

THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE BAGISU OF EASTERN UGANDA

1904-1962

BY

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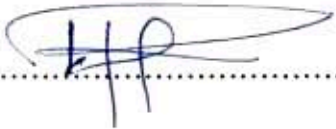
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DECLARATION

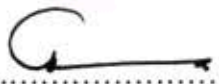
I, Wanyonyi Masinde Geoffrey, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any university.

Signed.....Date 05/12/2018

Wanyonyi Masinde Geoffrey.

APPROVAL

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor,

Signed.....Date *December 5, 2018.*

Dr. Cyprian Ben Adupa

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ACRONYMS

Baraza.....	Meeting.
Barwa.....	Kalenjin.
Basebe.....	Kikuyu.
Basilu.....	Stupid.
BCU.....	Bugisu Co-operative Society.
Bukusu.....	Ethnicity of people in western Kenya.
Bulo.....	Millet.
CMS.....	Church Missionary Society.
Embago.....	Jembe/Hoe.
Embalu.....	Circumcision.
I.B.E.A.CO.....	Imperial British East Africa company.
Kaamision.....	Mission.
Kamayemba.....	Sorghum.
LNC.....	Local Native Council.
Masaaba.....	another name for the Bagisu.
UNLA.....	Uganda National Liberation Army.
Wimbi.....	Millet.

ABSTRACT

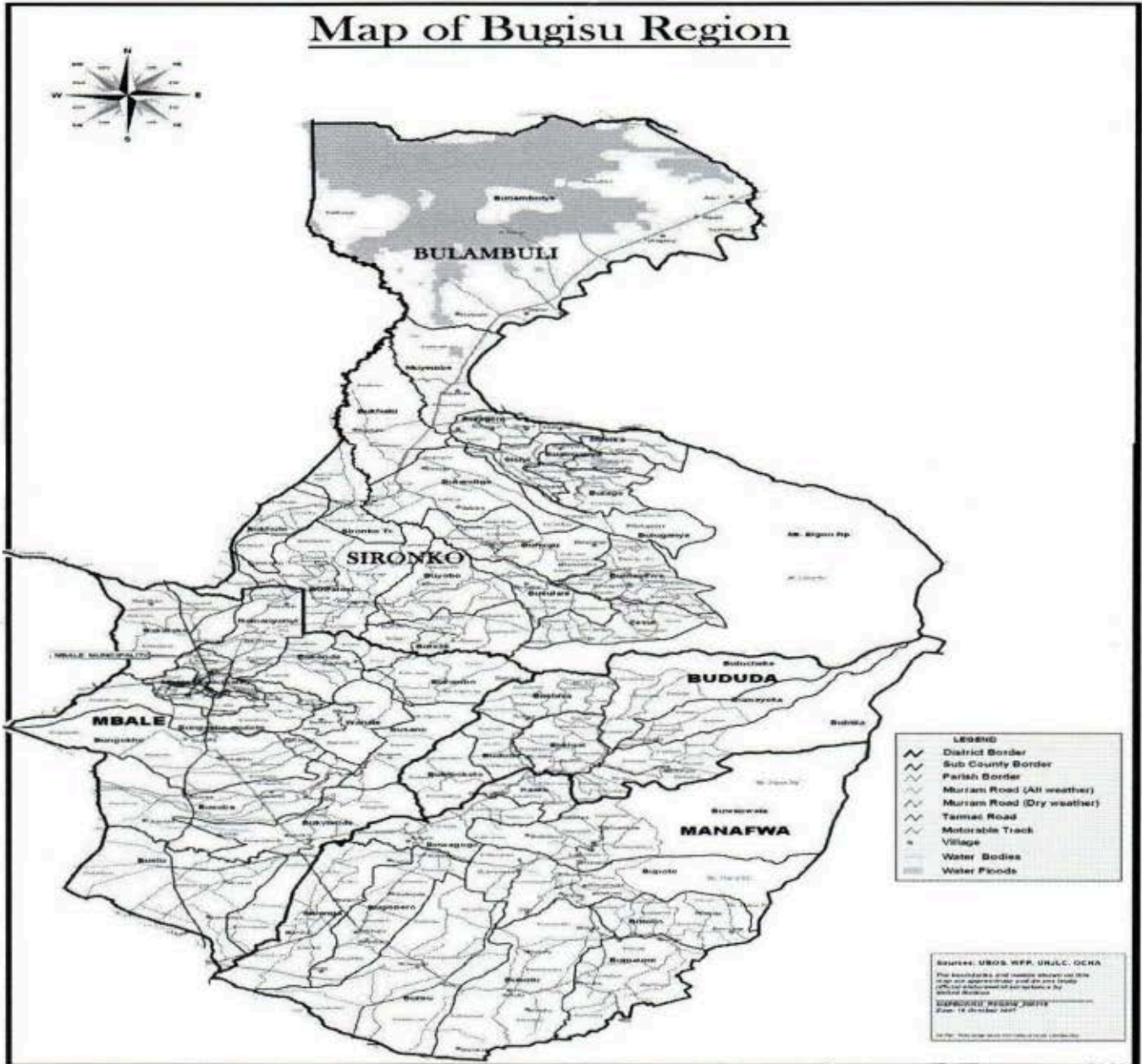
This study set out to investigate and assess the Bagisu economic transformation between 1904 and 1962. Very little had been done on this aspect of Bagisu economic transformation, First, it is important to note that the Bagisu live in Eastern Uganda in Manafwa, Mbale, Bududa, Bulambuli and Sironko Districts. The Bagisu were chosen for this study because they constituted a large population in the former Bukedi district and had absorbed a good number of people from neighboring ethnic communities.

How the Bagisu transformed economically from 1904 to 1962, the force behind their transformation and the impacts of outside factors on Bagisu economic transformation constituted a problem that this study investigated. The main objective was therefore, to establish how the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda transformed economically from 1904 to 1962. Qualitative methodology was used in data collection and analysis. Instruments used included library, archival and oral interviews, mindful of reliability, validity and ethical concerns was observed. The study was carried out under development and under development theories postulated by Graven kitching and Walter Rodney who argued that man's fundamental needs are materials.

Kitching argued that with the advent of colonialism there occurred introduction of new crops, new methods of agriculture and more opportunities for African agricultural goods to be sold abroad. To them this helped the African population to develop economically. It was established that indeed, the coming of British to Eastern Uganda accelerated the economic development of the Bagisu. Its afact because, new crops were introduced especially cotton and coffee, good methods of farming begun, money economy to avoid barter system was also in place, western Education which helped the Bagisu to improve in technologies was also introduced. It should be noted that the British used Baganda as agents in administering their rule in Eastern Uganda. Therefore, the role of Semei Kakungulu in the economic development was also established.

This study is significant as it contributes to the existing body of knowledge and widens the horizon of African history in general and Uganda's history in particular, as it expounds on how the Bagisu transformed economically from 1904 to 1962.

MAP OF BUGISU REGION



CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher presents the origin of the Bagisu and their way of life before the coming of the British. Further, the push factors for the economic transformation of the Bagisu is also discussed. Study Objectives, Research Questions, Theoretical frame work, Scope of the Study, Rationale and Justification of the Study, Review of the related Literature, Research Methodology and Challenges faced.

1.1 Background of the Study

The Bagisu or locally known as the Bamasaba or Sokwia are people of the Bantu family who live in the western and southern slopes of Mount Elgon also known as Mount Masaba in Eastern Uganda.¹ The Mt. Elgon slopes in hand fingers like structure to the west marked by narrow and steep valleys. The land is further broken consisting of a jumble of hills piled against a raised escarpment resembling a crumbled cloth. The escarpment gradually fades away as it slows down to the Teso land.²

The Bagisu have no tradition of migrating from somewhere else. They claim that their ancestors Mundu and Sera came out of a hole in Mountain Elgon locally known as Masaba.³ The early life of the Bagisu seems to have been not all that social with the principle being survival for the fittest. The Bagisu history is less known although they are thought to have separated from the Bukusu, a sub group of Luhya in Western Kenya, around the 19th Century.⁴

The Bagisu stayed on a mountainous region, a view evidenced by the presence of the towering Mount Elgon ranges with a fertile volcano located in Mbale District of Eastern Uganda. This area was well irrigated and contained some of the most fertile soils in the country, allowing the

ethnic group to become a dominant agricultural hub. The highest point on these ranges goes as high as 8000ft while the lowest ones go as low as 4000ft above sea level.⁵

The area inhabited by the Bagisu is divided into 5 districts; Mbale, Bududa, Sironko, Manafwa and Bulambuli. The economic life of the Bagisu was determined by the place of origin. The Bagisu in Bududa, Bulambuli, Sironko, and Manafwa before colonial period were agriculturalist, as they dealt in millet, sorghum and banana farming, due to fertile volcanic soils, whereas, those in Mbale district were traders. For this reason, the Bagisu economic transformation did not occur uniformly. The impact of colonial circumstances was received differently in different parts of Eastern Uganda.

The establishment of the Imperial British East Africa Company (I.B.E.A Co) station at Eldama Ravine in the 1890s can be considered as the beginning of the colonial economic transformation of the Bagisu. During the colonial period, various activities combined to bring about Bagisu economic transformation. A number of schools were built, agricultural activities established, trading centers begun and a money economy introduced, so that by the time Uganda attained independence, the Bagisu had witnessed a varied number of economic changes.⁶

The advance of European missionaries in late 1890s, facilitated by Kakungulu, a Muganda agent, established a base for British colonial rule in the area. This changed drastically the geopolitical settings of the Bamasaaba from then onwards. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) led by Bishop Tucker, assisted by Kakungulu, established British and particularly Anglican systems in the area. They built, through forced labor, road infrastructure and established administrative units.⁷

By independence in 1962, the Bamasaaba had had several western educated personalities with some schools, such as Nabumali High School, excelling in national examinations. Mbale town was the cleanest in the country. Professors Timothy Wangusa, John Bigala and later Dan Nabudere were among the leading academicians from the Bamasaaba. George Masika, the Chief Justice in Obote's administration and Masette Kuuya, a youthful minister during Obote II in the 1980s, James Wambogo Wapakhabulo, the foreign Minister in the Museveni regime are examples of leading personalities from the Bamasaaba.

The Bagisu who lived 5000ft above sea-level grew Arabica coffee, the biggest portion of it being sold to Bugisu Co-operative Union (BCU) though other companies dealing in coffee also existed. On the other hand, cotton was grown in the lower plains extending as low as 4000ft above sea level. Tobacco was another cash crop grown by a small proportion of the population. Much as bananas were grown primarily for food, the Bagisu also sold it to supplement the income earned from coffee, cotton and tobacco. In addition, the Bagisu grew maize, beans, millet, sorghum, yams and cassava. During unfavorable climatic conditions, the Bagisu acquired millet and other foodstuffs from the Itesots, Banyoli, Jopadhola, Bagwere and Sabinys which they used in the performance of imbalu circumcision rituals. The Bagisu also engaged in business with their neighbors. Among the items traded in included food, such as millet and sorghum sugar, salt, soap, cattle and musical instruments.

Before British rule took shape, the Bagisu economy was organized along traditional lines. Agriculture for example, used traditional methods, the Bagisu planted millet and sorghum. With the coming of the British, new crops and new methods of agriculture were introduced. Local Bagisu trade was organized and operated through barter system because the money economy was not yet

known by the Bagisu. The Bagisu exchanged their produce for honey, grains and other goods. During the colonial era, the money economy replaced the barter system. By the 1940s the Bagisu were fully participating in the money economy.⁸

1.2 Statement of the problem

The economic transformation which the Bagisu had undergone from pre-colonial to colonial period had not been fully justified. There was little study that could show how the Bagisu changed from 1904 to 1962, neither the forces behind this transformation or the effects of these forces on Bagisu economic transformation. The Bagisu who were using rudimentary methods in ploughing which was acceptable according to their civilization by then, applying Broadcasting in planting crops, practicing shifting cultivation, providing labour communally, transacting on barter system and having informal education, changed drastically by 1904. The Bagisu started using improved methods of farming, commercial farming was in place due to introduction of cash crops, money economy also was in practice western education was highly acceptable which helped in changing the mindset of the Bagisu. All these can be read and appreciated that indeed, the Bagisu had changed economically from 1904 to 1962. However, little is known on the brain child behind the Bagisu transformation, which this study investigated.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study had two objectives. First, to find out the economic changes that took place among the Bagisu from 1904 to 1962. Second, to analyze the impact of outside factors on economic transformation of the Bagisu.

1.4 Research questions

- i. How did the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda transform economically from 1904 to 1962?
- ii. What impact did the outside factors have on the economic transformation of the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda?

1.5 Theoretical framework.

The study was carried out under the general frame work of the development and under development theories. Graven Kitching and Walter Rodney are the brains behind these theories. They argue that man's fundamental needs are materials.

Under development, as asserted by Walter Rodney, is based on the argument that African economies were never static. In this case the Bagisu economy was not static at the time colonial rule was established. It kept on constantly changing due to interaction with Arab and Swahili traders particularly.⁹

African economies developed at their own pace before the advent of a capitalistic economy in Africa. The proponents of this theory argue that before the colonial intrusion, African economies were self- contained and self – regulating. By the time colonialism took shape in the African continent, the African self- contained and self-regulating economies were impoverished. The reason was that the two economies, the pre- capitalist and capitalist, operated at different levels of development in terms of forces of production. This theory is applicable to what happened to the pre- colonial Bagisu economy.¹⁰

This study examined two major concepts namely: The Articulation of the African mode of production and the capitalist mode of production, and how this brought about economic change among the Bagisu community. Articulation, as defined by Berman is 'the linkage between two societies whose modes of production are dominated by different development or internal logic,

Using the concept of production, the way the Bagisu community produced and reproduced in the pre- colonial period and the colonial period was examined.

Kitching's argument on the theory of development was remarkable, economic changes have taken place as a result of the impact of capitalist economy on the African pre-capitalist economy. He argued that with the advent of colonialism there occurred introduction of new crops, new methods of agriculture and more opportunities for African agricultural goods to be sold abroad. Kitching's main argument was that the new circumstances caused greater output in terms of production. This theory also proved relevant, in that the Bagisu in many ways benefited from the introduction of new crops such as maize, cotton, and coffee. Dependence on one or two crops was eliminated. Also, it was possible for the Bagisu to have crops and especially cash crops for export, something which had not happened before in their economic history.

1.6 Review of related literature

The study is inspired by studies and works carried out by other scholars in related fields elsewhere in Uganda and the rest of Africa's

Bunker notes that agricultural production and quality is affected by the central economic positions of peasants in both the national and local economies in Bugisu. To him, their position allowed the peasants considerable influence on rural development planning and organization. He contends that economic transformation among the Bagisu was achieved through the district's economy and social structure. He emphasized that the formation of cooperatives and mass political participation were used by the government to improve on the quality or increase production.¹¹

Much as Bunker may be credited for pointing out the factors which accelerated economic transformation among the Bagisu, it can be rightly argued that his findings were based on recent events. This study has instead unraveled the historical factors that hindered economic transformation among the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda.

Further, Bunker, attributes the economic transformation among the Bagisu to the construction of accessible roads to productive areas, the building of collectively controlled local warehouses and processing plants. He also asserts that the economic transformation among the Bagisu was reached through credit diffusion of techniques for cultivation, harvesting and processing on the elimination of pests and diseases. His findings tend to lack the brain behind these developments, which this study explored.

Joan notes that networks of power and influences transformed the Teso region. She postulates that, British rule incorporated the Itesots into the world economy, as their impact brought a social and economic change that has been seen in the Teso region. She observes that, Teso was transformed overnight into the major producer of cotton, the crop on which economic ambitions of administration now depends.

More still, Joan notes that the cotton cultivation which was introduced by the Europeans, had negative effects on the Itesots, there was compulsory cotton cultivation and the conscription of labour for road construction and maintenance which undermined both the quality and quantity of food production which resulted into famine of 1917-1919. To her, the material rewards earned by the Itesots from production of cotton were quite incommensurate with sacrifices. Cotton is associated with poverty.¹²

Joan's findings are based on the Teso region, although even she has not explicitly explained how the agents like the Europeans transformed the Teso region economically. Proceedingly, Professor Joan, only talks about the negative impacts of cotton growing to Teso land. In her assumption, cotton is a burden to the community. However, this study explored, the positive impacts of

the new crops especially the cash crops introduced by the Europeans among the Bagisu of eastern Uganda.

Were observes that, the immediate reason for the British annexation of Uganda was the strategic importance of this territory for defense and control of Egypt. He further points out that the British acquired Uganda in order to exploit her resources, particularly in the acquisition of the badly needed raw materials for British industries at home. Gideon continues by saying that, the plantation farming was to be the basis of Uganda's economy which increased the number of European settlers in Uganda and relegated the indigenous people to the role of laborers on the plantations of Europeans.¹³

As much as Were might be applauded for exposing the key reasons why the Europeans came to Uganda by exploiting Ugandans and their raw materials and minerals, it can be argued that they also transformed the economy of Ugandans, which the study explored as the benefits of the Europeans in the economic transformation of the Bagisu. Also, Gideon's research was carried outside Eastern Uganda specifically among the Bagisu, which this study established.

Bunker notes that the British mounted extensive programmes of technical orientation to assure yields and acceptable quality. He asserts that Asian traders colluded to depress the market for both coffee and cotton. The Bagisu Native Administration (BNA) established the Bagisu coffee Scheme (BCS) to buy the crops at compensatory prices the colonial government awarded the BCS a monopoly buying license on the condition that it would eventually become a cooperative society controlled by the Bagisu. The programmes of technical orientation and the crop buying schemes required increasing numbers of trained personnel. While Europeans specialists filled

executive and supervisory positions in the civil service, the Bagisu who had acquired western education got jobs in agricultural department.¹⁴

Bunker's study attempts to highlight the validity of education, for the few Bagisu who had acquired western education got jobs in the administration and agricultural department. However, Bunker does not explicitly justify who introduced western education in Bagisu and how this type of western education transformed the economy of Bagisu of Eastern Uganda, which this study established.

Karugire, provides an account of the pre-colonial setting in Uganda societies, the subsequent polarization of the population along religious lines and how colonial rule penetrated Uganda as a whole.¹⁵

However, Karugire's political history of Uganda is too broad and not specific on any particular Ugandan community. The present study, therefore, provides an in-depth study of a particular aspect of economic history by examining the activities of chiefs in colonial government and how

Ehiedu, while writing on the colonization of Africa, focuses on colonial domination with particular reference to indirect rule. He notes that the British used the system to rule first in Northern Nigeria, the Gold coast in West Africa and later in parts of East Africa. He rightly points out that the theory and practice of indirect rule is always associated with Lord Lugard, a British colonial administrator who first used this system in West Africa. Ehiedu goes on to note that indirect rule increased divisions between ethnic groups and gave power to certain “big men” who had never had it before in pre-colonial history. This observation greatly inspired this study and helped to analyze the role of the Baganda in the economic transformation of the Bagisu.¹⁶

Ebine, documents that one of the weapons of colonialism was Christianity by which the Missionaries inculcated into Africans the erroneous belief that every aspect of African culture was fetish and devilish and deserves to be discarded with. Africans were therefore, made to adopt the colonialist’s way of life as direct attempts to under value Africa’s culture and tradition; the art, dance, songs, proverbs, stories etc. The author goes on to quote Fanon who terms this process the colonialists complex of subjugation, that subsequently leads to mental domination. This analysis has been used to assess the social impact of colonialism in Bugisuland in respect of introduction of formal education and Christianity. However, the study under investigation, looks at the economic value of education, and how it was used to transform the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda economically.

Leander and Robinson, put up a strong argument that most of Africa spent two generations under colonial rule and in the process, this intense experience significantly retarded economic development across the continent; and that, relative to any plausible counterfactual, Africa is poorer today than it would have been had colonialism not occurred. The authors further observe that it is a conceptual mistake to judge the impact of colonialism on development in Africa by simply looking at outcomes during the colonial period. Instead, post-independence Africa looked nothing like it would have done in the absence of colonialism. The authors attribute the post-independence economic decline in Africa to colonialism because the types of mechanisms that led to this decline were creations of colonial society. These strong points have largely influenced our discussion on the overall impact of British activities on economic transformation of the Bagisu.¹⁷

Mart, reports that under colonization, the colonizing countries implemented their own form of education within their colonies. This is because the colonialists realized that they gained strength over colonized nations through both physical and mental control. The latter was achieved through education which was meant to expose Africans to superior culture. However, there was a dire need for skilled African man power and the eagerness to propagate Christianity, thereby causing the colonizers to use education as a tool to achieve social control over Africans. Besides, education was a means to propagate Christianity which later on helped to lay the foundation of western education in various parts of Africa. However, Mart's approach is rather too general based on the continent as a whole. This study however, used the arguments to analyze how missionary and western education transformed the Bagisu economically.¹⁸

Onyango, carried out a study on “Church and Politics in Padhola”, in which he investigated and analyzed the coming of colonial rule in Padhola land, the subsequent coming of Protestants and Catholic sects and how they established and spread their faiths in Padhola. This was good work on the Christian churches as religious institutions. The present study aims at examining how these churches helped in the economic transformation of the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda.¹⁹

Odoi, carried out a study on the “History of cotton production in Padhola”. In this study, he examines the coming and establishment of colonial administration, introduction of cotton as a cash crop, reactions of the people and how cotton production finally dropped to the extent that food crops replaced cotton as cash cross up to date. Odoi’s study was however, based on an aspect of colonial economic history in Padhola land. This study is focused on economic transformation of the Bagisu and how coffee accelerate the development.²⁰

Yandaki, while analyzing the material basis and Ideology of the colonial state in Africa, underscores the fact that the colonial state was a conquest state founded on violence and force or the threat of it. Its institutionalization was something undertaken to “tap African resources” in order to help resolve the economic problems in Europe. Yandaki goes on to observe that commoditization was a policy consciously orchestrated by the colonial state to force colonies’ largely peasant production to come to terms with the need of colonial capitalism. This involved expansion and intensification of cash crops production which led to production for the market in which the peasant producer was largely dependent on market for survival. In this process, the peasants were legally compelled by a combination of legislative, fiscal and administrative policies. In the present study, an attempt was made to explore the validity of cash crops in economic transformation of the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda.²¹

According to Lugard, the Civilizing Mission combined the Dual Mandate by which Europe was in Africa for the mutual benefit of her people at home and native races in their progress towards civilization. Lugard observes that as Roman Imperialism laid the foundation of modern civilization and led the wild barbarians along the path of progress, so in Africa they were repaying the debt and bringing to the dark places of the earth, the abode of barbarism and cruelty, the torch of culture and progress. All cases of resistance and nationalistic feelings were results of the value of liberty and freedom. To Lugard the major reason why Europeans to Africa was that they wanted to civilize the Africans. Lugard's observation is too broad and only talks about the social effect of Europeans to Africans. however, this study inquired on the effects of the British on economic transformation of the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda.

Roberts, in his study *The Sub-imperialism of the Baganda* shows how the Baganda survived the partition due to their political structure and development. He further asserted that Baganda were used to expand the British influence in various kingdoms in Uganda. However, little is postulated about the impact of these Baganda chiefs who acted as agents to Europeans. This study investigated the effects of Baganda on the Bagisu economic transformation.²²

Turyahika Ruyema, in his article, examine the major problems encountered by the British when relying on the Baganda agents in imposing colonial rule over the Bakiga in Kigezi District. He further observes that, Bakiga used Nyabingi as their political force to defend their cherished independence which they fought for long to defend against the expanding kingdom of Ruanda to the south. To Bakiga, the Europeans had nothing good to the natives. However, this study looked at the importance of Europeans to Africans especially the validity of the British on the economic transformation of Bagisu of Eastern Uganda.²³

Ogutu in his study, *The Role of coffee in the economic and social improvement of Bugisu District 1945-1960*, talks of the development associated to introduction of coffee in the region. He observed that, to realize the significant developments depended on modern cash crops; on labor policy which left the Africans free to choose between the cultivation of their land or work for non-African employees; and above all, on the creation of cooperative institutions, controlled by the Africans themselves that catered to education in the improvement of methods of agriculture, provided better facilities for development, and increased farmers' income thus providing the means to re-invest in land, commerce and social services. This was a good observation; it postulates as they talked on validity of cash crops in Africa. However, Ogutu's study does not mention the brain child of cash crop among the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda, which this study inquired.²⁴

Thomas, in his book *African Labor and Training in the Uganda colonial economy* observed that, during British rule in Uganda protectorate, a capitalist economy was implemented and imposed upon the traditional subsistence economies of most African societies. There was demand for labor by colonial powers like construction of roads and railway lines and to promote trade and the production of cash crops for export, the colonial economy depended on the motivation and performance of African workers. Thomas' study is general and broad as its talking about Africa, however, this study investigated the importance of cash crops to Bagisu and how working in plantations transformed Bagisu livelihood.

1.7 Rationale and Justification of the study

The study is expected to contribute knowledge on the historiography of colonial rule in Uganda, East Africa and Africa as a whole. Besides, it would provide good readership for the Bagisu who would wish to know more about their colonial history.

A pilot survey on the existing literature related to the study indicated that there was hardly any coherent and comprehensive information on the subject. Whatever existed in the form of written both published and unpublished scholarly works was unsystematic and often only indirectly related to the subject under consideration.

The few scholarly works that have been written do not examine the agents, factors and circumstances surrounding economic change. In essence information related to the economic activities of the Bagisu was inadequate. Such a state of affair could only be improved and solved by undertaking a detailed study of the subject.

The study of economic transformation among the Bagisu was seen as significant to understanding the history of the Bagisu as a whole. This is because economic change is an important aspect in the history of a given community. A study of the dynamics and pattern involved in the economic transition have in the short run shed light on the agents, factors and circumstances surrounding the change.

The problem of economic backwardness, low income per capita, the forces of demand and supply and uneven distributing the wealth among the Bagisu, are closely intertwined with the economic change that the community underwent during colonial era. This in itself called for need to study the underlying issues in order to understand the Bagisu, their economic history and their history in general.

1.8 Scope of the study

The study examines the economic transformation of the Bagisu and how the colonial government facilitated the transformation. The geographical coverage is Gishu region, covering five districts namely: Mbale, Manafwa, Sironko, Bududa and Bulambuli which is predominantly occupied by Bagisu as they constitute a significant population of the former Bukedi District and they therefore, had a big stake in the colonial period. Besides, it was realized that the area would constitute a manageable scope for the period of the study. The study begins from 1904 and ends in 1962. Colonial rule reached Bugisu region in 1904 because this is when Mbale was brought under British protectorate,²⁵ (the year when the British protectorate station was shifted from Budaka to Mbale) and came to an end in 1962 with attainment of political independence.

1.9 Research methodology

To accomplish the objectives of this study, various methods of historical inquiry were employed.

1.10. Research Design

The study is mainly based on qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Focus is on in-depth study and description of events, aspects of people's everyday life and contexts. This called for use of interviews, focus group and participant observation methodology in data collection. Open ended questions were designed and presented to participants in advance by research assistants. Then the researcher followed afterwards according to agreed schedules. This method was found to be useful because it gave good idea of the variety of ideas and feelings the respondents had for the subject under discussion. It also enabled them to think and talk freely for longer periods, exposing their feelings during interviews more fully. The respondents were made to express their views in a flexible atmosphere using the language of their choice.

1.10.1 Focus Group Discussion.

Here, the researcher used smaller group discussions focused on specific topical issues facilitated by the researcher. The unit of analysis was the group, focusing on how they collectively argued and manipulated their opinions to reach a consensus on a given topic, based on socially agreed format, Lunt and Livingston. We particularly used the fixed schedule of questions and topic guides methods. Most groups constituted five people, basing on the level of their comprehension of the issues to be discussed and education level.

1.10.2 Sampling Techniques and Sampling Size

The conclusions that have been made in this study are, however, based on research experiences and interactions with a smaller number of sampled individuals who were deliberately chosen to participate in the research process. It is from this group that we obtained a variety of information on various aspects of the study. This group constituted our accessible population.

1.10.3 Sampling Techniques

Assistant researcher, having been born and grown up in the area of the study, he helped the researcher to be fully aware of the nature of the population he was dealing with. There was sufficient previous knowledge based on personal experience with a good cross section of the population. This therefore, called for application of personal judgement as to who was eligible to participate in the research process, for instance, to participate in Focus Group Discussions or his or her home to be considered for interview. As a result of all these factors, the researcher employed the purposive sampling method to access the required respondents. By this method the researcher and his assistant used their personal judgement based on available prior information to select a sample that was believed would provide the much-needed data. The margin of error that may result from poor judgement was checked by comparing data with those from other sources.

1.10.5 Sampling Size

Fraenkel and Wallen, correctly observe that, a sample should be as large as the researcher can obtain with a reasonable expenditure of time and energy. It also means that researchers should try to obtain as large a sample as they reasonably can. A number of criteria were therefore, used to guide the sampling process. Since we were dealing with an aspect of contemporary history, a good number of people who witnessed and or participated in colonial administration were still alive, especially in the age bracket of fifty years and above. Samples were therefore, obtained from this group. There were also retired teachers and headmasters of primary and secondary schools. These constituted members of the middle class who together with other government civil servants, had good memory and assessment of what happened in the colonial period. There were elderly men and women who engaged in business, were active in politics and organizers of women groups. A total of thirty men and women were sampled, six from each District. The ratio of 2:1. Owing to the nature of colonial formal education that favored education of boys at the expense of girls, the researcher realized that there were generally few women on the required age brackets who could provide authentic data or effectively participate in the focus group discussions. Most women therefore, lacked the ability to provide informed opinions on economic events during the colonial period. Mental judgement and greater degree of prudence were therefore, used to sample this group of people for effective participation in the research process.

1.10.6 Research Instruments

Library Search

This was conducted in the libraries of Higher Institutions of Learning such as, Makerere, Kyambogo, Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), and Uganda Christian University Mukono. The Uganda National archives at Entebbe, the Tororo District Court, Kisoko County Archives and Mbale District Archives were also consulted. Records and personal documents of important

personalities were examined. The library material was used to test results from other sources. It was also used to access census data and lists to draw purposive sampling.

1.10.7 Interview Schedule

In the process of data collection, we came across knowledgeable people but who were illiterate. This called for use of the interview guides which was found most suitable for qualitative methods which involved working according to a set of topics using non-standardized questions. This method provided greater degree of flexibility, greater depth and following the contextual structure of the interviews. The main language of conversation was Lugisu supplemented with English whenever necessary. The questions were unstructured, only providing key points around which investigative discussion could be administered.

1.10.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity

This was catered for by carrying out extensive data collection, comparing and contrasting data, which were recorded, and interviews transcribed. Systematic and objective listening to participants, conducting participants' checks during interviews, using verbatim quotes and mechanically recorded data, creating audit trail and methodological triangulation were all put in place.

Reliability

External Reliability

This was obtained by the following measures:

- i. Creating an audit trail which was the record of researcher's decision and procedures.
- ii. The setting, methods and theoretical background were described explicitly in order to provide a guide to other researchers who will want to carry out similar research.

Internal Reliability

The strategies for ensuring reliability included peer review that involved discussion and brainstorming with colleagues and making track record of our impression and perspectives about the events in the study.

1.10.9 Data Collection

Data collection commenced in February 2017. One field assistant was trained on methods of data collection, how to administer the questionnaires and general ethical standards. The researcher's main task was to collect archival and oral data, and to receive and analyze data from field assistant.

1.10.10 Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed and coded using a grounded approach and then analyzed according to emerging data. Periodic reviews of all collected data were carried out, followed by a summary construction and formulation of more questions to be answered. Peer groups were also consulted with those who were knowledgeable about research procedures to summarize the status of the research and to discuss emerging themes, concepts and interpretation. Interviews were then summarized in order to identify threads that connected them in order to maintain the contexts for possible quotes that were used as examples.

1.10.11 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

Data Management

At this level, there was a need to cross-check for reliability threats, for example, whether enough people were interviewed or not, whether the right people were chosen, and whether if we went back to them a second time, they would be able to give us the same information with the same clarity and precision.

The researcher also checked whether individual perception did not bias the outcomes of the interview, or whether the conclusions were derived from the data collected or not, or whether the outcomes of this study could be used to study a similar situation elsewhere, or whether a different researcher could use the same instruments and repeat the study and come out with similar results. The information obtained from each source was cross checked for its validity, data were then coded, categorized and synthesized accordingly.

Ethical Consideration

Caution was taken to guard against ethical malpractices. Participants were told about the purpose of the study, its significance and objectives and the type of questions. Participation was voluntary and the results of the interview were kept confidential. Interviews were conducted with utmost respect to the participants, with proper time management. The upshots of the interview could be made available to participants on request.

1.11 Summary

Qualitative research methods were used to study the economic transformation of the Bagisu of Eastern Uganda 1904-1962. It was established that the coming of the British in Eastern Uganda transformed the livelihood of the Bagisu. For instance, they introduced cash crop farming, whereby Bagisu could work in these farms to get stipend that improved their well-being, money

economy was also introduced, western education which made the native to learn new technologies of farming to mention but a few. Indeed, the coming of the Europeans kick started the economic development of the Bagisu

1.11.1 Challenges faced

Collecting data for the study was not easy. First, I was hit by financial constraints, and second by the interviewees poor response in certain aspects. Because I was a self-sponsored student it was not easy trying to survive on borrowed money from friends for transport to relevant places where vital information was found. On some isolated occasions I was forced to walk for about ten kilometers in search of information. Part of the reasons why I had to walk such long distances was because there were no roads to access to the areas where I wanted to get information. Sometimes, the people whom I wanted to interview were not present, thus forcing me either to wait for them or miss the required information all together. At other times I was quiet lucky to find my interviewees eager to give me information. On very few occasions would my interviewees cheat me or withhold information. At such times patience was my strongest weapon.

Limited by my own financial problems, I had to overwork myself on very many occasions. Many times, I had to stay awake night after night working at the computer of the school because I could not have access to it during the day. During such times, however, I would feel lonely and frustrated. In some cases, I would go hungry for days because of inadequate finances.

When it came to printing, I was delayed on several occasions because I did not have money to pay for the services. These financial problems coupled with others such as the interpretation of data made it difficult for me to work effectively on my study. Fortunately, however, I have survived and managed to finish my work.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE BAGISU IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

2.0 Introduction.

The chapter highlights background of the Bagisu; the origin, migration and settlement of the Bagisu are examined. Further, it analysis the pre-colonial Bagisu economy and industries before the coming of the Europeans. It intends to show what the pre-colonial Bagisu were doing economically and the type of industries they had before colonial rule.

2.1 The Bagisu Environment

The Bagisu are a Bantu speaking people who live in Eastern Uganda. Many of them live on the foothills and slopes of mount. Elgon; others occupy the southern and south-western plains. They are bounded on the north and north-east by the Sebei, on the north-west and south by the Iteso, on the west by the Bagwere and the Basoga on the south-west by Banyole and on the east and south-east by the Abaluyia. Mount Elgon is also home of small kalenjin-speaking communities.

The Bagisu are found mainly in Mbale, Bududa, Manafwa, Bulambuli and Sironko Districts. It is also important to point out that not all the inhabitants of these Districts are Gishus. Others include the Bagwere and the Itesots. These Districts are situated in the Eastern part of Uganda. It covers 39,478.8km.¹ These Districts have a population of approximately 1,120,000 with an ethnic population of 953,936;² the area is the most densely populated region in the country with 250 people per square kilometer.³

2.2 The Origins, Migration and Settlement of the Bagisu.

The traditional evidence in Bugisu suggests that Bugisu was peopled from various territories. Mugisu seems to have lived about fifteen generations. The evidence shows that the early immigrants into Elgon area, who gave birth to the Bagisu clans, were non-Bantu, especially the Nandi who came from the north in Ethiopia.⁴

"Other accounts state that the Bagisu were created on Mount Elgon. This would seem to suggest that at least a section of the Bagisu have lived in the Elgon area for a considerable length of time. It is possible that these are the people from whom the immigrants acquired the Bantu tongue. On the other hand, traditions are silent on the ethnic identity of this early population although we are told that they were Bagisu.... The conclusion to be drawn is that the Bagisu are a heterogeneous community in whose veins flows Pygmoid, Bantu, Kalenjin, Ethiopian, and most probably Maasai blood." Bamasaaba were firmly established on Mount Elgon.⁵ The Bagisu are believed to have separated from the Bukusu sometime in the 19th century. The tradition claiming that they have always been where they are throughout history is unfashionable. The earliest immigrants into Bugisu area are believed to have moved into the Mt. Elgon area during the 16th century from eastern plains.⁶

Their earliest home is said to be in the Uasin Gishu plateau of Kenya. They seem to have been an end product of the mixing of peoples of different origins and cultures, but since their language is Bantu; their predecessors should have been Bantu speakers as well.⁷

Bagisu originally occupied the plains around Mt. Elgon, moving to its slopes around the 16th century AD due to the attacks from the Maasai and Nandi tribes. During the early years of colonialism, the tribe moved further north due to land constraints, sparking territory conflict with the sebei tribe.⁸

Ehret asserts that by the first millennium, a group of Southern Nilotes, called the Kitoki Southern Nilotes, were established in the area between the Kavirondo Gulf and Mount Elgon, these people are said to have spoken a language related (but not identical) to Kalenjin had

vital contacts with the ancestors of the Bagisu and Abaluyia. Further, the ancestors of the Bamasaba originally came from either Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and proceeded to settle on Mount Elgon.⁹

Bamasaba were not created on Mount Elgon, they came from Abyssinia where they migrated in different directions. They travelled through Ngai in Narok Kenya, where the Barwa Basebe live. From there, they went to Elgeyo hence Kitale in Kenya. It was from there that they separated into a number of groups and travelled towards Mount Elgon, approaching it from the northern and southwards¹⁰

According to local evidence, the people of North Bugisu of Budadiri county were directly founded by Mugisu, a son of Masaba who the eponymous ancestor of the Bamasaba is. These then are the people called Bagisu. Those in central and southern Bugisu were respectively founded by Ngokhwe and Wukuya, Mugisu's brothers. The Central Bagisu are generally called Bangokho while those in the south are loosely called Basukuya, after their respective founders.

¹¹Within these large groups there are numerous divisions and clans bearing the names of their supposed founders. The correct collective name for the people of Bugisu is, therefore, Bamasaba. It is stated that the name 'Bagisu' was mistakenly applied to the entire tribe by the Baganda and the British who were ignorant of the local situation.¹²

The name 'Mugisu' is of Maasai origin and dates back to the period of the settlement in the general region by the earliest known ancestors of the nucleus of the Bamasaba. Local sources unanimously assert that it was a nickname given to Mwambu Lubayo, a son of Masaba. Originally Mwambu was nicknamed either Ingishu or Ngishu, a name by which he was gradually and permanently called until it was corrupted to Mugishu. As a result, his descendants (in county Budadiri, north Bugisu) became known as Bagishu. According to traditions the name originated

as a result of the heroic acts of Mwambu (the future Mugishu).¹³ He is reported to have rescued his brother, together with their herds of cattle, from some marauding Maasai who had captured them while grazing. In recognition of his courage and heroism in trying to rescue the cattle single-handed, the Maasai not only let him take his herds back but, in addition, gave him one of their own bull: 'They gave him that bull freely and in Maasai language a bull is called Ingisu. He was so nicknamed because they said he was powerful and was given a free bull.'¹⁴

2.3 The pre-colonial Bagisu economy

Bagisu economic organization during the pre-colonial period was in the form of a mixed economy. They practiced agriculture, animal husbandry and trade. Agriculture was the most important of all, whereas animal husbandry was used as a secondary reserve source of food during the early period of their settlement on the slopes of Mt. Elgon.¹⁵ The reason why agriculture was more important than animal husbandry in the beginning was because the environment the Bagisu inhabited was not conducive to the practice of pastoralism.¹⁶

The main crop grown for subsistence was small millet or 'Bulo', and sorghum 'kamayemba' which were only planted once a year. However, corn, bananas, and sweet potatoes were also used for food.¹⁷

The Bagisu hunted wild animals for protein which was done with a spear.¹⁸ Domestic animals were also kept which were rarely used for meat. Every household owned cows for dairy, goats and sheep for trade. Women could sow the seed in the field cleared by a man. However, harvesting was done by both men and women.¹⁹

During the pre-colonial period trade was conducted through barter, a system where traders exchanged goods for other goods without using money. Some items such as honey played the role of a currency. A person with millet, for example, exchanged it with a fixed amount of honey measured in a standard wooden vessel. It was fixed that a wooden full of honey could fetch a

specific amount of millet or specific article such as a hoe-head. However, by 19th century, a wooden full of honey went for iron. A Cow for example, would fetch a store of millet. One would not however, trade all his grain reserves for a cow. For internal trading transactions, both cattle and grains were highly valued by Bagisu society. On the external trade, the Iteso of Buke-dea for example could supply cattle to Bagisu in exchange for grains.²⁰

Before the colonial era, Bagisu trade was a non-specialist occupation since it was determined by the ability to carry a basket of millet to the homes of neighbors, or in a limited number of cases, to a recognized trading point normally under a tree. Such places would be found in every Bugisu village. In the late 19th century, long distance trade became an important, organized and specialized activity, with the Bagisu adopting the system of Caravan trade pioneered in the area by the Arabs and Swahili.²¹

2.3.1 Industries

There were two major industries and several other minor ones in Bugisu land during pre-colonial period. Two major industries were iron-making and bee-keeping. Among the minor industries were basket-making, wood-carving, leather-making and pottery.

2.3.2 Iron Industry

Iron-making was performed by specific individuals or groups born with personal Qualities (endowed). The individuals or groups were specialized in both iron-making and iron-working. The Bagisu practiced iron-making until the British rule was established when they stopped producing iron locally because the Europeans brought readymade iron with them, but continued iron-work although in lesser quantities. The endowed clans made their local iron-ore, as blacksmith, they lived at particular places where people from all over Bugisuland came to purchase the tools they wanted. The blacksmiths were there before the Europeans came. They mixed some stony materials and burned them until pure iron was produced. They then made

tools such as swords, spears and many other implements such as hoes. In the 19th century the iron-workers had grown very rich and their children began to abandon the trade after inheriting their fathers' amassed wealth, which affected the iron industry.²²

2.3.3 Bee keeping industry

Bee-keeping was practiced by a few hard working Bagisu during the pre-colonial period. One old man said: Bee-keepers were the hardworking bulk of the Bugisu community. It was not an easy task; a man would work the whole day, the whole week to produce two honey barrels. But the benefits were satisfying.²³ The bee-keepers made honey barrels from wood and kept them on trees where they were secure from thieves. They waited for bees to make honey in them. Since honey was vital for several ceremonies, such as circumcision and marriage, bee keeping increased over time particularly in the 19th century. Beer was made out of honey and thereafter used by the elders to bless the society and promote the traditional festivals. Honey was also used as a form of medicine for individuals who suffered from abdominal pains.²⁴

2.4 Homestead and Communal Economy.

In Bugisu society, several households formed a homestead. A homestead and household were distinct entities. A household was each wife's individual house each with her children and property. A husband and his wives' houses not far from each other, the husband's house being at the center. This depicted that the Gishu society in general was polygamous. In the pre-colonial period, the Gishu homestead was organized primarily as a unit of production and reproduction.²⁵ The Bagisu were spread out in small homesteads across the country. Homestead organization as a unit of production among the Bagisu was similar to that of Nuer homestead economic units, as described by Evans-Pritchard.²⁶

Beer provided a sense of community and was commonly shared during the festive period and circumcision ceremonies. The inter-clan warfare could be avoided by such time because all

members of the community could come together. People could travel from within and without their clan. Beer could be brewed in large quantities which could be shared among the guests. However, sharing among families was otherwise uncommon because each wife had her own store of food that the husband would eat from.²⁷

When a boy was old enough to marry, it was the parents, especially the father, who identified the girl and then went to talk to the parents of that girl. "Yes, I have a son. We are interested in your daughter. Please, could you allow us to go ahead?" If the parents of the daughter accepted, then the son would also go there and meet the girl, and her parents. Then, after talking to the boy, if the girl accepted, "Okay, I like him, I think it is okay. I accept," the families would make arrangements for dowry [bride price].²⁸ They would pay dowry: Three cows and three goats, and some small things, like a hoe, a panga, some salt, some sugar, meat, bread, things to please the parents. Then the girl and some of her fellow girls, village mates, escorted her to the boy's home. They could do work there for some time. Married girls could not eat certain types of food for some time. On the final day, when the ceremony was arranged, they slaughtered a goat. She could begin eating together with the boy and they could be married. The tradition here was to pay five cows; and three goats. Therefore, a girl child was valued as a source of wealth. The more one had the richer he/she could be. That is traditional dowry or bride price for a bride.²⁹

Men and women performed different tasks: The women would do the housework, the cooking and all that. In the gardens, the men only slashed, so that women and the children could come to dig. Other roles, like building houses were for men, so were looking for the grass to thatch the houses. The women would also look for food in the gardens, like, for example cutting the bananas.³⁰

A Mugisu woman needed a husband and children a father, a husband who provided his wife with a means of subsistence, and her children with a social and an economic heritage. The woman cared for her children, raised crops for the family, collected water and firewood and supervised the household. Property was acquired by men through inheritance. The men assumed the rights to property through marriage and shared them with their wives. For as long as the man lived, the property remained under his control. After a man married, he distributed land and livestock to his wives to sustain their Individual households.³¹ The system was organized in such a way that each wife had a grain granary which no one except herself opened. In making the distribution, the husband would retain a portion of land and stock for his own use.³²

Inheritance was paramount so far as acquisition of property was concerned. All property was inherited in accordance with customary laws which included the following:

- (a) Inheritance was a right only for men and not for women,
- (b) Only the eldest son of the eldest wife inherited the father's stock, land granary and its contents.
- (c) The eldest son of each wife inherited part of the land, stock and granary and its contents that was previously distributed to her.
- (d) The last son of each wife inherited the remaining land, stock and granary and its contents previously distributed to her³³

The four laws were subject to change depending on the father who might wish to divide the property equally among his sons. If the amount of land was too small, division was avoided. In-

heritance customs sometimes led to bitterness amongst the sons since the dispossessed sons would want to fight those who inherited the property. Sometimes the dispossessed sons looked for their own property such as in trade and laboring for other people.³⁴ In cases where a man died before making his will known to his people, the eldest son took the responsibility of dividing his father's possessions. If any misunderstanding over Land arose between the sons of the deceased, the elders of the clan intervened, although they could not command the decision (verdict) - they were there to guide. If a man died without heirs, his estate went to a clansman who had befriended him, cared for his widow or helped in an honorable burial of the deceased man. A man's brothers buried him in case he had no heirs.³⁵

2.5 Conclusion

The Mount Elgon, the first area inhabited by the Bamasaba had a profound influence on the Bamasaba economy and way of life in that most people became farmers, although other activities such as iron Working was undertaken by some specific individuals and other groups. Later, when the Bamasaba spread out and expanded to other regions, such as Manafwa, Sironko, Bududa and Bulambuli, their economic life became diversified. Specialized clans in each region produced special items needed by the society. As we saw, Bamasaba near Mount Elgon for example, specialized in agriculture, whereas those near Kapchorwa specialized in bee keeping.

Communal economy dominated the Bamasaba so that change during the pre-colonial era was centered along communal lines. Land belonged to the clan, and the clan had powers over it. Wives were guardians of household property and their husbands had no authority over the property put in their stewardship. Communal activities such as herding were cherished a great deal because they kept the society intact economically.

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CHAPTER THREE
ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN EASTERN
UGANDA

3.0 Introduction;

This chapter examines the establishment and consolidation of British rule in Eastern Uganda in the period 1904-1962. It focuses mainly on the role of Buganda, with particular reference to collaborative activities of Semei Kakungulu with his Baganda followers and how they transformed the Bagisu economically.

3.1 The Role of Baganda in Expansion of British Rule in Eastern Uganda.

Due to Centralization, and stability in Buganda kingdom, development in political affairs was witnessed because the British borrowed their structure of leadership. With regard to Buganda's political development, this continuity has been applauded by many scholars. Less emphasized, but intimately related to her internal continuity, is the perpetuation of Buganda's imperialist past, especially in the guise of Baganda participation in the extension of British influence throughout the Protectorate of Uganda. By seventeenth and eighteenth century, Buganda expanded in size as the Bunyoro kingdom declined. Buganda also came to extract an irregular tribute from Kiziba, Karagwe, Koki, and other small kingdoms to the south and west. The rulers of such territories sometimes owed their position to Baganda assistance as did Rumanika of Karagwe, host of Speke and Grant; and to the east, Buganda enjoyed a similar hegemony over the petty kings of southern Busoga.¹ Through her southward expansion, Buganda had made indirect contact with Arab traders from the coast by the end of the eighteenth century. Arabs were frequent visitors at the Baganda court, exchanging fire-arms and other manufactures for salt, ivory, and slaves, of which Buganda's raids and conquests had assured her a steady supply.

Once the British were established in Buganda, their preferred method of consolidating their position on the Upper Nile was simply to enlarge Buganda. As a result, between 1894 and 1900,

Buganda obtained control of further territory on its western borders, over southern Bunyoro and over the Buvuma islands, her own free will. The cession tribute rights in the 1900 Agreement was amply compensated accretions. However, it was not strategic reasons alone which induced this enlargement of Buganda by the British-and it was not as great as they would have wished. Having made the country their base, they were sufficiently impressed by her form of government to envisage it as a model for creating a uniform administration throughout the surrounding regions.² Her history is characterized both by expansion and by the growth of royal power, expressed in centralized government through appointed chiefs, at the expense of original clans and their hereditary chieftainship. Unlike Ruanda, Buganda was dominated by no ruling caste; political authority was based on achievement. Competition was the order of the day in Buganda kingdom, and successful raids were the most effective way for an ambitious king/ chief to commend himself to the Kabakaship.³ Chiefships over newly territory was hereditary, and by the end of the century all but three of the ten ssaza, or county, chiefs were appointees. The Kabaka's power was further increased due to creation of Batongole, and appointed chiefs could form a standing army and navy.

However, due to Mutesa's shrewd of brutal despotism led to installation of Mwanga (1884-97), under whom alien innovations-fire-arms and Christianity-came to have political consequences. Missionaries formed clientages of Baganda chiefs and by 1888 when Mwanga attempted to eliminate them, the Christians captured power whom Mwanga had undermined.⁴ However, they agreed to restore him as a puppet king. The rival Batongole hierarchy declined with Mwanga's personal fortunes. When he rebelled in 1897, Bakungu stood firm to their alliance with the British, and it was whom Johnston negotiated the 1900 Agreement. With the formalization of the Lukiiko, or gathering of the more important chiefs, as a council of defined membership and regular

sessions, Buganda offered the British a model for native administration such as they had not encountered elsewhere in Africa.⁵

By 1900 the responsibilities of the British extended far beyond Buganda. Their rule went as far as western kingdoms of Toro, Ankole, and Bunyoro, whose political organization resembled in varying degrees that of Buganda, to the Bantu, Nilotic, and Nilo-Ethiopic of Eastern Uganda, some of whom knew no unit of loyalty or obedience larger than the clan.⁶ It was the work of British to create the similar system of Buganda to other areas. Johnston himself, after dividing the Protectorate into provinces and districts, issued directions for the appointment of county chiefs. And in any case the permanent officials in the country made a point of ruling where possible through kingships and chieftaincies which could be reformed along Buganda lines. It was here that the Baganda first found openings for expansion under the British aegis.⁷ The bakungu who signed the Agreement were no isolated elite, but the leaders of a rapidly growing community of Christian Baganda, some of whom were themselves teachers and many of whom were literate. Their ardent assimilation of alien culture, their support of the British during the mutiny, and their familiarity with hierarchical government: all pointed to the Baganda being a considerable asset in the 'opening up' of an administered country, especially when their own form of government was to be introduced. Johnstone, believed that the Baganda were 'destined to play the principal role in the future of the Uganda protectorate'. Indeed, Lugard himself had foreseen that they might be used in administration outside their own country.⁸

The development of British interest in Eastern Uganda was largely influenced by the appointment of Sir Harry Johnston as consul General for Uganda and adjoining territories. This development subsequently accelerated British expansionist policy in the Eastern region of Uganda. Previously, British concentration was on Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga regions. Deliberate

steps were therefore, taken to open up Eastern Uganda for exploitation of its resources to generate funds for colonial administration. Johnstone therefore, emphasized the validity of security, expansion and development. In order to sort out the problem of inadequate staff, he employed the service of local agents, chief who was Semei Kakungulu.⁹

Indeed, the British interest in Eastern Uganda, like in other parts of Africa, were influenced largely by activities of men on the spot such as Harry Johnstone in East Africa, George Goldie in West Africa and Cecil Rhodes in Southern Rhodesia.¹⁰ These men decided to use agents and chartered companies to solve financial and administrative problems.

The motive of colonialism was the search for economic treasures. The British, therefore, used several methods to secure consolidation of their power in various parts of Africa. For example, they used institutions like the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACO) to secure monopoly of East African trade.¹¹ They also used the concept of treaty making which led to the Anglo-German Treaty by which a defined geographical sphere of influence was obtained. Kenya and Uganda fell under British spheres and Tanganyika under German control. However, these were mere spheres of influence which did not involve serious colonial penetration into the interior.

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After obtaining spheres of influence, internationally reorganized boundaries and signing treaties with various stake holders, using violence to destroy resisting groups, the British then employed their last method which was establishment of inductive system which was used to bring the man in the country side under colonial rule, it was also used to confirm this man's subordination and compliance with orders and regulation from the center. At this level, chiefs were already identified, villages grouped under them and all the three pillars of governance: legislation especially in the making of by-laws to enforce urgent policies, execution of laws and judicial powers all fused

together on them as village despots.¹³ This system involved reorganization of the social structure, the missionary factor and the use of personal gifts to change people to the side of the foreign rulers.¹⁴

3.2 How the Baganda were viewed in expansion of British rule in Eastern Uganda

The British attitude towards the Baganda was very unique in the Ugandan context and even the rest of East Africa. For example, English elites coming to Uganda were instructed to look upon Buganda as having for East Africa the pre-eminent position that England had for Europe. The Baganda, therefore, held a special position in the eyes of the British and as such, they were employed as agents of colonial expansion. Historians such as Roberts called this, "The sub-imperialism of Baganda". But Kabwegyere rightly disagrees with this interpretation because the Baganda were only being used to transplant the Kiganda system of political organization which the British found to their benefit.¹⁵

The British also found it expedient to use the Baganda as agents because they were Africans who could be used and indeed they were willing to be used as a shield to protect the British from direct contact or confrontation with the Africans.¹⁶ In case of problems, it would be the Baganda themselves to blame. These agents were exposed to all dirty aspects of colonial penetration while the colonialists acted as instructors or supervisors. In Bukedi, each agent was armed with 15-20 guns with 40-50 rounds per gun. They were ranked according to their salary position.¹⁷

In case of misbehavior, the agents were punished by posting them to areas where there was too much work to do. They were also closely supervised and warned against mistreating the natives. These agents carried several duties like tax collection, punitive expeditions and mobilizing the masses for development purposes.¹⁸

In principle, therefore, these people should not be referred to as “Baganda sub-imperialists”. Instead, they should be called “indirect rulers” who were being used to establish British strongholds at village levels. In Mamdan’s language these were decentralized despots or puppets whose main role was to transmit orders from colonial officials to the people.¹⁹

It was not only in Bukedi that the British found it expedient to use Baganda as agents of colonial rule. The practice was implemented in other parts of the protectorate. For instance, in Kigezi in western Uganda, the colonial government acknowledged the role of Baganda agents in the colony, thus;

“The undoubted administrative gifts of the Baganda have been utilized in these districts by their employment as government Agents to educate and supervise the local chiefs, a system which is Open to obvious objections, but which in its ultimate results Was only tolerable under the closest supervision by District officers.”²⁰

Myers, notes that indirect rule, the British policy of employing indigenous tribal chiefs, was a political strategy designed to win legitimacy for colonial officials. The system became the basic template from which segregation emerged during the twentieth century. The system shows ways in which leaders struggled to legitimize themselves through the customs of political power. Myers goes on to observe that indirect rule was a type of European colonial policy in which the traditional local power structure, such as the Kiganda model of administration, or at least part of it, was incorporated into the colonial administrative structure. It was practiced in large parts of the British Empire, especially in Asia and Africa. The system was ideologically and practically pinned to the work of Captain Lugard, the High Commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1899-1906.²¹

Acemoglu, Chares, Kwaako and Robinson, while discussing Indirect Rule, strongly note that in the British protectorate in Uganda, the role of Buganda state was even more institutionalized than the Asante state was in Ghana. Not only was the protectorate named after the state, but the state had expanded with British help to annex surrounding territories, particularly the so called 'Lost Counties' of Bunyoro. During the protectorate, Ganda governors were appointed by the British in some of the contiguous, previously stateless societies. In Bukedi, such a governor was Semei Kakungulu.²²

However, a peer discussion emphasized that there was a genuine and deliberate desire among the Baganda to spread their assumed political orientation by gaining political influence outside their territory. Good enough, this was also the time the British wanted to extend their hegemony to other parts of the protectorate using Kiganda well-structured model of local government administration based on a hierarchy of chiefs. It was also the period when movement to spread Christianity was gaining momentum. Nevertheless, it should be noted that whatever political influence to be gained was accrued to individuals rather than to Buganda as a political entity. The Baganda agents did not originate the primary desire for intermediary function. Instead they were motivated to take action in respect of British interest to integrate Uganda administratively.²³ In other words, the agents were simply implementing a system that was transplanted from one place to another. The Baganda themselves were fully aware of their unique position as administrative intermediaries. In this regard, the activities of Semei Kakungulu and his Baganda followers are instructive.²⁴

3.3 Kakungulu's influence in eastern Uganda 1900-1914

Kakungulu first emerged into the spotlight of collaboration when he demonstrated his sympathy with the British by helping to capture Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and Omukama Kabalega of

Bunyoro. It was later realized that Kakungulu could not work peacefully with Apollo Kagwa because of long-standing loggerheads. As a result, he was appointed by Johnston to lead an antiriot squad against Sudanese mutineers in the North. He went and settled at Bululu from where he raided the surrounding areas including Teso, Pallisa, Bugwere and Bugisu. He later moved to Bugwere and settled at Naboa. In the process Kakungulu used violence against the indigenous and this brought about resentment among the communities he conquered.²⁵

Kakungulu used the traditional Kiganda method- armed expedition. Isaka Nziga, one of Kakungulu's loyal and brave followers, was given command of an expedition with guns and enough quantity of ammunitions, and 'a government flag'. They were given orders to conquer the territory of Bukedi. Which they did. The protectorate administration opened up the eastern region of Uganda with the aid of Semei Kakungulu. In 1896, he started building a series of military posts in Lango. He extended this scheme to Teso linking all the strategic positions behind him with military posts. Audrey, makes a convincing observation that although Kakungulu ruled for only eight years, his forcefulness, his deep conviction of superiority of the Baganda, and the support which he received from the British, served to implant the Baganda system so firmly that the Basoga had difficulty in recalling earlier conditions. The larger units of Busoga kingdom became "Saza" (counties) on the Baganda model, while smaller ones were amalgamated as "Gombolola" (sub counties). This, therefore, means that Kakungulu initiated a tailor-made plan to effect great administrative changes in the Eastern part of the protectorate.²⁶

By 1900, he had managed to settle at Nabumali. Kakungulu was assisted on his expedition by his Baganda followers who included alleged thugs and opportunists and close relatives. Despite this development, Sir Harry Johnston was satisfied with Kakungulu's activities in Bukedi. He saw him as fit to be referred to as "a gentleman", with all the qualities of leadership Johnston told

Kakungulu that what he was doing in Bukedi was nothing but 'Kitalo, meaning a wonder. He therefore, declared Kakungulu "kabaka of Bukedi".²⁷

The British wanted to exile him to Lango, but he refused and instead asked for a grant of land between Naboia and Masaba (this was the Lugisu name for Mt. Elgon) for him and his followers. He had the option of having a small grant of 8 square miles like all Saza chiefs in Buganda and be retained in the administration, but of lower grade. Kakungulu opted to resign from protectorate government service and went into private life. He was bought off with 20 square miles of land. Therefore, by 1902 the colonial government gave Kakungulu land in Mbale as it had a lot in common with Mengo in terms of physical appearance.²⁸

Kakungulu established the first market in Mbale where his followers exchanged beads and hoes for food and wood. He was getting beads from Mumias in Kenya with the surrounding Bagisu clans through barter trade. There was also trade in cattle with surrounding tribes. The Itesots of Bukedea for example send 89 herds of cattle to Kakungulu before 1904. Kakungulu also started trading in ivory got from the Elephants in the Mt. Elgon. This attracted the Swahili and Arab traders, who bartered beads and hoes for Ivory. Indeed, the Swahili and Arab traders made the Bagisu develop economically. Before Kakungulu establishing Mbale as a trading center Mumias was the advance base for the Swahili traders in the interior. Mumias lost to Mbale which became the base for traders in the interior. By 1904 it had attracted big merchants like Omar Mohidins and Idi Shero who had shifted their base from Mumias.

Also trafficking of firearms which had the base in Budaka made the Bagisu region to develop economically because the guns acquired from outside world improved on the security of the Bagisu. Furthermore, guns helped the Bagisu to hunt elephants for ivory without fear, hence improvement in their standard of living.²⁹

Elephant hunting made the gun market lucrative in the area, though some went as far as Ethiopia. This rapid development of an area originally described as a waste attracted the attention of the protectorate office in Kampala and Entebbe and brought it to the attention of the colonial office in London and hence the desire to bring it under the British protectorate.³⁰

According to the February 27th 1904, communication from commissioner James Sadler to colonial office describing the area after a visit to eastern Uganda, he said; 'Mbale has become the biggest trading bazaar in Uganda outside Entebbe and Kampala.' Therefore, it's true that Kakungulu made Mbale develop economically.³¹ He had constructed a wide road along Namatala towards Tirinyi which made the Asian traders to travel freely from Kampala to Jinja through Tirinyi and do their businesses in Mbale. Indeed, the Asian traders created employment to many natives of Eastern Uganda which improved their livelihood.³²

3.4 Conclusion

The Baganda were employed as agents of colonial expansion by the British. Baganda chiefs were to be used as shields to protect the British from direct contact or confrontation with Africans. The agents' roles were to collect tax, organize punitive expeditions and mobilizing the masses for development purposes. The main reason why the British used collaborators, was a political strategy designed to win legitimacy for colonial officials. These agents such as Semei Kakungulu constructed roads, for instance Tirinyi road, he founded Mbale town, developed trade for example, Mumias which was a center for buying and selling Ivory was abandoned and Mbale took over.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE BAGISU ECONOMY, 1904- 1962

4.0 Introduction.

This chapter will highlight the arrival of new crops like cotton and coffee, animal husbandry and the money Economy introduced by the Europeans, and how it transformed the Bagisu economically by 1962.

The Bagisu economy was undergoing changes even before 1904. For example, due to the influence of Arabs, Swahili and Kamba traders, the Bagisu had supplemented their local trade with regional trade at least three decades before the colonial rule, although the transaction was through barter trade which could not attract many people. But during the colonial period, the economic transformation of the Bagisu kicked off in a large scale.

4.1 Agriculture

Prior to 1900, the Bagisu who lived in the rugged Mount Elgon practiced cultivation of grains such as finger millet and kept small animals like goats and cattle. For as long as they lived in the hills, the Bagisu remained sorghum and millet producers for their subsistence. The pre-colonial agricultural methods used by the Bagisu have been linked with those used by the early Anglo-Saxons:

A family or families from the same location worked on a large piece of land together men and women, and each man owns a strip alongside his neighbor. If the location is a large one, a man may have several strips of land in various places. The field could be fenced temporarily and after two or three years when crops are harvested, the land was allowed to revert to bush fallow, and more land was sought for cultivation, while grazing was thrown open to the community at large within the clan

In addition to the above argument, Trevelyan stresses; this system was economically viable as the objective of each farmer was to raise food for his/her family rather than for the market. It combined the advantages of individual labour and public control. It gave each farmer a fair share of the better and worse land; it bounded the villagers together as a community. Shifting cultivation was a wide spread agricultural practice among the Bagisu at the time British rule was established. The system was looked at as protective of the soil since the Bagisu did not have crops besides millet and sorghum for rotation. It was intended to maintain soil fertility by cultivating the same land each year. Leaving the land fallow for two or three years allowed fertility to return to the soil. Shifting cultivation presented no problem to the Bagisu because there was plenty of land. The British also viewed Bagisu agricultural tools as primitive as most Bagisu used wooden hoes (embago) which were in most cases fragile and could easily break. Indeed, this type or rather methodology of farming, and the crops that were produced could not have added value to the Bagisu and that's why cash crop was inevitable.¹

The arrival of the railway at Kisumu was to ease transportation of people and goods to the interior. But the colonial administrators in Uganda and Mbale in particular were bothered by what the train would carry on its return journey. Ehrlich observes that, by 1903, ivory, hides and skins were the major exports from Mbale. With the emergence of coffee, it took Centre stage as the main export from Mbale.²

4.1.1 The arrival of new crops

Cotton and coffee were some of the many crops that were tried out to replace slavery and ivory as exports from Uganda. Contrary to the belief that cotton was introduced in Uganda in 1903, the crop was first noticed in the protectorate by explorers between 1862 and 1892. However, cotton

did not do well in Mbale, and that is why the colonialists tried coffee which hit the market for the people of Bagisu. Therefore, by 1912, coffee was introduced in Mbale.³

Mbale's economy has gone through a transition, from a commodity to cash economy. We appreciate the colonialists for this development. When they established authority in Mbale by 1900, the new administrators like Semei Kakungulu needed revenue to run the region. The revenue relied on by the protectorate government at the time was very elastic.⁴

Mount Elgon, a volcanic cone with ridges radiating out to twenty miles from its crater, rises to 14,000 feet from a wide 4,000-foot-high plain which lies south west, and north of it. Eighty miles north of the equator, it straddles the Kenya-Uganda border. Its slopes covered with rich soil, which allows intensive cultivation of Arabic coffee on mountain itself and which run off to enrich the surrounding flatlands.⁵

Introduction of coffee in Uganda had different myths. Stories are told of how coffee was used as an energy booster by long distance travelers, as a substitute for cigarettes and in cultural ceremonies. The Arabica crop was introduced in Uganda in 1900 from Malawi and Ethiopian highlands. The Arabica crop initially performed poorly and was ravaged by diseases at the time it was introduced. Historical accounts suggest that after World War 1, there was need for revenue sources to support the British economy, which had suffered significantly as a result of the war. The success of the coffee industry among the Bagisu depended very largely upon the climate and topography of the region. The topography and climate of Mbale, as described by Kerr and La Fontaine, fall into two main zones: the higher, wetter slopes of Mount Elgon's foothills and the lower, drier and comparatively less fertile plains at the foot.⁶

Mbale district covers an area of 1,600 square miles and lies on the western slopes of Mt. Elgon at approximately 4,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. The average annual mean temperature varies from 80°F in the plains to 73°F in the semi-temperate highlands; and rainfall varies from 42 inches in the lower ground to 57 inches in the mountain region.⁷ La Fontaine and Kerr point out that the soil on Mt. Elgon is grey-brown volcanic loam, which retains the fertility well and is not subject to serious erosion. Furthermore, the abundant banana groves provide adequate perennial mulch which retains moisture and adds manure to the land.⁸ Under such favorable natural conditions, coffee cultivation was introduced in Bugisu region in 1912 by the Uganda government. Since then, the industry has expanded its output from merely 14 tons in 1916 to 250 tons in 1931 and 800 tons in 1945.⁹ The produce has remained the central economic activity of the Bagisu. The thought to form a cooperative union was precipitated by European and Asian private traders who benefited from Bagisu coffee more than the Bagisu themselves.¹⁰

In the 1920s European and Asian private traders were coffee buyers. They created the buying ring in 1927 whose purpose was to eliminate wasteful competition, which forced down the Bagisu coffee prices. The buying ring meant that the Europeans and Asians were to buy coffee right from the grassroots at a very low price. Indeed, this could not develop the Bagisu who had thought that the coffee production could transform them economically.¹¹

For this reason, by 1931 the prominent Bagisu farmers formed the Bugisu coffee scheme to supervise the marketing of their produce, although it was until 1954 when the Bugisu cooperative union offered an institutional framework for achieving control over their primary source of livelihood hence transforming the Bagisu economically.¹²

The cooperative movement, according to a study made by the Mission for the Economic Development of Uganda 1964, had contributed indirectly to the fast expansion of primary societies as a safety valve against non-Africans who controlled the buying, and processing of coffee. But it was during this period that the government was making an all-out effort in promoting the Africanization of the coffee processing industry. Prior to 1952, most of the coffee processing was done in Nairobi.¹³

Therefore, developments were made by the Bugisu Cooperative Union Ltd. between 1952-1956, for the erection of the coffee curing plant in Mbale. This saved the Bagisu farmers from the transportation expenses of £1 on each ton of cleaned coffee previously paid to the Nairobi millers. Furthermore, such a move also made the Union self-reliant, especially considering that there were only two other such curing plants in East Africa. Thus, providing the farmer with the maximum prices for his labour, this in turn transformed the Bagisu economically.¹⁴

The economic advancement of the Bugisu coffee growers was further demonstrated by their ability to diversify their economy in other fields. By 1958 there were approximately between 45,000 and 63,500 members of the Cooperative Union. This number represented 90% of the taxpayers in the region, who received an average total income of £750,000 every year between 1946 and 1960. According to Audrey Richards' study, this represented an average lowest income from coffee of £109, against an average highest income of £273 for the 1953/54 season, apart from other crops and livestock. There is no doubt that during this period a Mugisu coffee grower was economically better off than his counterpart in the adjoining districts of Bukedi, Teso and Karamoja. For instance, as early as 1946, the Masaba Bukedi Company Limited was founded with a capital outlay of some £4,800 with some 350 African shareholders, and operated two omnibus (coach) services in the region.¹⁵

In his 1954 Annual Report, for example, Provincial Commissioner T. R. F. Cox was able to write: 'Never before was there so much money in circulation in Bugisu.' Furthermore, he noted, 'There was a considerable increase in the value of African retail trade and distinct improvement in the standards of a few of the leading traders.' During this same year he remarked that many Bagisu spent their money on the purchase of corrugated iron sheets for roofing, while putting their surplus cash into savings, mainly with Bugisu Coffee Union Ltd. The total members' savings rose to £40,000 in 1954. Proceedingly, the same Provincial Commissioner, who had stayed in the Eastern region for 17 years, reported in 1959: 'African trading centers still expanded, and the standard of shops in this district remained generally higher than elsewhere in the country. For sure, such commercial progress could only have been attributed to the inflow of money from cash-crops. Secondly it should be noted that the African trading enterprises sprang up in the remote areas high up on Mount Elgon, far from the town of Mbale. This would further suggest that with the improved communication and transportation, the Bagisu farmers were investing more and more in other enterprises besides land and modern amenities.¹⁶

In addition to the increase in the wealth of the members of the Union and improved economy of its members, the Bugisu Cooperative Union, facilitated the increase in the number of schools and enrolment. At the end of 1950 approval was given for £10,000 from Bugisu Coffee Scheme Development Fund earmarked for building of Bugisu African Local Government Junior Secondary School at Budadiri. Seven years later, the Bugisu District Council built an inter-denominational boys' secondary school assisted by a loan from the Bugisu Coffee Scheme. From 1958 on, the Union paid annually some £1,000 to the education of the Bagisu students in schools and colleges in the form of scholarships and bursaries.¹⁷

In other areas of social services, the Union took upon itself the task of assisting the Bugisu District Council in the construction of roads and bridges. The major obstacle to political, economic and social development of the Bagisu was the physical structure of the Bugisuland's Mount Elgon, with its precipitous valleys which made the construction of roads and bridges an expensive enterprise. Hence, it was not until the latter part of the 1950s and the development of the coffee industry that such undertakings were possible.¹⁸ In 1955 alone, the Bagisu coffee Board made a loan of £80,000 to Bugisu African local government for road development in North Bugisu. The achievements outlined above reflects the minimum rather than maximum contribution from the Bugisu Coffee Growers Cooperative Union, and therefore the coffee production among the Bagisu transformed their lives economically.¹⁹

4.1.2 Money Economy

Before the establishment of colonial rule, money economy was generally unknown in most parts of Bugisuland. In fact, *money* introduced into the Interior of East Africa by the Imperial British East Africa (I.B.E.A.Co.) towards the end of the 19th century had little effect until taxation forced the Africans to acquire the rupee. In 1902, a hut tax was introduced to the Bagisu to be paid in money not in kind. Three rupees per hut was the rate of the tax.

Colonialists introduced money as a medium of exchange. This type of economy was meant to make Bagisu produce for the metropolis in that they were forced to use money. The use of money enabled Bagisu to buy imported goods and produce raw materials like cash crops which were to be sold to the colonialists at low prices in order to pay different taxes. The different taxes introduced by colonialists, made Bagisu work extra harder to avoid punishments if there failed to pay. Indeed, this improved the economy of the Bagisu as laziness was avoided.²⁰

As a consequence of the British rule, taxation was introduced in Bugisu region. The introduction of hut tax, poll tax to mention but a few by the British administration played an important role in the transformation of the Bagisu economy. A vital role because a few Bagisu began to search for work within the region. They had to join the labor force to meet the demands of these taxes. This was first time for the Bagisu to work for money.²¹

Taxes had to be paid in cash, imprisonment and hard labor awaited all those who failed to pay the required amount. Various taxes both direct and indirect were introduced to enable the colonialists to have money for running their colonies.²²

It's because of the taxation policy by the British that laziness among the Bagisu was reduced. For instance, a polygamous man was supposed to work tirelessly so as to pay the hut tax which was paid per the household. Indeed, this changed the mindset of the Bagisu who were used to pay and buy commodities in kind. As one of the informant observed that, "people were to work extra harder to save some food in granaries and also reared animals like goats and cattle which sometimes they could sell to offset the hut tax and meet other domestic obligations". Indeed, it is true to postulate that taxation transformed the Bagisu economically.²³

The colonialists had to force the Africans out of their fertile land so as to open up plantation and mines for raw materials. This therefore enabled European settlers to get cheap fertile land which was worked on by African labor. Previously, the land owned by Bagisu was not utilized well as bush fallowing was the art of farming. Further, the Bagisu planted their crops on small scale for subsistence. However, when the colonialists came, they introduced plantation farming which provided Bagisu with jobs to earn for a living. The British build physical infrastructure which included railways roads, schools, and hospitals to mention but a few. These infrastructures were both used by the colonialists and the Bagisu. Indeed, this transformed the Bagisu economy.²⁴

The money economy made African labor power as a strategy to employ Africans to ensure that cheap labor was made constantly available for colonial production. Introduction of cash economy was meant to produce cash crops for export so as to feed various industries in metropolitans.²⁵

Therefore, before the coming of European, Africans had been practicing local subsistence economies which were geared to sustain the members of the society. Colonial economy was new to Africans. Hence Africans were to establish colonial economy.²⁶

Several informants claimed that the Bagisu associated rupees with the hut tax. All along, the Bagisu had not known anything about the money economy.²⁷ They traded their commodities barter and did not use money for purchases prior to colonial rule. The use of rupees by the Bagisu was thus triggered off by the need to pay the hut tax in cash. This forced the Bagisu to sell animals or work for wages so as to acquire rupees. At the same time, traders began to demand payment in money, using the rupee as a means of exchange. Thus, the Bagisu were introduced to the meaning and practice of a money economy.²⁸

4.2 Conclusion

Pre-colonial circumstances played a significant role during colonial rule. However, it should be understood that the Bagisu of various regions characterized by different environmental circumstances were affected in different ways. Moreover, the natural divisions of the Bagisu into regions influenced the way colonial circumstances affected each Mugisu. Each ecological zone had its own special advantages, which played an important role in shaping the way the Bagisu responded to the colonial presence. Ecological and regional differences affected the Bagisu economy during this period. The Bagisu of Mbale region benefited more than those of other areas because of trade in ivory. The slopes of Mt. Elgon attracted the attention of the Department of Agriculture and new crops plus new agricultural technology were introduced. It was in Mbale also where government stations were built, giving those Bagisu who lived around the stations the advantage of more ready access to the influence of western way of life.

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CHAPTER FIVE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION AMONG THE BAGISU, 1908-1962

5.0 Introduction

This chapter intends to establish the pre-colonial Bagisu Education, the beginning of Missionary Education, government schools and agricultural education and response of Bagisu to western education.

5.1 Pre-colonial Bagisu education

The education development of any country is based on political, social and economic advancement. Many countries Uganda inclusive are classified as underdeveloped because of bad strategies put in place by colonialists. Since education reflects the advancement of societies, it means that each society has its specific kind and level of education. This intrinsic relation between education and society is endorsed by Durkheim's statement: every community could be identified not only through its moral, religion and political organization, but also through education it provides to its members.¹ Education differs from one person to another and from one society to the other. It is agreed that each society wants to transmit its specific knowledge to the following generation.²

The pre-colonial Bagisu had informal education. Every Mugisu was expected to go through the whole system of education. Education began informally through storytelling, songs, and folktales. Individuals were forbidden from tampering with behavior and values that did not conform to Bagisu culture. Discipline and respect were emphasized.³ The instructions normally took place around the fire place after every evening meal or whenever a child committed an offence. Through stories, tales and riddles, the mother or grandmother would alert the children to what society expected of them as they grew up. The fathers could through proverbs, stories and direct instructions, teach the young boys their expected roles in the society. Bagisu forbade one to dis-

obey an elder. Rebuke thus became a form of education that continued throughout life. Education never ended and was for life. In fact, wisdom was cherished and wise men and elders were respected. Pre-colonial education had both cultural and socio economic implications, and kept Bagisu culture and economic life intact.⁴

Education was not only confined to discipline. It was a process which catered for all facets of the individual. All that was taught was geared towards the creation of an ideal individual who would ably fit into the society in which he was born and lived. In order to encourage togetherness and cooperation, the history of the society was often recounted.⁵

A fundamental stage of education was initiation, which was a kind of formal education. It was during initiation that the Bagisu took on adulthood responsibilities. During the course of initiation, this used to take about a month; boys were taught many things about which the uninitiated remained ignorant. Boys were taught and examined on cattle keeping, agriculture, ceremonial activities, caring for one's family, and storage of food and war tactics. After general instruction, each boy specialized in a specific activity but kept other important activities also. The choice was made along clan lines. In pre- colonial Bagisu society each clan was a specialist in a certain activity such as iron making, and children of a given clan were encouraged by the Initiators to pursue those special activities after initiation. Nevertheless, there were some individuals who would cross clan boundaries to practice specialties of other clans. The point was that each Mugisu was expected to have knowledge of everything that concerned the society. Girls were taught how to care for their homes. They were taught how to obey their husbands, and to care for their children.

The community elders also taught the children to be good citizens and adhere to the community values and norms as well as community tasks especially as regards spring wells and road clean-

ing, hunting wild animals which destroyed plants, defending of the community from external enemies, celebrating good harvests, burial and funeral rites among others.⁶

5.2 The Economic value of Education in Bugisu.

Human capital is defined as knowledge, skills, attitudes, aptitudes, and other acquired traits contributing to production.⁷

Smith in his book “wealth of Nations” observed that, human beings are part of the wealth of Nations. He asserted that, the higher level of education, a worker contributes to improved business productivity. This is true because the worker is more likely to innovate, to imagine new forms of production and to improve it. Similarly, improving the level of education leads to increased efficiency of all factors of production. Indeed, as remarked by one informant, “the young boys and girls who joined Bukalasa agriculture college 1926, came back as agriculture instructors, they had learnt new methods of farming, which they taught us to apply, this increased the output”. Therefore, western education was introduced in Bugisu to improve on the production of cash crops.

It's true to assert that, the accumulation of human capital affects growth. The introduction of human capital in the production function contributed to improved quality of labour which increased the growth rate of Gross Domestic Product per capita. In Bugisu, when the number of educated people increased, the income also increased hence the tax base increasing which eventually improved the economy of Bagisu. Schultz and Denison stressed that, education contributes directly to growth by improving the qualifications of various production factors to economic growth.

Investment in education increase labour force capacity to produce, because better-educated workers are more literate and numerate, they should be easier to train, and to learn more complex tasks, better work habits in terms of awareness of time and dependability. Human capital is mainly influenced by social capital. Social capital is like a filter through which human and financial capital flow from the parents and community to child producing better educational outcomes. Social capital can be represented by: rising crime rates declining family and kinship cohesion, distress, and morality rates, life expectancy, dummy variables of: rule of law, court system, political liberties, corruption, and political instabilities. Investing in education increases human capital, because education makes an individual to earn more and become productive; therefore, a rise in average level of education of the nation's workforce would be expected to increase national income.⁸ This is true as far as Bugisu is concerned. Nabumali High school which was established by protestants in 1908, produced many scholars such as, professor Timothy Wangusa, John Bigala, Dan Nabudere, George Masika chief justice in Obote II administration, Masette Kuuya minister in Obote I regime and James Wambogo Wapakhabulo foreign minister in president Museveni's government. Indeed, these scholars invested a lot in the economic transformation of Bugisu.

Therefore, productivity of labour depends on factors like physical and mental capabilities of an individual. It is believed that the abilities of people shape the structure and evolution of the economy. Knowledge accumulation and recombination bring new ideas and improve both productivity and the quality of the products, which the educated Bagisu did and continue doing.⁹

5.2 The beginning of Missionary Education

It has been observed by some historians that in parts of Africa missionary activities paved the way for colonial power. Which is true as far as Missionary activities in Eastern Uganda is concerned. The church missionary society (CMS) was the first mission to set foot in Bugisu land. In 1908, the mission established churches and schools in the larger Mbale.¹⁰ Mbale (when assessed within the whole period ending in 1962) had more impact than the other four Districts, and for this reason we shall use Mbale as a reference. Between 1900 and 1908, there was no tangible missionary activity. It was not until 1909 that missionary activities began. The reasons for this are not clear, but the shortage of missionaries who did not even go to Mbale and the fear from the Bagisu towards whites was the reason for the delay of missionary activities in Eastern Uganda.¹¹

In 1909 Rev. Crabtree who was a protestant pioneered the establishment of Nabumali High School.¹² At first, the school was started at Musoto with the name Mivule High School whereby H.K Banks became the first headmaster. They stayed there until 1914 when Father Lyding, a catholic from Holland joined them in Eastern Uganda.¹³ While Father Lyding and Bishop McGattan were in Eastern Uganda, they helped in the building of Bugunzu and Bagalabi churches. By 1917 the school was moved from Musoto to Nabumali and changed its name to Nabumali High School. Up until 1917, the missionary school, (Nabumali High School), registered less than twenty-five students. They had 18 boys and 3 girls The first students remembered by the Bagisu as having gone through Nabumali High School included the following; Agrey Awori, former Ugandan minister of information Technology and former Member of Uganda's parliament, John Garanga (R.I.P)- Former vice president of Sudan and former leader of South-

ern Sudan, Lt. Col David Oyite Ojok (R.I.P)-Former army Chief of staff UNLA and James Munnange Ogoola- Former principal judge and chairperson judicial service commission Uganda.¹⁴

The form of recruitment at that stage (1913) was twofold: evangelism and pleading with the parents to allow their children to join the school. Recruitment of learners was difficult for the missionaries because very few Bagisu wanted their children to attend school. The missionaries went to many families asking them to allow their children to attend school, but to no avail. Father Lyding and Bishop McGattan of the Anglican Church had to be very patient since the Bagisu people were not keen on education. In 1916, for example, there were 15 pupils at the mission school and 12 at the government stations who were taught by the missionaries but who attended school irregularly. The names of the pupils and the reasons why they attended the school are obscure, but probably they were the sons and daughters of influential chiefs, the Royal family like Mungoma John Stephen and the children of the people who lived around church areas.¹⁵

The educational philosophy of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) entailed the preparation of its pupils for evangelization and the spreading of Christianity. The main purpose was to convert the Bagisu and teach them to read the Bible after which they would spread the gospel. One informant remarked:

“These white-skinned people assembled us at their mission stations and taught us religion. Their main aim was to convert us to Christianity, a religion which was absolutely against our customs. Then they taught us how to count from one to twelve read the Bible and evangelize for four years, after which they sent most of us to preach the ‘good news’ to the rest of the tribe. Those who excelled among us at school were retained as teachers at the station”.¹⁶

In addition to religious lessons, the missionaries taught the Bagisu how to read, to write, to plant crops and to build houses. However, there were no schools besides Nabumali High established in South of Mbale, and only a basic school curriculum on how to read, to write and calculate mathematical problems, emphasis on scriptural instruction, first in vernacular and then Kiswahili. In addition to the pupils who attended the Bugunzu, Bugalabi and Mbale Cathedral Church Prayer School, Part of their curriculum included instilling respect into the Bagisu especially for colonial authority and encouraging the Bagisu to plant various kinds of foodstuffs at the mission station.¹⁷

Missionary education was lacking force at the beginning because the learners did not attend the school regularly. The missionaries also found it difficult to combine teaching with evangelization. The Bagisu response in particular was the biggest hindrance to the missionary work. In 1916 for example, the District Commissioner at Mbale described the Bagisu response by saying, "they are not anxious to be educated and the missionaries have a thankless task." Although the Bagisu stopped running into the bush in fear of white men, they did not respond positively to missionary education and did not appreciate the missionary offers of education and employment. Employment opportunities included gardening and guiding (geographically) the missionaries as they undertook their daily activities.¹⁸

The missionaries were not able to report much progress, for the Bagisu had no use for education in the early years of the mission. They even looked on the missionaries with suspicion. Progress was poor because the parents were reluctant to allow their children to attend the school, a large proportion of Bagisu elders feared that allowing their children to go to school would mean that:

- I. . Their children would become arrogant and without respect,
- II. Their children would reject circumcision (embalu),
- III. . Their children would be taken away by the white men,

IV. Their cultural heritage would be distorted.

For the Bagisu, missionary education was only good for lazy, rude, stupid and cursed children. One Informant exclaimed;

“At first we went to 'Kaamesion' (Mission) and worked on their farms but we were forced out by our parents because they wanted us to herd the animals. Those who were thought to be stupid (basilu) were allowed to go to school”.¹⁹

To a Mugisu, cultural life was co existent with social and economic life. A Mugisu in the pre-colonial era was one who lived in accordance with the cultural standards of the Bagisu society. Culture was a measure of success. Most elders who gave instructions on the traditional education argued that those who were keen on cultural issues were successful in social and economic life. Since the cultural life of the Bagisu and their economic life tallied, it was difficult for them to accept mission education readily. As a matter of emphasis, one Informant argued, thus:

“You cannot separate culture and education. No useful education is separated from cultural heritage!”

5.3 Later developments of mission education

In 1923, CMS resumed its work in Mbale District as it was referred to by then. The Anglican Church established Nabuyonga primary school, within the church land. By 1927 it had already received "progress and popularity." Its popularity was possible because Rev. Usher Wilson was involved in helping the Bagisu materially- giving them food. In 1928, for example, the mission's popularity was enhanced when Rev. Usher Wilson was involved in the distribution of "famine relief food using his mission as Depot for six months." Moreover, Usher supervised the work of

the native famine-clerks at Bugunzu and Bugalabi church and helped in the construction of Buyobo road.²⁰

The year 1928 was marked by famine in most parts of Bugisuland, and the people relied on the CMS for famine relief food. The linkage between missionary and economic activity became an advantage to the mission station at Bugunzu currently in Bududa District. The people were ready to listen to any person who solved their economic problems. In Northern Bugisuland, where yields harvested in 1927 were low, the people welcomed the CMS which they saw as their savior. Whereas the CMS was doing well in food distribution and education, the mission was less successful in its evangelical work. About that failure the District Commissioner said,

“Their evangelical work is of a very discouraging nature, there is still considerable opposition on the part of many of the older people and I am afraid they will for some years ... continue to find an up-hill fight”.²¹

Evangelization was one of the recruitment methods of the school. After evangelization the converts were taken to school. "We were then put in separate boarding hostels" said another Informant.

In 1933, the Bagisu took an increasing interest in educational matters and contemplated setting up a proper elementary school. The desire by the Bagisu to start a school of their own had been stimulated by Rev. Bank who was the first headmaster of Nabumali High school. Rev. Bank convinced the Bagisu of the importance of western education. He told them that with education, beyond religious philosophies, one could manipulate several things and particularly one would be able to bring political independence to the Bagisu from the colonial government.

Further evidence of an increased Bagisu desire for education was the increase in enrolment to 50 learners attending the school in October 1934, where 3 learners passed their elementary examination in November. In 1934, the local Native Council (LNC) was asked to pay 6,135 US dollars for dormitories and 2,105 US dollars as fees towards the mission funds to assist in the educational programs but it flatly refused to pay. The incident, in which the LNC refused to assist the educational enterprise, meant that the LNC thought educational costs were solely a responsibility of the missionaries and government and that education benefited the government and not the LNC. Soon after, the LNC changed its attitude and began to help in the cost sharing of the development plans and in the planning itself. In 1936 LNC began funding the CMS because they had been convinced by the learners already attending both the government and mission schools of the importance of education for the people themselves. Evidence for this came in 1940 when the LNC promised and gave Mission schools a grant of Sh. 10,000 per year for educational purposes. On this an informant remarked, "The LNC had begun to help the government in the planning committee and in the financing sector. We then paid "Cess" (a form of payment in addition to Hut Tax for development projects) which was one shilling on top of our Hut Tax."²²

In September 1938, some Bagisu youths (the first Mugisu to go to higher institutions were sent to Elgon technical institute in Mbale District, and the government paid for their fees. While at Elgon Technical, the individuals were exposed to a broader scale of learning than religion. Among other courses they studied were agriculture, mathematics, English and teaching subjects which were not taught at the mission. After their studies which took eight years, Muniata Moses and Masaba Benson qualified as an agricultural instructor and a clerk, respectively. Muniata Moses then worked as an agricultural instructor in Mbale while Masaba Benson worked as a clerk at Bugunzu government station. Siunwa Emmanuel and Wamale Robert became teachers at

Nabumali Boarding Primary, respectively. It was evident that education had become an avenue to economic prosperity. Educated individuals got "white collar" or good technical jobs while those who had not gone to school did not.²³

5.4 The Government Schools

The year 1942 was a record year, in which twenty Bagisu pupils went to Nabumali Boarding Primary Government School. The number increased to twenty-four in 1943, and in the same year another 10 were added to the same School. During the same year, three young men were appointed Agricultural Instructors. It was at this time that the Bagisu began to enjoy the benefits and privileges of a Government School in their own region. At the time the school opened, there were 33 boarders registered in 3 classes.

The curriculum was divided into three parts of which were technical, agricultural and literary, all aimed at preparing the pupils to be of use to their communities upon their return home. For the technical instruction, the pupils were taught joinery, brick making and masonry. Both practical and theoretical agriculture were taught. From the beginning Nabumali High Government African School began to initiate important developments. For example, in 1945, three candidates out of five were sent to the Teacher Training School at Nyondo, one of the pupils was engaged as an agricultural instructor and another as a pottery apprentice. During the year, the Nabumali Boarding Government African School had 97 pupils in attendance. Within a short time, in 1946, a primary school and a two-year secondary school were begun in Buwalasi emphasizing practical courses on agriculture and technical training.²⁴

Although most Bagisu expressed an increased interest in education, a larger element among the old men from western Bugisu was opposed to western education than among the Southern Bagisu. Southern Bagisu demanded more educational facilities from the CMS as early as 1944; al-

though there was a CMS station Mbale this was more of a church than a school at that time. The reason for more opposition among the Northern Bagisu was the role of young boys whose main function was trading. To the Northern Bagisu parent, time spent at school was viewed as a waste and a loss, and thus they were determined not to allow their children to go to school.²⁵

5.5 Agricultural Education.

By 1944 several Bagisu had already trained in agriculture at institutions outside Bugisu region which included Bukalasa agriculture college which was established in 1920 as a cotton breeding center but changed into an institute to provide agriculture education, and Arapai located in Soroti in Eastern Uganda. Nevertheless, there was still a big need for agricultural education facilities in Mbale District itself, to increase the number of agricultural instructors, although the Government African School at Bugunzu opened in May 1944, classes on agricultural education did not begin until 1946. When the subject was introduced, both theoretical and practical agriculture were undertaken. The pupils were taught soil conservation, ridging crop rotation, soil sampling, how to use new agricultural tools such as tractors and to plant more varieties of crops apart from coffee. For the practical part of education, some pupils worked as agricultural instructors in needy areas such as Manafwa and Bududa where soil conservation was not effective. In the end, the learners who had taken agriculture either became agricultural instructors or became teachers of agricultural education in the elementary schools.²⁶

Apart from the agricultural education being taught at the Government African School, trips, tours and shows were organized for learner by the government in conjunction with the school to expose them to further practical work in agricultural education.

In spite of an improvement in the agricultural education, there was still need for more instruction in animal husbandry and agriculture in primary schools. Moreover, there were complaints from

the government that the Bagisu were not so keen on agricultural education and tended to neglect it. In 1955 for example, the District commissioner wrote:

“Until recently response to Agricultural education among the young was very poor ... I feel that agricultural education of the children, more particularly with Bagisu, is a most important point and should go a long way to ensuring agricultural security for the future”.

This need prompted a thorough review of agricultural education in 1955 when the District Education Board decided to plan properly for practical agricultural education. The plan included the Introduction of agricultural education in elementary primary.²⁷

The growth of agricultural education therefore helped the Bagisu in the training of agricultural instructors such as Mafabi Ezekieli among others who then helped to change the Bagisu agriculture. As one old man remarked:

“The work of Government African School (G.A.S) and those agricultural shows were impressive. Ask anyone here; Kunikina Peter who had gone to learn agriculture brought the white man's methods to us. Without that agricultural education, very little would have happened here”.

5.6 Response of Bagisu to western education.

Bagisu response to colonial education initiatives were either positive or negative depending on the benefits they got from the type of education of the day. In initial years, mission's efforts were frustrated by the unwillingness of the Bagisu to adapt the Baganda culture and also to support Kakungulu. The missions through their church schools served as protectors of the peasants against communal obligations and encouraged rural-urban migration of the peasants.²⁸

Not all Bagisu welcomed the Europeans nor went to their schools. Some Bagisu refused to attend European schools, either religious or secular and still preserved their traditional life style.

However, majority of the Bagisu who attended religious and agricultural education found the opportunity to improve their way of life. Bagisu chiefs realized the need for young Bagisu to learn the skills and the techniques the Whiteman offered.

Leaders in Bugisuland encouraged the new teaching because they wanted their people to learn more so that they could cope with the world changes and developments. Also, they supported teachers who would help them to gain more control on their jurisdiction. As the world was changing, educated young men and women could fit for future office for the government. They preferred to appoint educated men and women to vital charges.²⁹

5.8 Conclusion

The development of western education in Bugisu land started with missionary education. The African Church Missionary society triggered it off in 1908. In the beginning, missionary work registered little progress because of three reasons: few missionaries were sent to Bugisu land, the missionaries were attacked by diseases, and the Bagisu took little interest in the mission. Diseases forced some of the missionary stations to close. However, the mission gradually gained popularity because it helped the Bagisu during the drought period by participating in the famine relief program through to the 1930s. Although the educational philosophy of missionary education centered on religion and catechism it enabled several Bagisu to learn how to read and to write, and thus marked the beginning of literacy among the Bagisu.

The Bagisu response to missionary education determined the development and the growth of western education in Bugisuland. The attitudes of the Bagisu elders and the Local Native Council were important factors. The Bagisu elders, for example, forbade their children to attend the missionary and government schools because they feared that they would lose their culture and boys circumcision or run the risk of their children being indisciplined. The LNC on the other hand

thought that the cost of educating Bagisu people lay in the hands of the missionaries or the government, and so it did not assist in improving educational facilities until much later in the colonial period when Bagisu leaders realized the advantages of education for the economy of their people in such areas as agriculture.

There was no government school in Bugisu land until 1930s, whereas the government started schools outside Mbale much earlier. The reasons for this are obscure, but it is thought by many Bagisu that the colonial government neglected Bugisu land intentionally because its agricultural output was negligible. After 1944, the government increased its efforts in educational assistance partly because the Bagisu people demanded it.

Western and mission education had a profound influence on Bagisu society. For the first time the Bagisu language was consigned to writing, and Bagisu were taught to read the Bible in their own language. Missionary education, however, did not go beyond elementary reading, writing, arithmetic, simple craft work and gardening with special emphasis on religious knowledge and character molding. The first Mgishu to receive mission and western education became the first to adopt a western way of life. The influence of educated men and women was greatly felt by the people in the society in that they propagated the western way of thinking. They were able to influence other people to go to school and to implement modern agricultural methods. The Bagisu who first received western education pioneered an economic and social transformation whose influence is felt even today.

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CHAPTER SIX

TRANSFORMATION IN CROPS AND TECHNOLOGY 1915-1962

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the transformation of Bagisu agriculture during the period between the beginning of World War One and the beginning of World War Two. The transformation can be divided into two-fold: transformation by chance and transformation by experimentation. By chance we refer to the changes that took place without being planned or designed. By experimentation we mean changes arising out of purposeful efforts by the colonial administration and the missions. In general, save for specific areas, the Bagisu developed their agriculture little influenced by the colonial government's agricultural policy during this period (particularly before the 1930s), although the circumstances of colonial rule affected the way Bagisu agriculture developed.

The chapter focuses on the introduction of new crops and new methods of agriculture. The following questions are answered: Which crops were introduced? Who brought the crops? How were they brought? How did the Bagisu respond? What were the difficulties that beset Bagisu agricultural development? What new technologies were introduced? Did agricultural change take place in the same way throughout Bagisu society? Did all these innovations benefit the Bagisu?

In the 1930s, the colonial administrators referred to the Bagisu as "backward" and "poor", and their form of agriculture was compared to an "agricultural slum." To some extent, the Bagisu were poor and unable to cultivate enough grain to feed them adequately. Factors which brought about this state included the following:

- (i) Land tenure: The Bagisu traditional system of land use was communal. This system limited an individual incentive and initiative. However, clan communal economy (In land holding)

changed towards individual land holding economy when colonial power took root in Bugisland. About this problem, an informant said, when we were practicing communal economy, people were lazy! So, it came to pass that people began to be individualistic and picked up the issue of individual holding to increase production and to lessen laziness among our people.

(ii) Little government support: there was little government expenditure for agricultural development and even the little support was not used properly.

(iii) Natural disasters: Within the period between 1915 and 1939 colonial administrators began to focus their attention on the agricultural needs of the Bagisu not because they wanted to but because they were forced to do so by circumstances. Natural disasters such as locusts and droughts led the colonial government to help the Bagisu increase their agricultural production in spite of the opposition of European settlers.

6.1 Bagisu pre-colonial crops

Though the Bagisu were "mainly agriculturalists", they planted only Bulo (millet). Before 1912, the Bagisu could not be induced into breaking the custom of years of planting anything other than Bulo, although they quite appreciated other crops as foodstuffs. That is, the Bagisu liked to eat these other crops although they did not plant the crops themselves. In Mbale, the Bagisu were traders and did little cultivation. The unfortunate thing was not that the Bagisu planted only millet, bananas and sorghum but they planted it insufficiently. The quantity they planted was not enough to last them until the next season. As long as they had plenty to eat and to make beer out of, the Bagisu seemed not to care about the future. When there was nothing left in the granary, the rich Bagisu lived on trading. The poor Bagisu were sometimes half starved until the next crop was in.¹

In view of the above circumstances which surrounded the Bagisu farmers, the colonial government tried to introduce new crops to Bagisu soil but left the initiative of adopting the crops to the Bagisu themselves. Besides the government's efforts, the influence of the church was very important. The Church Missionary Society Mission (CMS) in Mbale played an important role in influencing the Bagisu to practice Western agriculture.²

The suitability of the soil is always paramount for the success of any agriculture. As for Bugisuland, the soil in some of the hills, for example, around the mountain Elgon was excellent for many new crops. Besides the hills the area along the slopes had excellent soil. Although some parts of Bugisuland were good for the practice of agriculture, most of the mountain Elgon was rocky and cultivation was not easily done. In certain specific areas such as Bugunzu, maize, beans, potatoes and cassava did well. An experiment done on bananas and other fruits in Mbale and Bududa showed that all European fruits and vegetables did well although they grew slowly. It was generally found that most sub-tropical crops grew in Bugisu region. Even though the soil was good in some areas the "... natives did not take advantage of it." ³

6.1.1 Coffee and cotton

The Bagisu began to "appropriate and cultivate coffee and cotton" in 1915 although its introduction was in 1912. The appropriation and the cultivation were not uniformly done throughout Bugisu land because the Bagisu themselves had many different theories pertaining the introduction of Coffee and Cotton among them depending on the place (locality of the individual people). Coffee was first introduced abundantly as a source of revenue after World War 1. By 1926, coffee had become a popular crop in certain quarters of Bugisu land such as Bulambuli and Budadi-ri. The Bagisu who lived around Mbale town were more exposed and had easier access to coffee than did those who lived farther away. Proximity to either a mission station or a government station made it easier to adopt not only coffee but other European crops as well.⁴

Historical accounts suggest that after World War 1, there was need for revenue sources to support the British economy, which had suffered significantly as a result of World War 1. Therefore, coffee was introduced in Mbale as a source of revenue to the colonialists.⁵

6.1.2 Other crops

The coming of other crops, such as cassava and sweet potatoes, was due to famine which hit the Bagisu. Many times, the Department of Agriculture encouraged the people to plant drought resistant crops. A mother at Manafwa confirmed this saying, "Cassava and sweet potatoes were given to us by the Department of Agriculture to ease the droughts." Other crops such as bananas, oranges and vegetables were introduced by experiments (tried by Europeans among themselves) in Mbale government residences and stations in 1916-1917. Indeed, some more new crops, such as potatoes, beans, cassava and groundnuts, were grown in the Bududa and Bulambuli Districts by the government employees. In this way the Bagisu began to be lured into growing new crops although not in an aggressive manner. During the same years, other experiments were done in places such as Manafwa (for potatoes and beans), to determine whether these crops would grow as they did in the government residences and stations. However, the value of the experiments proved futile because of the jackals, monkeys, porcupines, thieves and excessive worms which destroyed the crops entirely. The period 1916 -1917 also experienced the heaviest rainfall within the memory of the Bagisu, when river Malaba flooded and crops were spoilt. As a result of the 1916-1917 circumstances there were food shortages which extended up to 1919.⁶

It can be said therefore that new crops were introduced due to food shortages of varying severity which were attributed to drought or locust invasions. In the lowlands, beans, cassava and sweet potatoes were encouraged in baraza (meetings), particularly during the famine periods such as those mentioned above. In 1932, the Local Native Council (LNC) played an important role in encouraging the Bagisu to plant new crops by financing and instructing them." The attitude of

LNC in general towards the new crops was one of encouragement. Moreover, the Bagisu were encouraged to plant drought resistance crops. Since famine spread throughout the land inhabited by the Bagisu the new crops also spread throughout the land.⁷

6.2 New agricultural methods and technology

The Bagisu were still planting millet using the broadcasting method. They first prepared their land by clearing the steep hill sides, and then scratched the surface ground slightly with the primitive hoes (embago). They did not remove stumps and seldom weeded their crops. In many instances, in places such as Manafwa and Bulambuli, maize seed was also broadcasted and frequently mixed up with millet. When the Buyobo mission Church was opened in 1926 the Bagisu began to learn how to plant maize in rows. In the 1930s, when some few Bagisu went to train in agriculture at Arapai Institute of Agriculture, Bagisu agriculture began to change gradually but faster than before. Some interested people went for the training as agricultural instructors. After completing the training, they began to implement new systems of land use, crop rotation, allocation of labor, intercropping, ridging contours by planting to mention but a few. One informant remarked:

“Salim Abdalla was even nicknamed omulimi (Mr. Agriculture). He was one of the most learned Gishu in the 1930s and he was a useful individual in the society as far as agriculture is concerned. We owe him a lot for teaching us new methods of agriculture.”⁸

The Department of Agriculture compiled “a report on soil erosion in 1938, 3% many more Bagisu were sent to Arapai, to study agricultural education so as to meet the demand for curbing soil erosion. The report was therefore important because it led to an increase in the number of Bagisu studying agriculture. Soil erosion had spread on Bugisu region, particularly in Bududa and Namisindwa lowlands. As many more Bagisu went to school, new methods of agriculture spread

gradually to other areas of Bugisunland. Uneducated Bagisu farmers also adopted the new methods, but the educated were able to grasp the western agricultural methods more easily than the uneducated. To a greater extent the educated acted as examples for the rest of the Bagisu to follow.⁹

6.2.1 Colonial government policy on Agriculture

The Colonial government policy on Bugisu agriculture was not clearly formulated until the 1930s. Before the 1930s, the colonial government seemed to have been concentrating on the war against droughts and famines. In the 1910s and the 1920s the government distributed seeds and carried out experiments, which failed in most cases. Because of recurring famines, the government decided to adopt a firm policy on Bugisu agriculture. The policy objectives were to increase cultivation, to demonstrate methods of crop rotation and to formulate ways and means of curbing soil erosion. In order to achieve these objectives, an Agricultural Officer was posted to Mbale for the first time. The government was ready to suspend all other development schemes even education if it was not a remedy to Bugisu economic woes. In 1932, the District Commissioner wrote:

“The shadow of famine has been present in this district for many years, and the first object of policy should be to remove it ...Agricultural development takes precedence over any form of betterment. No educational or medical schemes have much chance of success until the economic situation is considerably improved”.¹⁰

During the period under consideration, implementation of colonial policy operated on the distribution of seeds by the government.

As early as 1919, the colonial government imported new crops to distribute to the Bagisu for planting. In 1926, the Colonial government brought potato, maize and rice seeds for the Bagisu to plant. In 1931, the Department of Agriculture supplied seeds of maize, wimbi, potatoes, beans, cabbage and onions. The year 1934 was resolved by the Department of Agriculture as the year of Increasing the following crops: maize, wimbi, beans and potatoes but without stating the quantity. At the same time, the Native Foodstuffs Ordinance (of 1934), which decreed that every native must be self-sufficient in food, was used as a weapon to influence the Bagisu to plant new crops. The ordinance also declared that people should not sell their food or consume it all before the next planting season, and that people should have their own seeds for planting. In 1936, the District Commissioner emphasized the need to grow drought resistant crops:it appears more necessary to concentrate on the growing of mixed and drought resisting crops in the higher areas where people are badly off for stock than to worry much about agriculture . . .¹¹

6.2.2 Agricultural training.

Before the government effected its policy of training the Bagisu, some few Bagisu had gone outside their districts and had gathered some knowledge of crops and modern methods of agriculture and in turn taught their people what they had learnt. By the 1920s, the government saw the need of sending African students to acquire agricultural skills because there was no Mugisu agricultural instructor at that time. In 1925 the government looked for three young men who were willing to join the Department of Agriculture and who would return to their Reserve after three years training in Makerere. After their training, the young men were expected to carry out the duties of Agricultural Instructors.¹²

However, it was not easy to find suitable and willing candidates. In spite of the excellent conditions promised to them while in training, no one was brave enough to venture the journey to

Kampala. One Mugisu informant said, "None of us wanted to go there! Our parents thought we would be lost. We could go but we were afraid to go to a foreign land."¹³

Meetings were organized with the influence of the chiefs to induce the people into planting new crops. The system of propaganda was used. Tours were organized, intended to educate the Bagisu on new crops and methods. In 1924, when the government began to pay special attention (special attention in that the government went further than the distribution of seed) to instruct the people on new crops, tours were organized by the government at the Department of Agriculture so as to induce the Bagisu to increase their production by utilizing the valleys suitable for cultivation. During the tours in the districts, the colonial Department of Agriculture emphasized the planting of beans more than maize and wimbi, because beans took a shorter time to ripen.¹⁴

6.3 Bagisu Response to the Government policy on Agriculture in 1919.

Not all the Bagisu were cultivating in 1919, since some had migrated to other areas to settle as traders, especially in Mbale where ivory trade was booming. Cultivation was practiced in places such as Bulambuli, Bududa and all other lowland areas were not suitable for cultivation. The Bagisu who cultivated were mainly the Northern Bagisu whose life was dependant on agriculture. The year 1919 was not an ordinary year. This was the year when agriculture received a poor response. The new crops could not do well and therefore the government embarked on providing grain to the Bagisu. The move was occasional because famine had hit Bugisuland in 1917 and 1918 thus forcing the colonial government to play an important role of food distribution to affected areas. In 1919, efforts by the colonial government to introduce new crops and technology in beans, maize, cassava and European fruits, while the new technology involved the use of modern tools such as the jembe (a digging tool) and soil conservation. Mainly the Bagisu living in the vicinity of the government station went to buy the seeds for planting. In addition to buying seeds to plant, the Bagisu also bought food in the form of grain to eat. The 1919 annual report

read: "It was possible to hawk food round the district and only those natives who live near the station have come in to buy."¹⁵

There were no prospects of native-grown grain until August 1920. Even in 1922, the Bagisu were still having challenges of having enough food for consumption, even the new crops had little impact on them. They still planted insufficient wimbi and sorghum for food and they continued to use millet broadcasting method. In 1924, H. L. Mood, the District Commissioner at that time, wrote:

"For a number of months each year a large proportion of the tribe exists on the verge of starvation, Bulambuli areas are fairly suitable for cultivation in parts. The Bagisu are poor cultivators, and content themselves with cutting down bush and forest on steep hill sides, firing it, scratching the ground with their ridiculous little hoes, and sowing wimbi seed broadcast". In general, progress by the Bagisu in practicing modern agriculture as demonstrated by the colonial Department of Agriculture was more readily received by the Southern Bagisu than the Northern ones, though there were areas of the Northern Budadiri which were especially suitable for agriculture. In 1927, a colonial administrator commented:

"The Northern Bagisu were exceedingly poor and lives in a perpetual state of semi-starvation. Their Reserve is quite unsuitable for agriculture on a larger scale. It was only in the Bulambuli, hill location, that any extensive cultivation was possible. The Southern Bagisu were more fortunate, situated as they were on the edge of a large settled area. Their chances of progress are therefore greater". In 1929, the Local Native Council (LNC) collaborated with the colonial government in the distribution of seeds for the first time. The LNC participation in the seed distribution may have accounted for the tremendous agricultural increase mentioned by the District Commissioner who felt that the Bagisu were progressing towards bettering their agricultural life:

The characteristic feature of agriculture in this district is the tremendous increase in the areas under maize, compared to a few years ago. Now every native in the hill areas grows maize and of a very satisfactory type.

With all the efforts made by the colonial government to promote modern agricultural technology, the Bagisu were still slow to adopt it. An informant Mbale agreed that the Bagisu were slow learners who could not adopt modern technology easily, but he felt it was mainly due to Bagisu arrogance that modern technology was not widespread in Bugisu in the 1930s. He remarked; "generally, our people are lazy and never aggressive. They only like easy work and disliked anything foreign. Hitherto, they have gradually changed. Arrogance has disappeared overtime and we are now moving towards modernity".¹⁶

The local headmen and chiefs played an important role in helping the Bagisu realize the importance of cultivating new crops. On occasion the chiefs would force the people to effect soil conservation measures, to apply crop rotation and plant the new crops. Individuals who failed to comply with the chiefs' directives were punished by fines. One informant remarked, "The chiefs were powerful - more powerful than the white man himself. Everything he said was final. We therefore had to apply all the agricultural methods sometimes."¹⁷

Through the efforts of the chiefs, who were not just implementing colonial government policy but seeking to educate their fellow Bagisu, the Bagisu in the hill areas began to grow coffee of a very satisfactory type. Continuous efforts to encourage the Bagisu to grow cotton and other permanent crops met with little success. Instead the Bagisu uprooted the cotton trees planted for experimentation. "They seemed to be of no use to us. We then arrogantly removed them!" said an informant. Not all the Bagisu frustrated the experiments performed by the Department of Agriculture. Commissioner reported, "the area of cultivation is reported to have been greater than be-

fore". The agricultural instructors also reported that there were few difficulties in their enforcement of new agricultural methods. It is likely therefore that the work of the headmen and agricultural instructors helped to increase the area cultivated. The Department of Agriculture was not in a position to purchase the seeds and therefore the responsibility would fall directly on the people themselves. This part of the effort made by the headmen (as in this case members of the LNC) to make their people self-reliant and independent from the Department of Agriculture or LNC by storing their own seeds for planting in the next season. The action of the chiefs improved Bagisu agriculture and some Bagisu remember it with nostalgia. One Mugisu remarked, "These chiefs and headmen taught us the hard way".¹⁸

6.4 Conclusion

Transformation in crops and in technology changed the Bagisu in several ways. First, it diversified the crops grown by the Bagisu. Instead of relying only on their sorghum and millet, they now had coffee, maize, beans, sweet potatoes, bananas and cassava in addition. Matoke became a staple crop for the Bagisu. The Bagisu continued to grow sorghum and millet but matoke gradually replaced these crops as staple food for the society. New crops became alternative crops in case sorghum, millet and livestock were unavailable or in limited supply at certain periods. For example, as drought resistant crops cassava and sweet potatoes provided important security in times of drought. The people would continue to have food to eat even during seasons of drought. This development helped the Bagisu in that they no longer depended on wild berries and roots during difficult times.

Dependence on famine relief was reduced with the coming of new crops. The Bagisu were able to use the modern methods of agriculture to increase production. It was evident that some Bagisu were now able to do cultivation all the year round. The introduction of new crops and technology also helped the Bagisu to gain access to a permanent source of money supply. Before the new

crops arrived, the Bagisu only depended either on their labor, particularly outside the district, or the sale of their produce to the needy tribes around them. For example, those Bagisu who planted coffee sold it abroad to those who needed it. The Bagisu who produced maize were able to sell it to the Indian Posho Millers who would in turn sell the maize flour to the Bagisu. Due to this new source of money, the Bagisu began to educate their children because they had enough money to use for their children's education. The transformation of the agricultural sector therefore boosted the educational sector in Bugisuland, and agricultural education, which was emphasized by the colonial government, improved the Bagisu a great deal.

The attitude towards agriculture, changed a great deal between 1919 and 1939. Before 1919, the Northern Bagisu feared to eat maize because they thought it would grow on people's heads or would grow on the unborn children. This attitude forbade pregnant mothers to eat maize. As an old mother observed, "The white man's mahindi (maize) was feared. Our old people thought it was harmful". Well, the attitude changed before 1940. The attitude changed with time so that by the 1940s, many Bagisu in most parts of Eastern Uganda had adopted maize as a cash crop. As for the agricultural methods, the Bagisu at first were not easily convinced of crop rotation, soil conservation and contour ridging, but they later changed because they saw the fruits of its application. Spearheaded by the agricultural instructors, Bagisu farmers began to adopt modern methods of agriculture. Also, the instructors helped the Bagisu people to obtain farming implements made of iron, such as the digging tool popularly known by the Bagisu as embago to replace their wooden implements.

Natural calamities were a stimulus to increased production. This occurred mainly in the highlands in Bududa, and Budadiri. The people of these areas learnt to plant different crops on their farms as a protective measure. The Bagisu benefited from the period of natural tragedies because

roads were constructed. The roads were constructed so as to transport the famine relief food to the affected areas. Those same roads, after famine relief was over, became useful to the Bagisu who were able to transport their livestock and crops for sale. Even with all the effort put by the Bagisu into improving their agriculture the colonial administrators still referred to Bagisu agriculture as a slum. In 1938 the District Commissioner wrote:

The Kamasia, "Mbale... may be considered amongst agricultural slums of Uganda Colony. Reference to Bagisu agriculture as a slum was sometimes relative. From the Bagisu stand point, solid progress had been made, and the term "slum" was not warranted because Bagisu agriculture had experienced many innovative changes in the two decades prior to 1939". However, from the point of view of the whole colony the Bagisu agriculture was as a "slum" as it did not compare, for example, with agriculture as practiced in Bugisu land. Taking into consideration the lack of education among the Bagisu and the numerous natural calamities, Bagisu agriculture had made great strides. It cannot be true that the Bagisu had not transformed their agricultural life although they were beset by natural disasters.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 Conclusion

Pre-colonial systems of agriculture, trade, labour and land use had all undergone profound change during the colonial period. At the close of colonial rule in 1962 the Bagisu economy had been transformed in various ways. Before the colonial era, the Bagisu had planted only two crops, namely: millet and sorghum. With the coming of colonial rule, other crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and beans were introduced to Bugisuland. Maize is said to have been introduced during the pre-colonial time by Swahili and Arab traders but it, and other new crops, only spread extensively during the colonial period. Droughts and locust invasions created acute famine conditions that accelerated the introduction of new crops in Bugisuland after 1919. The major reason why the colonial government imported and distributed the new crops for planting was to avert famine. Cassava and sweet potatoes in particular were referred to by the Department of Agriculture as drought resistant crops aimed at helping the Bagisu to overcome famine.

Before 1904, the Bagisu did not plant cash crops. The years that followed 1904, saw the planting of cotton and coffee as cash crops.

Together with new crops, new methods of agriculture were introduced. The Department of Agriculture emphasized crop rotation, terracing and soil conservation. Demonstration plots were used to demonstrate the new methods and also to introduce new crops.

At first, the Bagisu did not appreciate the colonial government's efforts. On one occasion (at Bugunzu), the Bagisu firstly refused the presence of the demonstration plot and even wanted its removal. But gradually the Bagisu began to accept the agricultural methods and crops. They abandoned their traditional wooden Hoes and began to use Majembe (digging iron implements) and

even tractors. They also abandoned the traditional method of broadcasting seed and began to plant maize, millet and sorghum in rows, and to practice crop rotation, soil conservation and terracing.

The transformation of Bagisu agriculture can be attributed in large part to the work of the Agricultural Instructors. The colonial government took the initiative to provide agricultural education to the Bagisu. In this respect, the first Bagisu to study agriculture were sponsored by the government to Arapai Institute of Agriculture in the 1930s. Upon completion of their studies they, and others after them, worked as Agricultural Instructors in Eastern region.

Up to 1949, land consolidation was unknown to the Bagisu people. But from 1949 they began to practice land consolidation by consolidating small holdings among themselves. Friends and neighbors would exchange small holdings into manageable blocks. Land consolidation was triggered off by a few educated individuals in Southern Bugisuland, and then the practice spread slowly to the Northern Bugisu. Consolidation was initially opposed by the elders but the opposition did not go far because the educated Bagisu who were pursuing land consolidation had the support of the Department of agriculture and the local Native council.

Colonial government gave Bagisu agriculture a new dimension. It changed the Bagisu agricultural perspective in that the participants in the scheme were no longer waiting for rain and seasons but could plant their crops even at times when there were no rains or the rains were not favorable and irrigate their crops.

Beginning in the 1920s, the Bagisu faced demands from the colonial government to reduce the number of their Cows which posed a danger to the environment. On this issue, the Bagisu resisted adamantly, thus making the government to force them to cull their animals. One method of

coercion was through the reconditioning measures by which the government demanded that the Bagisu sell their animals and that an abattoir be established in Mbale to hasten the reduction in the numbers of Bagisu livestock. Bagisu were not ready to reduce their animals because they looked on their livestock as a source of economic security in times of famines whereas the colonial government set other priorities and objectives such as the prevention of soil erosion.

Later, in the 1950s and early in the 1960s, Bagisu animal husbandry took on a modern perspective when new breeds of animals were imported for them on an experimental basis. Better quality cattle such as Jersey and Sahiwal, were introduced to Bugisuland. The imported animals helped to change Bagisu animal husbandry and thus transformed the pre-colonial animal variety into a better breed which produced greater quantities of milk for commercial purposes.

Before British rule, money economy was only vaguely known and labour in the Western sense did not exist. Labour in the pre-colonial period was not executed for wage earnings but was offered on a communal basis in such fields as raiding for livestock, assisting a neighbour in the planting of sorghum and millet, and labouring for a specialized activity like iron working. Very few individuals worked before colonial rule. With the advent of colonial rule, Bagisu began to work for wages. The Bagisu went outside their district to work on White Settlers' farms, mainly to acquire Rupees so as to pay their taxes and to ease the problems of famines that frequently hit their country. As early as 1918 the Bagisu went to work outside their district and this trend even intensified in the 1930s when droughts and locust invasion became an indomitable problem in their country.

Labour, however, was not offered by the Bagisu consistently. It was a matter of convenience because the Bagisu would only go to their working places when there was a drought or a locust invasion or they needed cash. The idea of going outside their region to work was unique, and as a

result of the circumstances of the colonial Labour within the District was preferred by the Bagisu because meant being in their home areas. Even though wages were lower at home than outside, they preferred to work around home. More Bagisu might have worked outside the District if the white settlers did not mistreat workers nor paid them low wages. In several instances, particularly in the 1940s, the Bagisu quarreled with their employers and refused to work because the settlers had mistreated them. Also, the Bagisu could not work outside their district for long because of the climatic variations and due to the attack of diseases such as influenza. In the district, the Bagisu worked mainly for the government and the LNC, as Agricultural Instructors, teachers, clerks and chiefs.

The pattern and nature of trade and marketing changed during the colonial period. During pre-colonial times Bagisu trade was by barter. Cattle, goats, sheep, honey and grain were some of the products exchanged. There was no modern money economy and the Bagisu used certain items such as honey as a form of currency. With colonial rule, the Bagisu began to use Rupees as a unit of exchange. In the 19th century most Bagisu trade was local or regional, although the Bagisu had traded sporadically with Swahili and Arab caravans.

During the colonial period the Bagisu traded with the Swahili and with government officials for beads, iron ore, clothes and other items such as ivory and maize flour. Though the general trend was one of the export trade in coffee and cotton which, kept on fluctuating, of increasing volume until the 1940s. But the most remarkable change among the Bagisu so far as trade was concerned was in the Duka (shop) business. Beginning in the '1925 Bagisu began to challenge the Indian and Arab shopkeepers in retail trade. Some of retail trade initiatives were the result of joint ventures in 1940s, for example, several Bagisu in Mbale cooperated together as a group to begin a shop, and twelve Bagisu formed such three cooperatives towards the end of 1950.

The retail trade affected the growth of trade in livestock in that at the end of 1962 many Bagisu were less interested in the livestock trade and were concentrating instead on the acquisition of trading plots and on building shops. However, the export of coffee was the major trade that the Bagisu traded in since its genesis in 1912. This development was encouraged by the colonial government and led to a further Bagisu diversification of Bagisu trading transactions.

Economic transformation did not take place uniformly throughout Bugisuland. Early changes in Agriculture were most evident in the areas closest to the government stations in Mbale. Moreover, the influence of ecological zones affected the way transformation took shape. The slopes of Mt. Elgon areas received more attention from the colonial government because their land was good for agriculture, whereas the valley areas supplied more laborers outside the region because they were the most hit during famines. The distinction between Northern and Southern Bagisu was also an important factor. In general, the colonial administrators favored those who cooperated with them. For this reason, the northern Bagisu benefited more than the Southern ones, particularly during the early years of colonial rule, because of their positive response towards the colonial presence.

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APPENDICES

1. List of interviewees.

1.1. Names of Men Interviewed.

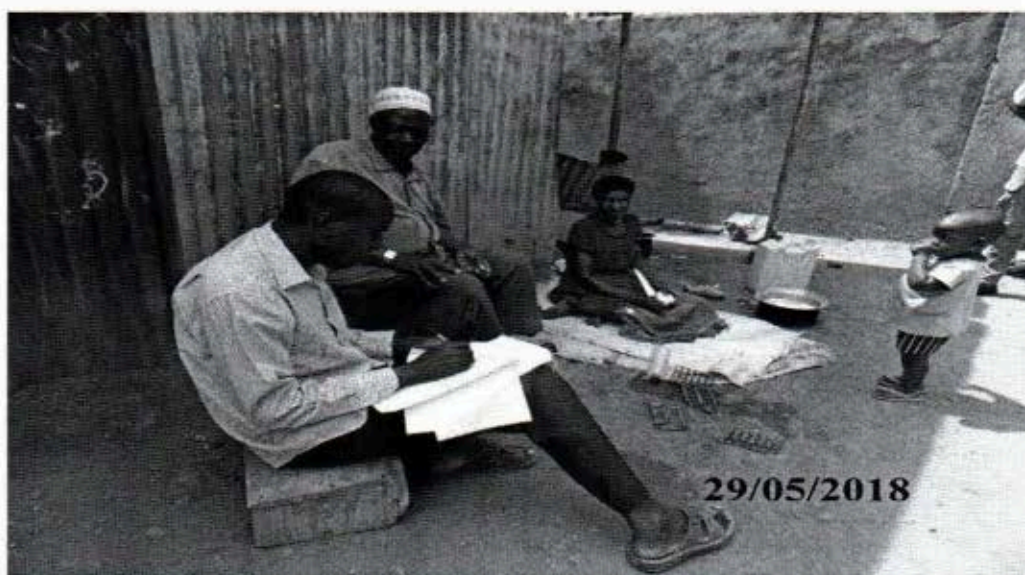
1. Wamutony Julius.	Manafwa District	59	13/04/2017
2. Wanda Manoah	Manafwa District	72	13/04/2017
3. Kitutu Naboya Joseph.	Manafwa District	74	15/04/2017
4. Wamimbi David	Manafwa District	62	15/04/2017
5. Nangai James.	Bulambuli District	56	17/05/2017
6. Wetunde Stephen	Bulambuli District	60	17/05/2017
7. Shipanga Micheal	Bulambuli District	57	18/05/2017
8. Limo Bernard	Bulambuli District	70	18/05/2017
9. Mutenyo Andrew	Mbale District	63	10/02/2018
10. Mudende Alutu	Mbale District	56	10/02/2018
11. Masimbi Abubakar	Mbale District	59	13/03/2018
12. Mudebo Martin	Mbale District	72	18/03/2018
13. Gidudu Daniel	Sironko District	60	19/04/2018
14. Wagisha Henry	Sironko District	62	19/04/2018
15. Wasukira Maliki	Sironko District	48	20/04/2018
16. Namusi Thomas	Sironko District	49	20/04/2018
17. Nagwega Romeo	Bududa District	53	28/05/2018
18. Masaba Godfrey	Bududa District	66	28/05/2018
19. Wamanga Stephen	Bududa District	69	29/05/2018
20. Mulekwa Aramanzani	Bududa District	54	29/05/2018

1.2.Name of women Interviewed

1. Sherani Gladys	Manafwa District	53	17/04/2017
2. Werebulu Sarah	Manafwa District	56	22/04/2017
3. Kataike Sarah	Mbale District	58	13/03/2018
4. Nandutu Elsie	Mbale District	51	19/03/2018
5. Nagudi Annet	Bulambuli District	51	18/05/2017
6. Nambozo Christine	Bulambuli District	59	18/05/2017
7. Wasagali Beth	Sironko District	53	24/04/2018
8. Namataka Harriet	Sironko District	62	24/04/2018
9. Waakwale Base Catherine	Bududa District	59	29/05/2018
10. Nahiryia Zipporah	Bududa District	61	29/05/2018

1.3 Images showing interviewees.

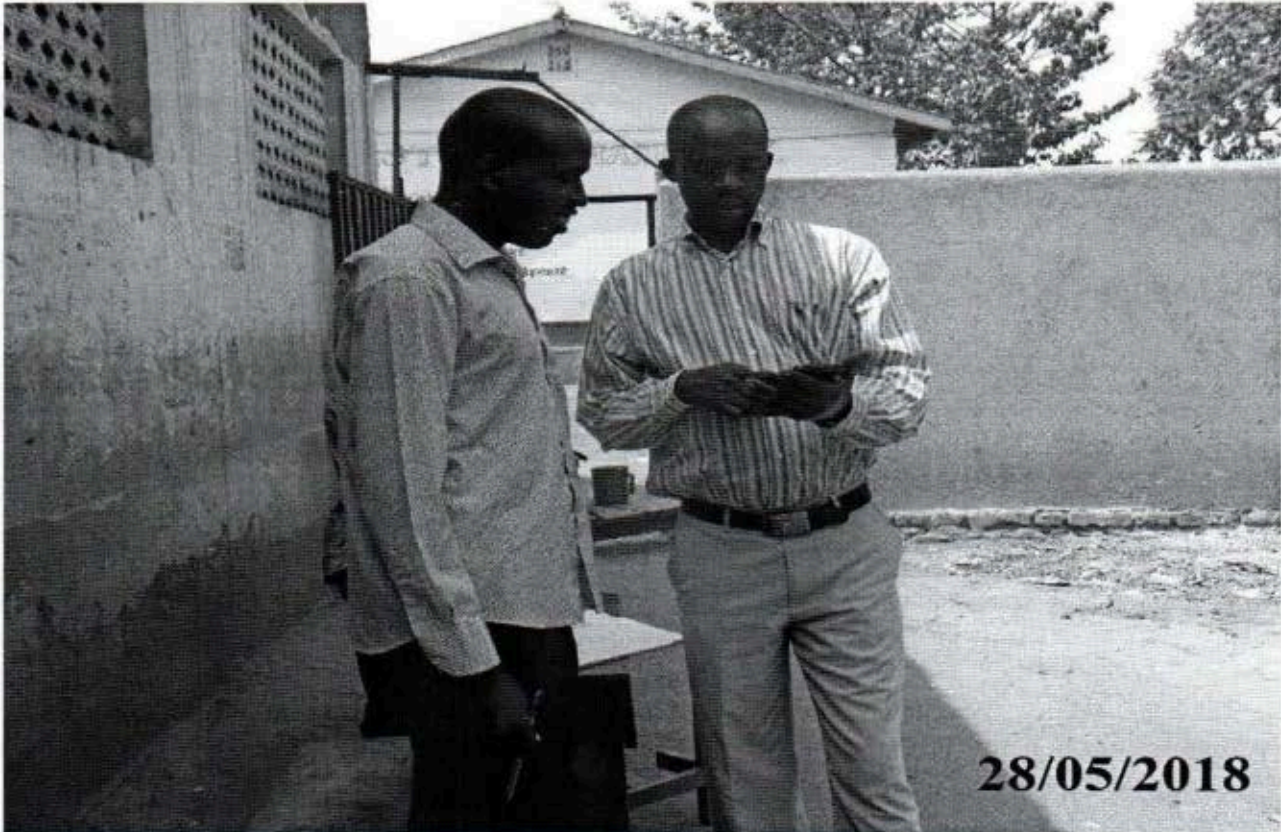
Oral Interviews with Mulekwa Aramadhani at their Home, Buyaga, Village Sironko District on 29th/may/2018.



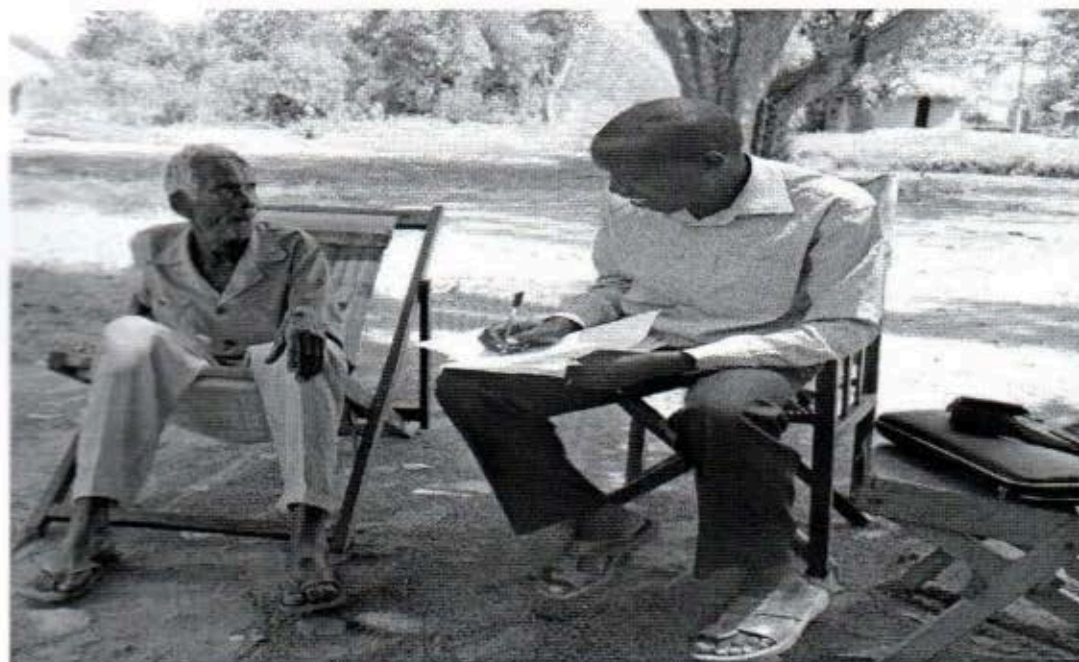
Researcher having oral interview with Mr. Wagisha Henry and Gidudu Daniel in Sironko District Headquarters on 19th. April 2018.



Researcher interacting with NAADS coordinator Mr. Nagwega Romeo in Bududa sub-county offices on 28th May,2018.



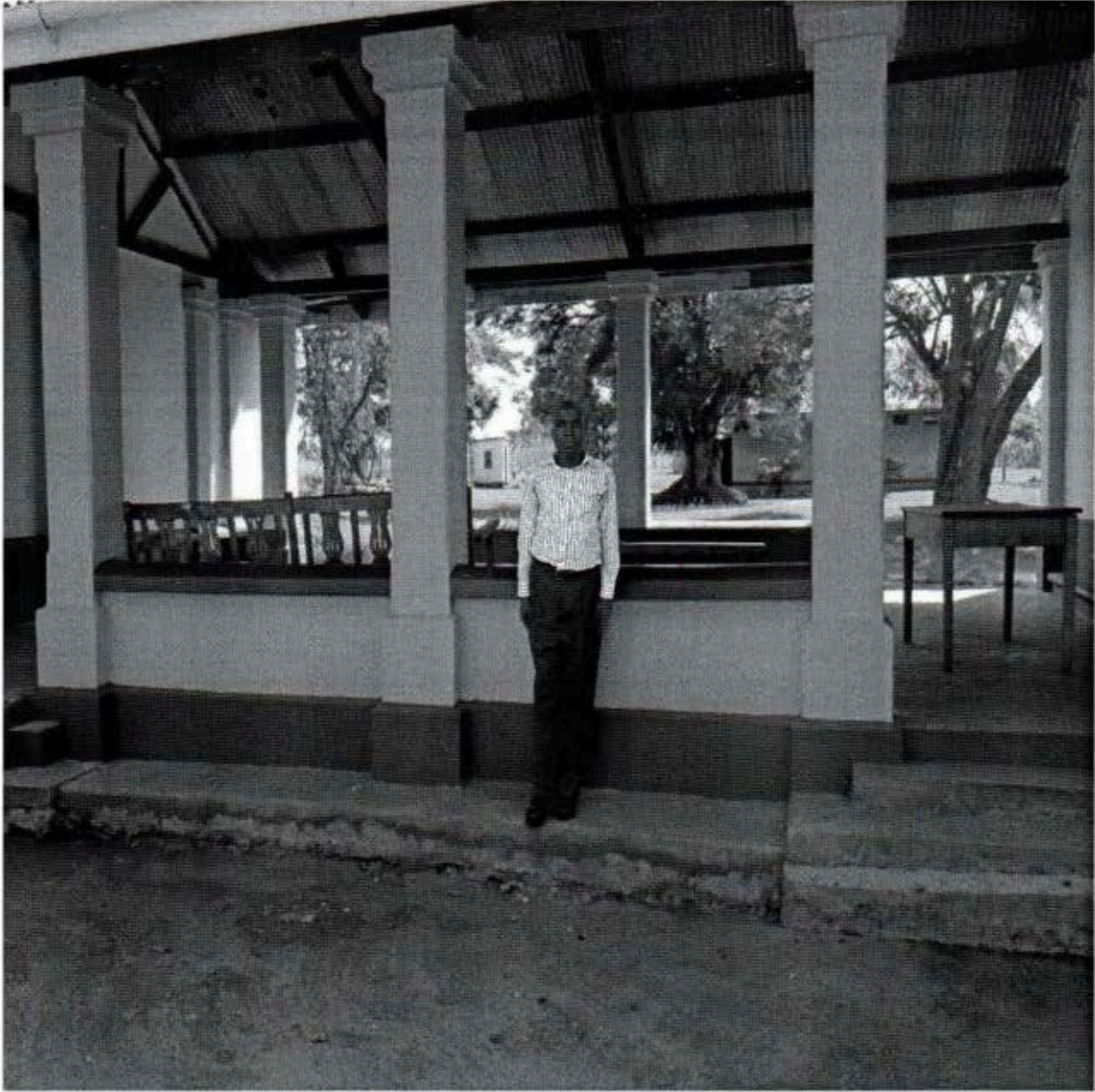
Oral interviews with Kitutu Naboya Joseph at his home in Manafwa District on 15th April 2017.



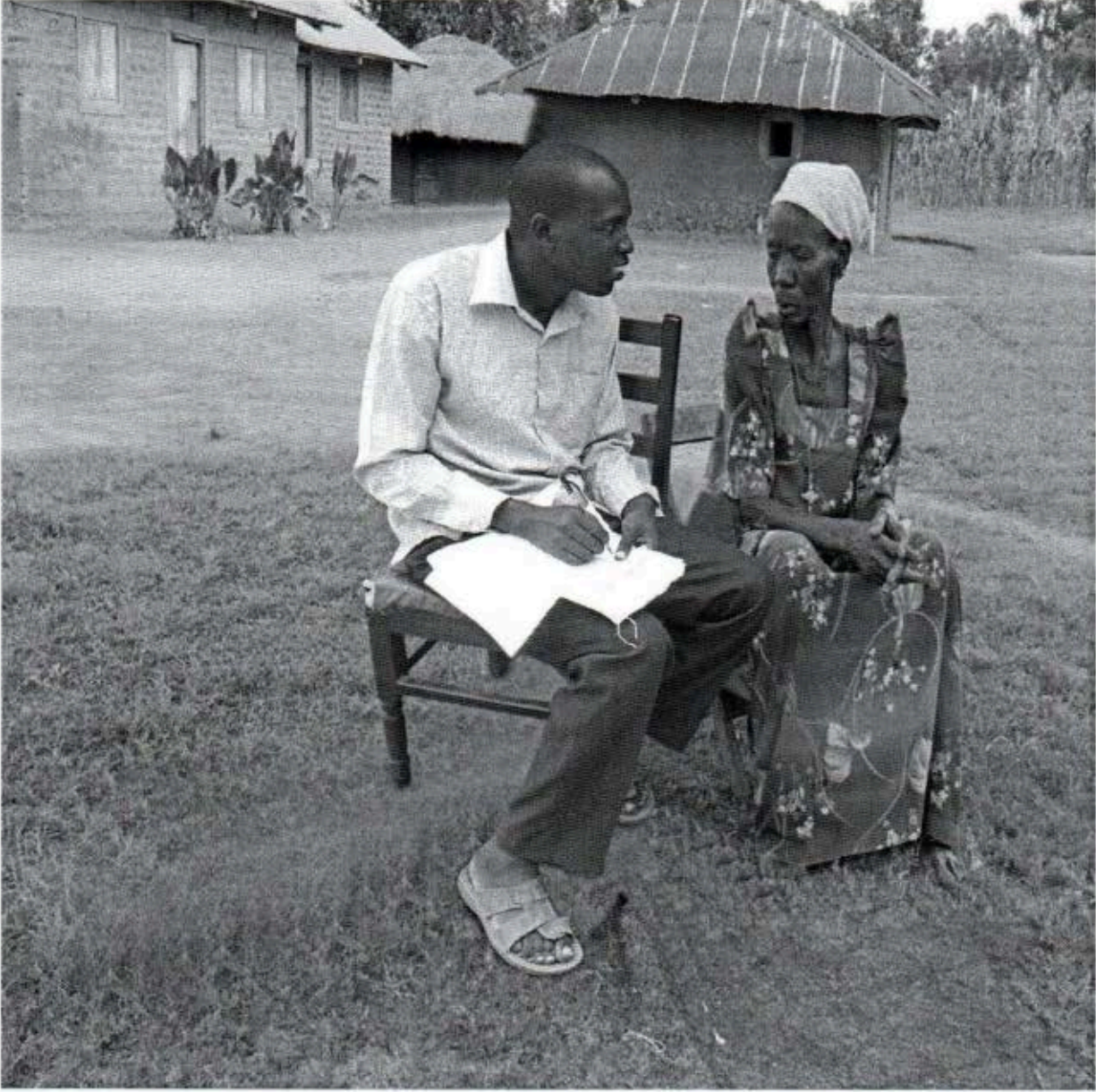
Researcher having oral interviews with Mudebo Martin at Bubyangu sub-county Mbale District, on 18th march 2018.



Showing the Researcher at county Headquarters of Bulambuli on 18th May 2017.



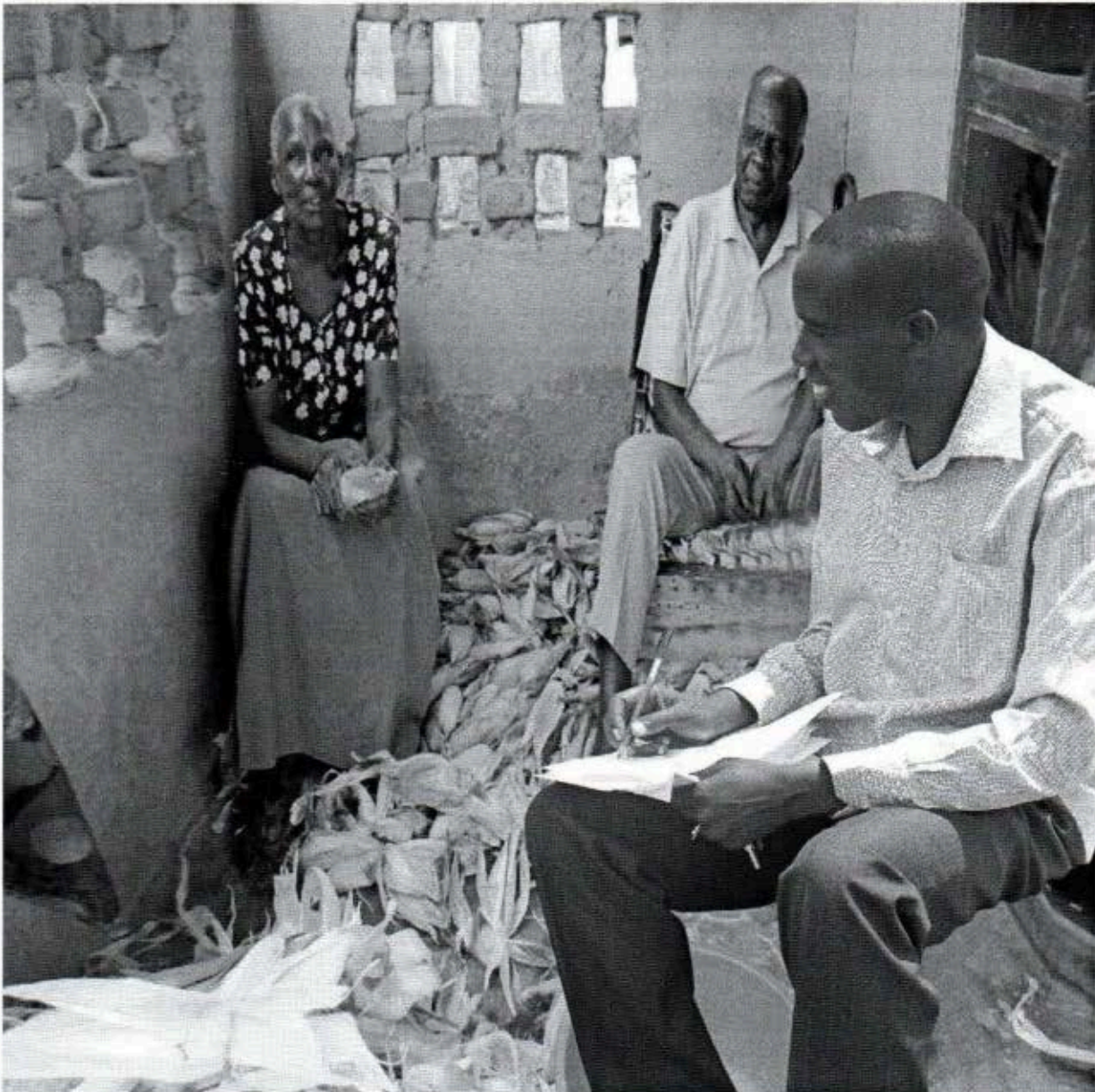
Researcher having oral interviews with Kataike Sarah, at Busiu Sub-County Mbale District, on 13th march 2018.



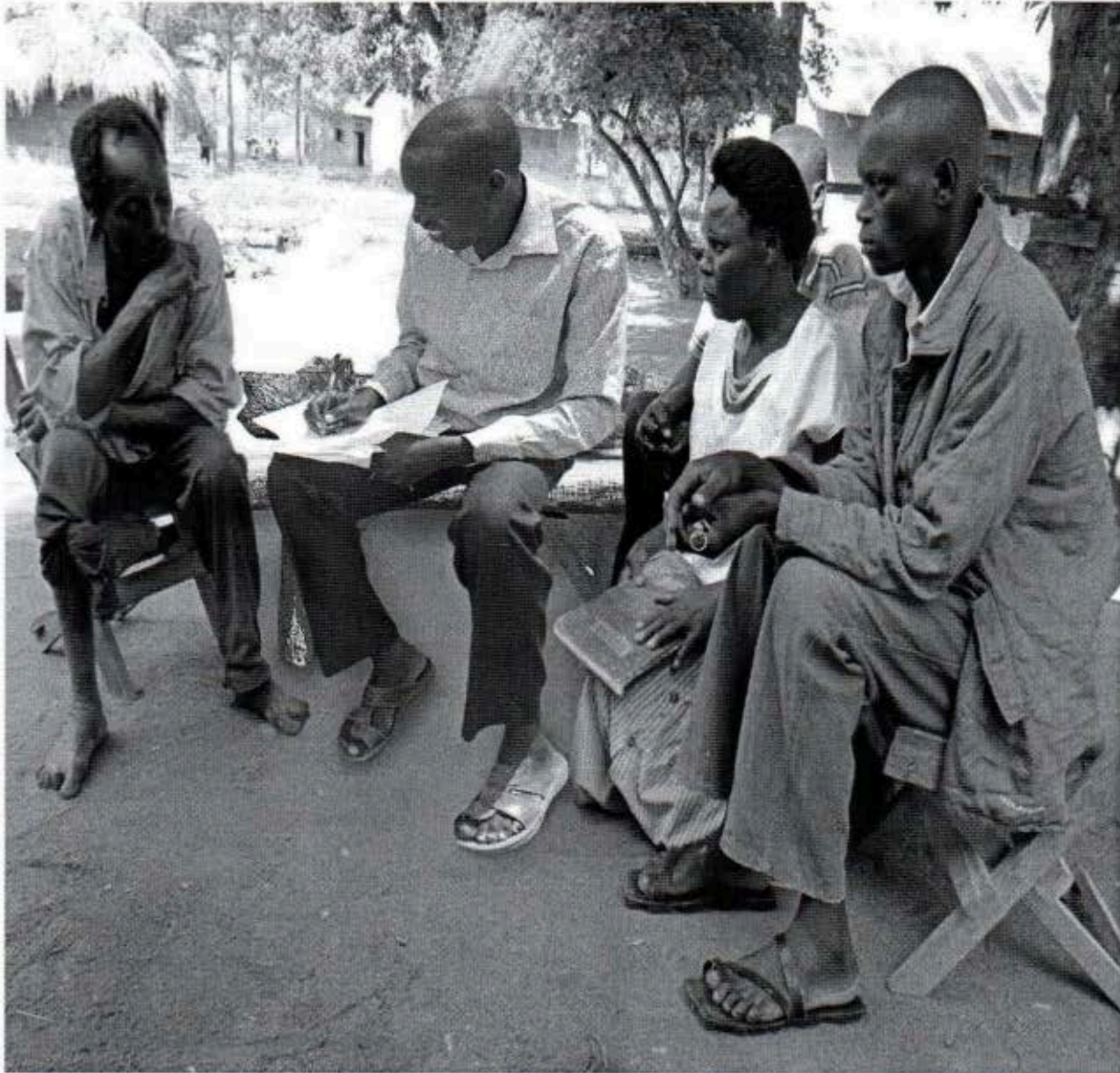
Researcher having oral interview with Nandutu Elsie in Nkoma secondary School, Mbale District on 24th/April/2018.



Researcher interacting with Mudende Alutu with his family at Busamaga, Mbale District on 10th Feb.2018.



Focus Ground Discussion, Sironko Trading center on 20th April.2018.



1.4 Interview guides

PART A: Background.

1. Sex: Male..... Female.....
2. Age.....
3. Occupation.....
4. District.....
5. Village.....

PART B: Historical Background.

6. How can you explain the arrival of Bagisu in Eastern U
7. What kind of people occupied the place before?
8. What was their economic activities?
9. How were they organized socially and politically?

PART C: Establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in Bugisu, 1904-1962

10. When did the Baganda agents arrive in Bugisu?
11. Who was Semei Kakungulu?
12. What activities did Semei Kakungulu and Baganda followers carry out in Bugisu?
13. What was the reaction of the Bagisu?
14. How did Kakungulu organize his rule in Bugisu?
15. What was Kakungulu's relation with the colonial state?
16. What was Kakungulu's role in Bagisu economic transformation?

PART D: The Bagisu Economy, 1904-1962.

17. When was coffee introduced in Bugisu?
18. What was the reaction of the people?
19. Was it grown on peasantry or plantational?
20. How did coffee transform the economic status of the Bagisu?
21. Who introduced cash economy in Bugisu?
22. How beneficial was cash economy to Bagisu?

PART E: Development of Western Education among the Bagisu, 1908-1962.

23. How was education organized in pre-colonial Bugisu?
24. When did Missionary Education start in Bugisu?
25. How did the Bagisu benefit from Missionary Education?
26. How did the Bagisu respond to Western Education?

PART F: Transformation in crops and Technology, 1915-1962.

27. Which crops were introduced in Bugisu by 1915?
28. Who brought the crops?
29. What were the difficulties that beset Bagisu agricultural development?
30. What new technologies were introduced?
31. Did agricultural changes take place in the same way throughout Bugisu?
32. Did all these innovations benefit the Bagisu?

END.