re)organizing and (re)constituting the existing system of education. The department launched a five year scheme to expand schooling through a building program, appointed committees to write standardized syllabi for all levels of boys' and girls' education, and graded schools according to a newly-institute rubric. This new school hierarchy was intended to better classify the nature of education offered throughout the Protectorate:

> *(a)* Sub-grade schools, *i.e.,* those which cannot attempt at present to conform to the Government syllabus. *(b)* Elementary vernacular schools, which will conform to Government syllabus. *(c)* Intermediate schools A and B, the former to correspond to existing High and Central schools, and the latter to Budo, Kisubi and Namilyango, the most advanced schools of the three Missions. *(d)* Makerere College. *(e)* Special grades – Normal and Technical schools.[166]

The immediate impact of this (re)organization of colonial education can be seen most clearly in data included in the Education Department's newly instituted annual reports.[167] Interest in education throughout the period remained high; the number of children

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[165] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[166] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[167] 1925-1928 Education Department Annual Reports. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

attending schools across the Protectorate steadily increased from approximately 170,000 in 1925 (the inaugural year of the Education Department) to 190,000 in 1926 and over 210,000 in 1928. However, as schools were re-classified, they were also often down-graded. In 1925 there were 4,391 primary schools and 75 intermediate schools (41 of which were in Buganda Province),[168] but by 1928 there were only 46 intermediate schools (21 of which were in Buganda Province), further subdivided into "A" and "B" schools, and 170 "Vernacular" schools, and 5,020 "Sub-grade" schools.[169] While in some ways this more detailed stratification system may have more accurately reflected the educational quality at various schools (i.e., not all "intermediate" schools may have provided students with the same rigorous curriculum), it also created a "conceptual instrument" that could be used to divide and educate, and likewise reinforce existing inequalities (Willinsky, 1998). For instance, prior to reorganization girls accounted for 40% of total number of primary school students,[170] while afterward they accounted for only 15% of "vernacular school" students in 1928 – an interesting fact, given later discourses about African parents unwillingness to send their daughters to school (Hanson, 2010; Vavrus, 2002). Under the new system, girls were 'reorganized' down the educational ladder. It seems reasonable to assume that these shifts also negatively affected rural students, whose schools were likely less well-resourced, although there is no regionally-organized data to support this assertion conclusively.

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[168] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[169] 1928 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[170] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

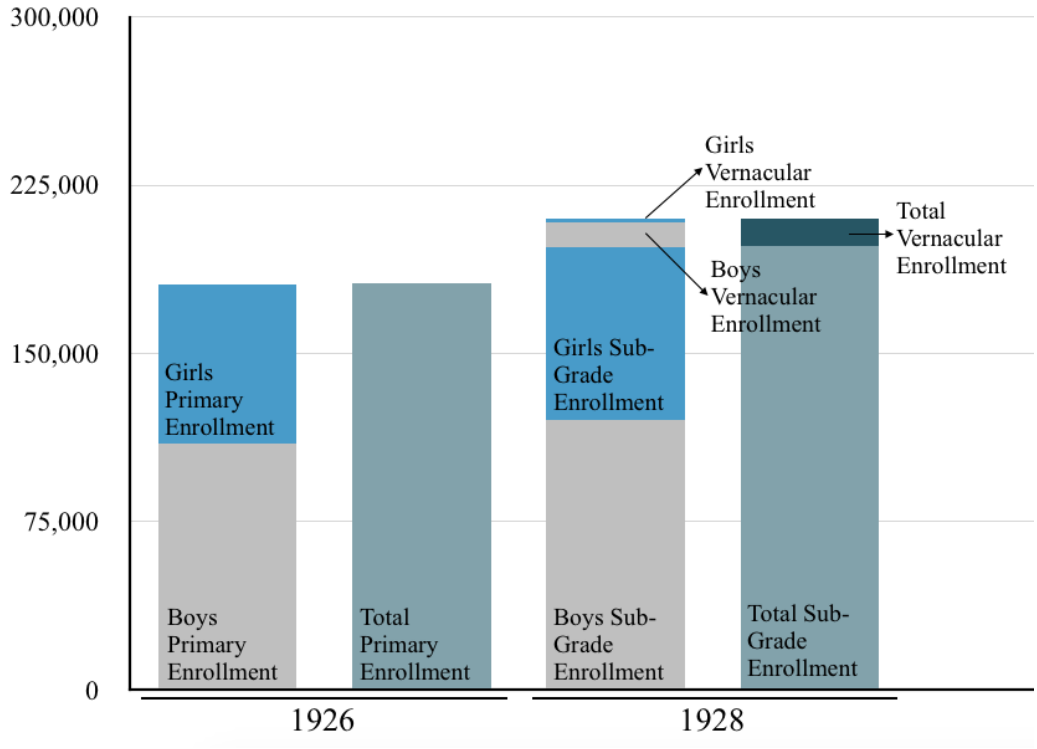

Table 2. Enrollment rates and school reorganization in the mid-1920s[171]

This re-classification also had implications for students' access to higher levels of schooling (although this is never directly addressed by contemporary reports). In the 1926 Education Report,[172] a newly instituted school examination system was established by the Department of Education Board (comprised of Education officers and missionaries). Under this common examination system, male students from "the Top Class"[173] of Elementary Vernacular schools and from the junior classes attached to Intermediate Schools took a December Vernacular School leaving exam. The results

[171] This table was created using enrollment data from the 1926 and 1928 Uganda Education Department Annual Reports. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[172] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[173] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14

determined their eligibility to sit for entrance examinations to attend Intermediate Schools.[174] Likewise, students from Intermediate A schools were required to take a commensurate exam to progress to the elite Intermediate B schools,[175] and a government certificate offered to those who successfully completed an Intermediate B school leaving exam.[176] No similar mention or provision was made for students progressing from sub-grade schools onward. Presumably these students would have had to find a place at an increasingly rare Vernacular School to progress beyond a basic education, or it was simply assumed that they would not progress beyond a rudimentary education. Nor was any mention made of girls, although there were female Intermediate Schools at which they were eligible to enroll.

The results of the examination system were widely applauded by the British for ensuring the proper preparation and merit-based progression of students to higher levels of schooling. Reverend Wright, CMS missionary stationed at Mukono observed in September 1925, "The standard of education is rising and with it the standard of the candidates of teaching. Last year the entrance examination was much stiffer and those who passed seemed to be better material for building than in former years." Two years later, in July 1927, he wrote a similar comment in his Annual Letter, "We think we see an improvement in the type of students. They are quicker to understand, are more ready to

[174] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[175] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[176] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

join in sports and enjoy them, and enter more heartedly into devotional exercises."[177] Still, as Reverend Wright acknowledged later in the same 1927 letter, this "changing with the changing times," came at a cost. "Our students instead of being the poorest of the people show signs of possessing wealth in clothes, [bi]cycles, furnishing of their [rooms], etc." While these wealthier students were "of better understanding than of old and [got] hold of such subjects as arithmetic and English better" they also reflected a more stratified, class-based educational system.[178] Wealthier children who could afford access to better schools were able to pass subsequent exams and continue on to Intermediate Schools, like the one at which Reverend Wright was placed; poorer children who had previously attended the same schools were left behind.

(Re)organizing Schools, Instituting a Particular Form of Childhood

With these initial policy reforms in mind, it is helpful to look more closely at what the quotidian experiences of children attending school contemporary to this period may have been. In *Tales of Uganda* (Brewer, et al., 1926) a book written by CMS missionaries in Uganda for child readers, Kathleen Muller described for her (likely English) audience three schools, roughly analogous to a "sub-grade" or "out school," a Vernacular Elementary School, and an Intermediate school (though she does not use these terms specifically). While she wrote about the Ankole region, her descriptions were also relevant to the Buganda kingdom. Certainly, under the new system there were more

[177] Letter by Reverend Wright, 1927. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z.
[178] Letter by Reverend Wright, 1927. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z.

Vernacular and Intermediate Schools in Buganda than elsewhere;[179] however, most children in Buganda attended the same sub-grade schools as their peers all over the Protectorate. Using Muller's text as a frame, in the following section I examine both her descriptions, as well as related government-issued curriculum and other letters and accounts written by missionaries and educationists. Together, these allow greater insight into the appropriation of policies by missionaries, and the school experiences of children themselves, as well as to a lesser extent the experiences and practices of native school teachers. Further, this analysis of schooling can be extended to this dissertation's analysis of the continued (re)constitution of childhood across the colonial period.

Sub-grade Schools. Of the approximately 130,000 Ugandan primary school students the vast majority attended sub-grade village schools.[180] Muller begins her account with these schools:

> Will you come to school…with me to-day, to one of our little village schools first of all?...We have a long walk to walk, probably along a path winding in and out over the hills…At last we see our school – away there on the hill-side. Such a tiny building. (Brewer et al., 1926, pp. 42-44)

Sub-grade schools were commonly constructed out of mud and thatched roofs, reminiscent of more traditional Ugandan architecture. Low doorways were left as gaps in the mud building wall, along with small "apertures, which we may call windows if we like, through which a little air and light are coming" (Brewer et al., 1926, p. 42). Village schools were usually co-educational and taught by Ugandan teachers with little training beyond a sub-grade or vernacular education themselves; many emphasized religious

[179] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[180] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

instruction and their efforts reflected the aims of the earliest schools established by the missionaries. Muller (Brewer et al., 1926) described the students who attended these schools in this way:

> They are all dark faces in front of us, mostly boys with the skins of goats or some other animal, or small pieces of cloth knotted on their shoulders. Away in one corner a little group of girls are huddled together, one or two with their hair twisted into numerous tiny plaits and tied with shells and coins. (p. 43)

These students, described as being dressed in largely traditional garb that would seem unfamiliar to a British child-reader, would sing well-known Christian songs, translated into their native language; recite passages from Scripture; and read from a gospel. There were few slates or other materials, nor does it appear that a curriculum was developed for these schools after the Education Department was organized. This was schooling in its simplest form and was often viewed as insufficient; as Miss E. H. Ainley (one-time teacher at the Gayaza Day and Boarding Schools, and later headmistress of a Girls' Boarding School at Hoima) described in a 1924 letter,

> the [village school] teachers and pupils were all very keen and enthusiastic, but the general management left much to be desired. The shortage of slates and pencils greatly hindered the progress of the pupils; the usual method was to choose a quarter of the class to write, while the rest sat and waited their turn![181]

If anything, these poorly resourced schools seem to reflect well on native enthusiasm for taking up education and belief that anyone who had knowledge could teach anyone else, as was noted in Chapters 4 and 5.[182] However, at the time these schools were seen as

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[181] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1924. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[182] Hawes (1970) explained in *The Uganda Journal*, "many thousands of village schools sprang up, particularly in Buganda and other Bantu areas. Communities were fiercely proud of these schools and in a way they were far more closely integrated into village life than are schools today" (p. 183). He attributed

problematic, and both the strongest critiques and least attention and resources were devoted to them.

The most troubling aspect of these village schools – sometimes referred to as sub-grade, out-, or catechising- schools[183] – was that they were largely removed from both European provision and supervision. Missionaries writing at this time saw their primary involvement in village schools as occurring indirectly, through in the training and sending out of native teachers. Miss N. E. Ainley, who taught at Gayaza Girls' Boarding School, described the influence the CMS might have in a 1923 annual letter:

> In the Normal School [for teacher training] is our hope for the evangelization and uplifting of the majority of the girls in the country…[Girls come] from many parts. They have been taught in village schools and have been instructed for baptism and confirmation by a native teacher. They come because they want to go and teach others…Who can tell what the influence of these might be if each one who went out were really filled with the Holy Spirit and were truly desirous to lead the children in her village to Christ![184]

In another letter, Reverend Wright told the story of one such "self-sacrificing Muganda catechist" who left his home for the Ssese Islands in Lake Victoria,

> and partly at his own charges kept the school [and] church going. He had a godly company of the young around him and was doing a most necessary work in instructing them in the faith they had been baptized into as infants.[185]

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this to two primary factors: (1) the growing view amongst Ugandans that under the colonial government, clerical and translation positions were viewed as high-status, stable and relatively well paid; and (2) common mission literacy requirement for baptism.

[183] The use of the term "catechizing" was reflective of the religious nature of early mission education. 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.12 s. 12.

[184] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1923. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[185] Letter by Reverend Wright, 1925. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z

However, the ties a teacher had to his or her mission organization through the training they had received only constituted a short part of their teaching career both before and after the creation of the Education Department. Even following the reorganization of schooling under the colonial government, these sub-grade institutions continued to be marginalized. In a 1925 syllabus published by the Protectorate government, a 'school' was defined as "all institutions for the teaching of boys and girls which have been graded by the Provincial Education Councils or District Education Boards as Elementary Vernacular Schools," excluding sub-grade institutions altogether.[186] Despite the fact that these sub-grade, largely African-led schools likely had the greatest impact on the everyday lives of Ugandans – spreading Christianity alongside a European ideal of an institutionally-educated child – their work was routinely criticized and left unsupported.

Elementary Vernacular Schools. The next largest 'type' of schools were termed "Elementary Vernacular Schools" under the new organizational scheme, and intended for children aged 7-12.[187] Muller (Brewer et al., 1926) described a school similar to what one might have expected to find in larger villages and towns:

> Come away over the hills to another school. This is at one of our bigger centres, where perhaps there is an African clergyman, and not only a man teacher, but a woman teacher too; and instead of one poor little building there are two more substantially built, though with mud walls and grass roofs, and with those tiny apertures for windows. (p. 43)

Here, Muller opined, "you [found] a larger proportion of the 'brighter boys,'" alongside a few "eager" girls (Brewer et al., 1926, p. 43). A greater number of these school children

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[186] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14

[187] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

were baptized and some confirmed, likely reflecting a longer family affiliation with the CMS. For instance, Miss Cafe, stationed at a Central School in Ndeje with a Kindergarten, Junior, Senior, and Normal School said of her students, "Most of the children who come to our school are children of Christians and are baptized before they come…"[188] These schools, which served students drawn from a larger cross-section of communities, were often divided along gender lines with separate curricula (if not expectations) for male and female students.

ELEMENTARY VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

"Time Sheet," or number of periods to be allotted to the various subjects of the Curriculum. Periods are normally of 45 minutes duration unless it is found necessary owing to local conditions to shorten them.

	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class
Religion	5	5	5	5
Luganda	6	6	6	6
Arithmetic	6	6	5	5
Hygiene	1	1	1	1
Theory of Agriculture ...	—	—	1	1
Geography-History	--	—	2	2
Agriculture and Handwork ..	12	12	10	10
TOTAL PERIODS ...	30	30	30	30

Figure 19. Provisional syllabus time table for Elementary Vernacular Schools, 1925[189]

[188] Letter by Miss Cafe, 1927. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BRJ-CHE.

[189] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

Vernacular boy's education. Unlike the Sub-grade Schools, Elementary Vernacular Schools were the focus of concerted government attention. In 1925 the Protectorate government published a "Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites" intended for use in boys' vernacular school classrooms.[190] On the front cover of the syllabus, housed in the Weston Library at the University of Oxford, John Sykes (then Master of Method and Vice-Principal of the newly begun Makerere College and later Deputy Director of Education) hand wrote, "This was the very first syllabus, produced by the Education Department." At the outset, the syllabus included a "time sheet" of the various subjects to be taught to Vernacular Students (see Figure 19).[191] Students were to be instructed primarily in Religion, Luganda, and Arithmetic (reflective of the "four R's" focus of earlier CMS efforts), as well as Geography-History and subjects recommended by the Phelps-Stokes report such as Hygiene, Theory of Agriculture, and Agriculture and Handwork.[192] In notes included below the time-sheet the Education Department further recommended that "each boy should play games at least twice a week after school hours" and do "drill"[193] half-an-hour, three days a week,[194] that

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[190] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[191] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[192] Subsequent revisions to this 1925 syllabus were published periodically – for instance in 1928 and 1931. The time tables and course outlines remained largely the same from year to year; the most significant differences between the first and later syllabi were that some subjects that had only briefly been mentioned before (such as Hygiene in 1925) were given more complete attention and lessons outlined for the first time. Other substantive changes, included a few less periods devoted to one subject and more to another, and a substitution of the term "local" for "Buganda." 1925, 1928, and 1931 Syllabi of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[193] Drill seemed to be a considerable preoccupation of the British, and could be compared to calisthenics. A full 13 pages of the 36 page, 1928 revised syllabus were devoted to: outlining the aims of these lessons; directing teachers as to the best methods for giving commands, correcting faults, and teaching new exercises; and listed several tables of drills to be used by instructors. 1928 Syllabus of Studies and List of

community service (of unspecified content) be done in place of "Agriculture and Handwork" on occasion, and that other additional subjects, like singing might also be introduced. The syllabus also included the basic topics to be covered by each subject, outlining a curriculum that would not be out of place in a modern-day American or British Elementary or Primary school. Arithmetic lessons, for instance, focused primarily on basic numeracy skills, including lessons on addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division; on money and time; and on weights and measures. Geography-History lessons would examine "the idea of peoples living lives entirely different from those of the pupils themselves," "the historic development of man's life on earth," and "on recent History of Uganda, travellers, missionaries, traders, and the British Administration."[195]

A 1928 revision of the Elementary Vernacular Syllabus placed even greater emphasis on Hygiene (a concern of the Phelps-Stokes Report), including a twelve lesson outline which covered in the order listed: "insects…which infect men," exercise, fevers, mosquito identification and malaria prevention, rats and the plague, flies and "covering excrement," cleaning the school compound of rubbish, shoes, water cleanliness, light and air, and ticks. Many of these lessons included a home-oriented component, which extended directly the model of the ideal child – as instructed and reinforced in schools – into the home itself. For instance, in the first lesson on insects, after "[t]he boys' clothes and bodies [were] examined, and in particular their feet for jiggers," students were "told

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School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[194] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[195] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

to hunt for bugs in their beds at home, and questioned in the next lesson as to how many they [had] caught."[196] Another lesson on shoes included a discussion of inexpensive options, taking care to command the teacher: "He need not tell the boys to buy English shoes, as this might upset their parents."[197] Whether wearing English shoes was upsetting because of the cost, or because it represented a departure from traditional Ugandan life and dress, is not clear. In any case, this later lesson reflected many similar examples – including those from the previous chapter – of times when ideas about the way an educated child should look came to the forefront of educational discourse. Further, if the sub-grade children truly dressed in the manner described by Muller (Brewer et al., 1926), lessons like this would have reinforced a physical difference between them at the Vernacular Elementary School student who likely wore a uniform.

Also in contrast to their more common sub-grade school counterparts, the Education Department outlined a list of the ideal requisites for the Vernacular Elementary, including teachers' and students' desks, black-boards, easels, pointers, a T-square, chalk, slates, pens, ink and ink-pots, copy-books, locking cupboards, wall maps, a "cheap globe," books in Luganda and readers for students, teacher texts and lesson notes published by the government, tools for agriculture and carpentry lessons, and "as many pictures as possible…either of general interest or to illustrate the various subjects of the syllabus."[198] While not all Elementary Vernacular Schools may have been this well-

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[196] 1928 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[197] 1928 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[198] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

equipped,[199] unlike the dark, thatched sub-grade school of Muller's account (Brewer et al., 1926), vernacular schools were often described as clean, bright, and built on a European building model. Miss Ainley, a missionary who taught at Gayaza Day School in Buganda in 1924 reported that her school was "a lovely airy building, [with] two nice classrooms off the main building."[200] She also wrote of teaching in a similar building after being moved to Hoima, situated in Bunyoro in the Northern Province of Uganda in 1925: "Our Kindergarten is my great delight…They have a nice bright room to themselves, the walls are covered with pictures…"[201] These accounts reflect an extension of and improvement on Mr. Hattersley's inaugural school desks, installed in 1900.

Beyond the curricular and material aspects of schooling, the colonial government outlined pedagogical aims (and disciplinary methods) for teachers. In 1931, A "Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites" was published for "Elementary Schools" intended to be used by teacher training programs. Lessons on educational methods included attention to "[t]he study of children's development from the point of view of physique, intelligence and character," "[t]he aims and methods of discipline," and proper questioning, among other topics.[202] In some ways, the recommendations espoused a

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[199] Although writing about the Tanzanian context a few decades later, Thomas (2010) contended that nationally-published school syllabi were among some of the only curricula available to teachers, who worked in woefully under-resourced schools. This would likely have been true of many schools in Uganda as well.

[200] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1924. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[201] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1925. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[202] In addition to its lesson outlines, this text also included a list of recommended books including a book titled *Introduction to Psychology* by Wimms, *Primary Curriculum*, by Hayward, a *Primer of Teaching Practice* by Green and Birchenough, a *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and*

teaching style that would not be unfamiliar in modern education circles. For instance, the text suggested that manipulatives might be used in place of more abstract lecturing: "the child learns more easily to add 4 actual bananas to 3 actual bananas than to the mere numbers 4 and 3."[203] Similarly, the text recommended that teacher candidates learn about children's development to ensure that teachers were able to instruct their students at commensurate levels. One of the recommended additional readings, entitled *Primer of Teaching Practice* by Green and Birchenough (1912), reflected a Froebelian educational philosophy that asked the teachers to consider the lessons from the perspective of the children and recommended setting aside 'fear' as a tactic to encourage obedience. Instead, Green and Birchenough wrote, "the teacher must…aim at convincing his class that he is genuinely interested in every one of them, that he is keen to help them, and that he is thoroughly competent to do so" (p. 233).

Yet in other places the teacher training syllabus took a less child-centered approach. A significant portion of the text was devoted to an appendix with "Practical Suggestions for Teachers." Teachers were told to stand facing the class such that they could see everyone at once and were to move around only rarely. Further, although "monologues" were discouraged in favor of Socratic questioning, there was considerable attention paid to ensuring that "Questions [were] framed by the Teacher as to admit of

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Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools by the Board of Education, and *Hints to Teachers* by Bradshaw. 1931 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for "Elementary Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[203] 1931 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for "Elementary Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

one answer only and that is the correct one."[204] [205] In the original 1925 syllabus for Elementary Vernacular Schools, as well as a revised syllabus published in 1931, it was recommended regarding discipline that "Pupils…be punished by – (a) Extra drill or work. (b) Corporal punishment to be inflicted by or in the presence of the Headmaster. (c) Dismissal."[206] If pupils would not conform after either being punished with additional work or being punished physically, they would be excluded altogether.[207]

Figure 20. Ngoza girls' school[208]

[204] 1931 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for "Elementary Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[205] Vavrus, Thomas, and Bartlett (2011) found that this colonial-era, teacher-centered style was not unlike teaching practice in much of East Africa today. While in the postcolonial period, African countries have sought to break with their colonial pasts and made various efforts toward education reform (a topic discussed in Chapter 8 of this dissertation), Vavrus, Thomas, and Bartlett quote Verspoor, who wrote that "they 'teach as they were taught'" (p. 33); in this way British notions of the African child and the schooling commensurate to his or her needs remain relevant.
[206] 1931 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for "Elementary Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[207] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[208] Photo album of Handley Douglas Hooper, circa 1927-1938. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS / ACC 523 / F8

Vernacular girls' education. For the few girls who were able to participate in schooling beyond the sub-grade level, the Protectorate Government published a separate syllabus for use in Elementary Vernacular Girls' in 1928.[209] This syllabus was in keeping with the government's aim "to provide an education parallel in some respects to that of the boys' schools, but differing in various particulars."[210] While not explicitly excluded from the previous 1925 syllabus, the use of male pronouns and subsequent publication of a separate girls' syllabus suggests that they were. When compared to the boys' vernacular curriculum, the girls' syllabus included the same number of classes devoted to religion, hygiene, geography and history, two additional "vernacular" periods in years 1-2, and two fewer arithmetic periods in years 1-2. "Agriculture and Handwork" were not included, nor was the theory of agriculture. Instead, drill was added as an official, rather than recommended part of the curriculum (two periods for Classes 1-4); as well as singing (one period for Classes 1-4); and "Sewing and Other Handwork" (nine periods for Classes 1-4). In these differences one can see a more concerted focus on a European ideal of girl- and womanhood, which included knowledge of sewing and handwork, less emphasis on arithmetic and none at all on agriculture.[211] Ironically, this curriculum

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[209] 1925 Provisional Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[210] 1928 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Girls' Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[211] The 1926 Report the Education Department suggested that agricultural curriculum was not included for girls because "[i]n most of the Elementary Vernacular schools the girls in addition to their school work engage in the cultivation of food in their own homes. The handwork provided in the schools is therefore of a non-agricultural order – basket making, plain sewing and the like…" This might suggest a counter balance to the (re)formation of Bagandan gender roles along European lines. However, the British ideal for Uganda (and elsewhere) was always boarding education where students were under more direct European supervision and away from their parents. Ugandan elites were funneled into these boarding schools creating a dominant political class that reflected to a greater degree European ideals, and scholars have noted the

constituted a shift away from traditional Bagandan divisions of labor; as noted in Chapter 4, in the precolonial period men had been responsible for clothing making and women for food cultivation.

Beyond these specific curricular changes for girls, special attention was paid to the fact that girls were the future wives and mothers of the Ugandan nation and that educated men required educated wives. The 1927 Education Report underscored the importance of girls' education in this way:

> A great deal of consideration has been given to the question of the provision of more advanced education for girls. It is recognised that there are a certain number of parents and even of prospective bridegrooms, who will be prepared to pay handsomely for a more advanced education for girls who will eventually be the wives of the more educated men.[212]

Taking a slightly different perspective, Miss Wright, teaching at Hoima in Bunyoro, wrote of her efforts "to get clean and more permanent buildings, and to improve the whole compound," because "if one [was] to teach these little African girls cleanliness of mind and body and to add their quota to the uplift of the nation, the surroundings must be clean."[213] Presumably in contrast to the un- or under-educated masses not uplifting the nation, elite, educated African girls' minds and bodies became an important site of

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ways in which colonizers sought to remake colonies in their own image using "middle figures" to accomplish this aim (Hunt, 1999).

[212] 1927 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

[213] Letter by Miss Wright, 1928. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z.

colonization. With girls, unlike boys, came the opportunity to literally ensure the (re)production of a more 'civilized' Africa.[214]

Underlying all of these pedagogical and practical differences intended to make girls' education relevant to their needs and experiences, was, ostensibly, a British interest in gender equality. However, the way in which 'equality' was put into practice, as shown above, seemed to simply replace one set of gender-segregated tasks with another. Hanson (2010) found that this inequality eventually led to native dissatisfaction with girls' education – including some unwillingness to pay school fees, at least at the time of the de la Warr Commission in the late 1930s. She quoted Serwano Kulubya, then treasurer of the Buganda kingdom, who reported that the primary obstacle to girls' education was not marriage. Instead, "The reason for that is that they [the Bagandans] think education the girls are receiving today is not as good as that of boys; and they are not willing to pay for anything for which they do not receive proportionate value" (p. 162). Whether a 'sub-grade' or 'female' student, the fact that *most* Ugandan children were denied access to an education of 'proportionate value' to either upper class Ugandan boys (or to European children) was a theme that would continue to resonate throughout the colonial period.

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[214] Vavrus (2003) has noted the ways in which these discourses extended to female reproductive health, and continue to influence post-colonial discussions of development. As another example, the Girl Effect (n.d.) uses surprisingly similar language to describe its mission:

> Girl Effect pioneers an integrated brand approach that reframes the value of girls and shapes new social norms that break the cycle of poverty. We want to help create a 'new normal' for girls. A world in which girls are not held back from reaching their full potential: either by themselves, their families or their communities. A world in which girls can stay in school, get access to health services, get married and have children when they choose, realise their economic potential and their dreams: because they demand it and because the others in their lives demand it, for them too.

Its motto, prominently displayed at the top of its main webpage states: "Girls are the most powerful force for change on the planet."

Intermediate A and B Schools. There were a few students, however, who did have access to comparatively high quality schooling. Muller (Brewer et al., 1926) described a school in the capital, Mbarara, where the CMS had its station and the European missionaries lived. In contrast to the traditional mud hut of the sub-grade school, or the European-style mud building of the vernacular school,

> At Mbarara we have brick buildings, and a few iron roofs, and large, well-swept playgrounds. There is our boys' day school, with sixty or seventy lads, and the girls' day school, with over a hundred girls, and a kindergarten with about thirty infants. What do they learn here? To read and write; to drill, sing, and sew, to plait mats and baskets. (p. 44)

In addition, at Mbarara there was a boys' boarding high school (also known as an intermediate school) "where over a hundred boys [were] taught in the same subjects as English boys," and where "about fifty dark-skinned lassies [were] trained in much the same way as their white-skinned sisters" (p. 44). At this elite school, male and female students were trained to rule the country as Christian chiefs and government officers, and their wives. Together, "they [were] being trained to use their limbs and their intellects in the service of their country and of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ" (p. 44). Miss Ainley gave a similar description of her female pupils at the Girls' Boarding School in Hoima, "…most of the pupils are daughters of chiefs, or of people in high positions, and if all these children are won for Christ, there is no limit to the influence that they will have amongst their own people."[215] It was at these schools that the nation could be remade most effectively. Just as native teachers trained at European-run schools would

[215] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1924. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

serve as religious and cultural ambassadors to Uganda’s children, so too would chiefs and political leaders for the Ugandan nation.

TIME SHEET FOR INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS “A” AND “B.”

“A”—Existing Central and High Schools.
“B”—Budo, Kisubi and Namilyango.

LIST OF SUBJECTS IN SYLLABUS AND NUMBER OF PERIODS ALLOTTED TO THEM.

SUBJECT.	A				B	
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	4th Class.	5th Class.	6th Class.
Religion	5	5	5	5	5	5
English Language (including Translation) ...	9	9	9	9	9	9
English Penmanship	2	2	1	1	—	—
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	7	7
Geography and History	2	2	2	2	4	4
Science	—	—	—	—	3	3
Hygiene	1	1	1	1	—	—
Luganda Composition	—	—	1	1	1	1
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hand or Outdoor Work	5	5	5	5	5	5
Optional	—	—	—	—	1	1
TOTAL PERIODS	30	30	30	30	36	36

Figure 21. Syllabus time table for (boys') Intermediate A & B schools, 1925

As to ‘doing’ school itself, separate syllabi were also published for girls’ and boys’ Intermediate A and B schools. On the whole, these syllabi expanded on curricula for vernacular schools, with an added academic and English bias. In 1925 a “Provisional Syllabus for Studies for Intermediate Schools (A&B)”[216] followed a similar format to that of the boys’ vernacular schools. Religion maintained its prominence; “Arithmetic” was upgraded to “Mathematics;” Luganda was replaced with a number of courses, which included English language and penmanship, and “Luganda Composition” – a course name which implied considerable writing, rather than the presumably more basic

[216] 1925 Provisional Syllabus for Studies for Intermediate Schools (A & B). University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

instruction in a "Luganda" course; Geography and History, and Hygiene remained the same; and agricultural-oriented courses from the vernacular level were replaced with Science. To these were added "Drawing," "Hand or Outdoor Work," and an "Optional" period to be determined at the discretion of the teacher.

In 1928 a separate syllabus for girls' intermediate schools was published, creating a "parallel…but differing" curriculum that was justified under the auspices that it would be "appreciated both by the girls themselves and by their husbands when they marry."[217] This parallel curriculum was intended to mirror instruction in Elementary Vernacular Schools, such that female graduates from intermediate schools might themselves teach for "four or five years before they marry." The specific details of this girls' curriculum varied in some important ways from the curriculum outlined for boys'. Courses on "Religion," "Geography and History," "Drawing," were devoted similar amounts of time. However, "English Language" was shortened from 9 periods a week to 5, and "Penmanship" and "Translation" were not included; girls were taught the more basic "Arithmetic" rather than "Mathematics" and less time was devoted to this subject; "Vernacular," was taught in place of "Luganda" and given more time; and "Hygiene, Child Welfare and Mothercraft,"[218] were given more time than the parallel course "Hygiene" taught to boys. Additional courses in "Needlework," "Handwork,"

[217] 1928 Provisional Syllabus for Studies for Girls' Intermediate Schools (A & B). University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.
[218] "Child Welfare and Mothercraft" included lessons on the "construction of cots [cribs] and making of bedding," and dressing and bathing a baby, as well as on ante- and post-natal care. Instruction was intended to coincide with hygiene classes on "sleep, suitable foot, infant diseases, their prevention and cure."

"Housewifery and Cooking,"[219] "Drill and Games," and "Singing," were also included for girls'.[220] While many of the students trained in girls' Intermediate Schools were the daughters of prominent Ugandans, it was widely acknowledged that they would play a more home-centric role than their male peers. Rather than focus on translation or science, they were to learn how to be consummate (European) mothers and housewives.

With these new Intermediate School syllabi, it was hoped that the quality of education would be improved and standardized across the Protectorate, and many letters and reports highlighted various achievements toward this end in the years following the Phelps-Stokes Commission visit and subsequent report. With new energy and focus, missionaries and government officials collaborated to make necessary changes toward the improvement of native education. As Mr. Calwell, teacher at King's School Budo noted in 1925:

> These people WILL [emphasis in original] have better education than they have had in the past. The Government is working schemes by which to supply this perfectly natural and legitimate demand. The Natives want to have it from us, and…are prepared to pay for it. To miss such an opportunity would be absolutely criminal on our part.[221]

It was expected that with these new syllabi and improvements, promising young boys could be trained to take up posts in the colonial government – a goal in line with Sir Harry Johnston's much earlier 1901 Special Commissioner's report that had stressed:

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[219] "Housewifery and Cooking" was aimed at "teach[ing] the children how to keep their homes clean and tidy, to improve their standard of living and to make them quick and efficient workers." Separate lessons were to be taught on the keeping of "the Native House," and "a European House." The choice of language makes an interesting distinction between the presumably common native home, and a more distinctive and individual European home.

[220] 1928 Provisional Syllabus for Studies for Girls' Intermediate Schools (A & B). University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[221] Letter by Mr. Callwell, 1925. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BRJ-CHE.

> If the more intelligent [male] natives were taught to read, write and speak English, and to acquire a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic in English they would be able to occupy many of the minor posts in the service of the Administration, posts which at present are filled by British and British Indian employees. (as cited in Hawes, 1970, p. 180)

Others might serve as estate agents or engineers.[222] Together, these boys would, as men, "[influence] the future life of Uganda."[223] Girls would be, for a short while, either nurses or teachers, before becoming the educated wives of educated men.[224] Thus in these syllabi, one can see the future the British colonial government imagined for its Ugandan subjects.

Stepping Forward, Stepping Back

As was evident above in the discussion of the reorganization and grading of schools, in response to the Phelps-Stokes Report there was significant support for the colonial government's efforts to improve to the Uganda Protectorate's system of education. This backing extended to financial support, especially in Buganda. The Kabaka and ministers of the Bagandan native government introduced legislation following the creation of the Education Department designed to help fund Elementary education in the kingdom and their example was praised by the authors of subsequent

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[222] Letter by Mr. Wright, 1928. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z.
[223] Letter by Mr. Wright, 1927. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z.
[224] Letter by Miss Cafe, 1926. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BRJ-CHE.

Education Department Reports.[225] In 1928, Director of the Education Department, Hussey, called the Baganda "pioneers among the tribes of the Protectorate in all matters that pertain to progress."[226] In this period one can see the beginnings of the global phenomenon of Western-style education Anderson-Levitt (2005) noted in her work as more children began to participate in schooling for at least some part of their childhood. Further, calls for increased educational access align with her depiction of "children clinging to the [schoolyard] gate wanting *in* in the global South" (p. 989). Demand for schooling in Uganda time and again outpaced supply and in 1925 almost half of Bagandan children attended school, at least for some number of years.[227]

With the codification of curriculum and the growth in school enrollment, one can also see a new ideal of childhood taking shape in colonial Uganda. As one example of this change, Miss Cafe told the story of a young Bagandan princess in her 1926 annual letter. The Kabaka's daughter, Lwantale, was sent to a CMS school at age seven, and her early upbringing in many ways reflected the increasingly Europeanized ideal African childhood:

> She lives in our [the European female teachers' house] and is taught English customs and sleeps in a charming little bedroom of her own. She is a sweet little soul and loves digging and cooking as do all her country-women…one feels thankful to have the privilege of teaching them [Lwantale and her cousin] and

[225] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[226] 1928 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[227] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1925. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London, CO 613/25.

> helping to train them for the important positions which they will one day occupy in their nation.[228]

As the second generation to be educated by the British (the Kabaka himself having attended Kings College Budo), Lwantale embodied a shift from the precolonial child-rearing practices of her grandparents, to her parent's inaugural school experiences, and beyond. Unlike precolonial Ugandan girls who had slept by the fire with other children, Lwantale had a "little bedroom of her own" and was taught other English customs, and likely social norms. Presumably, she wore European-style clothing, spoke English, and ate at a table with a knife and fork as well. Her lived experiences and school credentials – as well as the emphasis on Lwantale as an individual, rather than as part of a family or community – served as an example to a growing number of Bagandans who sought to gain access to education for themselves and their children.

Yet not all of the 1925 reforms were met with support and there were pushes and pulls against the system worth noting. In the first annual report of the Education Department, Director Hussey allowed that there was a "great deal of suspicion and mistrust" surrounding the Protectorate government's policy.[229] Although he believed most Missionaries supported the government's efforts from the start, he suggested that "a few were at first unsympathetic, fearful of the effect of the proposed reorganization on the religious basis of the schools or grudging the necessarily paramount position of

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[228] Letter by Miss Cafe, 1926. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BRJ-CHE.

[229] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

Government institutions in the field of High Education."[230] This belief is born out in letters from CMS missionaries from the same period. Miss Allan summarized her concerns about the secularization of curriculum in her first annual letter, written from Gayaza Girls' Boarding School in August 1927:

> The ordinary literary education of the children now follows a government syllabus. It is good to have a standard of attainment at which to aim, but that high standard brings its difficulties. In a mission school our work is primarily to bring the children to Christ, and to do that one needs to know them individually. One cannot really understand and help a girl unless one has opportunity of knowing her through personal contact. The everyday routine of our school is so full of the necessary cultivation and literary education to reach the government standard that it is very difficult indeed to find time to give the girls individual attention. Although the children in school are nominally Christian, the downside drag of ignorance and heathenism is terribly strong, and two Europeans cannot have a strong enough influence on a hundred and fifty girls to counteract it. In all our educational institutions we need very clear guidance from God as to how much of our strength He would have us use on the purely literary side of the education and how much on purely evangelistic work in the school and in the villages around. This is perhaps the most serious problem with which we are faced at the present time.[231]

That a greater focus on literary, or perhaps a better term, secular, curricula necessarily involved less attention to religious education was seen as a considerable (and logical) challenge. Missionaries worried that this new emphasis and government involvement would create even greater confusion about the true aims of their work, as Miss Cafe explained to her Annual Letter readers: "…there is a great deal of breadth but very little depth in the Church out here. With many 'becoming Christian' has, I think, meant

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[230] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

[231] Letter by Miss Allen, 1927. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

'becoming educated' and there has been no real change of heart and life.[232] Growing demand of education had a "dangerous side," as many natives "seem[ed] to think that the adoption of European manners and learning of this sort [could] raise their nation," forgetting that it was "righteousness alone which [could] do this."[233] In contrast to letters written around 1900, in which missionaries wrote of the complementary role of government and mission, in 1925 missionary fears extended to concerns that they would be pushed out of their civilizing role entirely. Miss Allen at Gayaza in 1924: "Our hearts are heavy too with the fear as to whether C.M.S. will be able to carry on the Education in this country or whether it will have to be given over to the Government." [234]

Perhaps because of this resistance, Hussey criticized the missionary organizations for fomenting native opposition to the government's educational reforms. In the 1925 Education report he argued that missionaries had:

> consciously or unconsciously seriously influenced the opinion of the natives who, by nature conservative, were reluctant to believe that the Government in entering the field at this late hour, was actuated solely by the desire to do the best possible for the native populations and so fulfill one of its most compelling obligations.[235]

While Hussey's concerns may be partially founded in fact – there were reasons why native governments were critical of missionary schooling – native concerns seemed less to do with religious conservatism and more to do with a feeling that the government had

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[232] Letter by Miss Cafe, 1926. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BRJ-CHE.
[233] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1923. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.
[234] Letter by Miss Allen, 1924. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.
[235] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

not done enough. For instance, at the time Bagandan chiefs were petitioning existing schools – like Miss Ainley's Gayaza Girls' Boarding School – to teach "more English…from the very beginning," and to raise the standard of living with "more European [and] better clothes, better [dormitories], meals to be taking sitting…on chairs at tables, [and] eaten with spoons, forks, etc."[236] The Bagandan government was also willing to raise the necessary capital to fund additional European teachers aimed at improving the quality of teacher training programs. Similar calls for improved education came from other regions as well. Miss Allshorn, writing from Iganga Girls' Boarding School in Busoga at the end of 1923, reported that a the Education Committee of Busoga (comprised of both native and English members) had requested that her school devote less attention to "cultivation" (i.e. growing food), something Basoga chiefs felt their children could learn at home, and more time to English.[237] They also agreed, like the Baganda, to raise fees to offset the additional costs of purchasing food. In hindsight, the skepticism of native communities is understandable – the British Government and missionaries would continue to drag its feet on many of these matters, as will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Additionally, at the same time as native governments showed tremendous practical support for education, the colonial government penalized schools for their failure to reach newly-instituted standards and denied additional monies for improvement

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[236] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1928. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[237] Letter by Miss Allshorn, 1923. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

efforts. As was apparent from both Education Report data, as well as from newly instituted government policies – both discussed earlier – in their early efforts to take education in hand, the Education Department downgraded "Vernacular" schools to "Sub-graded" schools, instituted standardized exams limited to students in "Vernacular" schools, and overall, decreased access to "Intermediate" schools. While the colonial government acknowledged that some of the required changes were not immediately achievable, for instance, the 1928 "Provisional Syllabus of Studies for Intermediate Schools (A & B)" included the following caveat: "It should be recognised that this syllabus is designed for the future rather than the present, and that the proper teaching of it will depend on the future supply of properly trained masters in Intermediate Schools,"[238] their reforms seemed to work at cross-purposes with native calls for improved educational access and quality from across the Protectorate. Newly down-graded schools would have had to work doubly hard to first meet the new standard, and then to be up-graded.

Beyond these conflicts over reforms, government (and in many cases missionary) efforts continued to devalue the contributions of village schools specifically, and of African knowledge generally.[239] For instance, in her second year in Uganda, Miss Cafe

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[238] 1928 Provisional Syllabus for Studies for Intermediate Schools (A & B). University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[239] It's worth noting that not all missionaries shared this view. Reverend Bowers, writing from Masindi in 1926 was critical of the maligning of Village schools:

> Our Village Schools scornfully termed Bush schools by the Globe-trotting critic, have met with a good deal of adverse criticism during the last two years, we who are in daily touch with them [and] know their intense value, they are the spontaneous growth of their own day, a primitive organization meeting a primitive need. If the next phase we are entering upon in our development is as fruitful in good results, we shall have cause to be profoundly thankful.

wrote: "We have a continual war against unpunctuality, untidiness, untruthfulness and general slackness. The Baganda will work splendidly so long as they are under supervision, but get slack very quickly if they are left alone."[240] Her description cast Africans as the inverse of, one would assume, Europeans, who would purportedly embody punctuality, tidiness, truthfulness and generally 'unslackness.' Reverend Wright complained that Africans would not be able to be self-governing because the British, had "the tendency of a stronger race to assert itself," and because the Ugandans were too prone to "[copying] the Europeans whom they admire and to whom they look up."[241] That Africans might easily slip back into their uneducated, uncivilized habits, or fail to take on leadership roles altogether, was a continuous concern.

This pervasive belief in the lesser capacity of Africans was also reflected in a desire to keep Africans in Africa. Hussey wrote in the 1926 Education Report that there was an alarming number of natives, especially in Buganda,

> who blind themselves to the possibility of developing a system of higher education in their own country and would like to see the whole education of the country moulded on European lines and culminating in a matriculation, which would qualify students to enter a European University.[242]

Instead, he wrote, African education should be allowed

Letter by Rev. Bowers, 1926. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BB-BRI.

[240] Letter by Miss Cafe, 1926. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 BRJ-CHE.

[241] Letter by Reverend Wright, 1923. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 WO-Z.

[242] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

> [t]o develop on its own soil, while making use of teachers and literature from Europe, it will foster the growth of an African culture, suited to the African genius and reflecting the African spirit, different in many essential characteristics but in no way inferior to the cultures of Europe and America.[243]

The underlying sentiment of the report, and others seemed to be: certainly African culture could be improved by European intervention and schooling, but Africans were still fundamentally different and 'Other'. As Mr. Wright wrote in his first Annual Letter home, "One simply longs to know what the native mind thinks of it all!" Across the themes of 1900 and 1925 there is consistent praise for African 'development,' alongside pervasive ambivalence about both their potential to be as civilized as Europeans and the possibility that education might 'erase' existing differences in status.

Reflections on the Second Critical Moment

As alluded to throughout this chapter, all of these reforms and discussions had significant implications for the institutionalization of perceptions of the gendered and racialized African child. Returning to Anderson-Levitt's (2005) analysis of the global profusion of schooling, she stressed that modern education (re)enforces gender differences, proscribes opportunities for peer socialization, focuses attention on the individual (and academic) traits of children, and serves as a sorting mechanism – displacing other forms of credentialing. In the tremendous growth of schooling in colonial Uganda from 1900 to 1925 one can see this occur. Uganda children were increasingly sorted based on their disparate access to Sub-grade, Vernacular, and Intermediate schools – largely determined based on location and wealth, rather than

[243] 1926 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.

merit. Traditional Bagandan gender lines were redrawn as European ideals were reinforced through the separate schools and curricula provided to girls and boys. A more rigorous academic curriculum was implemented in elite schools, elevating a minority of Ugandans because of the access it provided a few individuals to ‘higher-status’ careers in the colonial government. Traditional child-rearing techniques were displaced as children were sent to school in increasing numbers, and in some cases children were removed from the home and local community entirely and sent off to boarding school. If in 1900 new patterns of childhood were begun, in 1925 they were codified and reinforced, only to be developed further with subsequent educational reforms in 1953 with the de Bunsen Report and in 1963 with the post-independence Castle Report. Alongside these developments, though, grew frustrations with and critiques of the inadequate and unequal provision of colonial schooling – a theme that will be discussed in the two chapters that follow.

Chapter 7. The De Bunsen Report and the Beginning of the End of Colonial Educational Control

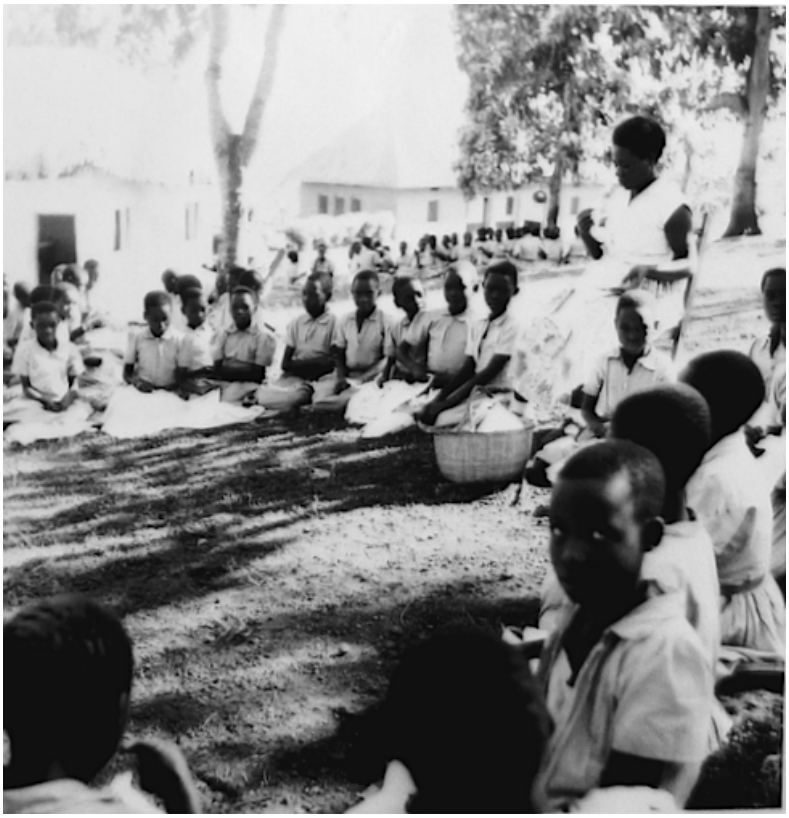

Figure 22. "Outdoor classes including girls' sewing lesson"[244]

Since I came to this school I have learnt many things and so I must be very thankful. I have learnt to live in community, in living with other people perhaps those whom I should not be able to meet with, or see them anywere [*sic*]… I have learnt a lot of subjects which I should not know such as English…and there are also History, Geography and so on which I should not know anything about them, but the best of all these is English it is very useful to learn because I think it is one of the important things you have known in order to help your self with the future life… I have learnt some good manners and behavior which I should not know if I was home, sitting there ignorant and know nothing of the world. It is obvious that I

[244] This photo, labeled "Outdoor Classes including Girls' Sewing Lesson at Nkoni NAC Primary School," was included in an album by Harry Hudson, who worked in Uganda from 1946 to 1959, first as an Education Officer, and later as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, His Royal Highness the Kabaka's Government. Memorandum of Harry Laity Hudson. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (156) (Box XLIX).

> should know some home customs from my parents and behavior and they would be good, but, I have here learnt others from the English teachers such as little things which would have ashamed me very much… if I was a villager I should not know how to behave…[245]

Introduction

The Phelps-Stokes Commission Report and the colonial government's shift toward a more involved role in educational policy and planning was only "the first in a long line of advisory commissions that would investigate education in Uganda and make recommendations for the creation or reform of education policies" (Evans & Senteza Kajubi, 1994, p. 127). In contrast to the period between 1900 and 1925 (the 'moments' examined in the two previous chapters), the interim between the beginning of the Protectorate Government Education Department in 1925 and the 1953 "de Bunsen Report" was particularly busy. There were several commissions and committees that reviewed educational policy and practice, although each of these had a more specific focus than the cross-cutting Phelps-Stokes and de Bunsen Reports: In 1928 the Hilton-Young Commission examined the relationship between the various missionary agencies and the government. The 1938 de la Warr Commission reviewed higher education and expanded Makerere's role to that of an interterritorial postsecondary institution for all of East Africa.[246] The 1940 Thomas Education Committee made recommendations to change the grants-in-aid structure for educational funding and drew up a new

[245] This essay was written by Solomy Gyangenda on November 1, 1952 and titled "The three most important things I have learnt at school." It was included, along with several other essays written by girls at Gayaza High School, in the personal papers of Joan Cox who served as a teacher at Gayaza from 1938 to 1953, and then as headmistress from 1953 to 1972. Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

[246] For more details on this commission, as well as the testimonies given related to Ugandan village schools, see Hanson (2010).

development plan for 1941-1945, although this was largely shelved due to Great Britain's involvement in WWII. The 1945 Worthington Development Plan set new criteria that linked the expansion of education and teacher training programs, which included the Protectorate Government's assumption of responsibility for teacher salaries and other recurrent expenses. Finally, a 1950 government plan changed the funding mechanisms for assisting self-governed schools (Evans & Senteza Kajubi, 1994; Ssekamwa, 1997). If anything, the sustained attention to education during this period underscores the catalyzing nature of the 1925 Phelps-Stokes Report as education became a much more significant focus of the Protectorate government.

Like the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, the 1953 de Bunsen Report (named for the committee's chair Makerere College Principal, Bernard de Bunsen) marked a second major policy shift on the part of the colonial government. Prompted by the 1951 East African Study Group (co-sponsored by the British Colonial Office and the Nuffield Foundation) and its subsequent "Binns' Report," the de Bunsen Committee was tasked with examining how the present system of African education in Uganda might be "best improved and expanded," culminating in a more detailed set of recommendations to guide Uganda's educational future.[247] Over the course of approximately six months, the committee visited all of the Protectorate's districts, apart from Karamoja; interviewed parents, African Local Education Authorities, teachers, government officials, and

[247] Members of the de Bunsen Committee, named for its chair, included: Mr. Bernard de Bunsen (Chairman); Mr. C. Bell, OBE; the Hon. C. Handley Bird; the Rev. F. Gaffney (from the White Fathers Mission); Mr. R. Gill; Dr. J. Hutchinson (CMG, FRS); the Hon. S. Kulubya; Mr. Y. Lule; the Rev. Mother Mildred; the Hon. B. Mukasa, OBE; Mr. W. Mwagu; Mr. N. Opio; the Rev. J. Sturdy; Miss M. Senkatuka; Mrs. C. Stuart, OBE; and Joint Secretaries Mr. W. Bell, MBE and Mr. J. Gleave. In contrast to the previous commission, there were a significant number of Ugandans, including Kulubya, who was selected as Vice-Chairman. 1952 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.19 r. 9.

missionaries; attended the Cambridge Conference on African Education in September, 1952; and considered 80 memoranda submitted to the committee by "the public."[248] The de Bunsen Report summarized its findings, intended to structure educational development for the next five years, in a report dated December 31, 1952:[249]

> We are persuaded that Uganda is ripe for a bold advance in Education, and in that belief we have not hesitated to state what we feel to be the present needs. […] We consider it convenient at the very start of our report to indicate the main recommendations on which it is founded. They include: *(a)* the reorganisation and expansion of the system of teacher-training…; (*b)* the improvement of the conditions and terms of service of teachers of all categories; *(c)* the expansion of secondary education…; *(d)* the expansion of facilities, both primary and secondary, for girls, which have so seriously lagged behind facilities for boys; *(e)* the extension of the full primary course from six years to eight; and the provision of a minimum of four years education in all grant-aided schools, since we hold that any lesser period of schooling is educationally and economically unsound; [and] *(f)* the establishment of new primary schools.[250]

These recommendations – with the exception of the restructuring of the length of primary schooling, which was not adopted – were significant because they set in place an educational architecture that would frame the reflections and recommendations of the later, post-independence Castle Report (examined in Chapter 8). Further, anticipating the last decade of Uganda's colonization – and more than any of the previous reports – the de

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[248] It is unclear who precisely "the public" entailed, as I did not find any of the actual memoranda, but it is likely given the memoranda submitted to the following Castle Commission, that they were largely written by teachers, educational administrators, government officials, and missionaries whose positions were in some way related to schooling. African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[249] African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[250] African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

Bunsen Report imagined an independent Ugandan future. Whereas the over-arching concern of the Phelps-Stokes Report seemed to address the question: How might the Protectorate government (re)organize sectarian education under an expanding colonial state? The de Bunsen Report seemed to address the opposite: How might this colony be prepared for self-rule?

This question is not the only one significant to this third critical moment in Uganda's colonial education history. At the same time as "Government" (as it was often referred to in contemporary documents) pondered its role in the educational milieu, missionary agencies reacted to their lessened control and the increasingly secular aims of schooling. Many CMS missionaries wondered as well about the role of Europeans in the colonies *writ large*, questioning whether or not the advent of western 'civilization' had indeed been positive. Some questioned when was it appropriate to intervene in another country's educational policy planning, and to what ends one should educate the African.

Additionally, at a point in time when the colonial educational system in Uganda still left the majority of children outside its expanses, while simultaneously coming to define the 'ideal' childhood (which would reach its successful conclusion in the 'schooled' adult), many local communities struggled to increase their stake in the educational system. If the de Bunsen Report represented to the colonial government a preparation for future independence, to many Ugandans it represented a continued, and in some cases increased, assertion of colonial control. In contrast to 1900, which was largely a missionary narrative, and 1925, which represented the beginning of a new government narrative, 1953 is marked by tensions between educational narratives – each of which

proscribed a somewhat different idealized African child. In this moment, one can see a much clearer divergence between the contrasting hopes of Africans, and European missionaries and government officials about the imagined futures of Ugandan children.

Consistent with the complications of three different and entangled 'stories' that converged in this critical moment, there are a much richer set of documents to draw on from 1953 onward. As such, this chapter draws on a large set of 'official' and 'personal' materials. First, this chapter draws on the de Bunsen Report itself, as well as related documents pertaining to the commissioning of the committee and its subsequent activities. Further, it draws on the proceedings of the Uganda Protectorate Legislative Council related to ratification of the de Bunsen Committee's recommendations by the government, as well as on the subsequent official government response to the report, published as a memorandum. This chapter also draws on a similar set of documents to those included in previous chapters, including the Education Department's Reports, the Church Missionary Society's Proceedings, and the CMS Historical Records – all published annually. All of these represent the 'official' record related to this time period; many of these documents would have been published and circulated among various audiences in Uganda and Great Britain. The CMS Annual Letters sent to the home office are also significant in understanding both the missionary perspective as well as the day-to-day workings of schools, still largely locally administered by missionaries and local converts. While pieces of these letters would have been used in the Society's Proceedings and Historical Record, their unedited originals provide greater insight into gaps between the official record and the unofficial experiences of missionaries involved in education.

A final source useful to understanding the later part of the colonial period are memoranda that were gathered as a part of the University of Oxford Colonial Records Project, which ran from 1963 to 1972, and the subsequent Oxford Development Records Project, which ran from 1977 to 1984. These projects were intended to collect the personal papers of former colonial officials who primarily worked in Africa.[251] Unlike many of the previous sources used in this dissertation, these documents are unique in that they are 'unofficial' collections of personal documents, later submitted to the University of Oxford, rather than 'official' records kept by the Colonial Office. In many cases, these include unedited diaries and letters, and old copies of reports, curricula, and other materials, likely kept by individuals as mementos of their time in Uganda. In a few cases, these materials also include the personal reflections of then retired missionaries and colonists, on their role in the colonial project and its larger aims and outcomes. The papers of Joan Cox, who served as a teacher and headmistress at Gayaza High School from 1938 to 1972, are exceptional in this regard for their inclusion of a long, hand-written reflection on the contributions and short-comings of colonial education in Uganda. Others – like Harry Hudson, Education Officer, and John Gleave, who served in many different roles, including Assistant Director of Education, from 1953 to 1957 – contributed personal memoirs, albeit of a less self-reflective nature.

While few of the aforementioned documents were written by Ugandans themselves, a problem that has been noted in previous chapters as well, the inclusion of some Ugandans on the de Bunsen Commission itself, and their contributions to the

[251] For more details on these projects, see Pugh's (1978) article in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists.*

Legislative Council debates give greater insight into their views. Additionally, Joan Cox submitted essays written by some of the secondary school girls at Gayaza, which are useful for understanding the student/child – albeit edited – perspective of school life and the broader role of education in Ugandan society.

Read together, these sources represent a range of colonial, missionary, and local perspectives.[252] Further, they underscore an over-arching metanarrative consistent across each of the critical moments discussed in this dissertation, that childhood was, more and more, deeply influenced by sustained interaction with formal education, and concomitantly with a European-dominant ideal of childhood. As Dakin uncritically wrote in his 1953 report on "Social change and child welfare in an African territory": "Whatever conflicts between the new and the old which may arise from school education it is the accepted and obvious way of initiating an African child into the new order which is gradually being established in Uganda."[253] In this moment, colonists, missionaries, and Ugandans began a tense process of contestation over what schooling had become since its introduction over fifty years earlier that would reach its uneasy conclusion with independence in 1963.

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[252] It is worth noting that neither the distinction between "European and African," nor between "colonist" and "missionary" is always clear or useful. For instance, Miss Evelyn Cafe, whose Annual Letters – written from a central school in Ndeje – were included in the last chapter, transitioned from her initial CMS teaching position to supervise Buganda Schools, and later to serve as the Assistant Education Secretary General for the Protectorate. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Miss Cafe, 1950. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF AL 1950-59 CA – CON.

[253] Report by J. C. Dakin, former Commissioner for Community Development, Uganda. (1953). "Social change and child welfare in an African territory." University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1106 (6).

Schooling in Tension

While the Phelps-Stokes Report was written in response to a perceived vacuum of colonial control over education, and consequently the previous chapter used the report to frame a discussion of the (re)organization of education in the period following, the de Bunsen Report was written in response to tensions over the nature of schooling in the Protectorate. Put another way, the Phelps-Stokes Committee prompted government involvement for the first time and the de Bunsen Report reacted to this involvement and its resultant changes. Chapter 6 intended to show the initiation of change and so it was organized accordingly – it focused first on the Phelps-Stokes Report, then on the structure and practice of schooling. This chapter examines a response to change and so it is structured in reverse: This first section focuses on schooling *circa* 1950 to show how little education had evolved since the creation of the Education Department in 1925. Then, the second section examines pervasive and continued educational gaps that gave rise to a re-revaluation of its purpose and practice in the de Bunsen Report. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the implications of this critical moment for the (idealized) African child and its connections to and foreshadowing of the Castle Report, written only ten years later.

Primary schooling. Despite the smaller changes to educational funding, teacher training, and higher education that occurred in the almost three decades between the Phelps-Stokes and de Bunsen Reports, the over-arching structure of education for African

children remained largely the same.[254] Primary schooling still spanned six years (from Primary 1 or P1, to Primary 6 or P6), although most schools only offered the first few grades. Following the classification system discussed in Chapter 6, "sub-grade" schools taught P1 and P2, fewer "vernacular schools" taught P1 through P3 or P4, and a very few "primary schools" taught P1 through P6.[255] Although ostensibly managed by Local Education Authorities (LEAs), which had been established at the District level – except in Buganda, where primary education was centrally administrated by the Kabaka's Government – most primary schools were still locally owned and controlled by "voluntary organisations," a euphemistic term for missionary societies. These organizations included the White Fathers and other smaller Catholic missionary groups, and the Native Anglican Church,[256] which was founded by the Church Missionary Society and had only recently been tasked with more administrative educational duties at the time of the de Bunsen Commission.[257] These LEAs were responsible for planning for

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[254] In contrast to 1925, by the late 1940s schooling had developed for Asian and European children – although in a much, much smaller scale. In 1949 and some subsequent reports, there was a solitary note that explained: "Children of mixed parentage are admitted to the European primary school, Kampala, if their home background is European. Others attend African or Asian schools." What determined whether or not a "mixed" child was from a "European" or "African" home background was left unexplained. 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[255] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[256] Then Assistant Educational Secretary General, Miss Cafe noted in her 1952 Annual Letter that the CMS had become a small body within the NAC, and the commensurate challenges of that same shift:

> My generation helped to build up the big institutions and we don't find it too easy to subordinate our leadership and to stand on one side and watch our African brethren making their mistakes and sometimes undoing what we have given many years of our lives to build up

Letter by Miss Cafe, 1950. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF AL 1950-59 CA – CON.

[257] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

primary school expansion, selecting schools for upgrading[258] and government aid, and ensuring compliance with government regulations, among other quotidian duties. The colonial government still exercised considerable control through the establishment of educational policy, the development of regulations surrounding aid, and the publication of curricula. Additionally, all mission schools were supervised by a European Mission School Supervisor who functioned as a sort of superintendent.[259] Consequently Local Education Authorities performed the functions one might expect of a colonial middle figure (Hunt, 1999), rather than a true 'authority.'

Figure 23. Mukono Primary School in Buganda, 1956[260]

[258] "Upgrading" referred to the process by which aided "sub-grade" schools were re-classified as "vernacular" schools and so on. 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[259] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[260] Memorandum of H. Hudson. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS Afr. s. 1755 (156) (Box XLIX).

The process by which new schools were started reflected the Protectorate's educational history and was similarly diffuse to the supervisory structure for Uganda's schools. As the 1949 Education Report noted since formal education's inception, "Practically every school began its existence as a small collection of children assembled under a local catechist or pastor, or a young man with only a few years' education himself, in the simplest of buildings put up by church supporters."[261] These unaided, local 'bush schools,' whose focus was more religious than secular, formed the broad basis of the pyramidal aided school system. As local community interest grew in both secular and religious instruction, they would, presumably, gradually improve their buildings through private funds. Only after a school grew large enough did it receive any official attention from the government (although it may have been supported by voluntary agencies in one way or another up until that point):

> When eventually the need for a permanent school in that neighbourhood [was] established and the premises are such as deserve official approval, the school [was] eligible for addition to the aided list. When so selected it [received] a small grant for its initial equipment, but the responsibility for its buildings remain entirely local. As it [grew], the extra classrooms etc. required [were] still added by local efforts, but from year to year comparatively small amounts [were] made available to Local Education Authorities for distribution as building grants to enable the most deserving and promising schools within the primary range to improve and extend their premises.[262]

In this way, schools begun locally by largely Catholic and Anglican missionaries[263] would grow in size and curricular scope (however unevenly distributed[264]) until they met

[261] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.19 r. 9.
[262] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.19 r. 9.
[263] The Protectorate Government itself owned no schools, with the exception of two maintained for children of police or prison wardens. 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.19 r. 9.

the requirements outlined by the British government for funding. Namely, schools were required to have attendance rates that necessitated two teachers, at a rate of 40 pupils per (trained) teacher.[265] After reaching this point schools would be added to the "aided list." Moving forward, greater progress begot greater funding from the colonial government.

Under this system, and at a significant savings to the government that was only responsible for larger schools, expenditures on education grew from almost £25,000 in 1925 to almost £900,000 in 1950 and over £3,000,000 in 1953. The number of schools grew from 1,145 Catholic and Protestant Primary schools across the Protectorate in 1925 to 1,430 aided schools and 1,660 un-aided schools in 1950.[266] In 1949 these aided schools provided, purportedly, 189,600 primary school spots and enrolled 148,431 students. A further 110,200 students attended unaided primary schools.[267] The 1952 Education Report included an estimate that across the Protectorate "about 80 per cent. [*sic*] of the boys of school age [went] to some kind of school at some time or other during their lives, and about 30 per cent. of the girls."[268] In Buganda specifically, in 1954, there were 39,926 boys and 22,154 girls enrolled in primary schools, a ratio of 0.55 girls for every 1 boy who was enrolled, as compared to 0.33 girls for every 1 boy overall. Presumably a

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[264] The 1949 Education Department Report notes of the distribution of schools that, "in most Local Education Authority areas few children are called upon to walk more than six miles to school and in most areas the great majority of children walk much less than this." 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[265] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[266] 1925 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[267] In the same year, it was estimated that there were over 1 million children considered school aged, which was defined as aged 6 to 15. 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[268] 1952 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

greater percentage of girls (and boys) would have received some kind of schooling in Buganda during their lives.[269]

The curriculum in African primary schools changed little from what was discussed in the previous chapter, although the 1949 Education Report allowed that its application was uneven: "human and physical conditions vary too greatly within the country to make rigid uniformity either possible or desirable."[270] The thinly veiled racism of varied "human conditions" notwithstanding, as much as was possible primary students were taught a curriculum that emphasized "various forms of handworks, both for the encouragement of local arts and crafts and for the practical education of pupils, and with the subjects generically (but perhaps ambitiously) described as 'domestic science' i.e. health, hygiene and housecraft."[271] In documents contemporary to the time, the term 'practical' is used repeatedly (in contrast to 'theoretical') to described the optimal African education. For instance, at a private school in Buganda (considered exemplary by the Education Department), pupils were taught brickmaking, animal husbandry, and other similar subjects.[272] Students were also taught the four R's (reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion),[273] as well as Luganda, Nature, Art, singing, and games. In some of the

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[269] 1954 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[270] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[271] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[272] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[273] Hudson reminisced,

> [t]he normally included subjects were the three R's, or rather the four R's (R.E. [religious education] is number four) and in earlier days some travesties of the 'home country' (of makers of the syllabi), Geography, History, Nature Study, Physical Training. Geography varied and

better schools, like the primary school attached to Gayaza High School, children were taught English from P1, although this was an exception.[274] What changes were made between 1925 and 1953 attempted to move instruction toward a greater emphasis on "more practical and less academic" education – more 'relevant' to the African.[275]

Schools themselves also looked largely the same as they had in years passed. Joyce Hoyle, wife of Colonial Education Service official Stephen Hoyle, described many of the smaller bush schools in much the same way as Muller (Brewer, et al., 1926) had almost thirty years earlier:

> Many of the smaller bush schools were built with low mud and wattle walls and roofed with a thatch of banana leaves. The 'windows and doors' are just left as open spaces. No pictures or maps could be put on the walls as the termites would eat them. (They are very partial to paper and cardboard!) There was never enough money for books so quite a lot of memorizing would take place. The youngest children practice their writing by suing a stick to scrape patterns in the dusty soil outside.[276]

Education Officers encouraged schools to have a "good appearance" by reporting on school grounds and awarding prize money for the best school. Included in the school grounds were gardens, considered important to agricultural instruction, and teachers' houses and personal gardens.[277]Just as previous missionary educationalists had required

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> improved greatly in the fifties…History in that setting is a puzzle and I sometimes thought it better not taught.

Memorandum of Harry Laity Hudson. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (156) (Box XLIX).

[274] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

[275] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[276] Self-published memoir, *Re-Joyce* by D. Joyce Hoyle. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS Afr. r. 271.

[277] Harry Hudson, former Education Officer noted in his memoir that teachers sometimes misused their students by directing them to work on their personal gardens, although he indicated that this was hard to detect. What is important about this acknowledgement, and others, is that it serves as a reminder that

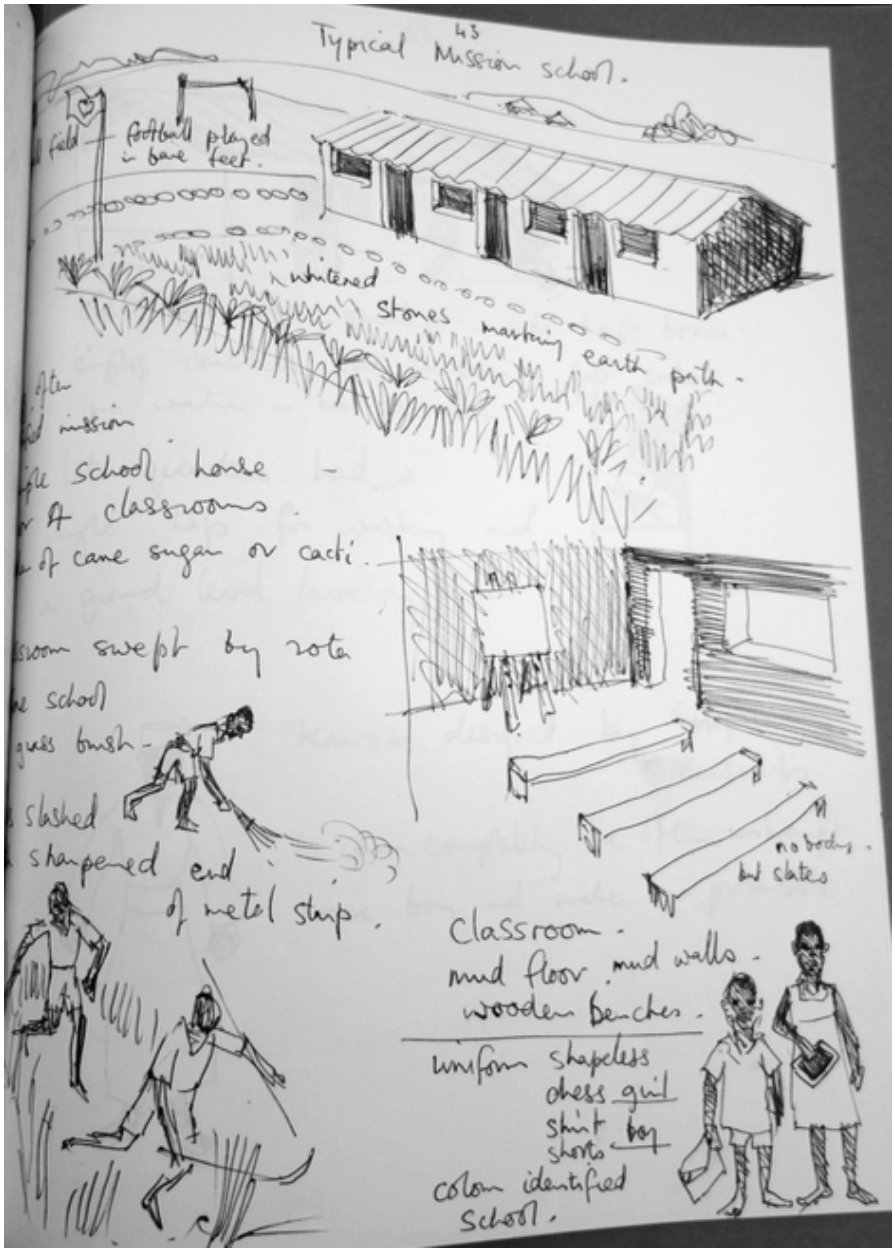

Figure 24. Illustration of a "Typical Mission School" by Mrs. J. F. Marriott[278]

‘official’ and ‘actual’ practice many times diverge in significant ways. Memorandum of Harry Laity Hudson. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (156) (Box XLIX).

[278] In his “Notes on Service with the Government of Uganda,” Mr. J. Marriott, Colonial Education Officer from 1956 to 1965, included illustrations by his wife, Mrs. J. F. Marriott. The one above depicts scenes from a typical mission school, along with hand-written notes that described a ball field for playing football, white stones marking pathways, classrooms with mud floors, walls, and wooden benches, shapeless uniforms, and student activities, such as sweeping classrooms, and slashing grass. Memorandum of J.

students to wear a uniform in order to sit in the limited number of desks, and the appearance of a neat and tidy student was considered to be of the utmost importance; it was assumed that a well-ordered schoolroom or school grounds meant that educational quality itself was high. Given the few number of primary school students who were able to later attend secondary school, 'good' seems to have been a relative term.

Secondary schooling. Post-primary education also followed largely the same structure as it had in 1925. The Education Department managed 48 aided secondary schools,[279] which taught a six-year course – divided into three years of junior secondary and three years of senior secondary. Of these schools, only 13 went beyond the junior secondary school level, 7 of which were in Buganda. Enrollment in one of these schools was highly competitive and access was tightly controlled by the exam structure instituted following the establishment of the Education Department. Although never outlined explicitly, these exams (and likewise secondary enrollment) seem to have been reworked to favor non-African students. In 1950 the Education Department reported that of the 1,219 African candidates who sat for the Junior Secondary Leaving Exam (JLE), 784 passed (a rate of 64%); and of the 275 Asian candidates, only 67 passed (a rate of only 39%) – a "strange…number of successes."[280] By 1952, the Education Department had restructured the examination system such that African and Asian students took the same JLE and were assessed by an interracial team of assessors. Afterward 1,232 African

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Marriott, Education Officer. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. r. 111.

[279] There were only five unaided secondary schools in 1949. 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[280] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

candidates sat for the exam and only 607 boys and 54 girls were successful (a combined rate of 54%). Comparatively, 340 Indian candidates sat for the exam and 163 boys and 39 girls passed (a combined rate of 59%). In the years following, African candidates would never again achieve such high pass rates, or out-compete their Indian peers.

While demand for secondary schooling was high, and growing numbers of students sat for entrance exams, the Education Department opined that there were few adequately prepared students.[281] Joan Cox remembered, "This [Senior Secondary entrance] exam was…of vital importance to pupils and parents" because of the limited number of places, "and put an enormous strain on pupils and teachers." This was especially true for boys, as Cox perceived that "many fathers did not realize the value of post-primary education for girls, and were not willing to pay fees for them at secondary level."[282] (This assertion, of course, is debatable given evidence to the contrary discussed in the preceding chapter.) Miss Head, who taught at Budo, a (now) co-educational secondary school, wrote in a 1951 Annual Letter of a "bright class of young hopefuls" in Secondary 1, who "with their feet safely on the bottom rung of the secondary school ladder, [and] all the thrill of getting into the famous school…" saw enrollment as "a badge, a symbol of that 'something', that will turn them into a modern go-ahead, who will have a share in all the good things that are to come."[283] If primary schooling was becoming an integral part of a common childhood experience, then secondary schooling

[281] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[282] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).
[283] Letter by Miss Head, 1950. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF Al 1950-59 GO HD.

was becoming an integral part of an intellectual elite childhood experience. Achievement of some level of secondary schooling was seen to assure its achiever of future economic and political success.

Following a more academically-oriented curriculum than Primary Schools, and influenced by the content of the various exams students might eventually take – including the Senior Secondary Leaving Exam and the Cambridge School Certificate – all six years of secondary school were to be taught in English. At Gayaza High School, one of the preeminent boarding schools for girls in the Protectorate, Joan Cox remembered teaching Religion (i.e. Christianity), English Language, English Literature, Luganda Language and Literature, History, Geography, Arithmetic (including elementary Algebra and Geometry, Biology and Botany, Domestic Science, Art, Music, and Physical Education.[284] In contrast to primary schools, whose focus on 'practical' subjects seemed to have the purpose of maintaining Uganda's agricultural under-class, secondary schools were intended to serve "a considerably smaller number who can best profit by them and from whom the country will draw its political leaders, professional workers, technicians and higher grades of artisans."[285] The stratification of schooling introduced in 1905 with the establishment of the first school for chiefs continued on in the form of English-based secondary schooling and related exams.

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[284] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).
[285] African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

More than primary schools, the work of secondary schools,[286] as suggested by the quote at the beginning of this chapter, seemed to extend to developing in African children "good manners and behavior,"[287] defined along a European model. Esther Musoke, another student at Gayaza High School, wrote her November 1st essay on "The advantages of being taken to school," and explained that she had learned to "live among those unknown foreign (i.e. non-Baganda) children," and had learned to be patient and to endure hardships.[288] Further, like Solomy, whose essay was excerpted at the beginning of this chapter, Esther noted that of the utmost importance was learning English, a skill which distinguished her from her non-Secondary attending peers: "I thought that if I did not come to school I would have known nothing about English. English is used a lot and I think I will teach English when I begin teaching."[289]

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[286] Certainly primary schools also instructed African pupils on, as the de Bunsen Report stated, "standards of individual conduct and behavior," and fostered "some understanding of the community and what is of value for its development." However, there was also a sense that secondary students, as the country's future leaders, were especially in need of European manners. For example, Hilda Foster, writing of her students at Kyembambe Girls' School in Toro, informed the CMS central office:

> We do not forget that the girls in our [Junior Secondary] school are the future women leaders of the country, and the future home-makers of the country. I think it is true that the women of a nation set the moral standard of that nation. We realise, therefore, the tremendous responsibility which is ours in training these girls and helping them to become 'whole' people. So our work in school consists not only in teaching the different subjects of the curriculum, but in helping each girl to develop spiritually and emotionally as well.

Letter by Miss Foster, 1952. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF AL 1950-59 F – GN.

[287] Essay written by Solomy Gyangenda, November 1, 1952. Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

[288] Essay written by Esther Musoke, November 1, 1952. Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

[289] Essay written by Esther Musoke, November 1, 1952. Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

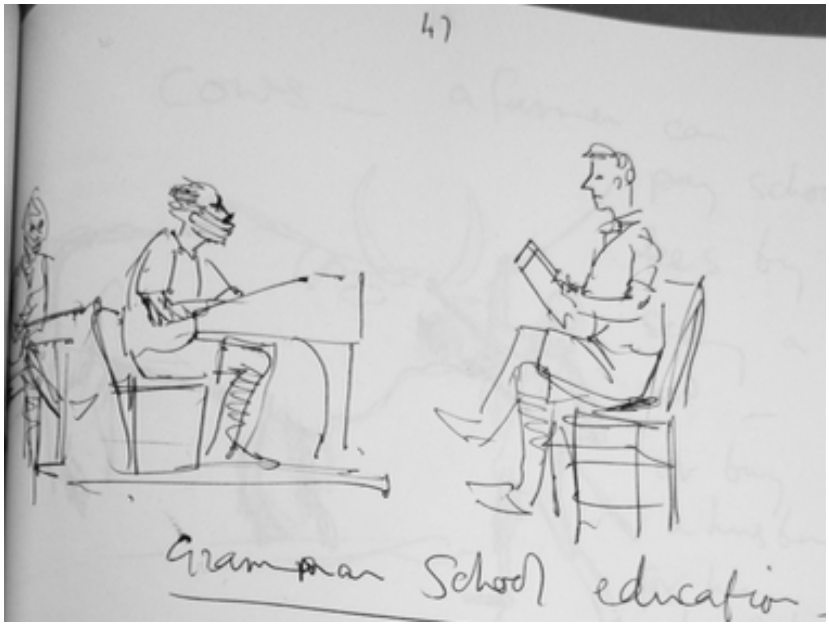

Figure 25. "Grammar School Education" by Mrs. J. F. Marriott[290]

Secondary education set apart its African children not only because they attended school, but because they acquired English habits and the English language through closer contact with the British. Prior to this level of education, while often supervised by Europeans, students were instructed by African teachers. In secondary schools, however, many headmistresses and headmasters, as well as teachers, were European missionaries. Below a second illustration by Mrs. Marriott, depicting African pupils sitting at desks listening intently to an English schoolmaster (see Figure 25 above), she wrote: "Grammar School Education – English Language, English Books, English Overseas School Certificate, English Teachers, English Money, English History." Her intent is not lost on the reader – the form and content of Ugandan education was British. Now that over seventy years had passed, British culture permeated and distinguished a colonial, intellectual Ugandan elite

[290] Memorandum of J. Marriott, Education Officer. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. r. 111.

– well positioned by their schooling to benefit (as much as was possible) from British occupation.[291] A photo taken at Gayaza's jubilee celebration illustrates this (limited) legacy of schooling: three generations of Gayaza girls – a grandmother, mother, and two daughters – are shown in front of the school's chapel. These Gayaza girls – and their counterparts, the Budo boys – were well-positioned by their education to benefit from colonialism as much as possible.

Figure 26. Three generations of Gayaza Girls[292]

[291] Joan Cox wrote in a 1981 reflection for the Oxford Development Records Project:

> I should like to point out that in my view from 1945 – it was not that the rich only could have their children educated: as has been explained, fees and bursaries were usually available for an able pupil in senior secondary. It was rather the education of an intellectual elite [emphasis in original] who became rich. [For some of the observations I am indebted to a lecture given by the Hon. T. J. Mboya M.P. (Kenya) at Makerere 1966].

Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

[292] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

Addressing the "Amount and Character" of Education

Despite (or perhaps because of) these continuities between schooling in 1925 and 1953, significant criticisms of the Protectorate educational system found their way into the Education Reports and other documents leading up to and culminating in the 1953 de Bunsen Report. These are most noticeable in two principal debates over the extent and purpose of schooling in the Protectorate: (1) the continued growth of unaided schools, as well as in the development of private schools, which existed wholly outside the government system; and (2) debates over the curriculum and its offerings, most particularly as pertaining to the English language, and agricultural and religious instruction. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Private schooling, unaided schools, and the expansion of education. That education expanded more quickly than either the British missionaries or government officials were prepared for has been well-established in previous chapters. From the outset of the colonial period, Ugandans eagerly created schools for their children that extended far beyond European expectations (or desires). For instance, as was shown in Chapter 6, one of the harshest criticisms of the Protectorate in the Phelps-Stokes Report was leveled against the "great mass of out-schools under native teachers" that existed beyond the supervision of Europeans.[293] A number of resultant reforms made by the Protectorate Government in 1925 checked this growth. Specifically, Uganda's colonial government established a set of criteria by which schools were required to abide in order to receive financial support and/or to be upgraded (e.g. to move from offering two

[293] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.

primary grades to four or even six). These criteria extended to the size of a school (as mentioned earlier, schools had to have at least two teachers, with a maximum of 40 students per teacher);[294] the requirement that school staff be trained;[295] and school funding, as aided schools had to be non-profit. Given Uganda's primarily rural, agricultural economy, and the failure of many students to progress beyond the most basic levels of schooling, finding qualified teachers (especially female teachers) to teach in large-enough rural schools significantly restricted growth.[296]

By 1950, the Education Report noted growing frustrations regarding the Education Department's limitations on the intake and output of teacher training centers, which in turn limited opportunities for unaided schools to become aided:

> Criticisms of Government policy in this respect have come particularly from certain of the Luganda newspapers which continue to make loose statements, quite unsupported by the facts, that the number of teachers is being decreased, that facilities for primary education are being withheld by Government, and that

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[294] This requirement favored urban areas, where population density made it much more likely that schools would reach the required size for aid. The de Bunsen Report recommended a "better distribution of schools [that will] do justice to the African child. A young child of 6-10 years of age should never be required to walk 6-8 miles to school." African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[295] In a memo written by the Colonial Office, an author noted that this requirement was unique to Uganda:

> Uganda alone of African territories permitted no untrained teachers to serve on the staff of aided schools, and the most serious effect of the proposed reduction of output would be to slow down both the up-grading of existing grant-aided schools and the addition of new schools to the aided list.

Colonial Office, London, 15 April 1953. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Territorial Sub-Committee A. Report on African Education in Uganda and Memorandum by the Uganda Government. ACEC(A)(53)8. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[296] In the 1952 Education Report, the authors note that "In the lowest classes there are about 80,000 children, but only 285 African boys and girls, excluding private candidates, entered for the School Certificate." While a teaching certificate did not require a Cambridge School Certificate, this number still helps to show how few students matriculated through to the end of Primary School and beyond. 1952 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

> were it not for the private schools large numbers of Baganda children would receive no education.[297]

The Government responded to these Bagandan criticisms harshly. In contrast to their previously lauded status as "pioneers"[298] of development, the 1950 Education Department wrote in its report that:

> In the so-called more advanced parts of Buganda it is even suggested that education generally is on the decline and nowadays it is to the remote areas that one looks for that spirit in the people which makes for real progress in education.[299]

The demanding and educated Baganda were now seen as uncooperative and the government complained that they impeded progress. One more congenial area highlighted in the report was Northern Province where the expansion of education had progressed much more slowly. While the Government allowed that "development should go primarily to the people who want education rather than those who do not," (i.e. the Baganda, who continually clambered for more and better schools), efforts could be made to stimulate even slight interest and to relax the conditions for grants.[300] In these less developed areas, the government could avoid the pitfalls of "false sophistication" and work among Africans who would "accept advise and follow it."[301]

Likely due in part to the constraints imposed by the Government, documents contemporary to the period noted the "steady growth in popularity and number of private

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[297] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[298] 1928 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 12.
[299] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[300] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[301] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

schools." [302] In the de Bunsen Report the authors noted that of the 200 or so private schools, 91 were in Buganda. These schools were acknowledged to be "a natural outcome of the desire for independence and increased educational facilities" and the Education Department believed that parents chose these schools because they were free from Government or Mission bias; because private education was in some cases more widely distributed than non-private schools; and because students could usually find a place, as the schools' existence was not bound by the same teacher/pupil ratios.[303] Summarized more candidly in memo written by the Colonial Office in London, upon the receipt of the de Bunsen Report:

> The number of private schools which had been established, particularly in Buganda province, and entirely outside the state system of education, indicated the likelihood of dissatisfaction on the part of Africans either with the amount or the character of education provided.[304]

In response, the de Bunsen Report (its findings summarized at the outset of this chapter) recommended that education be extended. Specifically, they recommended growth in the number of schools; a wider distribution for those schools; and that within schools, the number of primary classes and grades completed by students be increased. The report also recommended focusing on improving teacher training and school facilities – particularly as it was hoped that these efforts would improve girls' education. As the

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[302] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[303] African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).
[304] Memo written by the Colonial Office, London, 15 April 1953. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Territorial Sub-Committee A. Report on African Education in Uganda and Memorandum by the Uganda Government. ACEC(A)(53)8. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

Director of Education acknowledged in the Legislative Council debate over the adoption of the recommendations of the de Bunsen Report,

> The first of these main criticisms, voiced mainly by the Africans themselves, was that there was too little education. There were too few schools, too few children attend school at all, and of these two few, far too high a proportion do not attend for even the minimum length of time to enable them to benefit at all by attending school.[305]

Or, as Legislative Council Member, Mr. Mukasa, summarized more succinctly in a calculation of progression through the Ugandan educational system, "it is a most deplorable situation…out of every child who enters Primary I not one whole child will reach Secondary 6 but .42%."[306]

The character and content of schooling. Criticisms of the Protectorate's system of education extended beyond provision to practice. Specifically, Ugandans critiqued the lack of English instruction in primary schools and the considerable control missionary agencies continued to exercise over schooling and religious instruction.[307] Agricultural education was also debated, although in this case many Europeans pushed forward their agenda. Together, these issues constituted the beginnings of latent debates over the character and content of schooling that would emerge, fully realized ten years later at independence.

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[305] Debate on the Report on African Education in Uganda: Extracted from the Proceedings of the Legislative Council held on the 12th August 1953. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 822/369 (1952).
[306] Debate on the Report on African Education in Uganda: Extracted from the Proceedings of the Legislative Council held on the 12th August 1953. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 822/369 (1952).
[307] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

Citing concerns regarding that lack of interest in agriculture, as well as high poverty rates, many missionaries and colonists wrote with alarm about the failings of agricultural education. When coupled together, lack of interest in agriculture and poverty were believed to result in the drift of children from "the control of their parents in rural areas" and "community sentiment and moral standards" to urban centers, where they would be negatively influenced by the lax standards of their "heterogeneous" neighbors and "remain idle and tend to resort to the commercial areas where they run the risk of becoming vagabonds and thieves."[308] The inherent idleness of Africans – unable to care for themselves without European intervention – reemerged in the form of concerns over 'idle youth.' To combat this problem, schools were encouraged to grow crops on their compounds (awarded among the prizes to schools with a good appearance) and to popularize agriculture as a subject to make it more appealing to students. An overly "bookish" education would create problems, as it was,

> divorced from reality and likely to give pupils a distaste for manual work and rural life. It is said too, to break down old tribal beliefs and sanctions, take away from the pupil all that is best in indigenous culture and leave him with a detribalised being with no adequate replacement for what has been taken away.[309]

This shift away from rural, agricultural life represented many of the problems of the 'civilization' and education of Africans, who, as they became more like Europeans, were seen as obscuring boundaries that had once been clear. As Cleall (2012) suggested with her analysis of missionary concerns over native 'backsliding,' addressing problems

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[308] Report by J. C. Dakin, former Commissioner for Community Development, Uganda. (1953). "Social change and child welfare in an African territory." University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1106 (6).

[309] Comments from the Director of Education. Debate on the Report on African Education in Uganda: Extracted from the Proceedings of the Legislative Council held on the 12th August 1953. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 822/369 (1952).

related to rural to urban migration and detribalization amounted to a moving of the goal posts. Africans once praised for their 'civilized' manners were now criticized for leaving traditional agricultural life as Europeans pushed the perceived boundaries that separated them from Africans back.

In other debates related to English and religious education, Africans pushed their agendas forward. First, regarding English instruction, the Education Department maintained throughout this period that prevailing educational theories supported mother tongue instruction in the early grades. As a result, primary schools routinely instructed students in some of the more widely spoken local vernacular languages (i.e. Luganda, Luyoro, Northern Luo, Teso, and Lugbara).[310] While English was introduced toward the end of Primary school, its importance to the Primary Leaving Examination,[311] and therefore access to secondary school and high-status employment opportunities in the colonial system, put it at the forefront of educational debates. This lack of English instruction favored students whose parents either spoke the language themselves (again perpetuating the existence of a small intellectual elite) and/or those who might learn English in their home context (e.g. students living in urban or central Uganda). Partly in response, private schools became popular because they offered English instruction from a

[310] 1949 & 1953 Education Department Annual Reports. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9

[311] A copy of the 1949 Primary Leaving Exam shows that 1½ hours were devoted to English. Exam takers were required to change the verb tense in a paragraph, to write down the days of the week and things they learned in school, to answer various questions in English, to use a list of words in sentences, to give the opposites of common words, to write sentences again in the negative, and to write a short paragraph about any story in Book 2. Memorandum of John T. Gleave. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (154) (Box XLVIII).

much earlier point in the primary curriculum.[312] By forgoing some of the benefits of aided schools, African parents could (hopefully) ensure their children had adequate English to perform well on school exams, and in turn shore up their future children's future success. As European-style dress had previously, English fluency became a tangible output of colonial schools which demarcated the educated from the non-educated.

Debates about the amount of time devoted to religious instruction – as well as the continued involvement of voluntary agencies in schooling – were even more contentious than those related to language. Although, as noted earlier, control of missionary education had largely passed into African hands by the 1950s, many Ugandans still felt that local perspectives were side-lined. In the Legislative Council Debate, Mr. Kulubya expressed these views on behalf of the Ugandans with whom he had interacted during the de Bunsen Committee's visits to various Protectorate visits:

> During our travels on this Report we came across a general desire from the local people that they should be brought in a little bit more into the education system, thus giving them time to express their wishes and to say exactly what they feel about education; and when a recommendation was made, Sir, that local people should be taken into the education system, I do not say that every mission does not take in the local people into the education system but there are certain quarters where the local ideas and local opinions are entirely left out.[313]

For Muslim parents, who constituted approximately 10% of the Bagandan population and were almost entirely left out of the educational system unless they were willing for their

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[312] 1949 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[313] Debate on the Report on African Education in Uganda: Extracted from the Proceedings of the Legislative Council held on the 12th August 1953. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 822/369 (1952).

children to attend Christian schools, this was especially true.[314] In contrast to mission schools, private education represented an opportunity for parents to be more directly involved in the creation and maintenance of schools. In fact, the willingness of local communities to provide labor and materials to build private schools, which would likely never be supported by the government and were often ill-equipped[315] and likewise their unwillingness to fund government-aided mission schools, beyond paying school fees,[316] underscored this desire for African educational control. Rejecting religious instruction in favor of secular and/or private education constituted a move toward independence and self-determination.

De Bunsen Committee Responses

As they had with issues of educational expansion and teacher training, addressed earlier in this chapter, the de Bunsen Committee responded in its report to issues pertaining to agricultural and language instruction and religious education, as well as the over-arching desire for local control. Concerning agricultural and English language education, the de Bunsen Committee recommended continuing the curriculum's practical bias, but conceded that English language instruction should be taught earlier on. Both of

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[314] In the Legislative Council Debate Major A. S. Din commented on this problem of religious exclusion:

> It is the fear of most of the African Muslims that if they send their children to schools of other denominations, the result probably will not be as they would like to see. They fear that their children might become or will become as belonging to other religions, and for that particular reason I think I am not far wrong in saying that the majority of Muslim African parents prefer total illiteracy to not having religious instruction in schools.

Debate on the Report on African Education in Uganda: Extracted from the Proceedings of the Legislative Council held on the 12th August 1953. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 822/369 (1952).

[315] 1952 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[316] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

these recommendations were accepted by the Protectorate Government, albeit with reservations regarding the earlier introduction of English.[317] Responsibilities for the provision of primary education were also more fully devolved to Local Education Authorities. In Buganda, the Education Department was willing to allow the Kabaka's government to resume responsibility for junior secondary schools as well.[318]

Debates surrounding the role and purpose of religious instruction were less well resolved. While the de Bunsen Report was written quickly and almost unanimously adopted by the Protectorate Government, on the issue of mission education alone, the de Bunsen Committee was divided. In the 1953 Education Report, the Department gave an overview of this disagreement and the resultant policy decision:

> …three African members of the de Bunsen Committee, whist agreeing that true education in the fullest sense must be based on religion and that the religious authorities must continue to play an important part in its organisation, felt that for the future the best policy would be to encourage the new Local Education Authorities to set up non-denominational schools to educate children of all religious faiths and to provide at these schools facilities for denominational religious instruction by teachers from the main denominations. The majority of members of the Committee, however, whilst realising that in certain circumstances secular schools may be desirable, for example, in areas where there is a strong local demand for a school free of control by church of mosque or in sparsely populated areas where the child population is insufficient for more than one school, nevertheless recommended that the system in general should be based upon the single denominational school as at present.[319]

The reason Kulubya, Lule, and Senkatuka (the three dissenting African committee members) gave for their call for non-denominational schools was twofold. First, as

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[317] 1953 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[318] 1953 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[319] 1953 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

Mukasa explained the Legislative Council Debate, there were cases where in one village there might be three schools, each serving less than 40 students, and in other villages some students were required to walk several miles to attend a school belong to their denomination.[320] If girls and boys could not attend the same school, this only served to compound the problem. Religious education had in many cases caused the uneven distribution of schools. Second, Kulubya, Lule, and Senkatuka argued that "one of the tasks of education in Uganda should be the creation of a national community. A common school to which all can go irrespective of their religious adherence would go a long way towards the achievement of this objective."[321] Unlike European and Asian communities, who already had non-sectarian schools, African communities were largely confined to choosing from Anglican or Roman Catholic schools. These non-African communities could also rely on external funds from missionary agencies to start schools, which would later meet the standards for government funding. Additionally, there was a pervasive belief that African schools needed to "help to give the children a positive and firm religious background"[322] – an argument wholly absent from discussions on Asian or

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[320] A Colonial Office memo expresses a similar sentiment, siding with the dissenting African committee members, rather than the committee (and European) majority:

> The inherent dangers of a system where there was too rigid a division of schools between the two main religious groups. Apart from a small number of Muslim schools, catering for a very small and well-defined section of the African population, it was felt that there might well be need for a number of local authority schools not directly controlled by a religious denomination.

Colonial Office, London, 15 April 1953. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Territorial Sub-Committee A. Report on African Education in Uganda and Memorandum by the Uganda Government. ACEC(A)(53)8. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[321] African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[322] African Education in Uganda: Being the Report of a Committee set up by His Excellency the Governor to study and make recommendations on the future of African Education in the Uganda Protectorate. [The

European education. That some African committee members were ready to abandon mission schooling, or at least allow for non-denominational schooling, while European committee members were not, is embedded in long-held beliefs about the lack of African development and moral character.[323]

European resistance to abandoning religious education can also been seen in the concerted emphasis on the importance of religious and moral (specifically Christian) education for developing a strong, moral (African) nation.[324] For instance, former Commissioner for Community Development J. C. Dakin acknowledged in his 1953 report on "Social change and child welfare in an African territory" that Christianity had undermined the more traditional collective responsibility of tribes or clans with its emphasis on the individual. However, he later praised the ways in which Christian doctrines had spread enthusiasm for school education as a form of individual development: "In it [schooling] is seen the way to personal advancement for the individual and to political progress for the country."[325] In this way, Dakin mitigated possible short-comings of the advent of Christianity with its potential for individual and

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de Bunsen Report.] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12. r. 31 1952 (1).

[323] Ironically, the CMS did not perceive that the government supported religious education, despite the de Bunsen Report. For instance, in the 1955-1956 CMS Historical Record, the society records that:

> Many young African leaders realise that the Church and the Christian message have a real place in the advance of the country, though they are inclined to prefer secular education, perhaps influenced in this respect by Government policy, which takes little note of any need for Christianity.

CMS Historical Record, 1955-56. Section III: Central Records, Part 11: Periodicals. Reel 131. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[324] 1954 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.

[325] Report by J. C. Dakin, former Commissioner for Community Development, Uganda. (1953). "Social change and child welfare in an African territory." University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1106 (6).

national progress. As Joan Cox put it, "The religious (mission) basis of so much colonial education gave standards of integrity to the people."[326] Without Christianity, some British believed that Africans might be caught up in the "materialist manifestations of western civilization – a fine house, good European clothes, a car and all the other amenities provided by the western world," and forget other 'European,' "uniquely Christian virtues" like humility and charity.[327]

The Baganda were, perhaps, seen as a local cautionary exemplar. As the 1950 Education Report noted:

> It is disturbing to have to note that in the more civilised areas the spread of education has often meant a falling off in traditional good manners. The effect of the impact of civilisation frequently means an assumption of the veneer without its effects penetrating very deeply; and disrespect for elders and parents, because they have not received the schooling that the children have, is unfortunately the attitude of a number of children and even more of young men.[328]

Without a true commitment to western ideals, and likewise to Christianity, Africans would 'develop' in all the 'wrong' ways – a significant concern when the country was supposed to be on a path to self-rule. That the development colonial and missionary schooling was responsible for the "falling off in traditional good manners" and "disrespect for elders and parents" was not well considered. If the first dose of medicine was harmful, than a double dose just might fix the problem.

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[326] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).
[327] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).
[328] 1950 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.19 r. 9.

Moving Toward Independence, or Cracks in the Imperial Educational System

As shown in previous chapters, documents written in and around the 1953 de Bunsen Report are reflective of an uncertain time. We see in this report a growing African demand for local control of schooling, alongside European concerns that if schools did not do their job 'well,' "then the youth of the country [were] likely to become increasingly demoralized and the Government [would] before long have intractable social and political problems on its hands."[329] Documents from this time show cracks and gaps in the imperial education system, many of which had been created and maintained in earlier critical moments. For instance, private schools grew out of local demands for greater autonomy over many aspects of school administration, including curricular choices, like the earlier introduction of English, and religious instruction. Other challenges appear in sharper relief in this period as well, including racially-based inequalities and calls for and challenges to African self-rule.

Racial inequalities and frustrations in particular emerged more clearly during this critical moment than any of those before.[330] Shadowed by the Mau Mau Uprising in

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[329] Dakin went on in his report to discuss the Mau Mau Uprising as one example of what "intractable social and political problems" might look like. Report by J. C. Dakin, former Commissioner for Community Development, Uganda. (1953). "Social change and child welfare in an African territory." University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1106 (6).

[330] Some former colonial administrators denied the salience of race as a factor in policy decisions. Harry Hudson claimed:

> We never characterised groups of people by colour, and to this day I intensely dislike the categorising of peoples by colour. In the current media use, all who are not 'white' are 'black.' There was a need for categories if only because of the nature of a protectorate established for the benefit of the native peoples (a perfectly respectable phrase), so divisions were either or both linguistic or continental, European, Asians, and Africans. There were sub-divisions imposed by the peoples themselves. These were religious, tribal, linguistic.

While his point is well taken about the limitations of categories like "white" or "black," his blindness to the fact that racial segregation was imposed by colonial administrators and not always for the benefit of Africans is deeply problematic. Memoranda of H. Hudson. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS Afr. s. 1755 (156).

Kenya, CMS annual reports from the time emphasized the need for "Christians of all races to unite in prayer for all those concerned in these affairs of vital importance to the future of Uganda,"[331] as well as the need for leadership to "help to solve the problem of race relationships."[332] Some of the blame for tense race relationships was placed on young Africans themselves, whom the CMS saw as "hyper-sensitive over all questions concerning race, misinterpreting many incidents which are quite innocent of any racial significance."[333] However, other British expatriates, at least within the colonial service, suggested that racially-based school segregation was supported by the colonial government. Marriott, an Education Officer in the period immediately following the de Bunsen Report, wrote that while he "would not have questioned the idea of my children going to a multiracial school" initially, "After a few weeks of the enculturation process we would have been astonished at any suggestion that our children might mix with the local races in schools."[334] The Education Department itself circulated reports to European staff that encouraged parents to send their children outside the territory for schooling, and the Medical Department "felt that for reasons of health parents should be encouraged to send secondary children" to boarding schools elsewhere.[335] That secondary students (and not babies or primary-aged students) were singled out seems to suggest that 'health' concerns had less to do with malaria and more to do with socialization and sexuality, and

[331] Annual Report of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1953-1954. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[332] Church Missionary Society Historical Record, 1951-1952. Central Records, Reel 129. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[333] Annual Report of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1953-1954. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[334] Memorandum of J. Marriott, Education Officer. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS Afr. r. 111.
[335] Memorandum of J. Marriott, Education Officer. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS Afr. r. 111.

calls to mind *métis* children and the challenges of enculturating Europeans in a non-European setting (Stoler, 1997).

Gender inequalities also came to the forefront in a new way at this time. In 1945 Makerere College had allowed girls to attend for the first time, creating the opportunity for African women to be educated beyond secondary school within the Protectorate itself.[336] Reflective of the 'stratified' pyramid that stood below Makerere, five of the first six girls to attend were Gayaza graduates.[337] In 1953 a new Assistant Director focused on female education was appointed to the Education Department, and this also brought increased attention to the needs of women and girls.[338] Likewise, the de Bunsen Report addressed the limited number of girls who enrolled in and progressed through schooling compared to boys'. The interdependent relationship between the lack of female teachers and lack of schools for girls was a particular focus. Still, the colonial government and CMS often failed to recognize the ways in which its importation of British customs had created some of these divides. Cox herself noted that it was the Kabaka's Government – not the British – who came to the aid of Gayaza Girls' School in 1950 when they were in need of funds for more permanent buildings.[339]

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[336] Prior to this opportunity, no Ugandan women had graduated with a higher education degree. Sarah Nyendwoha Ntiro is believed to have been the first woman in East and Central Africa to graduate from university, having attended (then) Makerere College in 1945, before enrolling at St. Ann College at the University of Oxford in 1951, where she earned a degree in History. Having attended Kings College Budo for secondary school, after finishing her degree Ntiro returned to teach at Gayaza High School. (Lubega, 2015).
[337] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).
[338] 1953 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Weston Library. 752.19 r. 9.
[339] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

Reflections on the Third Critical Moment

In this third critical moment, latent debates relevant to the postcolonial period began to crystallize.[340] Most importantly for this dissertation, these debates over the form and content of school, and over race, gender, and religion, informed and shaped a growing ambivalence of the ways in which childhood had been '(re)formed' by schooling. British authors expressed concerns that Africans had become civilized, but in all the wrong ways, while Ugandan authors decried their continued marginalization and second-class status. As schooling expanded, more and more children participated from ever younger ages. Although not close to universal, most Bagandan children, as well as many Ugandan children, participated in at least some formal schooling. True to the hopes of missionaries in earlier critical moments, whether a child attended school or not, the ideal of the educated African child pervaded. It was assumed that schooling was the best option for ensuring a child's proper moral development and "initiating an African child into the new order," created and maintained by colonialism.[341] In parallel, the tangible outputs of this new school order were appropriated by an educated elite who used English and adopted English customs and clothing, and by a growing number of schools whose architecture borrowed from the British and displaced traditional rites of passage and forms of credentialing. Even private schools, which sought to upend European control,

[340] The term 'crystallize' is particularly apt in this case as it is used to describe a process in macromolecular (protein) crystallography aimed at amplifying and purifying a substance so that its underlying structure can be known (Evans & Jensen, 2015). In Uganda at this time, we see the essence of colonial and native agendas as interrelated, but also oppositional, as they are amplified and clarified in the move toward independence.

[341] Report by J. C. Dakin, former Commissioner for Community Development, Uganda. (1953). "Social change and child welfare in an African territory." University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1106 (6).

still followed the same forms and prepared students to sit for the same exams. Although unacknowledged, meritocratic language used at the time – about ‘deserving’ students or ‘deserving’ schools – hid significant class-, racially-, and gender-based inequalities. Despite their ‘success,’ colonists and missionaries remained dissatisfied and ambivalent about Uganda’s postcolonial future. The move toward self-rule raised fears regarding ‘idle youth’ and uppity Baganda, and, ironically, ‘detribalized’ (or de-Africanized) Ugandans. Old boundaries were challenged as schooling – like the Protectorate as a whole – seemed bent toward lessened British control and greater self-government. In many ways, this moment in 1953 marked the start of a protracted hand-off and move toward educational self-administration and national self-rule, which would culminate in independence in 1963 and the appointment of the Castle Commission.

Chapter 8. The Castle Report and an Imagined Independent Educational Future

Figure 27. Boys attending a mining company-owned school[342]

The level of achievement in the Primary Schools was very low…For those children whose education finished at this level there was a good deal of heartbreak [and] frustration. It could be argued that they were better equipped as a result to carry out their traditional life. Most of them felt…it was poor reward for the expenditure of 6 years fees [and] years time.[343]

We should expect our schools to provide appropriate education for an increasing number of children in accordance with their ability and aptitude…schooling should be planned to cater not only for varying degrees of ability but also to provide recruits for the wide range of occupations and professions essential to the balanced economic and social structure of a modern state…It will also be a duty of those who teach to encourage Uganda's citizens to think beyond the confines of race and

[342] This photo is from a collection of photos dated circa 1962 labeled "British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright Reserve." National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. INF 10/367.
[343] Memorandum of J. S. Whitehead. Oxford Development Records Project. Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, University of Oxford. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (170).

> tribe, for Uganda as a nation now exists…We hope, therefore, that sound education will help to heal division and promote national harmony.[344]

Introduction

On the eve of independence, in this last critical moment, the underlying architecture of schooling had changed little from its early colonial origins. Although enrollment had grown significantly over the approximately 60 years since the first primary school opened in early 1900, schools themselves were still largely administered by 'voluntary agencies' (missionary organizations), with limited funding from the colonial government for schools that met certain criteria (discussed in the previous chapter). Private schools were the exception that proved the rule. Likewise, the structure of schools had shifted only slightly, from six years of primary schooling and (possibly) six years of secondary schooling to a new system in which schools offered a basic course of six years of primary schooling and two years of junior secondary schooling. Only a fraction of students would continue on for an additional four years of senior secondary school.[345] There was only one place for every two African children of primary school age, and only one place for every seven of secondary school age.[346] Of those who did attend schools, only 28% of students completed all six years of primary school and even if more had been successful, there was only room for 5% of students in Junior Secondary

[344] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[345] Y. K. Lule, "Education in Uganda," presented at the 1961 Oxford Conference on Tensions in Development. Memorandum of Mrs. Margaret Chamberlain. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (43) Box XIX.
[346] 1961 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752. 12. r.9 1961.

schools.[347] Hampered by the inadequate number of places, high costs of school fees, and strict exam requirements, in government-aided schools in 1961 there were 51,364 male students and 31,513 female students in Primary 1 (P1), whereas in Primary 6 (P6) there were only 35,513 male students and 9,820 female students.[348]

At best, it could be said that the Uganda Protectorate had been comparatively successful in providing education for African children. In the last 1961 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, published shortly before independence, the British authors qualified their achievements: "Uganda's present achievement, however, short of the target, is still in excess of – for example – Ghana's, when she obtained her independence, and in front of Kenya and Tanganyika."[349] Yet, as Mukasa had pointed out in the 1953 Legislative Council Debate over the de Bunsen Report, not "one whole child" finished Secondary School.[350]

In this last historical moment – centered on the 1963 Castle Commission and its subsequent report – the entire newly independent country, including missionaries, colonists and others, reflected on Uganda's colonial education past. Lingering questions, fomented by the previous years, rose to the surface of education debates: Which types of schooling were appropriate, and for whom? How might students' religious, tribal, racial,

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[347] Y. K. Lule, "Education in Uganda," presented at the 1961 Oxford Conference on Tensions in Development. Memorandum of Mrs. Margaret Chamberlain. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (43) Box XIX.

[348] 1961 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 r. 19

[349] 1961 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752. 12. r.9 1961.

[350] Debate on the Report on African Education in Uganda: Extracted from the Proceedings of the Legislative Council held on the 12th August 1953. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 822/369 (1952).

and/or religious identities factor into the educational milieu? What might be kept from the colonial past, and what needed to be changed to build toward the country's future? Earlier chapters of this dissertation have traced these questions through the transition from the early literacy and catechist instruction of missionary agencies in the late 19th century to the establishment of formal education in the early 1900s, and through the increasing involvement of the colonial government – at first only in terms of funding – in 1925 to the restructuring of 1953. By concluding this dissertation's analysis with a focus on the end of the colonial period and the work done by the 1963 Castle Commission – also known as the Ugandan Education Commission – this chapter, and indeed this dissertation, highlights not the end of colonialism, but rather its reach into the future through its continued influence on schooling and childhood.

Figure 28. A Government Secondary School in Old Kampala, March 1962[351]

[351] From a collection of photos dated circa 1962 labeled "British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright Reserve." National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. INF 10/367.

To further explore this time of reflection and change, this chapter relies on official reports, including the Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education, discontinued at independence, and the unpublished history of the Church Missionary Society; papers from the Castle Commission and the final Castle Report; and letters and ephemera written by Ugandans, colonial officials, and missionaries contemporary to the period. It is worthwhile to mention that not all documents that could have been available were for this period – for instance, the Church Missionary Society has yet to make public annual letters written after 1959, and many colonial government offices necessarily ceased to produce reports after independence. At the same time, documents from this period feature more prevalently African voices neglected in previous periods; this, at least, is a considerable asset.

Most importantly (and unique) to this period, this chapter gives priority to proposals submitted to the Commission related to the general purposes and practices of post-colonial schooling in Uganda. These 350 proposals, written by a broad cross-section of individuals, including teachers, administrators, and government officials, and Africans, British, and Americans, alike, shed light on the zeitgeist of the years surrounding independence. Specifically, these proposals show how educational stratifications – based on gender, race, and religion – were created and maintained by colonial-era schools. Further, they shed light on the 'results' of almost a decade European efforts to educate the African child and to remake her into its image. As the CMS Historical Record for 1957-1958 suggested, "Work among children and youth is very important; among the

young there is a chance of character training during the impressionable years."[352] The remainder of this chapter examines the work of the Castle Commission, highlighting themes from the proposals submitted to the Committee, which are discussed in light of the country's colonial past. Whenever possible, contextual information relevant to understanding the contemporary educational milieu to these memoranda themes are analyzed as well. Finally, this chapter concludes with an analysis of the Castle Report and the framework it established for the country's post-colonial schooling.

Assembling the Castle Commission

Like its East African neighbors, Tanzania and Kenya, the newly independent Ugandan state sought to address inadequacies in the country's educational system – recently highlighted (and critiqued) in a 1962 World Bank Report – and to plan for the nation's future.[353] Just four months earlier, Uganda had gained its independence from the British after a period of upheaval and uncertainty surrounding the structure of the Ugandan government and the role the Buganda – the dominant tribal group during colonialism – might play in the post-independence period.[354] Despite required school fees, demand for and access to formal schooling was at an all-time high. As noted earlier,

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[352] CMS Historical Record, 1957-1959. Section III, Central Records, Part 11: Periodicals. Reel 132. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[353] In 1961 Tanzania (then Tanganyika) invited UNESCO to report on its education system; in 1963, Professor Simeon Ominde was invited to chair the locally-appointed Kenya Education Commission. (Gulliver, 1969)

[354] For a more detailed discussion of Uganda's struggle for independence and the role of the Baganda in this process, and as well as the implications this had for Uganda's subsequent political upheavals, see Kasozi's (1994) *Social Origins of Violence in Uganda, 1964-1985*, Low's (1971) book *Buganda in Modern History*, and Mutibwa's (1992) *Uganda Since Independence*.

in 1953 almost 260,000 school-aged children attended primary school;[355] twenty years later, on the eve of independence in 1960, almost 350,000 school-aged children attended government-aided primary schools, and another 170,000 children attended un-aided primary schools.[356] Lule, Deputy Chairman for Uganda's Public Service Commission, noted in a paper given at the Oxford Conference on Tensions in Development in 1961 that the plan proposed by the earlier de Bunsen Committee:

> …[had been] fully implemented – or more so – within six years; there were by 1958, 3,500 Primary classes in being, against the 1960 de Bunsen target of 2,500; there were 452 Junior Secondary classes, against a target of 265; some 600 pupils had gained School Certificates, against the 1960 target of 500; and so on.[357]

Faced with such demand, many local education authorities struggled to provide adequate access despite their best efforts. As the Uganda Education Committee noted about one district, "Lango tried to provide free primary education to all its children, but the experiment had to be given up because a much larger number of children presented themselves for school, than had been anticipated."[358] The Kabaka's Government pursued plans to make the early stages of primary schooling non-denominational and free, if not universal, beginning with Primary 3, then subsequently expanding to Primary 4, Primary

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[355] In the same year, it was estimated that there were over 1 million children considered school aged, which was defined as aged 6 to 15. 1949 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.19 r. 9.
[356] 1960 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752. 12. r.9 1960.
[357] Y.K. Lule, "Education in Uganda," presented at the 1961 Oxford Conference on Tensions in Development. Memorandum of Mrs. Margaret Chamberlain. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (43) Box XIX.
[358] Notes from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

2, and Primary 1, respectively, specifically to avoid being overwhelmed in the same way.[359]

As a result of rapid expansion, many officials and educationists expressed growing concerns about a perceived decrease in educational quality. In reports written by the Uganda Education Committee following visits to schools in Mityana, Fort Portal, Masindi, and Hoima, they noted that although some well-built, "reasonably equipped [primary] schools existed," making quality instruction available to a few students, "in general the buildings were bad, the provision of equipment totally inadequate and the physical conditions such as to daunt even the most gifted teachers."[360] [361] A committee delegation sent to West Nile commented: "The usual exists here: inadequate teachers, very poor accommodation, including mud benches on which children were sitting astride for lack even of a wooden seat; mud and wattle schools…crowded classes and great

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[359] In "The Kabaka's Government Report of the Committee Set Up to Examine the Possibility of Instituting Free Primary Education," the authors – committee chair, Mr. A. S. Lubwama, and Mr. Dominko Mkasa, Sheikh Ali Kaluma, and Mr. H. L. Hudson – noted that their approach was aimed at avoiding chaos and taking advantage of existing vacancies:

> At present it is estimated that approximately 81,000 children are occupying places in the Primary schools, but there are 98,400 places available…the distribution is, however, uneven and the vacancies are almost all above Class II. In accordance with our recommendations that Class III should first be made free of fees, the first effect of free education would be to encourage children to stay on at school in Class III and IV and this take up a considerable proportion of the vacant places. This would give the opportunity to build up the additional classrooms required as the scheme expands.

The Kabaka's Government Report of the Committee Set Up to Examine the Possibility of Instituting Free Primary Education. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s.7/1957 (1)

[360] Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1. Min. 6, n.d.

[361] The limitations poor school conditions and lack of support can have on teachers, especially those who are new to the profession, continues to be in issue in parts of East and Southern Africa. See for example, Thomas, Thomas, & Lefebvre (2015).

demand from local people for more school places."[362] Despite these struggles, many British officials felt that Uganda was doing well, at least for an East African colony. Mr. S. C. Wood, who was Chief Education Officer in the Ministry of Education in 1962, remembered meeting another British Education Officer who was working at the World Bank and had said of Uganda:

> I thought that was one of the best underdeveloped countries educationally that I've ever come across, and that for example, its teacher education system was very adequate indeed and its secondary school system was in many ways superb…I would willingly have sent my two sons to three of the senior secondary schools I saw in Uganda.[363]

While surprised by the comment, Wood agreed that at the top level, at least, Uganda's system of schooling was as good as it could have been. Mr. Kirk-Greene, Director of the Oxford Development Records Project and interviewer of Wood saw responded that perhaps this was a "rosy view." [364]

Beyond continued expansion, other significant challenges to the status quo had occurred between the de Bunsen Report and independence. First, in 1957 the Protectorate government recommended a move toward "inter-racial education – common education as the Education Department, for some reason, [preferred] to call it,"[365] and schools were subsequently (and slowly) reorganized. In 1960 the Annual Report of the Education

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[362] Notes on West Nile (Group A). Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[363] Interview with Mr. W. L. Bell and Mr. S. C. Wood by A. Kirk-Green, 1982. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (171).
[364] Interview with Mr. W. L. Bell and Mr. S. C. Wood by A. Kirk-Green, 1982. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (171).
[365] Entebbe European Parents' Association, Chairman's Report for the Year 1957. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 910.

Department gave separate statistics for African, Asian, and European schools,[366] whereas in 1961 the newly inter-racial school enrollment data were reported under the headings: "Group A schools (predominantly African)," "Group B schools (predominantly Asian)," and "Group C schools (predominantly European)."[367] This is not to suggest that the transition was at all smooth. Papers related to the Entebbe European Parents' Association show a great deal of resistance. In the *Chairman's Report for the Year 1957*, parents were reassured:

> You have all seen the Minister's statement [regarding inter-racial education], which was attached to the agenda of this meeting. What does it mean? It means, in practice, in the context of our big school here, that if an African child or an Asian child of the right age were to turn up and seek admission to the school, and <u>if</u> the headmaster were satisfied that the child could speak and understand English well enough, so that he could join the appropriate class without difficulty for himself and without lowering the standards of instruction for the other children in the class, and <u>if</u> the child were normally well behaved and so forth, and <u>if</u> his admission would not prejudice the chances of other European children finding a place in the school (because the school was founded in the first place to meet the needs of our community) – <u>if</u> all these things, then the child would be admitted. It is a Government School, after all, and the Government is inter-racial – or should I say common? Again, <u>if</u> there were a danger that large numbers of non-European children might enter the school so that the character of the place might change – if there was a danger of that kind, we have the Director's assurance that we would be consulted as an Association in advance. Whatever happens, we are promised that there will be no lowering of standards.[368]

The repeated emphasis on "if" and concluding remark that standards would not be lowered makes the chairman's meaning clear. So long as the European schools in Entebbe could find a reason to deny African or Asian students entry, they would. It

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[366] 1960 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752. 12. r.9 1960.
[367] 1961 Education Department Annual Report. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752. 12. r.9 1961.
[368] Emphasis in original. Entebbe European Parents' Association, Chairman's Report for the Year 1957. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 910.

would take a further two years for an African student to be admitted – in 1959 sandwiched between agenda items about renovating the Kindergarten and changing the school's insurance policy was the note: "Admission of African to Kindergarten…Mr. Pollock informed the meeting that he had heard that the Kabaka had tried to obtain entry for his son."[369] It is not clear whether or not the Kabaka's son was, indeed, the first African applicant to be successful, but suffice to say racial integration was an uphill battle.[370]

Second, the challenges of the move toward independence itself had implications for schooling – especially in Buganda, where from 1953 to 1955 the Kabaka was exiled for his 'disloyalty' to the British, under the 1900 Agreement.[371] Buganda rallied in the Kabaka's support, as remembered by Harry Hudson, a Provincial Education Officer in Buganda beginning in 1954:

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[369] Meeting Minutes, July 1959. Entebbe European Parents' Association, Chairman's Report for the Year 1957. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 910.

[370] In a particularly frustrating moment, when the Entebbe European School was told in 1957 to drop "European" from its name, the Chairman commented: "We will have to go carefully about this. For one thing, the Headmaster has laid in a large stock of school hatbands with the embroidered initials 'E.E.S.'. We must not lightly embarrass him by changing the initials." Entebbe European Parents' Association, Chairman's Report for the Year 1957. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 910.

[371] The CMS Annual Report for 1953-1954 described the event in this way:

> Uganda has been the centre of world interest for much of the year. Attention was suddenly focused there on November 30, 1953, when Sir Andrew Cohen, Governor of Uganda, withdrew the recognition of the British Government from the Kabaka of Buganda, Edward Mutesa II, and on the same day the Kabaka was deported to England. In this brief report it is not possible to discuss the situation which has obtained since that event, nor to surmise as to the outcome of the forthcoming visit to Uganda of Sir Keith Hancock, Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London, who is to go out in June of this year to assist in examining constitutional questions concerning Buganda. What is abundantly clear is the great need for Christians of all races to unite in prayer for all those concerned in these affairs of vital importance to the future of Uganda.

Annual Report of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1953-54. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

> Every school contained a picture of [the Kabaka] in ceremonial robes, hung prominently, even in buildings of temporary construction of mud wattle and thatch…No school removed a portrait through the period of his expulsion; possibly many hung these pictures for the first time. The deportation was an affront to the whole people and unified them.[372]

Other politically-charged local conflicts affected children and schools throughout the decade between the de Bunsen Commission, independence, and the Castle Commission. E. V. Townsend, who taught at the then-named Mathers Technical School for male secondary students in Tororo (renamed Manjasi High School in October 1962), remembered:

> As independence loomed ahead, tensions began to grow, and it became obvious that forces were at work in the country as a whole to make things difficult. Political parties became more active, and leaders and candidates for the forthcoming elections promised more and more…This atmosphere seemed to affect the whole country, and we at the school noticed that there was a change.

Townsend went on to describe a student 'strike' of sorts, which he connected to the independence movement. One morning he found the entire student body standing in front of a dormitory with a list of grievances, which he argued, "they obviously had been inventing as they went along."[373] (Townsend, who never went into any detail, assumed the ill-founded nature of these grievances.) Townsend first told the boys that if they did not attend classes, as scheduled, they would have to leave the school grounds. When they did neither, he summoned the local education authority to talk to the 'uncooperative' boys. After this failed, Townsend responded by closing the school kitchens and officially telling the students to return home, which they did after a further four days. The school

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[372] Memorandum of Harry Hudson. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (156).
[373] Memorandum of E. V. Townsend. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (166).

remained closed until its subsequent reorganization; many of the original students were not readmitted. Although less dramatic, Miss Richards, who taught Senior Secondary History at Gayaza High School, noted in August 1959 that her students were particularly interested in stories of other peoples and nations who had gained self-government.[374] It was a time of "uncertainty and rapid change" for Uganda's government and schools alike.[375]

In this context, nine committee members and two secretaries, led by education professor E. B. Castle, met to outline their task and timeline on a dry Friday morning – January 25, 1963 – in Kampala;[376] they were to enquire as to and report on the present state of Ugandan education, and to make recommendations intended to shape to the country's post-colonial education system. The committee chair, Professor E. B. Castle, was on leave from his position as professor of Education and Director of the Institute of Education at the University of Hull, and was serving as a visiting professor at Makerere University.[377] The committee itself was comprised of an outstanding group of local education experts. For example, Mr. Zekeria Mungonya – vice-chairman of the commission – was the first African to serve as a minister in the colonial government and

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[374] Letter by Miss Richards, 1959. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF AL 1950-59 PH-RN.

[375] The CMS Historical Record for 1961-1962 began its discussion of Uganda: "This is a time of political uncertainty and rapid change [emphasis in original], with tremendous pressures from nationalism (or tribalism) and materialism." CMS Historical Record, 1961-1964. Section III: Central Records, Part 11: Periodicals. Reel 134. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[376] The names "Uganda Education Committee," "Uganda Education Commission," and "Castle Commission," are all used in archival documents from the period.

[377] Castle went on to publish *Growing Up in East Africa* in 1966, largely based on his experiences teaching at Makerere University and surveying Uganda's education system as a part of the Uganda Education Commission.

in 1955 was appointed the assistant minister of social services.[378] Mr. Bernard Onyango worked as a teacher, then academic registrar at Makerere University beginning in 1963 (Abimanyi, 2013). Professor William Senteza Kajubi was the first African to receive a Fulbright scholarship and studied geography at the University of Chicago before returning to work at Kings College Budo, then to lecture at Makerere University ("Prof. Senteza Kajubi," 2012). Other committee members present that day included the aforementioned Mr. Wood, and Mr. Abe, Dr. Mason, Mr. Sentamu, and Mr. Rumbombora. In many ways the African committee members represented a new educated, professional Ugandan class that had arisen during the colonial period and largely been educated at mission schools. European committee members were largely those who had in some way been involved in colonial schooling prior to independence.[379]

From a confidential set of minutes from the committee's initial meeting, the group agreed on three main areas of enquiry, suggested sub-committee groups, presented papers to be considered over the weekend, approved the inclusion of Mother Mary Dominic – who was to be the sole female committee member, and fixed 10:00 a.m. as the provisional time for future meetings. Further, they established that: "…persons wishing to give evidence before the Commission should, in the first place, be required to submit written Memoranda, and that the Commission reserved the right to select those whom it

[378] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[379] As another example of continuity across time, it is worth noting that the rooms used by the Uganda Education Committee were provided by Bernard de Bunsen, author of the 1953 report and principal of Makerere College. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. INF 10/375/5.

would invite to meet it and give further evidence."[380] Then the committee adjourned to meet again the following Monday.

During their frequent and subsequent meetings, over the course of several months in early 1963, the committee read existing reports on all aspects of education, large and small; and conducted visits and interviews throughout the country to supply information on the status of education, including visits to schools "paid without warning in order to ascertain real daily conditions."[381] They also hosted and questioned education experts, such as Mr. F. Stevens, Chief Inspector of Schools; and Mr. C. Ssali, Organizer of Technical Education, and representatives from prominent and relevant organizations, such as the Uganda Teachers Association and the Uganda Council of Women.[382] Additionally, they reviewed approximately 350 memoranda, including solicited and unsolicited documents submitted by groups such as the Uganda Education Association, the Uganda Catholic Parents' Association, and the Uganda Teacher's Association, and by individuals, many of whom were teachers, like Albert Gumikiriza, and politicians, such as Eseza Makumbi. In as much as these memoranda focus on goals for the future they also reflect on the country's colonial history, during which the formal architecture and patterns of education were established.[383]

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[380] Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[381] Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[382] Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1. Min. 5, 1st February, 1963.
[383] In a recent news article – published by the Ugandan newspaper *New Vision* and written to celebrate 50 years of independence – Masinde (2012) wrote that "It was the Castle recommendations that guided Uganda's education until 1977 when another educational policy review commission was appointed under the chairmanship of the late Prof. Senteza Kajubi. However, this commission was short-lived due to the 1978/79 liberation war. Its report was neither published nor implemented." Further, similarly to the Castle

National Reflections on Colonial Schooling

Imagined futures. Of concern to many memoranda authors were recommended education reforms that would push the country forward. As one such author, Albert Gumikiriza – a History Master at the Catholic St. Leo's College in Fort Portal – put it, "We are a young nation and we must summon all our resources to catch up with other nations in the art of modern living."[384] Now that the country had become independent, memoranda authors argued for Uganda to move beyond its rudimentary school system to an expanded and improved system that would aid in the country's post-colonial political and economic progress.

Figure 29. "Schoolgirls" likely from Gayaza[385]

Commission, the author argued that "today's education encourages science and technical education, which are needed by our country and this was from the first education commissions."

[384] Memorandum submitted by Albert Gumikirziza, St. Leo's College, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[385] From a collection of photos dated circa 1962 labeled "British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright Reserve." National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. INF 10/367.

Moreover, memo authors suggested that the development of schooling and the development of the nation were synonymous.[386] Schooling became a rallying point for larger national development efforts on which otherwise divided political factions could agree. Enoch Mulira – author of the *History of Literacy Organization in Uganda* – wrote in his memorandum, "The school in Uganda is the beacon which spells 'progress'. Almost the first amenity that a progressive community demands is a 'school for our children'."[387]

This improvement and expansion of schooling had to be planned for carefully, with attention to the needs of future, as well as current students. P. E. Mayhew – writing on behalf of the Institute of Education at Makerere University College[388] – called for the Castle Commission to see that their "immediate task" was:

> …To see that the schools, <u>at the moment</u>, are made as good as they possibly can be. Whatever policy may be adopted for universal education in the future, it is our

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[386] Writing about western education in colonial India, Seth (2007) made a similar point:

> Western education was not only where the question of subjectivity came to be posed; it was also the site where collective identities were produced. Indeed, the impact of western education derived less from the transformations that it effected upon the relatively small numbers who were subject to pedagogy, and more from its having become the object of desire and contestation; less for instance, because many nationalists were western-educated, and more because nationalism made western education an important part of its vision of what was required to bring into being an independent and modern nation. (p. 11)

[387] Memorandum submitted by Enoch Mulira, Kings College, Budo. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[388] In Vavrus's (forthcoming) chapter, "Postcolonial Reading of Curriculum and Pedagogy in East Africa: The Teachers for East Africa Program Revisited," she noted that as late as 1960 the Makerere Institute of Education was the only public higher education institution in East Africa, as well as the only place where it was possible to obtain a Diploma in Education, required for secondary school teachers in the region. Vavrus explained that this was due to "the prevailing view among British officials as late as 1955…that resources were too limited to develop such institutions beyond Uganda" (n.p.). Whether or not resources were truly so limited as British officials claimed, throughout the region the lack of secondary teacher training formed a considerable obstacle to finding qualified teachers following independence. As one way to address this shortage, the Teachers for East Africa (TEA) program was launched in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy. Scheub and Neiderberger, quoted later in this chapter, were two TEA teachers sent to work in Uganda.

> duty to ensure that the children who are in school this year are going to have the best education that it is possible to give them.[389]

Though, with limited resources was the country to focus on improving infrastructure or its teacher corps? On primary or secondary education? What would this 'best possible' education look like? Authors argued for expansion of primary, secondary, tertiary education; for a focus on elite education or mass education; for the development of model schools; for special attention to teacher training and their needs; for an end to minimum pupil requirements to start new schools; for expanded post-primary options or for expanded pre-primary schooling; for testing reform; for curriculum change and the use of local vernaculars, English, and/or Swahili; for equality of access and opportunity; for an increase to religious education or for its abandonment; for school choice and against it.

If there was a consistent aspect to these proposals, it would be that authors tended to argue for revisions closest to their field of experience. For example, P. E. Mayhew, a strong proponent of nursery and Montessori education at Makerere University College, argued that primary schooling was most important because of its foundational role – he maintained that students who were not initially well-prepared would fail later.[390] Enoch Mulira, an instructor at one of the country's preeminent secondary schools, suggested that the country's best schools needed improvement so that wealthy Africans and Europeans

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[389] Emphasis in original. Memorandum submitted by P. E. Mayhew, Institute of Education, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[390] Memorandum submitted by P. E. Mayhew, Institute of Education, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

would no longer choose to send their children to Kenya or abroad.[391] The Uganda Education Commission itself – appointed by the newly independent government – was concerned that the country's educational system might not simply be a 'colonial copy,' oriented toward students eventually obtaining a "black-coated job."[392] As was written in a set of confidential notes from a committee meeting on Tuesday, January 29, 1963:

> …The content of education should be so shaped as to create a situation whereby education could help a school leaver to fit himself easily into the Ugandan society. In other words, it was important that education in Uganda should not be a mere copy of the British or European education.[393]

What was perhaps most consistent stressed was that an improved Ugandan school system fit the Ugandan context.

Many memoranda authors shared this concern and suggested changes that would unify Uganda and instill in its citizens a (new) national identity (just as colonial educationalists and missionaries had sought to inculcate a more European identity in the decades prior). Gumikiriza called his compatriots to work together: "…whatever we feel or whatever we suggest or oppose, we must…do so as Ugandans. In other words, if we have to develop our country, we must first develop nationalism."[394] The education system's product would be citizens – children who would be prepared to take on, as

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[391] Memorandum submitted by Enoch Mulira, Kings College, Budo. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[392] This phrase, calling to mind the contrasting images of the Mengo High School boy and the postman in Chapter 5, seemed to be used similarly to the term 'white-collar' and connoted a high-status position. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[393] Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[394] Memorandum submitted by Albert Gumikirziza, St. Leo's College, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

adults, the increased responsibilities of independence.[395] Or, as Z. M. Baliddawa wrote from Makerere University College: "…people who are going to give immediate returns to the community and to themselves" and who would be able to "understand and interprete [*sic*] intelligently the world around him…[and] to enable him to appreciate the difficulties of his/her community and try to make him/her able to devise means of solving them."[396] In this way, the new system might be changed from one "based on Colonial ideas and backgrounds," to one that suited "the needs of those people that were ruling this country…now the people of Uganda must be educated to meet the needs of the country as a whole and as it is."[397] In other words the needs of an independent Uganda, and not the needs of a British Protectorate must be put forward.

Beyond these reforms, three broader themes emerged from the memoranda. First, at the individual level, many authors argued that schools should more directly focus on the needs of the child and should consider how intelligence, gender, religion, and location might play into their educational experiences. Second, at the societal level, they argued for Uganda's education system to be Africanized and adapted to fit local contexts. This extended to authors advocating for Africanization and often against continued European and/or missionary intervention. While these goals are admirable, a closer reading belies a more complicated view of the African (and especially, the rural and/or female) child's

[395] A similar emphasis on children as integral to Uganda's future success continues in the modern era. Based on her ethnography of children's rights and childhood in Uganda, Cheney (2007) argued that Ugandans conceptualized "childhood…as a particularly promising space for reimagining the nation, while they also reimagined children's roles within it: if people could raise their children to feel like Ugandans, then children could raise the nation out of underdevelopment (p. 2)."
[396] Memorandum submitted by Z. M. Baliddawa, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[397] Memorandum submitted by G. W. Nsamba, School Supervisor, Masaka Diocese. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

capabilities. These memoranda are inherently forward thinking, in that they propose future changes for Uganda's schools; however, they are also reflective of the past – the approaches, arguments, and recommendations are framed by colonial experiences. To borrow from Hickling-Hudson, Matthews, and Woods (2004) memoranda authors could not neatly separate their educational reforms from "the decolonizing and post colonial present or future" (p. 3).

The child and the school. First, many memoranda authors argued that, moving forward, school should be 'child-centered.' Mayhew, the aforementioned Montessori Professor, advocated:

> The education of young children should follow, what is now generally accepted by all psychologists and educationalists, the natural tendencies of the child…children learn by being active, by doing, by having actual experiences involving all their senses, by discovering, by experimenting and above all by thinking and talking. They do not learn by watching the teacher doing and talking.[398] [399]

From this description, child-centered learning was understood similarly to the way it is today. The best education was and is believed to be one in which children are active participants, and teachers individualize their instructional practices to better meet the student needs. Mayhew was not the first to suggest this; Froebelian educational philosophies, referenced in previous chapters, can be found in documents dating from at

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[398] Memorandum submitted by P. E. Mayhew, Institute of Education, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[399] This recommendation was lifted, almost verbatim, and included in the eventual report of the Uganda Education Commission:

> In our view primary education in Uganda has not yet emerged from the historical phase described above. It is for this reason that we wish to lay especial emphasis on the fact that children learn by being active, by doing, by having actual experience involving all their senses, by discovering, by experimenting, and above all by thinking and talking

From "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

least the time of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1925.[400] Advocates for child-centered approaches can be found throughout archival materials related to education. As one example, Miss Foster – a CMS missionary teaching at Canon Apolo College in Fort Portal – explained her educational philosophy in her 1959 annual letter: "Another priority, and one which I have been seeing more and more clearly in the last few weeks, is the need to awaken the students, and to help them to come 'alive' in every way." She continued: "I am quite sure that our students, who are not of very high intelligence, need a great deal of opportunity for discovering their own interests and abilities, and of developing them."[401] Foster's view of the child-centered approach and its utility was shared by many and not at all unique to this final critical moment.

While it seems from education reports that academically-gifted children who performed well in the current system could perhaps continue to be successful with (or perhaps in spite of) less child-centered instructional methods, if schooling was to be made relevant and accessible to all children, memoranda authors argued that adaptations would have to be made. Many perceived that the present educational system, at best, only provided "an academic education for the elite, since the country has not the money to provide universal education yet."[402] Accordingly, similar to Foster, memoranda authors

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[400] As one example, Miss Ainley wrote in a 1925 letter of her delight in teaching Kindergarten: "Every morning after prayers, I take the babies for English and it is just wonderful how quickly they pick up the words, they enjoy the Froebelian games as much as children at home." Letter by Miss Ainley, 1925. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[401] Letter by Miss Foster, 1959. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF/AL 1950-59 F-GN.

[402] CMS Historical Record, 1961-1964. Section III: Central Records, Part 11: Periodicals. Reel 134. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

Figure 30. Gayaza Junior School Activities[403]

like Pumla Kisosonkole[404] called for provisions for "academically minded children" as well as those "who [were] either not academic or are slower than others."[405] Child-centered learning was seen as a way to meet the needs of the "less bright"[406] child, who might be frustrated and disgruntled in the education system.[407] Instead of providing only

[403] The girls in this photo appear to be participating in a lesson in which they purchase items from a 'school store,' perhaps as part of a arithmetic class. From a collection of photos dated circa 1962 labeled "British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright Reserve." National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. INF 10/367.

[404] Pumla Kisosonkole was born in South Africa, but moved to Uganda after meeting her husband, who was a Ugandan student who had been sent to South Africa for further studies. Kisosonkle was an educationist by profession and went on to serve as one of the first African women in the Uganda Legislative Council. By 1963, the time of the Castle Commission, she had been appointed as Uganda's first representative to the UN General Assembly (Lubega, 2015).

[405] Memorandum by Pumla Kisosonkole. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[406] CMS Historical Record, 1961-1964. Section III: Central Records, Part 11: Periodicals. Reel 134. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.

[407] This recommendation provides an interesting contrast to Anyon's (1981) findings related to teacher pedagogy, social class, and school knowledge in the U.S. In her study of five elementary schools, she found that students at working-class schools were perceived by teachers to be less creative, less capable, and thereby less able to think critically and to construct knowledge for themselves (a critical component of

an academic track, some primary school students might be prepared for vocational or technical schooling, while others might take a more academically-oriented track.

Underpinning this child-centered approach were arguments for the equality of European (White) and African (Black) students – if not the equality of all learners. In contrast with the past, when missionaries had initially established schools based on the premise that, as the Uganda Council of Women asserted in 1963, "what was best for a white child need not be the same for a dark child,"[408] some authors argued that African children were well able to meet the challenges and rigors of European education. Highly critical of the British colonial legacy, Harold Scheub and Robert Neiderberger – Americans participating in the Columbia University Teachers for East Africa program[409] – took the position that "Uganda's children [were] no less possessed of the ability to become full and complete men and women than any other pupil."[410] Another memoranda author, Ochienghs-Wellborn, a School Supervisor for the CMS in Teso District, critiqued the "color bar" and its role in schooling, pointing out that: "Africans [were] still regarded as third rate in their own land." If Ugandan schools were to be improved, the equal

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child-centered pedagogy). In contrast, students at middle- and upper-class schools were encouraged to make sense of knowledge themselves, and learning was believed to come from personal inquiry. Therefore, 'less bright' children were believed to need, necessarily, more direct (and teacher) centered instruction.

[408] Uganda Council of Women, Sub-Committee for Further Education for Women and Girls. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[409] Although outside the scope of this dissertation, the critiques of young Americans like Scheub and Neiderberger were not always appreciated by the British (Vavrus, forthcoming). Townsend, who was mentioned earlier in this chapter and taught at Mathers Technical School, allowed that although valuable as teachers: "I found that the young Americans were almost too enthusiastic, and sometimes tended to adopt a paternalistic attitude." Memorandum of E. V. Townsend. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (166).

[410] Memorandum submitted by Harold Scheub and Robert Neiderberger, Education Officers, Masindi Secondary Senior School. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

capabilities of African children would have to be recognized, and schools centered on their needs.

Still, this belief in the equal capability of all children, Black or White, was not shared by everyone. As indicated by the earlier concerns of the Entebbe European Parents' Association in Chapter 7, admitting African students to their school was equated with lowering standards. In her memorandum, Miss Wardrop – the Assistant Educational Secretary of the Church of Uganda – tied unequal school achievements to the home environment and parenting; to ignorance and poverty; to demands on children's time; to lack of 'cultural background' – defined vis-à-vis a European norm; to lack of value for education; and to the conditioning of girls, in particular, to an inferior status.[411] Similarly, while Mayhew argued for the importance of child-centered pedagogy, he also blamed the struggles of African children on a lack of time spent playing (largely, he reasoned, because of their parents). In his memorandum he recommended:

> A great deal of parent education also needs to be done. One reason why white children appear to be brighter than African children, is that they play.[412] African children are potentially as bright…I believe that the improvement of African education depends on children playing. Western children play from the time they can sit up…By the time they start school they have a wealth of experience on which the school can build.[413]

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[411] Memorandum submitted by Miss B. Wardrop, Assistant Educational Secretary, Church of Uganda. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[412] Presumably Mayhew's normative definition of 'play' excludes work or participation other community activities – an assumption that persists in documents like the UNCRC. Katz's (2004) book, referenced earlier, provides a valuable critique of this assumption, suggesting that work and play can exist "simultaneous, overlapping, or punctuated by one another" (p. 67).

[413] Emphasis in original. Memorandum submitted by P. E. Mayhew, Institute of Education, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

That pupils came to school "potentially as bright," but less well-equipped and therefore (always) less able, was often assumed. This assertion reflected one common amongst educationists and missionaries working in Uganda at the time. Miss Rose, living in Mukono, wrote in her 1959 annual letter that, "…the training of the children brings rich reward in the free, happy and steady development we see as they learn to play together and to assume themselves, which does not come easily to African children."[414] Others viewed the African child as "well-mannered" and "keen to learn," but "more docile" than their American or British counterparts.[415] Even as memoranda authors (and their contemporaries) rejected a purely racialized hierarchy of academic ability, persistent beliefs in Europe's culturally superior child-rearing practices, as well as potential (racial) differences in a child's natural tendencies, remained evident.[416] If anything, for many authors, the inherent inequality of African children was replaced with a belief in learned inequality. The pitfalls that might prevent African children's adequate development seemed myriad, just as examples of success were seen to be few.

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[414] Letter by Miss Rose, 1959. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS AF/AL 1950-59 RO-SJ.

[415] Although the author of this comment is not clear, in a draft of "The Primary School Child in East Africa," submitted along with other papers by Margaret Chamberlain, someone handwrote the comment "well-mannered, keen to learn when they come. They are more docile than American or British children esp. the girls," next to a paragraph on the general characteristics of "young, adequately nourished East African children." Memorandum of Mrs. Margaret Chamberlain. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (43) Box XIX.

[416] In parallel conversations surrounding Africanization of the Uganda political structure, this same theme emerges. When asked for comments on some of the documents given to them by the Oxford Development Records Project and its study of colonialism, S. C. Wood objected to "the use of the word 'race' in the sentence: 'However deplorable the fact it is evident that race is very much a factor in policy making during the stage of evolution described in this study.'" He argued that 'ability,' rather than race, was the dominant factor in staffing decisions, a comment that is reminiscent of discussions of play and school readiness. That Europeans were overwhelming considered more 'able,' was not acknowledged. Interview with Mr. W. L. Bell and Mr. S. C. Wood by A. Kirk-Green, 1982. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (171).

Africanizing Uganda's education system. Memoranda authors of all nationalities – especially Ugandan authors – also focused at length on the need for the country's educational system to be 'Africanized' to better meet 'local needs.' Although Africanization was defined in varying ways, over all, authors indicated that the country's educational system should be made relevant to the Ugandan context, and that learning should extend from the child's experiences outward to his community, nation, and world (as opposed to from the British experience outward, as had been the case during the colonial period). Baliddawa summed up this assertion well:

> I strongly feel that subject matter should be arranged in such a way that they begin with the child's surrounding[s] and then expand outwards…This, I think, will help the growing child to realise that what he/she is doing has some relevance to his/her surroundings …This aim should be to make the child appreciate and love her surrounding.[417]

Africanization was to be achieved through shifting the curriculum from its British focus, explored in previous chapters, to emphasize Uganda's unique history, customs, and geography.[418] Booker Sentongo, a Ugandan teacher, explained: "A citizen who has a thorough knowledge about everything connected with his country should be our aim. Nowadays children seem to know more about foreign parts of the world than they do about Mother Uganda." Where previous curricula had focused on European history, authors called for a new post-colonial curricula to address Ugandan and pan-African history; and where previous home economics courses had focused on European cookery

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[417] Memorandum submitted by Z. M. Baliddawa, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[418] Memorandum submitted by Albert Gumikirziza, St. Leo's College, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

and household management, authors called for instruction in Ugandan cookery and for attention to the unique needs of the Ugandan home and an agricultural economy.[419] One author called for time to be spent learning the national anthem and other songs that might develop in students a sense of national pride.[420]

The suggested result of this Africanization was to be two-fold: first, that the country would develop a strong sense of national identity, and second, that these efforts would help develop "free and independent thinkers and citizens."[421] Authors like Albert Gumikiriza were concerned that Uganda did not have a strong national identity, perhaps because it did not experience a protracted struggle for independence. Instead, Gumikiriza argued that sectarian and tribal differences predominated and that only through education, might, "Ugandan children…begin to look at themselves as Ugandans from an early age."[422] (Of course, as shown throughout this dissertation, colonial-era schooling had a strong influence on creating and maintaining these sectarian and tribal differences.) The hoped for result of a shift toward African ways of being and knowing, was a Ugandan citizen capable of critical thinking and full participation in public life, and a Ugandan citizen controlled by local mechanisms and national structures, rather than colonial powers.

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[419] See, for example, memoranda submitted by Booker Sentongo, or Albert Gumikiriza, both Ugandan teachers. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[420] Memorandum submitted by Z. M. Baliddawa, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[421] Memorandum submitted by Harold Scheub and Robert Neiderberger, Education Officers, Masindi Secondary Senior School. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[422] Memorandum submitted by Albert Gumikirziza, St. Leo's College, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

However, this call for Africanization and citizenship education was underpinned in some cases by a markedly gendered and localized picture of what and who a citizen might be or do; it was not uncommon for authors to distinguish between the over-arching aims for "students" and "girls" (a linguistic pattern reminiscent of the earlier curricula published by the Protectorate Education Department). Citizenship education for girls, as proposed in many memoranda, focused on their roles in the home, as colonial curricula had in the past. Margaret Gumikiriza, wife of Albert, argued: "The primary duty of a woman is to get married and have a home of her own; and the curriculum of the school should be designed in such a way that it prepares her for marriage."[423] While authors argued for a shift away from European-oriented content – "It serve[d] no purpose to train a girl in making a good cake if she cannot prepare a good African meal"[424] – they did not necessarily argue for anything else to change. Girls' curriculum – such as that proposed by the Bagandan Kabaka's government – would still include "necessary household skills, home management, diet and other necessary subjects,"[425] as it had since 1928.[426] In contrast, boys were universally viewed as citizens-in-training who would take on public roles in the country's economic and political life. Of course there are memo authors who argued the opposite. Eseza Makumbi – a member of the Bagandan *Lukiiko* [Parliament] – proposed that steps be taken to encourage girls' education at all levels, including

[423] Memorandum submitted by Margaret Gumikirziza, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Mrs. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[424] Memorandum submitted by Z. M. Baliddawa, Makerere University College. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[425] Memorandum submitted by the Ministry of Education, H. H. the Kabaka's Government. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[426] 1928 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for Girls' Elementary Vernacular Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

university (which would require schooling more comparable to that of boys).[427] Still, the prevailing attitude toward children's gender socialization continued to reflect European norms.

Figure 31. "P. T. Class"[428]

Rural and urban students were also purported to need distinctly different schooling. Pumla Kisosonkole – then Ugandan representative to the UN General Assembly – argued for a curriculum that would

> [B]reak away from the system which forces a child in the countryside to follow a pattern designated for a child in the city, but similar provision should be given to the latter in accordance with the life he or she is expected to lead.[429]

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[427] Memorandum submitted by Eseza Makumbi, Kampala. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[428] From a collection of photos dated circa 1962 labeled "British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright Reserve." National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. INF 10/367.
[429] Memorandum by Pumla Kisosonkole. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

This could be viewed as positive. Ugandan students would no longer be required to learn arcane European history and would instead learn curriculum relevant to their local contexts, where "relatively few" students would "be able to obtain paid employment in an overwhelmingly peasant-agricultural economy."[430] However, some memo writers, such as Sheldon Weeks – associate at the East African Institute of Social Research – pointed out problems with this line of thinking: "…education should not be used as a vehicle by which people are denied opportunities…Any educational system in an independent nation that is designed to keep the people on the land will be rejected by the people for the same reasons."[431] This strong push for local education, couched in terms of Africanization, could be read as one that would maintain an unequal socioeconomic status quo. Whether or not the solution to Uganda's challenges lie in preventing rural students from moving to cities or working to provide them greater opportunities had been debated for years, this tension between memoranda authors reflected earlier anxieties surrounding the welfare of African children and idle, 'detribalized' youth that had arisen in the 1950s as many young Ugandans moved to cities.[432] If agricultural or technical education that did not culminate

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[430] S. Vivian, Principal, Bishop Kitching College, Ngora. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[431] Wardrop made a similar argument to Weeks:

> Attempts to popularise agriculture for the school leaver, except as a profession for administrators (agricultural officers) have so far largely failed. The appeal of urban amenities and the hope of Government employment is too strong to overcome the hardships and disadvantages of rural life as it is known at present. The 'have-nots' will never like farming just because the 'haves' tell them that it is a good, admirable and even profitable thing to do.

Memorandum submitted by Miss B. Wardrop, Assistant Educational Secretary, Church of Uganda. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[432] Report by J. C. Dakin, former Commissioner for Community Development, Uganda. (1953). "Social change and child welfare in an African territory." University of Oxford, Weston Library. MSS. Afr. s. 1106 (6).

in senior secondary schooling could be made more palatable, then some felt Ugandan society might be made more stable.

Missionary and religious education. As has been explored throughout this dissertation, missionary organizations – most notably the CMS – played an integral role in the development of schooling in colonial Uganda. Ignoring indigenous education altogether, as many did at the time, Norman James Turner, an Establishment Officer in Kampala from 1952 to 1957, made this point in his memorandum for the Oxford Development Research Project:

> When I had first arrived in Uganda it had been a British Protectorate for less than sixty years and the Education Department had been in existence for a mere twenty-eight years. I frequently pondered on the transformation, especially in education, that had taken place in that comparatively short period of time. I believe I am right in thinking that prior to the arrival of the missionary societies towards the end of the nineteenth century, no education at all existed in Uganda, but that by 1950 approximately two-thirds of the children, and several thousand adults, were receiving some form of education.[433]

Despite this legacy, the role of voluntary agencies was increasingly contested in the move toward an independent Uganda, and markedly unresolved and contentious debates over the role of voluntary agencies lingered after the earlier 1953 de Bunsen report. Reflecting this tension, Castle Commission meeting minutes from late January 1963 recorded:

> Attitude of the committee towards responsibility and control by voluntary agencies. The committee discussed this matter at some length. No conclusions were reached, but on the whole the committee seemed to incline towards the view of the minority recommendation in the De Bunsen report which is summarised as follows:–
>
> 'Visits to Mityana, Fort Portal, Masindi, and Hoima elicited demands for free universal primary education, greater expansion of schools into rural areas,

[433] Memorandum of Norman James Turner. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (168).

> expansion of post-primary schooling opportunities, and better status and pay for teachers, among other things. While the general public was in favor of denominational education, committee members noted that teachers were less so, and that questions arising regarding the religious integration of schools were answered evasively.'[434]

It is perhaps unsurprising that in picking up the earlier debate of the de Bunsen Commission, the Castle Commission – with much stronger African representation and commission by an independent, rather than a colonial Ugandan government – took the minority (African) view of the de Bunsen Report. Still, it reflects a significant shift in opinion from a well-received report written only a decade earlier.

Despite the fact that the Castle Commission reached a majority consensus for their Report, memoranda authors were much more divided in their individual views of the role of voluntary agencies. Some advocated for nondenominational schools as a way to overcome the divisions created by religion and tribalism, arguing:

> Ugandan children must begin to look at themselves as Ugandans from an early age. They must stop to look at themselves as Catholics, Protestants, Baganda or Lagi. If they have to do this they must go to the same schools irrespective of their creed, tribe or race.[435]

To avoid the problem of schools creating and maintain divisions based on religious or tribal affiliation, Gumikiriza recommended close collaboration between the newly independent Ugandan government and existing voluntary agencies and religious organizations. Taking a more radical position, Semei Nyanzi, then a Lecturer in Economics at Makerere University (Mugisha, 2012), argued:

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[434] Memorandum submitted by Albert Gumikirziza, St. Leo's College, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1. Min. 6, n.d.

[435] Memorandum submitted by Albert Gumikirziza, St. Leo's College, Fort Portal. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

> Outmoded ideas and irrelevancies like 'give the parents the choice' or 'freedom of education' cannot possibly apply to a post-colonial state like Uganda. This means that the state should be directly responsible for each and every school…Religion and education should be 100% divorced from each other.[436]

Instead of allowing divisions to exist based on religious affiliation, even at the school level, Nyanzi sought to unify the educational system under the sole proprietorship of the Ugandan government and to organize it on a "progressive and scientific basis."[437] It also seems likely that Nyanzi recognized that in rejecting the involvement of voluntary agencies along with religious education, Uganda would make a cleaner 'break' with its colonial past.

Many other memoranda authors advocated for the opposite, namely, continued religious education and mission involvement, although the degrees to which they did so varied. At one end of the spectrum, Baliddawa contended that religion was a personal affair and should be taken up like other extra-curricular activities, like Boy Scouts, instead of as an academic subject as it had been throughout the colonial period. Baliddawa argued that this approach should extend, with limits, into the school itself:

> At the same time, the missionaries should be given the chance to propagate their ideologies…As a matter of fact we have to accept the contribution they have made to the development of our education although it was full of

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[436] Memorandum submitted by Sgnd. S. Nyanzi, Lecturer in Economics and Member of the Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[437] Nyanzi explained:

> …an undeveloped and only recently a colonial country like Uganda requires to overhaul and place its educational system squarely on a progressive and scientific basis. This is the only way it can 'decolonise' her educational system and so hope to utilize its existing and potential manpower resources to the fullest possible extent. Throughout the stages – primary, secondary, post-secondary – the emphasis must be on nothing but science.

Memorandum submitted by Sgnd. S. Nyanzi, Lecturer in Economics and Member of the Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

> propaganda…We still need their material help and this they can only give when they are allowed to propagate their ideologies.

Taking perhaps a more pragmatic approach, this plan would capitalize on the continued interest of voluntary agencies in educating Ugandan children. Monsignor Lawrence Mbwega, and likewise the Kabaka's Government, advocated for continued mission involvement, albeit of a more limited nature. Instead of requiring religious education, they suggested that at all grant-aided schools, which would admit children regardless of their denomination, allow ministers from various religious groups to offer instruction to their adherents: "Children of the 'minority religions' in a grant-aided school should be allowed to withdraw from class during the majority's religious lessons. Their own religious teachers should have right of access to them during the religious periods."[438]

On the opposite end of the spectrum from Nyanzi were those who advocated for continued mission association and religious instruction. One memorandum author, B. Kakinda, the Headmaster of St. Bernard's College, went so far as to argue against Nyanzi specifically:

> My ideas on education are contrary to Mr. Nyanzi's who has a perverse attitude towards religion. Even birds which have a material soul begin the day by singing – to whom? – to God. Mr. Nyanzi is also against the work of the missionary schools. It is they that made you what you are, if I judge by your complaint that you devoted a lot of your time to prayer. It is they that shaped this Country which has achieved independence so peacefully unlike Congo where there were hardly any doctors and lawyers.[439]

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[438] Memorandum submitted by the Ministry of Education, H. H. the Kabaka's Government. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

[439] Memorandum submitted by B. B. Kakinda, Headmaster, St. Bernard's College, Masaka. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

Writing on behalf of the Vernacular Primary, and Junior Secondary Teachers' Union, Ssemirembe also advocated for continued mission involvement, arguing that religious education itself was an important factor in Uganda's past and future success:

> It has been the teaching of religion that has greatly helped the people of the country achieve independence. The union however, not only denounces any one who blasphemes religion, but also opposes very strongly those who are against the teaching of that inevitable subject in schools. It should be realized that the people who fight to abolish religion in the schools are the enemies of the nation…[440]

Without religious education, Ssemirembe contended, the country would fall prey to "the actions of evils, ill-will and burglary."[441] Similarly, Reverend Perrens, who worked at Nyakasura School, questioned, "If Religion is omitted from the Upbringing of a Nation what becomes of morals? Can there be <u>any</u> accepted Standards of conduct, and how is a child to find help in following them apart from God?"[442]

Perhaps the debate over religious education raged for so long and so contentiously because of the unique and privileged role missionary organizations had in the development of Ugandan schooling. As noted earlier, more than in other East African contexts, Uganda's educational system had been administered by a few, centralized agencies – such as the CMS – for almost its entire colonial history. While the British Government had become increasingly involved since the early 20th century, aside from

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[440] Memorandum submitted by H. Ssemirembe, General Secretary, Parliament of Uganda. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[441] Memorandum submitted by H. Ssemirembe, General Secretary, Parliament of Uganda. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.
[442] Emphasis in original. Memorandum submitted by Rev. E. G. Perrens, Nyakasura Schol. Notes and Memoranda from the Uganda Education Committee. Makerere University Archive and Africana Collection. AR/UG.PR/3/1.

setting curricular standards, supervising schools, and administering grants, mission organizations were still responsible for much of what made up the quotidian school experience. As Turner pointed out in his memorandum:

> Away from the towns, ('up-country' as we called it) the majority of African schools were run by the Missionary Societies…In fact, I think it would be true to say that, at any time, the majority of leading Africans in the professions had been missionary educated.[443]

Missionary organizations, with the support of the British Protectorate Government, had made their way to the center of Ugandan child-rearing and childhood experiences as a result of their long history of educational involvement, as well as their advocacy for boarding schools, establishment of Mothers' Unions directed at teaching Ugandans women how to parent their children, and other activities. Just as mission experiences framed the post-colonial challenges Uganda faced – such as national divisions and racial inequality in schooling – they had also established new boundaries to childhood and family life that would carry into the post-colonial period.

Setting a Post-Colonial Agenda, or Into the Future

It must have been a curious thing to write a report that reflected on the whole of the colonial education project and proposed a plan for what schools might look like in a newly independent future. Without the end to colonization, or some other revolutionary event, there are rarely times when government committees are assembled to address the whole of schooling – everything from the earliest primary school classes to higher education; from teacher training to children's health and wellness; from curricula and

[443] Memorandum of Norman James Turner. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (168).

exams to the involvement of religious organizations. In measured tones that attempted to balance between the competing demands of various groups within the new Ugandan nation, and between possibility and constraint, the Uganda Education Commission issued its final report in 1963, proposing an educational system that would support the growing economy and foster the nation's socio-political future:

> We should expect our schools to provide appropriate education for an increasing number of children in accordance with their ability and aptitude. Such a requirement implies that schooling should be planned to cater not only for varying degrees of ability but also to provide recruits for the wide range of occupations and professions essential to the balanced economic and social structure of a modern state…It will also be a duty of those who teach to encourage Uganda's citizens to think beyond the confines of race and tribe, for Uganda as a nation now exists in an international world where parochial thinking is at a discount. We hope, therefore, that sound education will help to heal division and promote national harmony.[444]

To support these broad educational goals, whether short term or long, the committee highlighted the enthusiasm of Ugandan people and their willingness to sacrifice and take initiative. The committee also praised the government's leadership and determination to provide "the best education possible," and highlighted the important role that committed teachers played in providing quality schooling for Ugandan children.[445] The committee also acknowledge considerable challenges, including: poverty, ignorance, and conservatism; high unemployment rates and job scarcity; rejection of agricultural occupations; and lack of a middle class and high income disparities.[446]

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[444] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[445] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[446] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

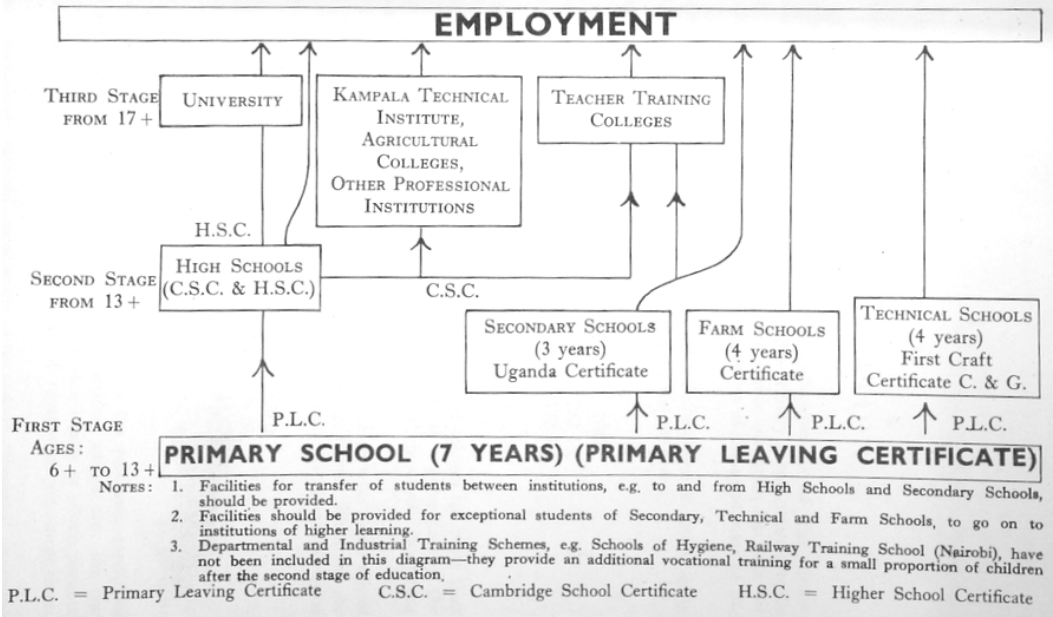

Figure 32. "The Schools Structure," proposed by the Uganda Education Commission[447]

Just as the de Bunsen Report had, the Castle Report made recommendations as to the restructuring of schooling, listing its priorities in order. First, the Commission advocated for improved teacher training and high school education, two "interlocking" aims which would provide better-educated workers to fill positions recently vacated by the British and would improve the quantity and quality of teachers, thereby enabling improvements to schooling down the line. Second on their list of priorities was to improve the quality of primary education by "eliminating disastrous wastage…raising the standard of teaching, and…providing the schools with the buildings and equipment necessary for the accomplishment of their basic task."[448] The commission also recommended that the standards of technical and agricultural (i.e. farm) education be

[447] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[448] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

raised. Finally, the commission advocated for the reorganization of secondary education, which they argued had previously been ambiguous and ineffective, and to expand girls' and adult education. Included in the report was a neatly organized flow chart depicting the proposed "schools structure," commencing with primary school and culminating in employment (see Figure 32).[449]

The Uganda Education Commission also addressed issues reflected in the memoranda and discussed earlier in this chapter. Regarding child-centered learning, the Commission advocated their "very strong belief that primary schools should aim to develop the imitative, confidence and resourcefulness of children and their powers of logical and imaginative thought."[450] The committee critiqued the perceived tendency of teachers to approach the "Three R's" with an over-simplified and mechanized approach that neglected children's physical, aesthetic, and emotional development. Toward this end, the Commission advocated for the introduction and expansion of education directed at the arts:

> We believe that Uganda should develop a culture of its own, a unifying culture based on the genius of its people of all races and the cultivation of their native talents… culture grows through individuals and the community, from their sensitivity and awareness and enjoyment of life, through initiative and boldness in experiment and through ability to discriminate and create. We believe that the quality of a true Ugandan culture will be judged on these criteria, and that it is

[449] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[450] It is curious that "imitative" and "imaginative thought" were both to be encouraged, as these would seem to be somewhat contradictory aims. Additionally, the use of the term imitative begs the question: What or whom did the committee intend for children to imitate? "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

> through the arts and crafts, music, the drama and the dance that such values will be most vividly expressed and cultivated.[451]

Although not explicitly addressed, as it had been in the memoranda, the Commission advocated for other 'Africanizations' of the school curriculum as was implied in their push for the development of independent Ugandan culture. For instance, in a discussion of Senior Secondary Schools curricula, which was determined by the requirements of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, the Committee acknowledged that while some schools had been able to avoid teaching only to the test, "syllabuses [were] too often rooted in an alien tradition not always relevant to the needs of Ugandan children."[452] Likewise, on the topic of Agricultural education in primary schools, the Committee rejected its inclusion, explaining that often agricultural instruction is limited to the drudgery of the hoe. Instead, schools should pursue curricula that bring "children into intimate relationship with their neighbourhood."[453]

The Castle Report's discussion of religious education was careful and contextual. The Committee advocated for schools to inculcate high standards of individual and corporate conduct in its students: While religious education constituted one part of this aim (and was recommended to be age-appropriate), so too did the quality of home and school life. Rather than promote denominational schools (or foretell the dissolution of Ugandan society were religious education to be abandoned), the Committee recommended "honest thinking rather than...unexamined assumptions and emotional

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[451] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[452] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.
[453] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

pressures," be fostered through an emphasis on independent opinion, encouragement of curiosity, and assessment of the facts.[454] To what ends voluntary agencies might be involved in this process – or indeed schools altogether – was addressed in a separate chapter of the report. Following an introductory paragraph on the country's background of colonial rule, history of missionary enterprise, and new status as an independent nation, the committee stated, "We believe that the responsibility for education in Uganda clearly belongs to the central and local governments."[455] While they allowed that denominational schools might continue to exist and made provisions for local governments to delegate control to other agencies, the Commission recommended encouragement of inter-denominational schools, especially where religious divisions lead to a waste of resources (a topic discussed in previous chapters). Still, as had been the case for the earlier de Bunsen Commission, the Castle Commission also reached a divided decision; three members of the Castle Commission "while appreciating the need for safeguards to ensure that appropriate religious instruction be given in all schools, [believed] that the time [had] now come for the local or central government to have the full control of all schools."[456] What is clear from the Castle Report and the recommendations therewith is that postcolonial schooling would not radically depart from its colonial past.

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[454] Interestingly, the Committee specifically followed this discussion with a caution that well-educated students who attend secondary schools might themselves "acquire a finite view of knowledge…Students may become so conscious of their undoubtedly superior book-learning that they easily come to assume that they know all there is to know." "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

[455] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

[456] "Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963." Educational Planning Commission, Uganda. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. OD 17/55.

Reflections on the Fourth Critical Moment

In many ways, the findings of the Castle Report, apart from a few notable differences, made similar recommendations to the de Bunsen Report – signaling either that little aside from the number of enrollees had changed (necessitating the same reforms as had already been proposed a decade earlier), or that the de Bunsen Commission had aims consistent with what a newly independent country might desire for its educational future, or that both Commissions reported accurately on what was still the will of Ugandans (or at least of Ugandans who were in a position to write memoranda). These consistencies foreshadowed an independent Ugandan educational system that would not necessarily change all that much from its colonial past, despite rhetoric emphasizing the contrary.

Then and now, African children are still often viewed as inadequate, or in need of special support to achieve the same success as their European (or global North) peers. Girls still struggle to find the same opportunities as boys, either in accessing schooling, or in progressing beyond the primary grades. Rural students lack the same educational facilities as their urban counterparts and likewise the tribes that were contacted by Europeans first, have a longer history and better-developed school system. Perhaps more than in any other moment, the archival materials in this chapter, when read together, show the tremendous challenges of changing an established institution's momentum and direction. To borrow the Luganda proverb from the beginning of this dissertation: "*Akakyama amamera: tekagololekeka*. That which is bent at the outset of its growth is almost impossible to straighten at a later age" (Kilbride & Kilbride, 1990, p. 89).

Although certainly schools would change in the post-colonial period, their underlying purpose and conclusion – at least at this juncture – would remain largely the same as it had been. Developed over a period of almost a century, the trajectory of schooling and its concomitant influence on childhood and children was one of continuity in spite of change. Ugandan schooling and thereby childhood, as a result of missionary and colonial involvement, were fundamentally (re)shaped by their sustained interaction with one another in ways that seem to persist in many ways today.

Chapter 9. Discussion and Conclusion

Figure 33. Schoolgirls return to their boarding school following a Sunday morning service at an Anglican church in Masaka (Lefebvre, June 2013)

> Whatever may have happened since in Africa, in the forefront of my mind's eye will always remain a picture of bright brown eyes, gleaming white teeth [and] the eager young faces of those among whom I was so lucky to spend so long.[457]
>
> I think we were too 'English'. We were so enthusiastic about the joys of learning the things we wanted to teach, and the girls responded so eagerly, that we scarcely left enough room for the Ugandan 'character' to express

[457] Memorandum of J. S. Whitehead. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (170).

> itself…Many local traditions and skills were temporarily overlaid to re-emerge with exuberance after independence.[458]

A Century of Colonial Schooling

As the quotes at the beginning of this chapter show, missionaries and colonists, as well as Ugandans, continued to reflect on the strengths and challenges of the colonial education system well after Uganda had won its independence. While colonialism may be a neglected subject in the minds of those writing the Millennium Development Reports (referenced in Chapter 3), it is in the minds of those who continue to be affected by its reach. Kings College Budo and Gayaza High School are still preeminent secondary schools in Uganda. The "founding bodies" of Uganda's education system – which includes the Anglican church – endure and play an important role in shaping national educational policy and practice (Rydberg, 2016). Daily newspapers cover topics germane to this dissertation (and noted throughout), including uniforms, religious education, and agricultural education; obituaries for Joan Cox, Monsignor Lawrence Mbwega, and Semei Nyanzi were written only with the past decade. Children are still seen as integral to the country's development, and their proper upbringing essential to Uganda's future success (Cheney, 2007). Indeed, although perhaps obvious, it is worth remembering that the British left Uganda only fifty years ago. Colonial constructions of the child and schooling exist in living memory. At the same time, how we came to think of childhood as singular experience, (re)shaped by the modern profusion of formal schooling along a

[458] Memorandum of Joan Carliell Cox. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (149) (Box XLVII).

relatively similar model via colonialism, is relatively understudied.[459] It is essential that scholars problematize the idea that all children or experiences of childhood are the same – especially given intersecting notions of race or ethnicity, class, and gender – through analyses of how we this normative assumption arose. Further, we must critically consider the not-so-distant British empire, lest we fall into the trap of assuming that it was 'only' a past historical 'event' and not relevant to the present.

This final chapter is intended to reflect on themes that emerged from this analysis and to focus on the transversal of the mutually constitutive relationship between notions of the child and the discourses and practices of schooling through a discussion of continuity and change over time. The first section will begin with passages written across the almost one hundred years covered by this dissertation, one from the early years of mission education, one from the middle of the colonial period, and one from its end. My purpose in including these passages is to frame this conclusion in relation to the previous chapters, summarizing key themes already discussed, and to focus on the ideas most central to this dissertation – the child and the school. The second section reflects on the significance of these findings suggesting that ripples of colonial constructions of childhood and schooling appear to impact Uganda, and likely East Africa, today. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of future directions for research and ultimately propose that more studies of childhood – grounded in their historical and sociocultural contexts – would further our understandings not only of child-rearing and children's experiences,

[459] For instance, the most recent CIES conference program includes a keywords index. Despite the obvious centrality of children and childhood to studies of education, these terms not included (although "Adolesence and Youth" is), nor is history.

but also of the important roles race, gender, religion, and class have played in the development of modern schooling.

Continuities and Divergences in the Development of Colonial Ugandan Schooling

As the person credited with the development of primary schooling in Uganda, it is fitting to start with descriptions written by Mr. Hattersley from the earliest years of missionary involvement in colonial Uganda. In these initial years the CMS, alongside other voluntary agencies, developed educational institutional structures which would form the foundation for future reform efforts. Mr. Hattersley and the CMS's energies were directed, first, at the development of a strong Christian community that might eventually be capable of leading itself, and, second, at training a corps of youth who might take on leadership roles and work as teachers, pastors, interpreters, and minor colonial officials. In this first passage, Hattersley described the evangelistic purposes of these fledgling educational efforts:

> With respect to education, I should like to eliminate the idea that by it I merely mean teaching a few secular subjects. *To educate is to bring up, to give the material support that will enable the young sapling to grow up into a strong, fruit-bearing tree. In all educational mission work the chief text-book is the Bible, and the chief aim is to bring up the pupil in the way of salvation, and then to show him how he can use the power so acquired for his own uplifting and the uplifting of his nation* [emphasis added]. The idea of all missions should be so to educate the converts that they must be able to have their own Church constitution, their own Bishops, and their own educational establishments; and for this ideal the Church of Uganda has been striving for many years. (Hattersley, 1908, p. 155)

Hattersley underscored the integral role religion and religious institutions – specifically Christianity and the CMS, respectively – were intended to play in Uganda's educational system. Using Biblical imagery, he described education as aimed at developing the

"young sapling" into a strong "fruit-bearing tree."[460] As the Christian message spread, in part through their literacy and educational efforts in Uganda, Hattersley and other missionaries expected Buganda and the surrounding kingdoms to be transformed and 'civilized' along European lines. As the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society published in 1900 affirmed:

> Missions have a very true relationship to human progress, and anything that tends to make man more free, anything which conduces to the abolition of cruelty, drunkenness, and lust, must be of interest to those who long and strive for the inauguration of the reign of Peace, and the coming of Him who is known as its Prince.[461]

With the British cast as having 'progressed further' than Ugandans, missionaries were seen as the ideal teachers able to make men more free. This is not to suggest that CMS missionaries always saw Africans as inherently 'less than' Europeans – for instance, Hattersley wrote that "real Christianity" would lead to the realization that "the African is of one flesh and of one blood with us all" (p. 157) – but that they needed to be "taught and trained as we [Europeans] have been, and so allowed to take [their] position in the world" (p. 157).

Although initially almost entirely religious in nature, the CMS quickly extended its mission to include the education and thereby the rearing of Ugandan children,

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[460] Here Hattersley (1908) seems to refer to a passage from Matthew:

> You will recognize them by their fruits. Are grapes gathered from thorn bushes, or figs from thistles? So, every healthy tree bears good fruit, but the diseased tree bears bad fruit. A healthy tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor can a diseased tree bear good fruit. (7:16-18 English Standard Version)

[461] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1900-1901. Church Missionary Society Archive. Birmingham University Library. Mic 4552. BV2361.A1C5.

especially after observing the 'incapable' natives,[462] who never 'brought up' their children.[463] The results of these efforts were miraculous:[464]

> Many of the quite young lads showed great ability, especially the sons of teachers, who had been taught at home from their earliest years. At six or eight years of age some of them could read any part of the Bible or Prayer-book. A class of about fifteen were studying English, and a member of this class was taken as interpreter to a Government doctor on a journey he took into the country to obtain vaccine. Three of the lads volunteered to go to Nkole as evangelists in response to an appeal. Most of the teaching in the school, practically all in reading, writing, and arithmetic, was done by pupil teachers (Hattersley, 1908, pp. 127-128).

Literacy and numeracy skills spread as Ugandans instructed by Christian missionaries taught others and opened schools, thereby creating networks of formal and informal educational opportunities. These efforts, both intentionally and unintentionally, resulted in concomitant shifts in child-rearing, as children who had previously been surrounded by a community of practice were encouraged to attend European-run schools and, in some cases, were removed from their homes entirely and sent to boarding schools. Additionally, as shown in Chapter 5, separate schools were begun for girls and boys, for upper class and lower class children, and, although largely outside the scope of this dissertation, for Protestants and Catholics as well. This separation and categorization of Ugandan children begun in this first critical moment created a "sophisticated layering of stratified systems that [would] continue to exclude and fail so many in so many contexts" (Hickling-Hudson, Matthews, & Woods, 2003, p. 1).

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[462] Letter by Miss Taylor, 1899. Annual Letters of the Missionaries, 1886-1912. Reel 38. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library.
[463] Excerpted letter by Mr. Leakey, 1901. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East 1901-1902. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. Mic 4553. BV2361.A1C5.
[464] See for instance Mullins (1908) who described the Uganda Mission as a "Christian miracle of modern days" (p. v).

By the middle of the colonial period, the schools started by Mr. Hattersley and others had grown from an enrollment of hundreds or thousands of students to the second highest native enrollment in the region.[465] In Buganda alone, the British government estimated that almost half of its children attended school.[466] Prompted by this tremendous growth in enrollment, as well as the findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, which had examined education across Eastern and Southern Africa, the Protectorate government began to take a more active role. Criticized especially for lack of oversight by the Phelps-Stokes Commission (an assessment that reflected a strong bias toward European intervention and control), a newly created Education Department set about ordering existing schools into categories based on their offerings, organizing a school inspectorate structure, and publishing curricula. Additionally, although it had already given some grants-in-aid to missionary organizations, the colonial government increased its budgetary allocations for education, underscoring the greater emphasis placed on schooling in the latter half of Uganda's colonization.

Schools in this period took on a much more recognizable, modern form, instructing students in curricula that would not be out of place in classrooms today. In early December, 1924, Miss Ainley described daily life as a missionary in Uganda:

> At 8.30 each morning I took a student's class for blackboard writing. At 9, the children assembled, starting with a hymn, followed by a simple address [and] prayer. The usual Elementary subjects were then taught, my work was chiefly to supervise the students, as they taught their classes. I also taught drill [and] singing to the whole school. While with Miss Hill, I had the afternoons free for language study. The evenings were spent in teaching drill and games, or in visiting the

[465] Phelps-Stokes Commission. The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London. CO 1045/431.
[466] Colonial Blue Book, Uganda, 1925. National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London, CO 613/25.

> absentees from the Day School…On two occasions Miss Hill [and] I visited village schools at some distances away; these visits gave me a good insight into the working of such schools, the teachers and pupils were all very keen and enthusiastic, but the general management left much to be desired. The shortage of slates and pencils, greatly hindered the progress of the pupils; the usual method was to choose a quarter of the class to write, while the rest sat and waiting their turn![467]

Miss Ainley's description of primary and secondary school life at both her day school (which offered both primary and secondary grades), as well as a village (i.e. 'sub-grade') school shows the impact of earlier stratifications. While her Gayaza girls (educated separately from boys) had access to rich instruction, and many books and materials, in line with the Education Department's soon-to-be published curricula,[468] students at the village school struggled to share a limited number of resources. As the British government awarded grants only to schools that were performing to a particular standard, this served to compound greater advantage to the already advantaged.[469] Although not explicitly addressed by this passage, distinctive curricula developed for girls and boys suggested different, gendered imagined futures. While boys were trained as future middle figures, girls were trained to be their wives. Finally, in this middle period (discussed in Chapter 6), schools maintained their almost exclusively religious orientation, as few secular options existed. Although increasingly supported with funds from the British

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[467] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1924. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

[468] 1928 Provisional Syllabus for Studies for Girls' Intermediate Schools (A & B). University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

[469] To my knowledge, aside from the more broadly focused study of Frankema (2012), no studies have attempted to trace the affects of this advantage beyond the end of colonialism in Uganda. It is likely, though, that colonial inequalities continue to impact educational advantages and disadvantages for particular groups. For instance, based on her work in the Kilimanjaro region, Vavrus (2015) argued that "communities, chiefdoms, and other spaces are socially produced over time through processes that create relative privilege for some and disadvantage for others" (p. 151).

government, schools continued to be administrated almost exclusively by the CMS and other voluntary agencies, and the 'work' of educating Ugandans was still commonly cast in religious terms: As Miss Ainley wrote,

> [O]ne feels thankful to God for what is being done, most of the pupils are daughters of chiefs, or of people in high positions, and if all these children are won for Christ, there is no limit to the influence that they will have amongst their own people.[470]

Despite small changes to underlying structure of colonial schooling, the purpose and outcome of education was largely the same – Ugandans educated along a European model, steeped in Christianity.

Uganda regained its independence from the British on October 9, 1962 and shortly afterward convened the Uganda Education Commission (i.e., the Castle Commission) to review the country's educational system. Although perhaps largely more formal and better-resourced than in earlier colonial periods, schools remained quite similar to those in previous years, even after the decade-earlier reforms of the de Bunsen Report. Drawing on his work as a Colonial Education Officer, F. K. D. Wood described a boys' secondary school in Nabumali, Eastern Province around the same time:

> The medium of instruction at Secondary Schools was English. The curriculum was mainly drawn up by the Headmaster and very dependent upon the books that were available: [F–'s] English Course, [B–'s] History of Tropical Africa, [D–'s] arithmetic etc. […] The school was organized like an English boarding school with a House system, prefects, chapel meetings and w[?] and games. […] The boys had a uniform of two white shirts and two pairs of khaki shorts which they washed and ironed themselves. Their beds consisted of two wooden planks supported by cement blocks. Every Saturday morning all bedding including their

[470] Letter by Miss Ainley, 1924. Church Missionary Society, Annual Letters of the Missionaries. Church Missionary Society Archive. University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library. CMS G3 AL 1917-34 A-BA.

> planks were aired in the sun, [and] the dormitory washed and put to an inspection by the Headmaster.[471]

In this post-colonial period, the Castle Report proposed changes to the country's system of schooling and based these recommendations on interviews, school visits, and an extensive number of memoranda submitted by former colonial officials and missionaries; educationists and administrators; and Ugandans, Europeans, and Americans who had an interest in or experience with education practice and administration. Specifically, the Report advocated first for improving teacher training and higher education, then for improving the quality of primary education, raising the standards of technical and agricultural instruction, and finally for the reorganization of secondary schooling. These reforms were certainly important, and perhaps minor changes made a tremendous difference, yet as seen in the passages above recounting the form and practice of schooling, as well as in all of the preceding chapters, it seems that the institutional momentum of schooling took on a life of its own and was not easily altered.

What is most significant about this continuity is that it was predicated on a perceived hierarchy of Christians over non-Christians, boys over girls, Europeans over non-Europeans, White over Black. Dorothy Foster Smith's (Brewer et al., 1926) description of a new student who arrived at the Girl Teachers' Training School at Nabumale exemplifies these discourses of difference:

> Here is an applicant, a girl about 12 years old wearing a banana leaf frill as her one garment. She comes up shyly, walking behind the village school teacher (a man), and kneels down to greet the missionary in African fashion. In reply to the

[471] Memorandum from F. K. D. Wood, Education Officer in Uganda, 1947-1962. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (171).

> question: 'Why do you want to be trained?' she replies: 'So that I can teach others.'
>
> Of course her parents must be asked. So we set off down the grass path through a banana plantation. Arriving at a round hut, with the doorway only two feet high, the missionary calls out a greeting and a man emerges wearing an animal skin tied over his shoulder. Then the mother crawls out on her hands and knees; she is wearing a string loin cloth, and anklets and armlets of iron, and in her lower lip a large piece of stone is inserted as an ornament…The teacher introduces the missionary, who is greeted rather cheerily, but gruffly. In reply to the great question as to whether they are willing for their daughter to come and be trained as a teacher the man replies: 'Can we stop her if she wants to go?'…
>
> As we leave the hut we wonder how the girl will settle down to the life of a school hostel and what sort of teacher she will make. She has never slept on a bed, but every night has dragged into the hut a bundle of dried banana leaves on which to sleep. All round the neighbourhood there are signs of heathen superstitions…But the girl has attended the village day school regularly and has learnt to read and wants to be baptized; now she wants to learn more, so that she can go back and teach other girls. […]
>
> In the dignified-looking girl wearing a nice clean unbleached calico frock with a bright yellow sash, the mistress of a school of perhaps fifteen girls, do you recognize the timid, shy little maiden brought by the teacher two years ago in a banana leaf frill? (pp. 51-52)

At the outset the young, trainable girl, who can be read as symbolic of Ugandans willing to be educated by European teachers, desires to help others. Once her older, 'backward' parents acquiesce (their 'strangeness' emphasized by their dress), she is taken to live at a school. Through the 'benevolent' tutelage of missionary teachers, she is (re)made into a dignified, clean schoolmistress (though, still a girl) where she will presumably instruct her pupils in the same colonial way she was taught. Foster Smith's question to her readers remains relevant to this dissertation: Would the childhood experiences of this young girl, educated in the colonial period, be recognizable to her precolonial peers although they are separated by only a few decades? Put another way, did colonialism (re)shape Ugandan child-rearing and education? The answers to these two questions, in turn, would seem to

be no and yes. Childhood and education had been changed in and through Uganda's missionary and colonial encounters.

The Significance of Educational Histories for Comparative and International Education

British missionaries and colonists – by means of schooling – remade Ugandan childhoods during the colonial period. Moreover, as I contended at the close of the previous chapter, the trajectory of schooling and its effects on child-rearing and children's quotidian experiences seems to be one of continuity in spite of change. Stratified systems of schooling that had benefited, since their inception, urban students over rural, boys over girls, Baganda over non-Baganda, Christians over non-Christians, and Europeans and Asians over Africans continued to benefit these same privileged groups in the period immediately following independence. Because these inequalities persisted throughout the colonial period and likely endure today, it matters that documents – written, at their most recent, fifty years ago – are examined so that we can better understand the precursors to modern schooling. Moreover, histories of this kind are tremendously important for a field like Comparative and International Education, which concerns itself with understanding "policy and implementation issues in developing countries and cross-cultural settings" (CIES, n.d.).

In these documents, we see, if not the origin of a complicated set of beliefs about schooling and childhood in Uganda, then its first and prolonged application in this particular context. We see also why so few students were able to matriculate to higher levels of education – blocked by inadequate spaces, few teachers, and prohibitively

difficult exams removed from children's experiences. We see the development of a separate and unequal system of schooling – first for African boys and girls, and later for Africans, Indians, Goans, and Europeans. We see the perpetuation of English as the language of secondary schooling and local vernacular(s) as the language of primary schooling, which limited access to further education to those who are able to learn English largely on their own. We see how beliefs about the inherent, racially-based inadequacy of African children and their parents disguised themselves as beliefs about constraints to the bright futures of African children because of their inability or lack of opportunity to play. We see the persistence of tropes of the 'idle' or 'dirty' African lingering well into the 20th century. As Hickling-Hudson, Mathews, and Woods (2003) asserted:

> state sponsored education sustains an array of obstacles, vested interests and possibilities. It maintains Western hegemony through elite formation, English language teaching and divisions between rich and poor, but at the same time it is the only available means of funding the mass education necessary for economic, political and cultural development. (pp. 10-11)

Understanding the historical development of schooling and its concomitant influence on childhood globally – and thereby in all of the 'locals' that together constitute the 'global' – is essential to scholars of education, who seek to understand how and why various inequalities and gaps came to be and, ultimately, to improve the practice of education.

Examinations of historical continuities are especially important because ripples of Uganda's colonial educational past impact its school system today. Although there are few scholars who have attempted to trace this relationship, there are a few notable exceptions. First, to give one example, the United Nations Development Programme

(UNDP) Gender Inequality Index ranked the country 122nd out of 188 of countries, due to a significant extent to disparities between girls' and boys' secondary education achievement.[472] Based on her ethnographic work in rural Uganda, Jones (2015) attributed this disparity, in part, to long-standing school-related barriers to girls' educational achievement, including "negative teachers' attitudes about their abilities… [and] lack of educational resources, unqualified teachers, [and] inadequate facilities" (p. 128).[473] It is not difficult to see how issues such as negative teachers' attitudes about girls' abilities might have a long colonial legacy. To look at a second example, although focused more broadly, Frankema (2012) found that pre-1940 differences in enrolment rates between British and non-British African colonies correlate with present-day literacy rates. He attributed this relationship to early missionary efforts and inter-agency competition (of the kind allowed in British colonies), as well as to African demand, including the development of private, ungraded village schools (as was evident in Uganda and discussed in previous chapters), rather than to government investment in education. Thus it is also important to consider the 'miraculous' spread of schooling and religion in Uganda in its earliest years – the eagerness of Ugandans and the (sometimes begrudging) willingness of missionaries were significant to the country's early educational development. As much as things have changed, they have also stayed the same; the colonial period has carried forward, at least in some ways, into the present.

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[472] The report indicates that 22.9% of girls have attained some secondary schooling, while 33.5% of boys have attained the same (UNDP, 2015).

[473] Jones (2015) found that lack of adequate medical care, access to sanitary materials and other domestic chores also negatively impacted girls' ability to be successful in school settings.

Yet, educational policies are often enacted in ignorance of (or perhaps in spite of) the deep and complicated roots of educational inequalities. To return to one particularly relevant example referenced earlier – especially given the strong emphasis on the UN Millennium Development Goals in educational development practice – in *none* of the Ugandan Millennium Development Reports is the country's colonial history mentioned. Only one of the reports even mentions, however briefly, the impact the past might have on the present: The 2007 Millennium Development Goals Report for Uganda includes this single sentence: "Women deprivation [*sic*] is rooted in negative cultural practices at the household level and history that deprived them of key resources, especially land" (p. 29). This avoidance of the tremendous impact of colonialism results in a myopic view of contemporary educational inequality. If we are to improve international policymaking – and imagine a better educational future – we need a better understanding of the establishment of systems of education that continue to frame schooling (and childhood) today. Narrative arcs are much longer than we think. As Bartlett and Vavrus (2016) contended, and I suggested in Chapter 3, transversal analyses "historically [situate] the processes or relations under consideration and [trace] their creative appropriation through educational policies and practices across time and space" (p. 555). While case studies that examine educational practices in, across, and through the global and local are essential, they must be accompanied by studies that consider the historical. Otherwise, the problems of the present are often truncated when, in fact, they have deep roots. Longstanding issues have led to the conditions of the present; if we don't look at those conditions, we tend to solve problems in presentist ways.

Because of this temporal myopia, we are prone to falling prey to the belief that our policies, beliefs, and practices are inherently new and therefore better than our predecessors. For instance, UNICEF's Child-Friendly Schools initiative, while laudable in its goals of ensuring that "schools…operate in the best interests of the child," that educational environments are safe and productive with adequate access to good materials and teachers, and that "children's rights must be protected and their voices…heard" (UNICEF, 2010), is often cast as innovative and new. Yet as is seen time and again in the archival materials examined in this dissertation, educationalists working in Uganda have called for schools to be child-centered since at least the beginning of the 20th century. One could argue, based on this historical analysis, that the biggest barrier to child-friendliness is a lack of resources rather than a lack of knowledge or an inherent child-unfriendliness that might persist without intervention. Nevertheless, prominent development agencies, such as USAID, often focus more on telling 'Others' how to do things (i.e. capacity building) than on ensuring that schools, teachers, and students are adequately equipped. If we are to move forward and improve educational policies and planning efforts globally, we must do so cautiously, with a "bird's eye" view of the past gained through careful, critical historical research, and must continually question our assumptions of why an educational gap or shortcoming might exist. Otherwise, we are likely to repeat mistakes and to assume that our "worm's eye" view is the only and best view.

A Final Reflection

While this research has focused on the past and therefore is not intended to give specific policy recommendations aimed at improving teacher practice or educational administration, it is aimed at making us more aware of the historic diffusion of ideas about childhood and schooling and of the ways in which colonialism has deeply influenced the establishment of formal education in countries like Uganda. This dissertation has been a narrative of continuity and change over time, of purported 'development' and intervention, and of the disparate ways in which stratified, particularistic assumptions of male or European superiority (re)shaped notions of child-rearing and education.

This research is intended to contribute to a growing body of knowledge about children and schooling. It is not intended to be definitive, nor do I believe that any history can be complete; rather, what is novel about this dissertation is its collection of sources focused on childhood – drawn from missionaries, colonists, and Ugandans across almost 100 years of colonization – into one study, and its interpretation of this material in this particular moment. As a recent TED Radio Hour (Raz, 2012) suggested, there may not ever be something truly 'new'; instead, our individual experiences and interpretations must be understood in relationship with the experiences and interpretations of others – past and present – whereby together we grow and reflect, and move forward with a body of knowledge as it grows again. As such, this dissertation is meant to complement and build upon the efforts of others in several key domains of study: critical examinations of notions of childhood (Baker, 2001; Cleverley, Phillips, 1986; James & Prout, 2005);

colonial discourses of difference (Cooper & Stoler, 1997; Davin, 1978), especially as they relate to children and child-rearing (Cleall, 2012; Cleall, Ishiguro, & Manktelow, 2013; Grimshaw, 2004, Hunt, 1997); children's roles and discourses related to children's rights (Cheney, 2007); the global profusion of schooling and its concomitant reshaping of childhood (Anderson-Levitt, 2005; Smythe, 1997); colonialism's impact on East African schooling (Altbach & Kelly, 1978; de Leeuw, 2009; Tiberondwa, 1978), particularly for girls (Rydberg, 2016; Sheldon, 1998; Vavrus, 2002); the development of educational policy in Uganda (Evans & Senteza Kajubi, 1994; Ssekamwa, 1997); and Ugandan schooling in the post-colonial era (Jones, 2008; Rydberg, 2016).

Further, this dissertation poses several opportunities for additional research, both historically focused and otherwise. First, as was mentioned several times, the White Fathers' were equally important to the establishment of schooling in colonial Uganda as was the CMS and other missionary agencies; the Roman Catholic Church played a complementary role to the Native Anglican Church (founded by the CMS) as one of the founding bodies of Ugandan education (Rydberg, 2016). Research on the parallel development of Catholic education would help to tease out the ways in which religious differences, only touched on briefly here, influenced schooling and notions of childhood. Second, separate schools for Asian and European students were developed and their aims and outcomes should also be considered. In particular, attention should be paid to the ways in which they were used to shore boundaries between the 'self' and 'Other.' Third, schools were not the only way in which missionaries and colonial officials sought to intervene in child-rearing. Mothers' Unions, organized by the CMS, were directed at

'teaching' African women how to be 'mothers,' along a European model. Although not included in this dissertation, there is one particularly compelling memorandum from the Bodleian Library that includes felt board characters intended to depict an idealized African mother and her family.[474] Understanding how the British sought to intervene in Ugandan child-rearing practices at home, would add to the efforts of this dissertation to trace their child-centered interventions at school. All of these other historical research avenues would expand upon and strengthen our understandings of the ways in which notions of childhood were enacted and embodied in the colonial period.

Fourth, the latter chapters of this dissertation would also be enhanced by studies taking a life history approach and interviews with Ugandans (as well as perhaps British and American missionaries, colonists, and educationalists) who would remember the events I have described using archival materials. While this dissertation relies on a wealth of official documents from this period, as well as on the reflections of Europeans involved in colonial education – most notably those gathered as part of the Oxford Development Records Projects and the CMS's collection of annual letters – fewer materials were found that would facilitate an exploration of the quotidian experiences of African students, teachers, and policy makers. Although I have argued in this dissertation that notions of the 'ideal' child and childhood were reshaped by colonialism – certainly there were many instances where actual children's experiences and childhoods diverged from this model. Just as it is important to disrupt notions of a 'universal' childhood, it is

[474] "Flannelgraphs – for use with Home Economics Syllabus." Memoranda of M. Hastie. Community Development Education, Uganda. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1896 (2)

also important to disrupt notions that the 'ideal' child is the same as an 'actual' child. Further, the gathering of life histories and interviews related to schooling in Uganda – something I aim to do in the future – would, itself, challenge the ways in which colonial archives operate as "both documents of exclusions and as monuments to particular configurations of power" (Stoler, 2002, p. 96).

Fifth and finally, the bigger lesson that comes from this dissertation is that more stories of the entangled relationship between colonialism, childhood, and schooling could be told wherever colonial and mission educators worked, and that this relationship should become part of our contemporary understandings of the educated African child. Together, these types of studies would disrupt assumptions of a 'universal' childhood or a simplistic explanation of the global diffusion of schooling, and remind us of the continued reverberations of colonial histories.

Figure 34. Flannelgraph of Ugandan schoolchildren, to accompany the "Home Economics Syllabus for Women's Group, 1959[475]

[475] "Flannelgraphs – for use with Home Economics Syllabus." Memorandum of M. Hastie. Community Development Education, Uganda. Oxford Development Records Project. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. MSS. Afr. s. 1896 (2)

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