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**CONFLICTS IN CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN UGANDA WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO CULTURE, POLITICS AND EDUCATION.**

**By
The Reverend Herbert I. Gaalimaka**

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M.A. Thesis

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the conflicts which emerged from the way the Church in Uganda generally (and the Anglican Church of Uganda (ACU) in particular) interacted with the society on three key fronts: culturally, politically and educationally. The aim is to exhibit the historical development of the Church in light of those areas; and the impact that development has had on the society, and so pose a challenge for the present ACU to reflect on and act for a viable and more acceptable ministry in future free of conflict, favouritism and domination.

Chapter I covers the historical background from 1877-1962; it describes the coming of the CMS missionaries to Uganda following Muteesa I's invitation to be followed later by the Roman Catholic missionaries. It describes how religious controversies between these two groups dominated Ugandan politics. The road leading to a Uganda protectorate and the developments initiated by both the missionaries and the colonial government including education, health services and economy, are also set out.

Chapter II looks at the culture into which Christianity came and the nature of their clash leading to an age long conflict. It highlights the model operated by the missionaries, its weaknesses and strengths. It describes some alternative models from Africa and the Caribbean and lastly suggests the best way forward.

Chapter III deals with the Church and Colonialism, their invasion of the traditional political structure and the developments brought about by the two institutions. The beginning of political parties following the political and economic dissatisfaction of the Ugandan society, so paving the way to independence, is discussed here. Featured also are the colonial policies answerable for the age long suffering in Uganda and the model responsible for church and state interdependence which reigns to this day. It cites alternative models and suggests which way to go. This chapter covers pre-independence, and post independence to the present day.

Chapter IV looks at the traditional form of education and its values. It highlights the introduction of the missionary western form of education, its characteristics and goals which in many ways divorced the learner from his/her roots. It shows both the native society and the colonial government losing confidence in that system of education and seeking to replace it with a government-run system of education. This chapter also looks at other models from elsewhere and suggests a way forward.

This thesis is entirely my own work. None of the material has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university nor for consideration by any other degree awarding body.

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Abbreviations

ACU	Anglican Church of Uganda
BUWPA	Baganda Urban Workers' Peasant Association
CMS	Church Mission Society
Cor.	Corinthians
CPK	Church of the Province of Kenya
CRE	Christian Religious Education
Deut.	Deuteronomy
DP	Democratic Party
Ex.	Exodus
FEDEM	Federal Democratic Movement
GSU	General Service Unit
IBEA	Imperial British East African Company
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Is.	Isaiah
Jn.	John
Ky.	Kabaka Yekka
Lev.	Leviticus
Lk.	Luke
Mt.	Matthew
NAAM	National association for Advancement of Muslims
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
Phil.	Philippians
PP	Progressive Party
Prov.	Proverbs
Rev.	Revelations
Rcs	Resistance Councils
Rom.	Romans
UNC	Uganda National Congress
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPC	Uganda Peoples Congress
UPM	Uganda Peoples Movement
UPU	Uganda Peoples Union

INTRODUCTION

The religious, political and educational systems in Uganda find their origin in the missionary work of the late nineteenth century. The arrival and operation of the two rival Christian groups, the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics, have left a lasting impression on the Ugandan society. There are both good things to remember these missionaries for and also negative effects which resulted from the way they sought to shape the newly born nation of Uganda. This thesis therefore seeks to discuss the nature of the missionary operation in Uganda in close association with the colonialists whom they invited shortly after their arrival.

It purposes to discuss the conflicts which have arisen from the missionary approach on three fronts: on culture, politics and education. The aim is then to challenge the present day church (and the Anglican Church in particular) to make a careful study, reflecting on the past, noting the shortcomings in those areas and projecting its future ministry with a clear vision which will save the future generations from future agony re-defining the Church's role.

This thesis falls under four chapters: chapter I is the 'Historical Background' which covers the period from 1877-1962. It describes the coming of the CMS missionaries in response to King Muteesa I's invitation. These were followed by the Roman Catholic missionaries and on these two groups hinge the later discussions in this chapter, for instance their confrontations and later involvement in the political arena of Buganda and later Uganda and the invitation of the British Government to secure Uganda for CMS operations (in particular) and Britain (generally). The background also looks at how colonialism and missionary work spread to other areas outside of Buganda conflicting with the traditional life styles of the people as they swept through the land. It mentions briefly some new developments initiated by both the missionaries and colonialists and later hints at the dissatisfaction which arose amongst the native people religiously, leading to independent churches whose nationalistic spirit later led to political parties.

Chapter II covers the Church and cultural practices. It is not so easy to date this section but certainly it stretches right through from the missionary days until the present time as many things which for instance were condemned by the missionaries are still held captive by the Church to this day. This chapter begins by describing the culture into which Christianity came, its values and goals. It then highlights the introduction of Christianity and the conflict which followed that interaction. This chapter identifies the model the missionaries operated which precipitated the conflicts. It discusses its weaknesses as well as its strengths. The chapter explores other models suitable for the Ugandan Church and cultural situation today and ends by recommending the best way to go.

Chapter III focuses on Christianity/colonialism and the political systems of Uganda. It features the political development of Uganda carrying forward through independence to the present day. It begins by describing the traditional political structure and how it was soon overrun by the new administration. It also discusses the introduction of the market economy which the colonialists introduced and managed, conflicting with the traditional system and therefore breaking up the society. It exposes the discomfort which the natives felt and which inspired them to struggle for their independence, though not violently.

It is in this chapter that missionary and colonial policies are exposed which were responsible for the tribal and religious strife that Uganda continues to endure to this day. Later this chapter looks at the pedigree of this model which has kept the Church and politics closely bound together, its strengths and weaknesses. It describes other models better suited for Uganda and their practicality. It ends by making certain recommendations.

Chapter IV considers 'Missionary Education in Uganda'. It seeks to discuss the Church's involvement in education. It looks at the traditional form of education in Uganda, its goals and values and methods. Then it explores the goals and values of the missionary (western-modern) education and its impact on society. It highlights the

divisive nature of the modern education exhibited which dismayed the native society resulting in pressure groups against it. Also cited is the unsatisfactory nature of national development, which was detected by the government of the day. In this regard it exposes a conflict between missionary education and the state which ended up in the government taking over the educational work.

Like the other two this chapter identifies and discusses the model imported by the missionaries. Then it introduces some alternative models from which is recommended the best way forward for the Church and education in Uganda.

Chapter I

The Historical Background from 1877 to 1962

The Church Missionary Society sends missionaries to Uganda

I must make it clear from the beginning that Buganda is just a small part of Uganda but has all along been very influential religiously, politically, economically and culturally; also because of its central position and nearness to the lake (Victoria) shared by three East African countries. Almost all civilisation and development in those areas mentioned above started in that region before spreading to other areas of the country. For that matter therefore I will be referring to it frequently and in some instances I will use Buganda and Uganda interchangeably.

The coming of the missionaries to Uganda stems from Henry Morton Stanley's letter which appeared in the Daily Telegraph of 15 Nov 1875 in London, appealing for missionaries to come to Buganda thus: "Oh that some pious practical missionary would come here would become the Saviour of Africa. Nowhere is there in all the pagan world a more promising field for a mission than Uganda. Here, gentlemen, is the opportunity, embrace it. The people on the shores of Nyanza call upon you".¹

This letter, prompted immediate results and on 27 April 1876 the first band of eight missionaries set sail for Uganda. By March 1877 four of them arrived on the shores of Lake Victoria; a lake locally known to be inhabited by many divinities, hence its name "Nalubaale".²

That first group of four did not all make it to the planned destination, for one of them died of malaria between the shores of Lake Victoria and the palace of the King of Buganda. However the three men who succeeded in getting there were given a rousing welcome at the palace on 30 June 1877 and these were O'Neill, Lieutenant Shergold Smith and the Rev. C. T. Wilson.³

As was to be expected from the Baganda they were given good hospitality and their message was well received with peculiar curiosity.⁴ (However we are yet to know if this curiosity yielded to real spiritual avail or was it for convenience sake?)

Judged from the friendly welcome the missionaries received it appeared that their stay would be comfortable and fruitful. Unfortunately it was soon reported that Shergold Smith and O'Neill had been killed in a local dispute in Ukerewe. Shergold Smith had chosen to go and establish a station to the south of the lake and O'Neill opted to join him there. The two bought a Dhow from Songoro (a local Dhow maker) and basically this was conceived as siding with him against the King of Ukerewe Island and they were thus dragged into their quarrel where they subsequently met their deaths.⁵ This was a terrible blow to C. T. Wilson who now remained alone until in 1878 when Alexander Mackay joined him from the coast. Strong and energetic, for he was a young man in his twenties when he came to Uganda, Mackay was very effective in the transformation of the society around him. Mackay is commended for his preaching and teaching, his counsel and translation of the Bible into local languages and his manual skill, for he was a carpenter by profession and an evangelist.

The coming of the Catholic missionaries to Uganda and the subsequent confrontations.

In 1879 Mackay and Wilson received more men from the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in England. This reinforcement coincided with the incoming of the French Roman Catholic Missionaries that same year. This Catholic group was led by Fr. Simon Lourdel. Following the latter group's arrival in Uganda mission work took another turn and things were never the same again. Kevin Ward has described the presence of both groups as turning into a matter of controversy which was a clear manifestation of the warfare which lasted for centuries between Catholic and Protestant Europe.⁶ In fact Uganda found herself caught up in the middle of not only two groups but three rival groups. On the one hand there were the Protestant/Anglicans, on the other were the Catholics, and yet the Mohammedans also

existed in the background, for this latter group had preceded the former two and had arrived in Uganda in the early 1840s.

Although Islam had been in Uganda since that time, it was almost dormant and less aggressive compared to the thrusting force with which Christianity had now come. However, we must note, as observed by Kevin Ward, that Islam had paved the way for Christianity by offering a world view and introducing monotheism. Also it introduced the idea of a holy book, a holy day, the expectation of resurrection of the body and of judgement after death.⁷ In this way when Christianity came three or four decades later it was able to build on this foundation. In fact the Christians exploited all the weak points of Islam, in which sense they quenched the thirst created by Islam. Kevin Ward further describes the Christian missionaries' approach, for example, they made literature available and cheap, and organised literacy classes. Another weak point on Islam's side was that it had demanded too much from her converts: circumcision and observance of food laws for instance to which the king and his chiefs were not ready to succumb. All this created a fertile ground for Christianity to sow the seeds, though of course even Christianity had its own rigid criteria like the demand for monogamy for which the king and many of his officials were not ready either. Another demand was the four years instruction before baptism except in the case of illness.⁸

The Ugandan society was seriously disorganised as each of the above parties sought cheap popularity from King Muteesa. Each talked ill and made allegations against the other with the intention of winning over the king to their side. True the king was confused but he did not yield to any of the three groups and therefore he was not converted; his sole aim was to exploit each of them as much as possible for his own benefit. This however, was not uncommon in Africa generally. Townsend writing to Venn in 1860 expresses a similar phenomena in Abeokutta: "I do not doubt that the government of this country is set against the spreading of the Gospel. They see what they did not at first that the Gospel will overturn all their system of lies which they wish to preserve as entirely as possible at the same time they want us on account of the people in Sierra Leone, because they see that through us they are likely to keep

open the road to the sea and obtain trade and be well supplied with guns and gunpowder for sale or war as may be required".⁹

In 1884 Muteesa died and was succeeded by his eighteen year old son Mwanga. He was a clever lad but exceedingly unstable and was at times referred to as the Nero of Buganda because of his cruelty and persecutions which followed not long after his enthronement. It has been reported that just like his father, "he lacked strong religious convictions". He has also been described as "a sceptic in an age of faith and his homosexuality further alienated him from the missionaries."¹⁰ In this same connection Stanley, in his letter to Bishop Tucker, had called Mwanga "that pagan lout".

However, it is not entirely fair to blame Mwanga on account of his character. We must consider the situation in which he found himself and which dominated his reign. Reading into Mwanga's childhood and his early teens it is evident he was not that unstable. One of his names, "Muteefu", suggests a 'humble' and 'gentle' person. Therefore the character which he developed later needs some explanations from elsewhere. One of these was the coming of strangers into Buganda, preaching love but sowing hatred. They did not only quarrel among themselves but one after the other spoke to the king and expressed their ill intentions against one another.

The Arabs (Moslems) besought the king to expel the Europeans (Christians) accusing them of destroying their slave trade and so turning their economy upside down. In fact their allegation coincided with the scramble for Africa (1884), in which case they wanted to use that opportunity when Africa was in confusion. They knew what they could say of the white man, for instance greed and intending to 'eat Buganda', would be accepted by the king. We should not however, dismiss all that the Arabs told Mwanga as mere speculations for was it not the missionaries in 1894 that invited the British Government to exercise control over Uganda? "On the surface they denied any British Government involvement in whatever was taking place in Uganda yet at times they could not resist pointing out the might of the British Empire".¹¹

As if to confirm what the Arabs were telling Mwanga already Gordon had revealed his intention to advance southwards from the Sudan, and indeed a delegation had visited Buganda on this very mission. Now Mwanga contemplated the German advance from the North, the Belgians from the Congo (West of Uganda) and the British and French already in Buganda; certainly he could not help being destabilised and redirected his fury at the missionaries.

Another group to approach Mwanga was that of Baganda traditionalists. They urged the king to reject the incoming changes brought by foreigners and dressed up in the skins of Islam and Christianity. Replacement of spears by guns was detested. A similar situation happened in Nigeria where it was feared that if missionaries established themselves all traditional ways of life would be doomed forever.¹² Similarly in South Africa Allan Gardiner one of the first Anglican missionaries met with severe “distrust and sullen resistance and even violent opposition” from Zulu traditionalists in the 1830s. People here were not only threatened by the advance of Christianity but also by the Europeans political and military manoeuvres.¹³ Looking closer at the history of that region one may refer to the Zulus as prophets. Soon in Cape Colony in the first half of the nineteenth century the welding of both the powers of a bishop and a governor resided with the colonial chaplain.¹⁴ In this respect the intrusion of foreigners in the name of Christianity or Islam was much feared in Uganda as elsewhere.

Therefore in Buganda, in light of this confusion it is not surprising that the king ordered the persecutions of those he considered to be a threat. Three young men, Makko Kakumba, Nuwa Serwanga and Yusufu Lugalama were led to their persecution site and later were acclaimed the “first local Christian martyrs”. In fact these men were persecuted as a measure to counter missionary operations which by this time were very suspicious.

Meanwhile Mwanga was still furious knowing that the killing of the three men had not done anything to affect the missionary activity, because many people continued to go

and read at the mission; news of the coming of Bishop James Hannington reached his ears. The thirty-seven year old bishop's intention to open up a new and shorter route to Uganda was like pouring petrol onto burning grass. He chose to pass through Kikuyū and Masai lands, which routes the Arabs had told Mwanga would be some of the inlets for European invaders when they came to 'eat Uganda'.¹⁵ In this connection Mackay had tried to warn Hannington about the dangers associated with that route. Unfortunately by the time he forwarded the letters warning the Bishop the latter had already left the coast and in effect was travelling a dangerous and fatal journey.

Mackay endeavoured to make another attempt to save the Bishop. This time he went to the king and briefed him about Hannington's travels and intentions. He told him where they were expecting him to appear from, that is the lower Kavirondo region. Unfortunately the Bishop changed his plan and came by boat through Busoga (north east of Buganda). As expected, Mwanga's anger flared up and took it for certain that he had been lied to by Mackay, and remembering what the Arabs had told him, (his enemies would be coming from the east) he consulted his chiefs who undoubtedly resolved that Hannington should die. Following this, the Bishop met his death on 29 October 1885 in Luba's chiefdom in Busoga.¹⁶

The Bishop's death however, along with the deaths of Kakumba, Serwanga and Lugalama, have been differently interpreted depending on one's perspective. To the pious Christians they were martyrs, and to the secular historian they were politically motivated, whereas a Muganda traditionalist would refer particularly to the deaths of the young Baganda as an act to eradicate social deviants. Certainly, closely looking at the course of events we can observe that Mwanga just like his father Muteesa, was primarily concerned about political implications of the new religions, in which case the killing of the three Baganda men and Hannington was intended to check the political manoeuvres of the missionaries.

That however does not imply that the people executed by Mwanga did not die for the sake of Christianity. In fact just before Hannington died, he said his blood would buy

the road of Christianity to Uganda. This indeed came to pass, as clearly indicated in Bishop Tucker's letter to Mr Hathaway: "I have it in my heart to offer myself to the CMS and especially if God should make the way clear for service in Africa----The events of the last few months in the missionary world and the death of Bishop Hannington have brought it to a culminating point----."17 Also the local martyrs preached to their persecutors on their way to the raging fires. They died singing hymns of praise which made a lasting impact on their persecutors and the people around, noteworthy among them was Mukajjanga the chief executioner; he gazed in disbelief as his son died for Christianity; this was a lifetime experience for him.

Following these events the people's zeal for Christianity rose even higher. However the more people went to the missionaries, the more determined Mwanga became to kill them. And so on the 15 November 1885 there was another martyrdom this time of Joseph Mukasa and Bali Kuddembe, the latter of whom became the first Catholic martyr. These people were accused of criticising the king for murdering the Bishop. Murdering as he did, he feared reprisals from the white men and so in the next few months he restrained his hand until he collided head on with the missionaries again. He accused them of holding back the Queen Mother's pages from participating in the cultural activities; some of which were evil, notably homosexuality.

In light of those accusations and as if to catch up with that time of restraint Mwanga ordered thirty persecutions by the fires of Namugongo. This big group comprised both Catholics and Anglicans. They were led by Charles Lwanga, a man using his position as the king's official in his private apartment, yet influenced by his Christian conviction to shelter the pages from the king and his officials (from engaging them in indecent sex.) For that his body, along with those of the pages, was consumed in a hot furnace.

It is worth observing that the Namugongo execution site was not designated for Christians alone. History holds that Moslems had been executed on the same site in 1776; which suggests that it was a traditional "hell" where the Baganda kings punished their rebels by death.

Meanwhile in blaming Mwanga we must understand that there were other powers behind these persecutions; particularly regarding those latter martyrs. It is said that the Queen-Mother had a big role to play in this. She actually prompted the King to persecute them when her pages ignored her orders not to go to the missionaries. It is important here to note the influence of women in Ugandan society. During Muteesa's reign it was his Queen-Mother that prompted him to ignore the missionary teaching and return to his heathen religion and likewise Mwanga's Queen-Mother caused him to take such fateful decisions.

It can be argued that even the missionaries themselves could have prompted Mwanga to act the way that he did. This was not uncommon. In Nigeria for instance when the missionaries found it hard to win over the rulers to Christianity, they resorted to advising their converts to practice "political segregation". To this effect even the King's son was advised to rebel against his father.¹⁸ Something similar to this can not be ruled out in Buganda.

Knowing very well that his subjects were obsessed with Christianity and apparently not affected by the executions of their fellow Christians, Mwanga sought to banish Mackay altogether. In 1887 Mackay left and took refuge at the south end of lake Victoria where he later died. Leaving the capital Mengo meant that Mackay's active role in Buganda had been thrown into jeopardy, though he continued to be the machinery behind the Protestant Party as well as translating the Bible into local languages, which role he played from exile until his death. Mwanga preferred to stay with Gordon, a young missionary who later was joined by Walker in 1888.

Troubles for Mwanga as he abandons Christians and Moslems to return to his heathen worship.

All along Mwanga was not free. His murder of Bishop Hannington still haunted him; yet there was a steady increase in the numbers of Christians; posing a threat of retaliation. When Mwanga thought of the reprisals his fury was roused and ordered royal deaths, robbed and raided his people and plundered his chiefs. All this was done

with a strong backing from the Moslems whose allegiance he enjoyed. However, Mwanga soon realised that his allegiance with the Mohammedans was raising them to positions of power in his kingdom. Consequently he turned against them as well and was left without any friends. He then mobilised the heathen party and instructed them to round up all of the readers; Christians and Moslem alike. These were to be deported to an island and face starvation while he reconstructed his heathen worship. Fortunately for them, which was unfortunate for the king, the plot was discovered before it was effected. There was open rebellion and Mwanga was defeated and had to hurriedly abandon his palace.

It is interesting to know that bit by bit the situation had been changing in favour of the religious society and it was this that organised Mwanga's defeat when he rose against them. Mwanga had inwardly seen that he could never win. He had therefore turned to the young Christian and Moslem generations as opposed to his heathen advisers. Some of these he had appointed chiefs and others he had put into very responsible positions. By coincidence it turned out to be an era of slipping in guns and training regiments.

Many Baganda youths had enrolled themselves to train not because they actually wanted to defend their faiths because they knew very little about Christianity or Islam anyway but because many of them saw this as an opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for instance in plundering society and securing their fortunes. For this reason they were called "Bapere" people who became notorious for their "high handed attitude to things like rape and plunder"¹⁹ The gun was turning out to be a master in Ugandan society as chapter three will clearly show. It is these people who helped the Christian and Moslem leadership resist Mwanga's deportation.

We also observe that this unfortunate situation brought together the Christians and the Moslems because all had one common enemy. This unpredictably allied force replaced Mwanga with Kiwewa his young brother. All the heathen chiefs appointed by Mwanga were put to death and their chieftainships distributed among Christian and Moslem

sympathisers. This was a hall-mark in the politics of Buganda; power had now gone from the monarch to the foreigners. All the kings thereafter became mere puppets.

Religion and the Power struggle in Buganda

The shift of power from the monarchy to the religious leadership was followed by a power struggle amongst themselves, each wanting to be in control over the others. This struggle was facilitated between the religious leaders and the chiefs because the king was no longer recognised but simply at the mercy of Christian and Moslem leaders. As expected the alliance between these two parties soon crumbled, once their common enemy was out they returned to their former state of hatred and jealousy.

The Moslems began to plot to drive away the Christians, forcing Gordon, Walker and the Catholic missionaries to flee with barely anything but their lives.²⁰ Gordon and Walker joined Mackay to the south of Lake Victoria at Usambiro while the Catholics proceeded to Bukumbi at the Catholic mission. Surprisingly enough, Mwanga in desperation had joined the Catholics and had started mobilising the Christians who had fled Moslem hostilities to fight back.

In the palace things were not very good for Kiwewa either. Already he had clashed with his Moslem friends, and Kalema, his brother, had been chosen to replace him. Like his brother Kalema did not improve the situation for the Christians and soon a train of them were on their way to join the group which had fled earlier. Seeing he had a big force and surrounded with problems, Mwanga professed to be a Christian and prompted them into action against the Moslems. It is interesting to note at this point that despite Mwanga professing to be a Christian he was not baptised, which suggests he only did it for the sake of being aided back into power.

The Christians knew all too well Mwanga's cunning nature and so they sought the advice of Mackay before engaging in active combat on Mwanga's behalf against the Moslems. Definitely Mackay withheld his consent, but his counterpart from the Catholic Mission Pere Levinhac saw no choice but to offer military support to

Mwanga. Perhaps the plans to fight back would have dragged on if it had not been for Kalema's Moslem army's attack on the Christians in their exiled positions. This hastened the desire to unite behind Mwanga at any cost, and in 1889 Baganda Christians were at war with the Moslems. After six months of fierce fighting Mwanga's Christian army drove out Kalema and he once again ruled Buganda. However, Kalema's army had not been decisively defeated and after re-organising themselves fought back and once again forced out Mwanga.

This time Mwanga's plight coincided with the arrival of the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) and he immediately contacted them through Fr. Pere Lourdel (his friend and advisor at this time); who spoke to their leader M. Jackson. Although Jackson did not give a straight forward reply to Mwanga's appeal there were signs guaranteeing assistance to him. He sent the company's flag along with some form of message. For the next three months however nothing was heard from Jackson as he was on a hunting expedition which seemed to imply that he was not interested in Ugandan affairs. While Jackson was silent other developments were taking place, notably the German delegation which visited Mwanga while he was in exile. They were led by Dr. Karl Peters and their desire was to secure Uganda for Germany. So desperate was Mwanga to have someone help him back to his throne that he was quick to exploit this opportunity. He organised his army and struck back at Kalema whom he decisively defeated in 1890. This marked the end of the Christian/Moslem war in Uganda. As history repeated itself Mwanga ordered the massacre of all the Moslem chiefs just as Kiwewa had done to Mwanga's heathen chiefs earlier on. The Christian victors shared among themselves the abandoned chieftainships. However this turn of events did not guarantee "eternal peace" as another war was already brewing, only this time it would be Christian against Christian.

The Power struggle continues, Anglicans go to war against Catholics.

Alliances had been made and alliances had been broken. The Moslems and Christians had allied against the Traditionalists, and this alliance had succeeded, but soon after their victory the two groups fell apart. In like manner the Anglicans and Catholics

succeeded together against the Moslems and this time it was their turn to disintegrate. Interestingly the two leaderships had warned their followers not to repeat the history of the 1870s now that they were united, though by way of a crisis. Unfortunately the very people, especially those in leadership, soon revived their age-long hatreds back in Europe where religion and politics were inextricably mixed.²¹

The situation was made even worse by the scramble for Africa that was sweeping across the continent, where European Countries wanted to assert their superiority. Religion therefore was associated with the power and status of the sending country in which case the power struggle between the French Catholics and English Protestants was inevitable. We observe that the struggle entered another phase when the Germans were anxious to have the agreement signed. Mwanga, confused and failing to have a preference, sought the advice of his close allies the Catholics. Probably knowing they had little political support from their country, they advised Mwanga to sign the agreement with the Germans on one hand and to do away with the British. On the other hand closer co-operation with the Germans was more likely than with the British. In fact they had got on well together at the south of the lake in Tanganyika earlier on.

As expected the British were not at all happy at how things were evolving. In this regard they reminded Mwanga about the IBEAC flag which he had received from Jackson prior to Karl Peter's coming. They assured him that the company was on behalf of the British Government going to protect Uganda and just then, as Karl Peters was leaving the palace, Jackson arrived with his companion Mr. Gedge and presented the same opinion. Also Jackson added, the king should surrender all his taxes to the company and in turn the latter would ensure payments of all allowances to the king and his chiefs. Indeed, Mwanga influenced by his Catholic friends would not agree, but the Protestant chiefs, desperate to have English protection, were all too ready to accept.

Bishop Alfred Tucker, the second Bishop of Equatorial East Africa comes to Uganda (1890); the struggle reaches its peak.

Bishop Tucker arrived at a time when his services were most needed. The years preceding his coming had made life very difficult in Uganda. There was war after war, and famine because people could not work on their shambas (smallholdings), a loss of animals because of the overgrown bushes which bred all types of pests, a lack of any proper government help to farmers, but above all a divided society.

On the surface the Protestants and Catholics seemed to get on well together. This was prompted by the impending attack from the ousted Moslems who were now regrouping in Bunyoro. Inside, the story was quite different and the Catholics using their privileged position in Mwanga's reign were accumulating guns to establish themselves forcefully. On the other hand however, just nine days before Tucker's arrival Captain F. D. Lugard had surprisingly set up his camp on Kampala hill. Lugard came to Uganda to make a treaty under which IBEAC would protect Uganda on behalf of the British Government. He was a man of strong personality, feared to possess every kind of ammunition and prepared to fight against anybody he deemed to be his opponent.

In Lugard's pocket was a copy of the Anglo-German treaty which gave Britain the right to protect Uganda. On presenting that document Lugard aroused much more fury than had been expected. Mwanga, who by this time thought probably he could get away from the British and therefore forget their threat for killing a Bishop, now became even more worried, for they were here to stay. The French missionaries were equally disorganised because they could not see any way to get round their rivals thereafter. Surprisingly even the Anglicans were not at ease with Lugard because believing, that he had the capacity to fight his opponents, the Anglicans had expected him to take a tougher line with the Catholics. Instead he promised a fair deal and acted as a neutral person between Anglicans and Catholics. In fact the mood which Lugard exhibited and the tact he employed hastened the signing of the treaty which in effect took place just one day before Tucker's arrival.

The morning following Tucker's arrival in Uganda was greeted with enthusiasm and hope for consolidation religiously and militarily, especially on the Anglican side. But it is clear that not only the Catholic party was sceptical of the signed agreement but also the Protestants because Lugard was not tough enough against their rivals. In like manner Lugard was unhappy too because the chiefs could not consult with him but instead went to the missionaries who already operated on grudges and rivalry; this situation was made even more grave because Lugard lacked the language by which to communicate with the chiefs. It is in this respect that the Protestants looked forward to the arrival of Bishop Tucker.

Hardly had Tucker started to address his first congregation than gunshots were heard. Prayers were immediately halted, guns seized, and the Protestants stood ready to counter the expected Catholic aggression. Fortunately it was soon found out to be a false alarm and signals were sent to resume prayers.

Bishop Tucker spent his first days trying to build bridges between the two factions, separating religious matters from political issues. He wanted missionaries in both groups to deal only with religious matters while Lugard and the King sorted out issues relating to politics. However he allowed consultations to be sought wherever they were due.

The IBEAC Withdraws, Uganda becomes a Protectorate (1894).

The time came when the company could no longer sustain Uganda as it had become bankrupt, and moreover the British Government would not assist it in any way financially. What the company did receive from the government at home was a licence to operate, in which case Britain was exercising imperialism on the cheap.²² The company's withdrawal was perceived as a pointer to fresh turmoil. While it administered Uganda there was calm in the country, which now was threatened by the plans to withdraw. On this note Bishop Tucker, a man who had always hated active involvement in politics found it inevitable not only to participate but to play a prominent position. Just then, Sir Gerald Portal was sent by the British Government to

assess the situation. Probably Portal may have been reluctant to recommend Uganda for a protectorate but Tucker prompted him to do so without any further delay. Portal was urged to take over Uganda as a British Protectorate soon after the company's withdrawal.

That was the only way to secure not only the future of CMS in Uganda, but also enhance the growth of the young church and consolidate the peace which then reigned in the land. Tucker and Portal spent sometime assessing the situation together, until the end of March 1894. On 1 April 1894 (at 12.0'clock) the company flag was lowered and the Union Jack was raised in its place, Uganda was at last a British Protectorate.

Portal was a man of experience. He had administered another British Protectorate of Zanzibar since 1890. However, it is interesting to learn that he practised two different political systems in these protectorates. In Zanzibar he did not practise a dual system. In this way the British from the very beginning organised Government Services from within the Sultan's established administration rather than alongside it.²³ In Uganda they allowed a measure of autonomy to the local government while establishing above them a completely new parallel structure concerned about new developments. This was an indirect rule.

Portal offered to work with Tucker in his political endeavours arising from the gentility, warm heartedness and commitment the Bishop had exhibited. They vowed to consolidate the peace which looked very fragile as a pre-requisite for any other developments. And following this commitment, a meeting for both Catholics and Protestants was convened on 7 April to reconcile the two groups. Tucker represented the Protestant side while Bishop Hirth, the French Catholic Bishop, represented the Catholics.

In this meeting Portal revealed Tucker's aim of peace even if it meant losing some of the Protestant territorial possessions. Following this meeting the whole county of

Buddu was surrendered to the Catholics. Also they were given Sese Islands. To this effect the Catholics now had access to the capital and were no longer on the periphery. The intention of giving them Sese Islands was to facilitate the water transport and the Fishing Industry to all parties. At this meeting mention was also made regarding the leadership in Buganda Government and in the army and marine. Therefore it was agreed to produce in each a 'Katikiro' (Prime Minister), a 'Mujasi' (Army Commander) and a 'Gabunga' (Commander of the King's Marine). Tucker consented to all this and further proposed the return of the exiled Kings (Kalema and Kiwewa).

From that day on Tucker upheld that political role of reconciling people. Time and again he met the chiefs to brief them about the developments in the Government, but above all to convince them that they should accept matters as they stood. The Protestant chiefs however, were sceptical about the practicality of the two Prime Ministers: did this mean there were two kings or else, was Bishop Hirth the second king?

Tucker however, had his tension eased and this enabled him to embark on his episcopal work which involved church planting elsewhere in the country. We note however, that even with all these developments the Catholics were far from being happy; they simply hated British rule in Uganda. At this stage according to Kevin Ward, Bishop Hirth, following his outspokenness against the Protestants, was transferred to the German territory and the British missionaries arranged to have the Mill-Hill Fathers, a British based Catholic Missionary Society. These were assigned the missionary work in Eastern Uganda in 1895. This was further intended to correct the misconception that Catholics were basically anti-British.

The protectorate, though agreed and signed, was nevertheless characterised by mutinies and revolts. One such was the Sudanese mutiny commonly referred to as the Nubian Mutiny in 1897. After this Mwanga also staged a revolt in an attempt to win back his sovereignty because he realised he was just a puppet of the colonialists and his people respected him no more. Definitely, the British, ever superior militarily were

able to suppress both the mutiny and the revolt. Mwanga was rounded up and exiled to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. This time he never came back to his kingdom. He was replaced by his one-year-old son Daudi Cwa.²⁴ The missionaries did not however, completely forget him there but followed him up. It was there that he was baptised as a Protestant and given the name of Daniel. It is not absolutely clear whether he gave in his heart to become a Christian. Perhaps as he had done before at Bukumbi, he thought by getting baptised he would convince the missionaries to restore him, and perhaps he realised there was a supernatural power who influenced the course of events to whom he ought to surrender.

While Mwanga was in exile the British signed yet another agreement in 1900 which signified a special relationship between Buganda and Britain until 1955. Since the king was too young to do any effective work the Buganda Government was represented by the three regents, Apolo Kaggwa, Stanlas Muggwanya and Kisingiri.

The Church in the age of sub-imperialism.

Following the 1900 Agreement, there was consolidated peace in Buganda and now attention was directed to other developments. The church sought to expand her mission to other areas of Uganda outside Buganda, and the Government embarked on the infra-structure. Roads were built, bridges were made over some rivers and streams and some swamps were drained. War drums were turned into signal drums to mobilise people to work, pray or read.

One negative effect however, which was characteristic of the prevailing peace then, was lukewarm Christianity. Many people enrolled themselves for baptism while their 'inner persons' meant a different thing altogether. Christianity became superficial in many respects. And this was the problem Tucker faced at this stage; it was a fashion to be a reader and a social privilege to be a Christian and inevitably this type of religiosity brought scandal to the church.²⁵

As an attempt to arrest the situation Tucker embarked on the ordering of the life of the church in Uganda to meet the new conditions. However because he could not completely leave politics he charged his missionary staff with the responsibility of re-orientating the Christian community to the ideals of the church. Also he charged them with the task of opening up new stations in other areas outside of Buganda.

Opening new stations was not very easy, however, for the missionaries had to use the Baganda to help them with this task. In the first place they did not have enough staff themselves and also they lacked money to do all the work required. In this regard they employed the Baganda teachers, evangelists and administrators to do the work very cheaply. This was the beginning of sub-imperialism which served as an advantage for the Baganda to assert their superiority over other tribes of Uganda and had serious consequences as we shall see later. As expected the Baganda projected their religious and political grievances on to other people they evangelised and/or ruled over. These were jealousies and hatreds they had inherited from their predecessors, the European missionaries and administrators and were spreading throughout the land. It was at this time that Buganda extended her territory into Bunyoro.

On one hand this was allowed by the British as a form of punishment to the "Omukama", the king of Bunyoro, because of his earlier resistance which however, came to no avail. The relationship of Buganda and Bunyoro had been characterised by warfare and hatred for a long time, therefore both Baganda and the British, apparently had the same interest in subduing the Banyoro. In this way the expansion of Christianity/administration provided a fertile ground for this manoeuvre; consequently Bunyoro saw an influx of Baganda adventurers, opportunists, traders, administrators, settlers and evangelists. Of course this did not worry the British at first because they desperately needed Baganda agents to assist them in the enormous work they saw ahead of them ranging from evangelism to administration, civilisation to education. In this way many Baganda became chiefs in Bunyoro and Ankole.

In Eastern Uganda Semei Kakungulu (a Muganda Protestant soldier) established a kingdom and trained his own army after falling out with the Prime Minister Apolo Kagga of Buganda. This was an opportunity for him to exploit. Kakungulu and his group went to the east purporting to advance Christianity, whereas in fact inside themselves they thirsted for land and power, which indeed they secured in Bukedi and Teso. Christianity in that region followed a similar trend; the main driving force was still the Kiganda culture dressed up in Christianity. Luganda language has for a long time dominated the worship and academic spheres in Eastern Uganda. Most people in that region just as in Western Uganda, belong to the same big ethnic group the “Bantu group”, and so have similar dialects to Luganda. In this way the Basoga, Bagweri, Balamogi, Banyole and Bagisu (see Map in appendix) all found it easier to adopt to unite them, in liturgy and in schools. Surprisingly enough even the Iteso and Jopadohla, from the Luo group also adopted it easily, perhaps they had no choice.

Unlike in Bunyoro in the East people accepted Kakungulu’s decisive defeat and self-imposed rulership and remained calm on the surface though inside hatred and disgust apparently took root as we shall see later. From that time of sub-imperialism a form of greeting has evolved “mulembe gwa Kakungulu” the “days” of Kakungulu.

Luganda translated bibles and prayer books were accepted and stayed in use for a long time until in the 1950s when the Iteso made their own translation; others have followed in their footsteps. Perhaps it is important to observe here that this region should have been predominantly Catholic because from early on the Mill Hill Fathers had been allocated to evangelise this area; but because they were without political or commercial power very few people were attracted to them. For that reason they were nick-named “Ekitalya Bwami” the mission that does not obtain chieftainships.²⁶

It is not the purpose of this thesis to discredit everything done during that period of sub-imperialism. True there was political, social and cultural arrogance as inherited from the forbears of Christianity and the colonial agents. However, some serious work should also be noted. There were some remarkable men who in every way

concentrated only on the missionary cause. High tribute for example goes to Apolo Kivebulaya who lived a celibate life for the sake of Christ, as opposed to the Kiganda cultural norms. Also Kitagana is praised for his exemplary life; abandoning his five wives on converting to Christianity and devoting his whole life to evangelism.²⁷ Kivebulaya is well known in the Protestant sphere for evangelising Toro in 1895 and later Mboga Zaire; while Kitagana was outstanding on the catholic side in Ankole and Kigezi.

It is worth noting that just as the missionaries and the colonial administrators were resisted, also sub-imperialism was resisted, and the consequences of poor inter-tribal relations have persisted to this day in the Ugandan society as we shall see in chapter three. In this connection the "Nyangire rebellion" of 1907 resulted. This was a clear message to the British that the Banyoro were sick of Baganda impositions. On this note all Baganda chiefs and agents were sacked, ending Baganda direct rule in Bunyoro. It was also intended to check Baganda political, cultural and social influence, as will be discussed later. One lasting effect this rebellion has had on the society of Uganda is that due to the hatred which developed between people of other areas and the Baganda Uganda has never adopted a national language to this day. Before the rebellion the missionaries had started translating the Bible and prayer book into Luganda; having conceived it to be the easiest language for the majority of Ugandans to speak, read and write. But after the rebellion they abandoned the idea and started a Lunyoro-Lutoro translation instead. I asked Nandala, a man from Eastern Uganda, about his attitude towards Luganda, his answer was: "If they looked down upon us without anything distinctive of them, what will happen if their language is adopted as the national language, is this not forcing us to crawl before them?"²⁸

Clearly from what we have seen, the Anglican Church was pre-occupied with the politics of the country though not completely abandoning their primary role. In this way they influenced the monarchies in Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and (Bugisu?). Most of their time was spent organising chieftainships and giving power to those loyal to them, hence to be a Protestant was of paramount privilege. On the other

hand the Catholics who had little or no say in the government concentrated on evangelising the lower strata of the society (the peasants). In fact in areas where group distinctions were so sharp this was well articulated; for example Toro and Ankole the Bairu (peasants) were Catholics while the Omugabe (king) and the ruling class (the Bahima) were Protestants. Following the motive of being a Protestant most of the people practised a superficial form of Christianity until the revival of 1940s and 1950s when the Anglican Church claimed full grip on the Bahima.

In Northern Uganda the situation was much different from the other areas we have seen. That area was evangelised by the Banyoro and the Luo who had lived in

Bunyoro at the time of Baganda evangelisation/sub imperialism. In many respects Bunyoro is not only close to Acholi and Lango (Northern Uganda) as seen from the map in the appendix, but also claims some ancestral ties with these communities.

Unfortunately however, Christianity at first did not claim enough ground in the North. This can be interpreted against the background of the church being so divorced from the local administrative policies; for instance the British Commissioner J. H. Driberg hated the church to the extent that he spared no effort in burning down any church built close to the administration premises.²⁹ At the same time chief Awic of the Payira clan hated Europeans generally though he pretentiously invited missionaries in 1903. In Lango chief Odora of Aduku welcomed Missionaries with the aim of using them to establish him as king over the Langi people. However since history could not recall of any king in Lango since time immemorial the British refused to be lured into such a move of creating new kingdoms in Africa. If anything they had been exploited long enough, in Buganda, Bunyoro, Nigeria and South Africa; all these were good examples.

Given this situation the missionaries faced a dilemma and for some time there seemed no way forward. The missionaries' failure in the North can also be interpreted on the observation that unlike in Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole whereby there was

organised rulership and people lived in a cohesive society in the East and the North that was not the case. In the former category when the king and his assembly accepted the message every one of his subjects was expected to follow suit. To a greater extent the missionaries succeeded in the East because Kakungulu introduced a similar system when he established himself as king in that region. But in the North, where the Baganda never reached and indeed no one else introduced the system, the situation was much harder for the missionaries.

Other Developments Initiated by the Church and Colonial Government.

The Church was not only involved in making kings and chiefs alongside its main cause of evangelising the country. Together with the colonial government they initiated other programmes to enhance the development of the people of Uganda. Among many other things they embarked on soon after the 1900 Uganda agreement were education, medical services and the economy. I will be returning to the issue of education later but it suffices to say at this stage that education was envisaged as one of the chief weapons to use to wield denominational-political power and it was carried out on a competitive basis between the Protestants and the Catholics. The good gained, the effects caused and the impact made by the missionary initiated education we shall explore later in chapter IV. On the medical side the government appointed Sir Albert Cook to organise it and by 1897 some form of medical services were in place. This greatly improved the lives of people, though few visited the Muzungu's (European's) clinic at first since they still preferred their own local medicines. For their part the missionaries and the colonial government discouraged the converts to use those medicines which they regarded as witchcraft and local medicine men were referred to as witch doctors as chapter II will show.

On the economic agenda the two institutions introduced an agricultural economy. In 1903 for example C. K. Borup from CMS introduced cotton to Uganda. Alongside it coffee was also introduced. It should be observed that the Anglican based economy differed from the Catholic based economy. The Anglicans together with their partners the administrators preferred a peasant economy in which people would grow crops

over which they had no control, crops which only promoted European industries abroad, hence exploitative from start to finish; the Catholics went in for industrial self-sufficiency like brick making. They concentrated on things most needed by the Ugandan society. This is not the place to criticise but it should be mentioned that the Anglicans together with the colonialists helped create what Kevin Ward has called “Small scale African capitalism” which favoured a few elites and exploited the majority of the population, as we are to see later. Because the Catholics lacked political power their initiatives to encourage people to work together were never recognised.

1910-1960: Religious dissatisfaction, the rise of Independent Churches and the spirit of Nationalism.

Many of what we call Independent Churches did not have room in the Uganda of yesterday. This was because when Christianity and Islam first came to Uganda they were embraced as “Faiths of the people”; such that one was identified by the faith he professed. Also we must not forget that these faiths first came to cohesive societies where ethnic fibres were very strong. It was an offence for one to detach one from the rest of the society. At the head of this society was the king assisted by his lukiiko (assembly). For that matter therefore if the king was converted to, or convinced that a certain religion was the right one, all his subjects followed suit without necessarily seeking to know the implications. It is therefore on this background that Independent Churches could not penetrate a closed society like this one.

As time went by however, there were some dissatisfactions here and there with the traditional Anglican church and some people sought to begin their own churches. One of these were “The Mengo Gospel Mission Church” which was started by Marbel Ensor. It was a break away from the Church Missionary Society; and the reason for its inception was Mabel’s disapproval of the Anglican church’s active involvement in politics coupled with the mistreatment of women in the mission structure.³⁰

Around 1914 another church “The Church of the Almighty God” was formed. It was started by Joswa Kate Mugema a saza (county) chief of Busiro and head of the Nkima

(Monkey) clan.³¹ The major reason for their breaking away from the Anglican church was their protest against the idea of Christians using medicines, when at the same time missionaries spoke ill of the traditional medicines. Also they hated the idea of the church's insistence that people must be instructed before baptism. To them "faith" was enough to heal the sick and to instruct and guide the convert, hence the name "Almighty God". They also encouraged the incorporation of traditional practices such as polygamy.³² Following their practice of baptising without any preparation, this Church was soon stormed with criticisms leading to their nickname "Diini ya Laisi" "the religion on the cheap".³³ The criticisms did not only come from the church, but equally the government was dismayed by their teaching that even animals in the region did not require vaccination. The government could not stand idly by and see all the animals in the region wiped out by controllable diseases; and the solution was to roundup the leaders and deport them. This apparently marked the end to "The Church of the Almighty God" in Uganda in 1929; and the few members who remained went into hiding. Today there is hardly any adherent to that church remaining.

Two years before the preceding church met its unhappy end, another church called "The Seventh-Day Adventist Church" was founded. This one emphasised strict Jewish Law and the observance of Sabbath worship; in which case it was associated with the "Zionists". Following this unfortunate connotation, it was banned in 1972 by ex-president Idi Amin and consequently went into hiding until 1979 when he was overthrown. It is one of the active churches in Uganda today.

Another church to be formed in the same decade and incidentally which proved to be the biggest and most influential of all the newly formed churches was "The African Greek Orthodox Church" in 1929. This was also started by a chief called Rueben Spartas. The cause for its founding was the protest against Anglican paternalism hence this statement from its leader. "This is a Church for all right thinking Africans, men who will be free in their own house, not always being thought of as boys".³⁴ This Church has attracted supporters to this day.

Later some other independent churches sprang up like the Pentecostal churches. The major aim for those churches was to fill in the gaps which the mainstream churches like the Anglican and Catholic churches left wanting. It was evident that those churches for instance discriminated against polygamists and suppressed women's participation. These churches therefore, following the African culture rose up to cater for those who were rejected. In Kigezi Bishop Ruhindi reacted to these churches by initiating the "Garuka" "Come as you are" system.

In summary Independent Churches basically sprung up due to a variety of motives: for instance dissatisfaction with what the traditional Church was offering to incorporate cultural traditions, the emancipation of women, or because of religious piety. It is also equally true that the wind of "nationalism and the desire for self-identity" had started blowing stronger.

A parallel situation can be drawn from the South African experience especially as regards paternalism. When the Zulus in 1896 discovered that they were being left outside by the missionaries in decisions pertaining to their own Church, they formed their own Churches thus "Congregational Church".³⁵ The only promising situation in early missionary times in Uganda in 1891, where the indigenous people were ordained was when there was a crisis. A number of missionaries had died of malaria, others were ill and sought to return to England, whereas some others offered to resign altogether; Bishop Tucker had no choice but to call upon local Ugandans to the ministry.³⁶

The spirit of Nationalism did not only end with the formation of different Churches but also swept the political arena. I will discuss this section in detail in chapter III under church and politics.

That was a brief historical background to show the beginnings of Christianity, religious conflicts and colonialism in Uganda. My main concern was to show how the missionaries got very involved in Buganda and later in Ugandan politics. I have also

highlighted how the missionaries and colonialists used the Baganda leading to sub-imperialism and its effects on those areas where it was practiced. I have also mentioned in passing other developments to which I will turn later, and finally I have shown the discontent which emerged in the Church leading to a wave of nationalism both religiously and politically. Some of these we shall see in detail later. Though the background seems to have been dominated by a political agenda, there are other issues at the core of Christianity interacting with the society, for instance the way Christianity expressed itself in the face of the cultural practices and the introduction of missionary education to replace the traditional one.

In my next chapter therefore I will explore in detail Christianity and the cultural practices.

Footnotes

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3. Shepherd, Arthur, *Tucker of Uganda, Artist and Apostle (1849-1914)*, p35.
4. Taylor, John V., '*The Growth of the Church in Buganda*', p36.
5. *Ibid*, p38.
6. Ward, *op.cit.*, p84.
7. *Ibid*, p82.
8. Hastings, Adrian, *The Church in Africa (1450-1950)*, p375.
9. Ajayi, J. F. A., *Christian Missions in Nigeria (1841-91)*, p100.
10. Ward, *op.cit.*, p86.
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12. Ajayi, *op.cit.*, p99.
13. Sundkler, B. G. M., *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, p25.
14. Hinchliff, Peter, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, p10.
15. Shepherd, *op.cit.*, p87.
16. *Ibid*.
17. *Ibid*, p29.
18. Ajayi, *op.cit.*, p109.
19. Ward, *op.cit.*, p88.
20. Shepherd, *op.cit.*, p40.
21. *Ibid*, p43.
22. Ward, *op.cit.*, p90.
23. Low, Anthony, D. and Pratt, Crawford, R., *Buganda and the British Over-rule 1900-1955*, p293.
24. Kiwanuka, Semakula, *A History of Buganda*, p251.
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26. Ward, *op.cit.*, p95.
27. *Ibid*, p92.
28. Nandala, Richard, *Informant*, 15 August 1996 Kampala.
29. Ward, *op.cit.*, p95.
30. *Ibid*, p101.
31. Low, *op.cit.*, p107.
32. Welbourn, F. B., *East African Rebels*, p41.
33. Ward, *op.cit.*
34. *Ibid*, p102.
35. Sundkler, *op.cit.*, p29.
36. Shepherd, *op.cit.*, p83.

Chapter II

The Church and the Cultural practices in Uganda.

This chapter looks at the way Christianity has interacted with the cultural practices of the Ugandan society since its inception. Firstly it describes the culture of the people before Christianity came and how they clashed later. It also seeks to explore the model operated by the missionaries which in every way was responsible for the conflict. Later, alternative models are suggested in an attempt to forge the way forward where neither the Church/Christianity nor the culture is a threat to the other.

(a) The culture into which Christianity came.

The word 'culture' covers a far wider scope than can be covered in this essay. It is according to E. B. Taylor "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a person as a member of society."¹ It is for this reason that I will mention only the four major areas which characterised Ugandan culture. These are religion, marriage practices, rituals and ceremonies, and a passing mention about people's social life. For consistency I will use the past tense, not necessarily because those practices are dead.

It was a non-literary culture bound together by its beliefs and customs, values and morals which were passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth. Admittedly much was forgotten or altered in the process, yet that oral tradition has much to commend it in the Ugandan heritage. It is important to note that Ugandan culture, just as elsewhere on the continent, did not have a clear demarcation between the sacred and secular; everything had a religious significance. To this effect John S. Mbiti observes that "religion is closely bound up with the traditional way of African life It dominates the thinking of the African people to such an extent that it shapes their cultures, their social life, the political organisation and economic activities."²

Culture as seen from a religious perspective.

The people of Uganda had a very strong belief in God. He was worshipped through divinities which led many to think that they worshipped 'gods' and not God. Each divinity was concerned with a particular area of operation. For example in Buganda there was a divinity for fertility called 'Nagadya', for plague he was 'Kawumpuli', for hunting 'Ddungu', for the earth 'Kitaka', and for death 'Walumbe'. 'Kibuka' was the divinity for war, elsewhere known as 'Kirabira' or 'Nende', for lakes and rivers the divinity was 'Mukasa', while for the earthquake they had 'Musisi' and for thunder 'Kiwauka'. Each society had different names for its divinities.

It is said that these divinities were at one time human beings who rose to positions of power. They became heroes and because of their contribution to society they were deified after death. And truly there are oral traditions regarding each of them. Names of these divinities are still given to people today. The idea behind it is that young people can then emulate the heroism of the particular divinities. There were many other divinities depending on every societal and life experience.

God was also venerated through fetishes (Mayembe), amulets (Nsiriba) and ghosts (Emizimu). Uganda had national and private divinities. While the former fell directly under the charge of the king (where there were kings) or chief (where clans were organised by chiefs), the latter was the family's concern. The king therefore appointed priests for the national divinities, who appeared from time to time before him with objects of veneration.³ This reveals the way national worship was controlled and maintained; the king was the supreme priest or overseer who made sure that his subjects recognised and perpetuated that worship. The king also had the power to demolish the temple of any divinity that vexed him. The chief role of the national divinities was to protect the king and the state. If on the other hand the king vexed the divinity he sent presents to propitiate it. The responsibility the king had over religion in his kingdom should remind us of Mwangi's act of abandoning both Christianity and Islam to go and revive his heathen worship.

The king at certain intervals offered sacrifices for his people and even led prayers at the national shrine. This is exactly the same practice Mwanga wanted to continue in the mosque though he was not circumcised.

The people also recognised some private divinities which were directly connected to individual clans and families. In each clan the head was the chief priest of these divinities, whereas down at the family level the family head took up that role. In today's understanding these were guardian angels of the respective clans and families. The most important of these were 'Nambaga', Nabuzaana' and 'Nagawonyi' in Buganda, and 'Katigo' and 'Lubanga Mwoti' in Bululi and parts of Bunyoro. In every way the idea of God was firmly rooted in people's lives, as is suggested by the different names by which they were called across the country; he was called 'Katonda' the creator, or 'Lugaba' the provider, or 'Liso Ddene' the big eyed one, in Buganda, and in Bunyoro and Ankole he was 'Ruhanga,' one who spreads the heavens. The Basoga called him 'Kibumba' one who moulds, in Lango they called him 'Agabepenyi' the supplier or 'Ngacwec' the creator, and in Acholi and Kumamu they called God 'Rubanga' the Almighty God.⁴

Places of worship and religious personages.

There were national shrines and temples for national divinities and at the lower level they had clan and family shrines. Family shrines normally were situated in the backyard of every home where they varied from a huge grass thatched house to a tiny or symbolic hut into which nobody could fit. Also other shrines were symbolised by mere objects; these could be found anywhere, even inside the house, under beds in baskets or placed in one corner of the house. And when time for worship came they could be brought forward to inspire the worshippers with the sense of sacredness.

At the clan and national levels shrines were much bigger and remarkable. These included huge grass thatched temples, and groves, rocks, caves, hills and even mountains. Some were located under huge trees or by the waterfalls. Some of

these places still convey a sense of sacredness to this day by their remnants of sacrifices, food stuffs, broken pots and coins. Given the fact that these places were set apart for divine activities, nothing profane was done there. For example neither a bird or an animal nor a human being could be killed if it was found hiding in those places unless taken there for sacrifice.⁵

Prayer was not confined to places of worship. To a Ugandan any place and any time could be used for prayer because wherever one was there also one's religion was. For that matter it did not require missionaries to preach to them what to do in their native religion, since they grew up knowing their obligation - it was a religion imbedded from birth. And most importantly they did not require long prayers; just a word or a gesture would do as long as one communicated with one's creator.

There were indeed special people trained for special responsibilities; and these were the religious personages. These included priests, prophets/foretellers, diviners/seers, medicine men/women, elders, rain makers and of course rulers as already noted. Some of these needed intensive training which was done by apprenticeship, and others were simply appointed depending on need. Some had combined offices. Some temples were run by as many as four priests and each of them had a particular role to play. For example the chief priest was concerned with the reception of persons who sought the divinity's wise counsel. He therefore received from them the offerings brought to the divinity which he offered to the divinity as well as stating the cause of the visit. The divinity then spoke through the priest and the message was interpreted to the enquirers by the medium.⁶

It was the responsibility of the priest to ensure the good conduct of worshippers or enquirers. For instance they had to leave their sandals at the entrance and had to sit up properly on the floor and never to squat in the temple/shrine. The priests however had servants to help out with temple work. In some temples women were not allowed to enter. But in others they even took up the role of a medium which

they shared with men. And where a woman was selected to be a medium, she was separated from men and lived a life of chastity. She was therefore referred to as a wife of the divinity. All priests and mediums were highly respected in the society and offending them sometimes was punishable by death. In some places, priesthood was hereditary, but not always; clans chose their own priests whose approval only came from the king.

As regards dress, priests had a uniform which was not supposed to be worn outside of the temple. This was made out of bark cloth. They also wore cowry shells on their arms and sometimes on their legs as well. They had a wooden staff on which also was put cowry shells (ensimbi) fetishes, feathers (ebyoya) and sometimes bones (amagumba).

I cannot mention in detail what each of the religious personages did and how. But I will mention in brief something about the diviners and the medicine men/women. True, these were not so close to the priests, yet their role was of paramount importance. This group included both men and women, unlike the priesthood which sometimes excluded women. These people were more feared than the priests and mediums. They were believed to have supernatural powers to take away life. Through their training, to use John Roscoe's words, "they knew how to diagnose illness, prescribe for the sick and also understood how to deal with sickness caused by ghosts; they were surgeons and saved lives of men who had been wounded in battle or whose limbs had been amputated by their masters for some offence and therefore who would have died from loss of blood had not these men come to their aid."⁷ Given therefore their role in the society, they were respected and feared by everyone including the priest, mediums, the king and chiefs.

Culture reflected in people's sociability and daily activities.

Ugandans have always been referred to as sociable people. Living on their small plots of land they are always happy to extend the hand of welcome to their visitors.

They have lived a corporate life. They have a saying which is said in different languages but expresses their hospitality and sociability. For instance the Basoga say “Munyumba muzira njira”, and the Banyala and Baluli “Omunyumba ndomu muwanda” the Baganda “Munju temuli kubo” and the Banyoro “Omunju tiharumu muhanda”; they all mean that there is no road in the house and that therefore whoever comes in must be welcomed and entertained. This, and many other wise sayings, proverbs, maxims and riddles constitute a rich supply of Ugandan philosophy.

A visitor coming into the house was welcomed by the present of boiled and dried coffee berries or a calabash of native beer depending on which part of the country one went to. That was always followed with food and drinks which included juices and beer. The drinking of coffee and tea is a later development which came with the advent of European colonisation.

The Ugandan society paid great respect to women. Men did not greet women in a hurry; they stopped, bowed low and greeted them. In turn the women either knelt or sat down to greet men. In fact if one was in a hurry one said to the other “I am sorry I cannot greet you”. And that was understandable, though today this practice of greeting is seen as wasting a lot of time.

Regarding their recreation activities, they had a number of things to do to amuse themselves. These included boat racing, wrestling and ‘Omweso’ an indoor game. Hunting was a dual activity, intended for amusement and as a way to get meat.

Commercially they traded among themselves and they used the barter system. Later this system was replaced by a form of currency, first with the ivory disc (essanga) then the blue bead (ekibira) and thereafter the cowry shells (ensimbi). Asian traders later brought in the rupee which was then replaced with cents and shillings in the modern times. Commodities which dominated their markets depicted their industry: crop farming, animal husbandry, smithing, hunting and

fishing. Markets were flooded with cows, goats, sheep (and their meat), fowls, fish, eggs, salt (from Lake Katwe), sweet potatoes, peas, beans (of various kinds), plantains (also of various kinds) sugar cane, pottery, knives and spears, axes and hoes, ropes and baskets, mats and barkcloths and native beer among other things.⁸ Prices were regulated by demand. Markets were everywhere but to open up one the vendor required permission from the king and the chief on whose land it was situated. There were big markets at the borders of kingdoms and chiefdoms to facilitate trade between any two peoples.

Ugandans related well with their neighbours, governed by an unwritten moral code. Everyone was a custodian of that moral code and community values were upheld. All acted as policemen and judges guarding jealously what they treasured most in their society. This was because individual crime was very rare in most cases. A crime committed by one person was shouldered by the entire community. For instance if a man murdered someone from another community/tribe, the entire society from which the murderer came was held responsible. For that matter everyone was vigilant to safeguard the integrity of the community. To that effect the Baganda have a saying “omulya mamba aba omu navumaganya ekika kyona” that is, one man’s crime defiles the entire clan.

The society set up taboos wherever they deemed there was a loophole. For instance pregnancy outside of marriage was unacceptable. In Ankole and Kigezi an offending girl was made to climb a steep hill and roll down to death because she was a disgrace to the community. In Buganda the pregnant girl was sent away from her family until rituals were made to cleanse her and removed the misfortunes from the family. So a girl grew up fearing this embarrassment. Family squabbles were also addressed. If there was persistent misunderstanding between members of the community the clan elders organised a reconciliatory meal to which the two parties were invited and where rituals were performed to bring them together again.

Marriage Practices

Ugandans were a polygamous people and a husband provided a house for each wife which he built facing his own. Then he fenced around the houses. One after the other he invited his wives to his house for a set period of time. Different societies had different titles for the wives. Discussing marriage customs in Buganda Roscoe observes that titles given to wives in that society symbolised their status and role. He cites for example the title for the first wife 'Kadulubare' which revealed her role as the one in charge of all other wives. Apart from that she was also concerned with her husband's fetishes and only she could fulfil the taboos of journeying or going to war. She was greatly respected and entrusted with her husband's secrets. In fact before the husband took another wife she was consulted and the husband always respected her wise counsel.

The second wife was called 'Nassaza'. This one was concerned with the general cleanliness of the family but more so the husband. This included cutting his nails and hair, and most importantly she made sure that those things were well disposed of so that they did not end up in the enemies' hands. If they did the enemy would manipulate them and bring misfortunes to the family. The third wife was called 'Musenero'. This one was concerned with the entertainment desirable to their husband when he came back from a long journey, a hunting expedition or from war. The entertainment included the provision of native beer specially prepared for him under those circumstances. Indeed all the wives had an obligation to grow and cook food and 'Kadulubare' made sure everyone did her part.

In normal circumstances a man had three wives, but could have more if he wanted. A king definitely had more, some of whom were given to him as gifts, others he captured during the war and yet others he got as rewards for valour. The king needed many wives to keep the palace and to entertain the many visitors who came to the palace.

Given the fact that Uganda is composed of many tribes, there are minor differences regarding the details pertaining to marriage contracts but the principles are the same. I will therefore address what seems common to all. Marriage was not an affair to be left to only two individuals, the husband and wife to be. It was a communal affair, and courtship was initiated by the father of the boy. He met the father of the girl and mentioned his concern. Discussing marriage bond negotiations in Acholi (Northern Uganda), here representative of the Ugandan society, J. K. Russell says that once the matter had been agreed and before negotiations got under way, both sides took greater interest to ascertain that "the other was respectable, not quarrelsome, not given to sorcery or under the influence of a malevolent god and lastly healthy."⁹ In fact in Buganda each side demanded to see the young persons naked to ascertain that they were physically all right. At this stage the matter was no longer confined only to two families but two clans.

Thereafter the two groups entered fuller negotiations which ended with the giving of a gift, a sign that the two persons were now engaged. In Acholi it was a Madi hoe and a goat kid. That was followed by the paying of the dowry, a sign that the marriage bond had been made not only between the two young persons but also between the two families, and on a higher level, the two clans. The bridegroom was therefore free to take his bride home.

On the other hand if the boy's side was not wealthy enough to pay the full dowry, the boy was required to work for his future mother-in-law for a set period. In Acholi, given the fact that part of the dowry had been paid the mother-in-law allowed the boy to sleep with his wife while working to complete the dowry. More often than not, the girl became pregnant, which ended the boy's work. The two were quickly sent away to their home until the wife delivered. The husband might be required back to complete his work, but in most cases his clan would assist him, especially now that they were certain the woman was fertile.

There are many interesting points in the arranged marriages, some of which we have already seen, like the corporate responsibility. Another point worth noting is the oath which was taken by the husband-to-be on the day he and his company brought the dowry. The oath demanded that the husband treated his wife well, must not desert her, should not always seek new situations (thus moving from one area to another and so changing chiefs). He was also warned not to injure their daughter or even kill anyone and so prompt retaliation. If that happened they told him, he should not expect to be protected from his in-laws but exposed to justice.

The girl for her part “promised to be faithful, to cultivate and cook food for him and his people and to look after his interests”.¹⁰ After the vows the girl was asked if she wished to go with the man, and if she accepted, formal celebrations took their course.

Another point to note was that the girl was expected to be a virgin. In most cases girls married at the age of thirteen, by which time signs of maturity were evident. However, some exceeded that age. In every way the man’s side took greater interest to know that the girl married to ‘their’ son was a virgin. The bark cloth on which they lay on the first night was therefore presented to the elders and if there were blood stains, that was proof enough to show that the girl was a virgin. The elders then organised a goat which they sent along with that bark cloth to the girl’s family/clan. The goat was a token of thanks to the parents/guardians for keeping the girl so well.

On the other hand if the girl was not a virgin, the elders cut a big hole in the bark cloth on which the couple had lain and sent it to the parents of the girl and in Roscoe’s words, that “was a stigma upon the parents or guardians who had not taken care of their daughter”.

Another aspect to note was to do with widows who wished to remarry. A widow was expected to keep the grave of her deceased husband. However if a widow

wanted to get remarried she informed her brother who took up the matter with the clan, and arrangements were made to pay back the dowry to the deceased husband's clan. That was the only way to free her. However, this normally happened in cases where a widow did not have a child, but a 'mother-widow' was not allowed to remarry at all. And that forced many to sleep with men in secrecy. No one seemed to take note of it, but if that widow was found to be pregnant then the man responsible paid a big fine to the deceased man's clan plus a bark cloth and a fowl which together he placed into a little shrine by the deceased husband's grave. That was intended to appease the ghost of the former husband. It is interesting to note that the marriage contract in that respect still held because one was not only married to the individual but also the clan.

I should also mention the significance of the dowry. Definitely it was not intended to purchase the wife's person but rather, as observed by Russell, "It was for recompense to her kin for the children she was expected to bear and who would reinforce the husband's group".¹¹ That was not all; the dowry laid inestimable responsibility on the clan of the girl to guard against anything which might undermine that marriage. And because everyone had a share in one way or the other, from the dowry, by way of eating or drinking or a gift or otherwise, every adult member was equally responsible for the stability of their "daughter's" marriage. The dowry from one of their daughters helped pay the dowry for one of their sons, so it was communal wealth. All in all we note that social, religious and economic factors surrounded the traditional marriage practices. Marriage itself is the core of human existence, for it is on this and child bearing that life hinges. It is the point at which the three generations meet: the deceased, the living and the unborn.¹²

Events, rituals and ceremonies; a rich cultural heritage.

Ugandans are a celebrative people. Almost every event which brought people together did not go without a celebration. And for every event there was a ritual to accompany it. I cannot mention all the events and ceremonies, but will consider

the four major ones. One (marriage) has already been considered. The other three are birth, initiation and death-the rites of passage.

The arrival of a baby into the world of the living was celebrated with much jubilation by both families and indeed clans. On the husband's side this was because a new member had been added to their clan, and on the wife's side because it removed the curse of childlessness, from their daughter. Turning a woman into a mother therefore promoted her status both in her husband's clan and her own clan.

In every clan the birth of a baby was seen as a re-appearance of one of the ancestors. For that matter many babies were given at least a name of a particular ancestor (Okubbula) in addition to other fresh names.

The ritual accompanying the celebration included the keeping of the placenta in a safe place because that marked the link between the child and the mother. In some societies they kept the umbilical cord for future reference. However in some other societies the placenta was thrown in a river/stream while in others it was buried in a marked place. All that was done ritually. Another ritual marked the presentation of the baby to the divinity where also prayers were offered to thank God for the safe delivery and to ask him for the baby's protection against the uncertainties of this world. The baby was also introduced to the society by way of a ritual. The mother was then ritually purified and prepared for yet another baby.¹³ Rituals marking childbirth normally ended with the shaving of the child's head, which meant the child had been separated from its mother, and the re-growth of the hair meant that the child was now ready to begin its own journey in the world. The shaving went hand in hand with ritual washing meant to purify the baby. It is at this stage that the baby was named.

All rituals were punctuated by great feasts characterised by food and drinks, and singing and dancing. Rituals accompanying the celebration of twins or triplets were more elaborate.

Regarding the initiation, we observe that it was an event intended to confirm where one belonged and in some cases to announce one's passage from childhood to adulthood, especially where circumcision was involved. Initiation practices varied from society to society. The Baganda had a profound ritual which they called "Okwalula abaana" - hatching out children. This was done by bringing forward the umbilical cord they had kept earlier. Several of these were smeared with local ghee and placed in a basketful of water specially made for this ritual. If the umbilical cord floated that meant the bearer did not belong to the family and so the mother was required to explain how she got that child. In many cases a mother was rebuked and sent away with her child to look for the rightful father. If on the other hand the umbilical cord sank to the bottom of the water trough, it meant the bearer was a member of the family. An elder was then called upon to give a name to that child which he chose from among the clan names and at least one from the ancestors. The mother was then held with esteem in the clan; if she was a twin mother (that is bearer of the twins) she became 'Nalongo' in Buganda and Busoga and 'Nyinababiri' in Ankole and Bunyoro, while the twins father became 'Ssalongo' in the former, and 'Is'ababiri' in the latter.

Another profound initiation ceremony came from Bugishu and Sebei in the eastern part of Uganda. In these areas circumcision was and still is the norm. While in Bugishu they circumcise only men, in Sebei both men and women are circumcised. The blood which flows from their reproductive organs symbolises the flow of life which according to Mbiti exposes them to that obligation of getting married and procreating children. It is a sign that they are now mature people who must shoulder the responsibilities of society. A lot of time is devoted to the preparation of the initiates who in the course of doing it form a strong bond of contemporaries. The day when circumcision is done is characterised by great festivities. Failure to undergo circumcision earns one a nick name of 'Musinde' which means not only a coward but an immature and unclean individual. One is discriminated against in one's own society, which will make one insecure until the completion of this long-standing cultural ritual.

The last event to look at is death. While the birth of a child is greeted with joy, death is seen as the most sorrowful event. All the rituals done while celebrating a funeral convey a sense of permanent separation, hopelessness and the translation of an individual into a most dreadful state. Some of these involve the smearing of ashes on people's foreheads, shaving off their hair, staying without a bath until the heir is installed, keeping quiet, weeping, wandering lonely, abstaining from sex and fasting; all of which help them to come to terms with the tragedy.

A lot of care is taken performing the rituals involved in their order so as not to offend the deceased otherwise the ghost may haunt the family/clan. These rituals comprise thorough preparation of the corpse: it is washed in traditionally medicated water, it is shaved and the nails are also cut. Some societies go beyond this and smear the corpse with oil then wrap it in bark cloth and bury it. Work is suspended from the time one dies until one is buried which period may take one to two days. They do not keep the body longer than that because without the preservatives and with the heat of the tropics the body quickly decomposes. The immediate family however, can take more days without doing any work even after burial.

The commonest way of disposing of the body is by burial which takes place in the back yard. Some societies however, bury it inside the house where the deceased used to live. Others in the past placed it in the forest away from them. The Banyankole used to migrate immediately after burial to another place, hence running away from the scene of misfortunes.

The disposal of twins or one of them was quite different. They were thrown into a river, others placed them carefully in the forest, and yet others put the body(ies) in a pot which they took far away in a swamp. Thereafter a ritual of purification was made. The burial of a king demanded elaborate care. In areas where there were kings, a jaw was removed from the body and was kept along with the umbilical

cord for future kings to look at and be inspired.¹⁴ Then the body was buried in a royal tomb (amasiiro).

All the rituals involved during a funeral are meant to send off the deceased in a peaceful manner into the next world. Also they are geared to driving away bad omens from among the living. The period for mourning was normally thirty days for a woman and forty for a man, three days for a girl and four for a boy. However this could be extended depending on the deceased's former status in the society. Mourning ended with the instalment of an heir. Only adults were replaced with heirs and only those who fulfilled the societal norms like marriage, circumcision (where it was done), who conducted themselves well and who died a decent death (not those who committed suicide). The confirmation of the heir came from the king who was represented by the clan head. After installing the heir festivities started, for no one was allowed to shed tears again as this would bring misfortune to the heir. New life started again.

That was the culture into which Christianity came. Much of it is still cherished today, which demands careful study to see how Ugandan society can be properly related to Christianity. I will come to that later. But first let me look at the nature of clash and conflict that has persisted between Christianity and the cultural practices.

(b) Christianity Clashes with the Cultural Practices.

It was highly improbable that Ugandan cultural practices would remain intact for ever after the intrusion of foreign civilisations. By the mid-nineteenth century Uganda registered its first ever foreign invasion culturally. This was the Islamic/Arab culture. However, this did not make much impact since by that time Arab Moslems were not violently advancing their faith. Their major aim was geared to the slave trade. Islam therefore remained a faith for very few people; more or less it was a court religion and so most people did not bother about it. It only gained momentum later when the Arabs saw that Christianity was threatening

their trade and therefore their stay. Even then, some of the Islamic practices concurred with Ugandan native practices, notably polygamy.

The real conflict started when Christian missionaries arrived both Anglicans (1877) and the Roman Catholics in (1879). Since then, Ugandan culture has been overturned. F. B. Welbourn, quoting Mair, gives us this description of the situation, “Christian missionaries have set their faces against all patently ‘uncivilised’ aspects of native culture whether or not they were strictly forbidden by the scriptures: they have opposed polygamy, slavery, the payment of bride price, initiation ceremonies, dancing, wailing at funerals and the belief in magic. . . . and the exposure of twins, as being equally repugnant to a civilisation in which mechanical warfare was a recognised institution”.¹⁵

That quotation is clearly indicative of the clash which followed immediately after the arrival of the missionaries. Everything native was attacked, from individual to corporate life, from private to public life, from religious to social and political life, no stone was left unturned. I do not have enough space to cover all these areas as they conflicted with the new civilisations, but it will suffice to mention the commonest and also the easiest prey. These must represent all those aspects of cultural practices caught up in the crossfire between the old and the new civilisations.

Religion and Religious Beliefs.

This was the focus of everything and almost all the other aspects of traditional practices were attacked on the grounds that they were forms of religion/worship. The missionaries thought that the way people worshipped was unacceptable in the sight of God. They accused them of firstly practising polytheism owing to the many divinities that there were. At the same time each society talked of different divinities (otherwise called gods) which completely confused the missionaries. As we have seen above, every activity and area had its own “gods” leading to myriads of “gods”. With this in view the missionaries were quick to condemn the native

way of worship. It was referred to under different names, for instance, 'Heathenism', 'Idol Worship', 'Paganism', 'Animism', 'Fetishism' and 'Spiritism'.¹⁶

As regards 'Beliefs' there was no accommodation for them in the new faith. There were several of these some of which were based on the idea that "objects and natural phenomena were inhabited by spirits or souls".¹⁷ Big trees, ponds, rivers, lakes, stones and rocks all were assumed to harbour spirits and some form of worship normally took place at them. Remains of sacrifices, bits of food, broken pots and pieces of bark cloth were a manifestation of what took place in those areas.

Other beliefs pertained to the beginning of life and only scandalised the Christian missionaries for instance the Baganda spoke of 'Gulu' (Heaven) as the origin of everything who had three children, one daughter Nambi, and two sons, Walumbe and Kayikuzi. One day Gulu's daughter visited the Earth and found a lonely man called Kintu with just his cow. From that cow Kintu had all his livelihood; he ate its dung and drank its urine. He had no other food, as there were no crops at all. Nambi had pity on him and when she returned to her father Gulu, she told him everything she had seen and how she desired to come to and live with Kintu on Earth.

Her father was hesitant at first but then agreed later and told her to come along with some other form of life. This was a chicken along with which Nambi had to carry some millet to feed it. Gulu told Nambi to depart immediately before her brother Walumbe got back from his hunting expedition. Gulu knew his children all too well to identify the good and bad child. Walumbe was not a good child, he had murderous intentions. That is why Gulu told Nambi to go before Walumbe came back, he knew Nambi and Kintu would soon have children and if Walumbe went with his sister he would kill those children.

Indeed Nambi heeded her father's advice and left. But then on her way she remembered she had forgotten the millet for her chicken. She hurriedly went back to fetch the millet and there was Walumbe who definitely vowed to accompany his sister. The two came to earth and met Kintu. Soon Nambi was pregnant and gave birth. Just as was said by Gulu the child died at the hands of Walumbe. Many other children born to Kintu and Nambi also died until finally Nambi went to her father and complained about her brother. Her father told her it was her mistake, but he then dispatched his third child Kayikuzi to chase and arrest his brother Walumbe.

While Kayikuzi was chasing Walumbe the remaining children of Kintu and Nambi were told not to warn Walumbe as he would then hide from his brother. However the children did not heed this advice and seeing Kayikuzi shouted and warned Walumbe who then hid himself in a cave in a place called Tanda, which to this day many people regard as evil. The story continues and tells us that to this day Kayikuzi is still chasing after Walumbe and that one day when he catches him Kintu's children will cease to die. Following from this all Baganda are called the Children of Kintu "Abaana ba Kintu". There is also told in Bugishu a similar story called the 'Story of Kundu'.

The myth of Kintu is the most widely held which explains not only the origins of the Baganda but also their predicaments. It also points to some glimpse of hope in the future while it highlights the purpose God had intended for humanity. It is told from generation to generation. I will come back to it but at this stage it suffices to say that such myths depicting peoples' beliefs were simply swept aside and branded superstitious by the missionaries. For their part they were only interested in encouraging people to listen to Bible stories.

The Veneration of Ancestors, Rituals and the Initiation Ceremonies.

This was another set of cultural practices that clashed with Christianity. The missionaries called the veneration of ancestors as ancestor worship. This was

because they saw people building shrines by the grave sites of their departed relatives and in many cases placing food and drink in those shrines. Also these places were visited regularly, names of the deceased were mentioned time and again, all of which gave the impression that people in Uganda worshipped their ancestors.

Turning to the rituals, missionaries could not be convinced of their importance either. They called them all sorts of names: ritualism, evil, primitive and cultural practices. The missionaries did not only condemn the rituals but also every act accompanying those rituals, even the simple act of wailing at funerals. To this day very strict Christians get vexed when they see people wailing for their dead. All they tell them is that they should be happy because the dead are at last freed from the captivity of this world and have gone to join the Lord, however people cannot be happy when they see their loved ones lying dead. There is therefore a conflict between Christianity and that practice.

When it came to the real issue of performing the funeral rituals the traditional society was in a dilemma. It was one thing to say one was a Christian but another to detach oneself completely from one's society. The fact was that the dead were (and still are) feared as we noted earlier. In this regard every responsible member of the society will strive to fulfil ritual obligations. In this respect it has been observed that even church ministers still perform their cultural rituals in their respective societies, for robing in the cassock and surplice and celebrating mass as a responsible incumbent is one thing and it is another to identify with one's society. In Ugandan culture because no one knows where the dead go and what happens to them after this life, deliberate omission of a single step in the funeral procedures is an offence both to the departed and to the society. In fact the society pays dearly for one person's reluctance to do one's part. That is why the conflict remains unsolved even among the enlightened, since all have strong beliefs in these practices. That was just one of the rituals which clashed with Christianity, and there were many others.

As to the initiation ceremonies I will take one example to represent all the others. This is the circumcision among the Bagishu and Sebei. It was referred to as a primitive and savage practice. The missionaries conceived of it as a mutilation of the body and pouring of human blood. It was condemned as wicked and unchristian and should be stopped to save the society.

However ever since the practice was condemned those societies have never considered a reduction in it, let alone trying to put a stop to it. Every male member in his puberty stage must be circumcised and we must remember that for the Sebei's even women are circumcised. It is a practice which does not discriminate between Christians and non-Christians. People who have been born and grown up abroad, on their arrival back in their native land must undergo circumcision. Indeed the practice is both a cultural pride and an obligation. To this effect Adrian Hastings refers to the two teachers of the Church Missionary Society mission at Buwalasi (Bugishu) who "reneged from their position in order to undergo circumcision".¹⁸ Failure to do so was to risk being called 'Musinde'.¹⁹ The clash continues to this day with Christians insisting that it is a wicked act yet they are unable to stamp it out.

The Healing Practices and Local Medicines.

This presents another area of controversy. Local medicines had been used since time immemorial and brought healing to the sick. It was the usual practice for the medicine men and women to go out and pick up leaves as well as digging up roots which they used to fight illness. True, some medicines were used with bad intentions. However, everything in this regard was banned by the Christian missionaries and branded as 'Magic', witchcraft and sorcery. Instead of local medicine the missionaries introduced their own system of healing and clinics were established. However, not many people went to these clinics in the beginning because they did not trust in 'white medicine' and continued to use their traditional ways, which for Christians had to be done at night when the missionaries and other strict Christians were in bed.

There were other illnesses which the clinics could not tackle; these were 'Spirit' related illnesses. If they went to a mission clinic they were told there was no cure for such an illness since all its symptoms were bizarre to modern science. Such Christians had no choice left to them but to go back to the traditional shrine where the traditional healer conducted a ritual cleansing-service. This involved prayers and invocation of the spirits and thereafter the sick person felt better and satisfied. This is just one example of those areas where the missionaries were unable to offer an alternative but continued to condemn the use of local healing methods and medicines. In fact the counselling offered by the missionaries at the time did not seem to satisfy those counselled.

Polygamy and the Traditional Festivities.

Polygamy is by far the most disputed cultural practice which has continued to receive attention not only from the traditionalists but also from Western Christianity. Polygamy was outlawed to all Christians as it was regarded as a primitive practice which was equated to an act of enslavement on the side of women and therefore unchristian. This practice was thought to be undermining all efforts to create a stable Christian society, not only in Uganda but also elsewhere in Africa. Because of its importance I will discuss it at length.

The Church has always said that Christians must refrain from polygamy. In practice however, it has been extremely hard for people to abandon a tradition they have lived with for centuries. The reality therefore has been that many people double deal. They appear monogamous before the public eye especially before priests, whereas behind the scenes they run concubines or mistresses. In practice this is actually worse than having them openly as housewives who will work together and share their resources.

This double standard it should be understood, was engineered by the missionaries themselves from the very beginning. Quoting R. Sweeting, Adrian Hastings exposes a loop-hole in the early missionaries' approach to the problem, "one wife

for a teacher but a chief should have more". Adrian Hastings adds that "even a rich man who wished to conform to a model of a chief was allowed to have more than one , though the same missionaries greatly admired a chief who remained genuinely monogamous".²⁰

At this stage we must try to identify the underlying causes which have made this practice an outstanding issue in conflict with Christianity.

Polygamy has always been hard to suppress. This is because it is not merely a practice to do with one aspect of life, but covers a wide range of issues: social, cultural, economic and pastoral. Suffice it to say here that many African people (Ugandans included) generally marry more than one wife in the first place in order to have children. This occurs mainly when the first wife is barren. In this respect the Baganda sing; 'Alifa tazadde talizukira' that is 'whoever dies childless will not be resurrected'. When the first wife has not produced a son, this worries the husband since it is culturally incomprehensible to die without a son to carry on one's name in a patrilineal society like the one in Uganda. Girls are discounted in the matter of inheritance.

Marrying several wives is also understood to be a measure to counter the imbalance of the two sexes in the society. This concurs with David Gitari's findings which he bases on the book 'Facing Mount Kenya' by Jomo Kenyatta who says, "there are more women than men in all African societies".²¹ This is indeed true because the infant mortality rate is higher among boys than girls. Therefore, there are not enough men for each woman and moreover living without marriage is tantamount to a taboo as I will show later. Girls are left without a choice except to go as a second or so wife to a willing husband.

It is also an economic issue, in that unlike the Western world where education and one's job may serve as guarantees for a good future life, Ugandan women depend on their husbands for their financial security. Therefore marriage alliances are

sought with good families which explains that age long practice whereby parents identified spouses for their children.²² Even today where some people look out for themselves the search for a future husband is characterised by the idea of an economically sound man. To this effect Christina Oppongo in her research involving university students here quoted by Amba Mercy Oduyoye, says, “Young women of today in Africa still see themselves and are seen by their male counterparts as somehow owned by their men who support them, they are economic attachments to men, and their wage is seen as supplementary”.²³

Unmarried and childless women are accorded low status. In fact women in Uganda grow up knowing that their status resides in getting married and bearing children, Amba Mercy Oduyoye observes for all other women across Africa, that the “Prestige conferred upon a mother cannot be matched by the most successful woman academically or otherwise without children”. This then must explain in part why fathers are reluctant to send their daughters to school beyond primary seven. They believe that only postpones maternity, so endangering one’s future status in the society. Failure to get married does not only affect women but men as well. If a man of a ripe age died without marrying, his funeral would be celebrated as if it was that of a child, he would not have an heir to succeed him and what hurts men deeply is the fear of being forgotten, and forgotten for ever.

Another important factor which has perpetuated polygamy, so keeping the pressure on Christianity to recognise that it is still a live practice, is the refusal to cohabit especially with older women. In fact in the general spectrum, all African men are sexually stronger even in their old age than women. Given this situation therefore, a husband will take a younger woman whose sexual strength is still very sound.²⁴ Through this practice men guard against burning with passion.

Also the traditional society has always been an agricultural society with a life style demanding manual labour. This coupled with child birth almost every year in many cases, and in the absence of birth control means, leaves women undoubtedly much

older than their chronological age. In that way they readily welcome their husband's suggestion to get them juniors who can assist them with domestic work. The junior wives will also act as nurses to the ageing first wife as well as to their husband. Most will facilitate the family by growing food and catering for family interests. All these reasons put together have posed a great challenge to Christianity and kept the conflict very much alive.

Not only was polygamy condemned but also practices which accompany it, for example dowry/brideprice. This was referred to as selling human beings and therefore unethical, a practice which Christians must not do. But a dowry meant a different thing altogether. As we have already seen, it had a positive and profound significance.

Festivals were also attacked by the missionaries. We must remember that every ceremony in Uganda culminated in a form of festival which involved eating and drinking, and singing and dancing.²⁵ Drinking of the local beer was condemned as drunkenness, and Christians were told they could not go to heaven as long as they kept drinking, cf. Prov. 20:1 "Wine is a mocker, strong drink a brawler and whoever is led astray by it is not wise" cf. Lev. 10:9 "And the Lord spoke to Aaron, saying, drink no wine nor strong drink, you nor your sons with you when you go into the tents of meeting, lest you die". Drumming and dancing were also called barbaric acts. Christians were expected to behave decently, that is, modesty was considered to be one of the Christian virtues. In every way therefore cultural practices were criticised and the society was not at peace with Christianity and its forms of civilisation. The situation continues to be much the same especially in the main stream Anglican church and it is the aim of this thesis to see what can be done to retain the two cultures (traditional and Christian) in a constructive tension. We shall now turn to the model that operated and also cite some alternative models in an effort to construct the best possible model for the present as well as for the future.

(c) The Missionary Model: an assessment.

It is evident from above that the two cultures of Christianity and traditional culture, could not follow the same path. The reason for this was the model operated by the missionaries. This was a 'European Christian culture' model which rejected anything to do with the society's customs and achievements.

Using this model, in conjunction with the then Victorian concept whose notion was that Africa generally was a world without civilisation, culture or religion, missionaries sought to rid Uganda of its traditional values and religious concepts. In a way they wished to have a "clean plate on which to put the new faith".²⁶ The consequences arising from this model left polygamy forbidden to Christians, magic and the old way of worship outlawed, the traditional way of healing condemned; in fact the entire culture in Uganda was thrown into jeopardy.²⁷

Evidently it was not the Christian faith rejecting the Ugandan culture, but the Western Christian culture conflicting with the Ugandan native culture. To this effect John S. Mbiti highlights the areas of conflict which include the "rituals for instance where offerings to the departed were concerned, the initiation rites and African marriage customs, sorcery and evil magic, healing practices and approach to problems of misfortune and suffering".²⁸ Rejecting almost everything as they did, they delivered a whole new package of Western contents including social and political baggages. In that way whoever became a Christian was exposed to the English/European language, table manners, dress fashions and above all European or Jewish name. All this was to fulfil what is contained in that mentality "that Semitic or Western religions (Christianity, Judaism and Islam) were supreme in religion and culture and possessed the highest truths and oldest as well as the best philosophy".²⁹

While it is true that some of the forebearers of this Western Christian civilisation to Africa were unconscious of the model they were operating, there is evidence that many were. For example back in eighteenth-nineteenth centuries in Europe some

people strongly believed in a three-agenda mission; to “Christianise” to “commercialise” and to “civilise,” all of which were considered lacking on the Africa continent, Uganda inclusive. Some others did not mind whether people were really converted or not. To them what was important to impart wholesale the Western civilisation to the primitive people of Africa. One of the chief exponents of this mentality was Daniel Defoe who explicitly stated “in order to enable the primitive races of Africa to live like us, it does not quite matter whether or not one is really converted through instructions but to incorporate our people as one nation”.³⁰

In his introduction in the Primal vision, John V. Taylor presents an interesting discussion pertaining to the notion of inculturation. He looks at the period extending over four centuries from 1500 as a time in which the “expansion of Christianity coincided with the economic, political and cultural expansion of Western Europe”. He has called this the period of “aggressive attack on the African way of life”.

He further observes that throughout that period “Western civilisation and Christianity were taken for granted to be the two aspects of the same gift which missionaries were commissioned to offer to the rest of mankind”.³¹ J.V. Taylor however, does not condemn them and is ever prepared to see a positive dimension. In whatever way they did it, consciously or not, their work still stands out distinctively in that everywhere they went there is a community of Christians who profess one common faith. He therefore salutes them for advancing the cause of Christianity which invites its adherents into one family.

F. B. Welbourn is another of the historians who while sharing the same view as J. V. Taylor and saluting the early missionaries for their endeavours, yet holds them responsible for the unfortunate situation which followed their arrival in lands outside of Europe. He says, indeed “missionaries differ from other Europeans especially in their emphasis on total commitment to Christ, yet it is true that early

missionaries were wholehearted in their presentation of Western culture in what they believed was its best form". F. B. Welbourn believes it was only the later missionaries who having been influenced by anthropology and doubts about the permanence of Western civilisation were able to distinguish between what was purely Christian and what was merely Western. He, however envisages a problem of drawing a line between the two. To a greater extent therefore, both the early and later missionaries still share that colonial mentality that "man must put the world in order, and this determination has the compelling power of a religion whose prophet is the European".³²

Following that line of thought, the missionaries saw it as their obligation not only to make people Christians but also to use European medicine, grow foreign crops, use improved means of agriculture and European forms of government, hence the CMS relentless efforts to persuade the British Government to take over Uganda.³³

It was that model which sought to replace almost everything with the new that both kings Muteesa I and Mwanga of Buganda and Kabalega of Bunyoro resisted. It should be remembered that Muteesa I was never converted, despite the fact that he invited the missionaries. This must be attributed to what he saw as conflicting with his traditional way of life. And Mwanga on his part time and again referred back to his heathen worship. He hated the missionaries to such an extent that he banished Alexander Mackay from the capital. His acceptance and co-operation with the Catholics had nothing to do with religious conviction but to solicit military aid to fight back against his enemies. Mwanga was only baptised in exile in a state of despair and not willingly.³⁴

In modern times (1960s and 1970s) Uganda has seen many other strong pro-Ugandan culturalists. These were championed by a university professor who detested that process of inculturation to the extent that he changed his name from 'Peter Okot' to 'Okot P'bitek'. He further protested against the entire systems of worship as inherited from the missionaries. Many others are re-considering their

Christianity in modern Uganda, hence the sprouting of independent churches and re-visitation to traditional practices in some cases.³⁶ Okot P'bitek was not alone in Africa or in Nigeria for example, 'John Brown Vincent' in defiance had already changed his name to 'Mojola Agbebi'. In every case the latter names signified an appreciation of their cultural heritage and real desire to advance Christianity along those lines. Mojola Agbebi sealed his act with this comment: "to render Christianity indigenous to Africa, it must be watered by native hands, pruned with native machetes and tended with native earth It is a curse if we intend for ever to hold at the apron strings of foreign teachers, doing the baby to aye".³⁶

The strength of their model.

The strength of the missionary model of 'Western Christianity against African culture' operated in Uganda and elsewhere lies in its capacity to create a uniformity. In all the areas they went Christians behaved the same. For instance there was a common faith.³⁷

Another strength is to do with avoidance of confusion. There is no risk of syncretism. It is a model of puritanism which discards first hand anything which does not agree with it. It agrees with the Biblical teaching of 'new wine to be put in new wine skins', and the scientific principle which states that 'impurities lower the boiling point'. Therefore to avoid the wine skins from bursting one must use new wineskins and in order to keep the temperature high one must avoid mixing the contents with impurities.

Another strength which was actually very advantageous to the early missionaries was the ease with which they were enabled to monitor their progress. This is because their starting point was simply from scratch (because everything else was disregarded). And so every day exhibited progress for their efforts.

Missionaries also must be commended for their initiative in opening the doors of Uganda to conventional civilisation. This is in regard to the system of government,

as I will show in the section about Church and politics, and the introduction of crops like cotton and coffee which are acceptable on the world market. True, those started as means to facilitate their stay and for their factories back in Europe, but they were also designed to develop the country. Ugandan traditional crops at the time were unknown world-wide and therefore no foreign exchange came from them. We shall see other strengths later when dealing with Church and politics and Church and education.

The weaknesses of this model.

Among the weaknesses registered in this model was its tendency to divide up the society. In the first instance it led the converts to despise their cultural heritage. In many respects they abandoned their own customs and values in preference to the European ones. Many of these converts denied their parents and clansmen simply because they did not share the same faith. To the traditional society they became deviants, separatists and anti-social. To the missionaries and their successors, they were called the 'saved ones', the 'lucky few', 'the obedient soldiers of Christ' and the 'escapees' from the impending eternal fire.

To facilitate their denial of the old ways and to avoid mixing with those perishing (which phenomena characterised this model), the converts were taken to new locations. These were the mission centres where they continued with the instructions regarding the dangers of their cultures. Many of these places acquired new names which symbolised the new freedom and 'release' from 'captivity'. For example the main mission centre in Uganda was named 'Namirembe' which comes from the root word 'Mirembe' 'peace' or 'freedom'. Another place in Bagishu was named 'Mpumudde' from root word 'kuwumula' that is 'my troubles are over, let me relax'. Then in Mukono district another place was named after the first Archdeacon Baskerville thus "Ngogwe-Baskerville". The missionaries acquired land from the government not only to set up schools and build churches but also to establish reserves for their converts.³⁸ This was done under the guise of fighting ignorance, superstition and primitiveness.

Some of these reserves received Biblical names; an indication that they were separated from the heathen world. We find such places for example in Usambara Tanzania where one place was named Nazareth, and the other Sarepta. Then in Lesotho another place was named Roma (an equivalent of Rome).³⁹ It was a wicked act to separate families and the society had to pay dearly. Traditional social units broke up and there arose open confrontations.

Another weakness pertains to the direct contradiction of the Biblical teaching. For example the converts were told that one cannot say he loves God whom he has never seen while he hates his fellow human being whom he has seen. At the same time, by encouraging the converts to become alienated from their 'heathen' kin at whatever cost, this teaching was violated. In connection with this another teaching in Exodus. 20:12 "Honour your father and your mother so that your days may be long . . .", was contradicted when children rebelled against their parents simply because the latter were not Christians. Given this situation Christian instruction became mere rhetoric.

It was the isolation from societal norms and apparent transfer of allegiance from its proper place due to the foreigners that prompted the martyrdom of 1885-86 let alone the religious conviction of those young people. Diverting the converts' loyalty was nothing new, the missionaries had done it in Nigeria where they encouraged a crown prince to rebel against his father.⁴⁰ The King of Buganda could not tolerate this; instead he ordered an execution of these young men, a punishment given to social deviants.

Another weakness was to do with the tribal taboos. Manipulating the biblical teaching of II Cor. 5:17 "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come", which verse tended to favour their model, the missionaries offset the long cherished blood-life lineage. It was (and still is) a known fact that people from the same clan, of the same totem and therefore same blood-life lineage cannot marry each other.⁴¹ This is taboo, an

incest, an unspeakable sin. However, the missionaries told their converts that all the taboos and blood-relations were the things they had left behind - they were now a new creation, a new clan of believers under the parenthood/guardianship of the missionaries. Following this the converts committed incest and offended their societal norms. The end result of this was subcultures which were neither European nor Ugandan or African.

The failure of Christianity to sink deeper and permeate the people's way of living also manifests another weakness for this model. In this regard Adrian Hastings, quoting J. V. Taylor, highlights the situation in Buganda. During the first two decades of Christianity (1870s- 1890s) there was a high response. In fact by the turn of the century Church membership had risen to tens of thousands. Most amazingly however, after fifty years of Christianity there were only scattered groups of Christians and scattered village churches, most of which were on the brink of falling to the ground. These churches were only looked after by voluntary aged farmers or catechists living in those areas. There were very few native priests despite the fact that Bishop Tucker had ordained the first native priests as early as 1896.⁴² And there was no native bishop at all.

This was mainly attributed to the "strict Church law over marriage which excluded a very high proportion of believing and practising Christians from full membership not just for a time but generally for life". And secondly the condemnation of what missionaries regarded as "pagan practices".⁴³ And so all the enthusiasm which characterised the first two decades dwindled and many churches were deserted. Even of those few Christians who remained many of them double dealt, that is, they had one foot in the Church and the other in their cultural practices.

One interesting issue to consider here is: what motivated people to join the new faith in great numbers in the first place given the hard line of the missionaries? On a closer observation, it is perceived that there were at least two generations of missionaries. The first generation was more tolerant to the Ugandan culture

probably because they were just attracting people for the first time. This group which was stationed near the palace used the chiefs to get converts with the minimum of instruction. This was the generation which allowed polygamy among chiefs and the rich.⁴⁴ They believed that with time people would realise the good and truths of the new faith and hence change from within.

However, the second generation came with tougher measures. This was the period of consolidation. Indeed the church was 'overflowing' with people and so this group wanted to know if they all lived upright lives according to their model 'Western Christianity against culture'. And it was then when they found out that many did not conform to their standards that the church started dwindling. And all those who came after this second generation behaved like them; they did not give serious thought to the issue of indigenisation and this led to the process of independent churches from the 1920s to this day.

In connection with John V. Taylor's findings John Pobee quoting Kofi Abrefa Busia presents us with another observation; "As one watches the daily lives and activities of the people and takes account of the rites connected with marriage, birth and death, widowhood, harvest and installation of the traditional offices; one learns that a great deal of the normal communal activities of the converts lie outside their Christian activities, and that for all their influence, the Christian churches are still alien institutions intruding upon but not integrated with social institutions."⁴⁵ Abrefa Busia's observation therefore concurs with many a theologian's understanding of missionary culture in light of African culture, not least John Pobee who in what he has called the "plea for inculturation" accuses the missionaries of creating an antithesis between religion and culture.

Following this John Pobee goes further to explain what he considers to be the meaning of the two terms in relation to each other. He employs Paul Tillich's definition of religion and culture thus; "religion is the substance of culture and culture is the form of religion". In that way culture acts as the vehicle by which

religion is conveyed and expressed and conversely religion is the vehicle of culture. Taking this line of thought John Pobee asserts that "African cultures are religious through and through". Along with the rites of passage as described by other theologians John Pobee looks also at the leadership roles as another way which manifests African religiosity.

(d) Alternative Models.

Inspired by K. Abrefa Busia and other African theologians, in conjunction with his own convictions, John Pobee suggests an alternative model to the missionary model. He has called his model "Skenosis - the tabernacling of the word of God in a particular place and in a particular time". This model is constructed on John 1:14 "The word became flesh and lived among us". Defending his model he says it takes into account four factors; (i) that it maintains the non-negotiable word of God; (ii) that however good and appropriate a construct derived from this construct may appear it must be held temporarily and not binding for all time; (iii) that no construct drawn out can operate in isolation from other living traditions but has to be attentive to other living streams of tradition; and (iv) that God's word must always remain the key to criticise any culture of any given people.

As regards the suitability of this model J. Pobee quoting Augustine of Hippo, cites the writer of the fourth Gospel who used the already existing history and culture of the people to communicate the gospel. To this effect Augustine cites an example of the word "word" or "logos" frequently used in the fourth gospel. This concept is known to have existed long before Christ came to this world and was used by the Platonists. It was then taken up by the Evangelists to give it a new meaning in such usages as "the eternal word could take the earthly form", or "the word distinguishes between the children of God and others on the basis of faith in Christ which is judgement".⁴⁶ By so doing the Evangelist appealed to his hearers because even if the message was new, it was dressed up in their common concept.

This same approach has been found to be very effective among the independent churches in Africa. Quoting from the Newsweek of 2 Oct 1995 J. Pobe writes "The leakage to the African independent churches and the breakaway sects is rooted in the question of acculturation. The African independent churches are very attractive. They have a lot of Christianity; the women are able to speak out, to dance, and to impose their hands on the sick. Africans find in them the emotional and cultural expression they do not find in the staid rather conservative, impersonal liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church".⁴⁷ Roman Catholic Churches here must be representative of all missionary churches.

A good example of independent African churches which have integrated the Gospel and culture can be found in Zimbabwe. These churches as many others elsewhere in Africa, have resisted the idea that accepting the Gospel means to reject traditional customs. They therefore strive to convey Christianity in African symbols and images. These churches have defied the way marriage is solemnised by a certified government marriage officer who sometimes is a priest or a magistrate. All they see in this type of marriage is a secular marriage which only receives church blessing in case of Christian couples. Following their dissatisfaction independent churches in Zimbabwe have resorted to their traditional way of marriage as according to the customary law. They find a lot of meaning and value in their form of marriage because it is validated by family groups and the community (compare this with customary marriage in Uganda).

These churches also have encouraged the re-marriage of a widow to the deceased husband's brother which is in accordance to the Old Testament teaching Deut. 25:5 cf. Mt. 22:24 and which at the same time concurs with the African norms.⁴⁸

Actually those churches find a lot of their strength in Old Testament teaching which in many respects agrees with the African cultures. Another example is the veneration of the ancestors. This practice is implied by Jesus when in Mt. 22:31f, He said pointing to the Old Testament, text "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob", that He was God not of the dead but the living. This resonates the African

understanding that their ancestors though dead are living (thus the living dead) because Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are also considered living in that verse.

John Pobee therefore ends on a practical note “whatever else may be said of the challenge of the Gospel, the selfhood of the African Church requires personnel, instruments and practices that accord well with the African ethos”.⁴⁹ Most importantly however any construct must be “Biblical, Apostolic and Catholic”, and this is what maintains the strength of this model. Failure to observe these three principles will render Christianity syncretistic.

Ambrose Moyo is another of the African theologians who is not happy with the way early missionaries handled the issue of Gospel and culture. He therefore labours to explain that some concepts today held as Christian already existed among some African societies before the first missionary ever visited Africa. He sets his scene in Uganda and particularly among the Bakiga people. These people had a concept of the ‘Trinity’. Quoting Immanuel K. Twesigye, in his book “Christianity, African religion and Philosophy”, he says “Before the European came to Uganda and before the white Christian missionaries came , we had our religion and we knew God so well that the missionaries added to us little We even knew God to be some kind of eternally existing triplets: ‘Nyamuhanga’ being the first one and being the creator of everything, ‘Kazooba Nyamuhanga’ being the second brother who gives light to all human beings so that they should not stumble either on the path or even in their lives And the third brother is ‘Rugaba Rwa Nyamuhanga’ who takes what Nyamuhanga has created and gives to the people as he wishes. We had it all and all the missionaries did teach us was that ‘Nyamuhanga’ is ‘God the Father’, ‘Kazooba’ is ‘Jesus Christ his Son’, and not his brother as we thought and ‘Rugaba Rwa Nyamuhanga’ is the Holy Spirit”.⁵⁰

Ambrose Moyo continues to identify another of those concepts similar to Christianity yet practised by Ugandans long before the coming of Christianity. The Bakiga people offered sacrifices and after roasting the meat they would gather

some of it, put it on leaves (kiko) and bring it to the hut dedicated to Mandwa (Divinity). Then they would say: “eat, be satisfied, give the one who gives to you, and recognise the one who gives to you, and another who refuses you. Come to me, your ears and eyes, and return to your dwelling; open my eyes to see . . .”. They would then gather some meat not offered to Mandwa, and divide it into three parts. A man would throw up one piece saying: “This is for you Rahanga/Nyamuhanga (God Creator), who created me”. Then he would take another piece and say: “This is for Rugaba (The Giver), who gives me life”. With the third piece of meat he would say: “This is for Kazooba (Sun/Light), who shows me the way”. Sometimes they would take the three pieces of meat together and throw them up (all at once) saying: “These are yours . . ., Banyinabutuka (landlords) Nyamuhanga, Kazooba and Rugaba”. Then after the meal they would say “Landlords eat from there, make me see, travel and return, take away from me all enemies”.⁵¹ All this suggests an affinity with the concept of Holy Communion practised by the Christian community today.

Elsewhere on the continent other people had many other concepts similar to Christianity. For example the Shona people of Zimbabwe, in their migration history resonate with the Exodus account. It is perceived that a voice of Mwari (God) guided them in their long journey from Guruuswa and throughout the wilderness. It was that voice which provided them with food and water. This voice was heard through the birds, bushes, caves and other natural phenomena until they arrived in their promised place, Zimbabwe. That voice has continued to be heard through their prophets at one of “Matopo hills” commonly called - ‘Matonjeni’. This compares therefore with the wandering of the Hebrews in the wilderness. These are examples to show that deep sense of religiosity which characterised the African way of living. Sadly these concepts were not used to build a strong understanding of the Christian faith.

Ambrose Moyo also defends what apparently alarmed the missionaries and which they referred to as ‘ancestor worship’; that is the divinities and other intermediaries

through which people called upon God. He maintains that it is an acceptable African tradition which does not always permit direct communication with God except in cases of emergency. The emergency cases include the confrontation with wild animals, the danger of drowning or when thunderstorm and lightning strike; in short if one was faced with sudden death in a situation like that one it is permissible for one to call upon God directly. In normal circumstances people are encouraged to pray through intermediaries which are hierarchically closer to God like the departed elders or heroes. This mirrors the kinship system among the African societies where a junior does not simply approach his seniors but makes his position clear in a hierarchical manner. In a sense we can say that the African societies are hierarchical and that influences the way they worship.

Reflecting on the African religiosity as he understands it, Ambrose Moyo suggests an alternative model. He prefers 'a Christ in culture' model. This model seeks to transform culture from within. It is deemed fit because of what he feels the Gospel should mean in light of culture(s). And this is what he makes of the Gospel: "It is that message which calls people to faith in Jesus Christ, in believing and identifying themselves with Christ in His death and in the hope of resurrection to eternal life, they become new creation, one that is truly in the image of God as was intended at the beginning of creation. The new creation however grows out of the old as the result of the transforming work of the Gospel through the Holy Spirit. The aim of the Gospel is to transform people. The transformation of people is simultaneously the transformation of their culture; the old must pass away and give way to the new" cf. 2 Cor. 5:17. Certainly the African cultures just as all cultures need this transforming work from within despite the fact that they are hailed for their religious ideas and concepts revealed to them by God.⁵² The strength of this model lies in its intention to make people and their culture come alive rather than make them feel rejected. It does this by allowing the Gospel to enter their cultures so as to 'adopt and adapt', 'renew and purify' them from within as it seeks to present them before God as 'a living sacrifice'.⁵³ However, if the intermarriage is not

properly and cautiously carried out, Christianity may end up as an added extra religion.

The suitability of this model can be read from a report made in 1911 to the American Methodist Umtali District Conference. Here is a quotation from it: "In nearly every case converts have been brought to Christ through the influence of Christian natives. Many times the Christian community with its higher and better standard of living seems to have appealed to them. The boys I have talked to mention some native preacher who seemed to have helped them very much. The boys have very seldom said they were helped by white missionaries".⁵⁴

We cannot however, attribute that success merely to the fact that an African preached to an African. It was much more than that. Those African preachers retained within their Christian framework their cultural practices which therefore reinforced their message to their hearers; cultural practices which the white missionaries condemned as counter productive to the Gospel. These included their relationship to the living dead, among other practices.⁵⁵ Ambrose Moyo's model is operating in Zimbabwe in what he has called "the synthesis of faith in Jesus Christ with the traditional religious beliefs and practices". The Gospel has therefore become part of their culture. Those churches see no conflict in relating to their ancestors and the Gospel at the same time. And is this not what is implied in the Book of Common Prayer when it mentions the "Communion of Saints"?⁵⁶ These churches do not dispute healing or divination and there are many Christians involved in these practices which they conduct from their flats in Harare. All in all the Church is thriving in Zimbabwe.

Another alternative model comes from Lewin L. Williams who bases his model on the Caribbean experience. Before I discuss this model let us see how L. L. Williams describes the situation in that part of the world. "The Gospel" he says, "which came to the Caribbean by way of Europe arrived in European cultural garb

and from its arrival it was an instrument for social control used against the colonised people in general and slaves in particular".⁵⁷

In like manner, the model which operated in the Caribbean was none other than 'European Christian culture above other cultures' and among its fruits it reaped animosity. This model has also been held responsible for cultural stratification and domination. It overturned what earlier explorers had commended the Caribbeans for. Christopher Columbus for instance, hailed the Arawaks for their awareness for the transcendent God. He was further convinced that those people could make good Christians since they did not have idols. However when missionaries came later, they did not take note of the religious element among the Caribbeans.

L. L. Williams in his attempt to identify the problem thinks it lay in the confusion of the Gospel with missionary culture, in which case he does not make any new claims from what we have already seen. Just as elsewhere, those missionaries also thought their "culture was at the apex of cultural stratification". Another problem was the application of the Gospel to concerns of the soul while neglecting social needs. In this regard they have been accused of turning a blind eye to the Biblical teaching in Mt. 23:15 where Jesus rebukes the Pharisees for their impositions upon their converts. "For you cross sea and land to make a single convert and you make the new convert twice as much a child of hell as yourselves". The conclusion L. L. Williams draws out of all this is that the Caribbeans were misevangelised rather than evangelised.

He therefore gives his view of the Gospel; for its justification, focus and function must be seen in its communicability. It must be transported; and as pertains to the *Missio Dei* (mission of God) its significance lies in its 'global reference'. It is rather dismaying to learn that to this day the problem of misevangelisation still persists especially in the mother churches. "The problem" he says "is as alive today as when the conquistadors arrived with the Bible in one hand the sword in the other to conduct violent evangelisation".⁵⁸ Missionaries of today follow the legacy

of their predecessors. Turning to the Christian community he accuses them of sticking to the old type of missionary Christianity which continues to hide its eyes from the reality. On this note he quotes one hymn still being sung in Christian churches; "In heathen lands afar, thick darkness broodeth yet, arise or morning star, arise and never set", which hymn does not take account of the cultural riches of these lands. He wonders how the Christians in the Caribbean can continue singing unconscious about the meaning of the verses which refer to their own cultural heritage.

What L. L. Williams is addressing is not merely an issue to do with the Caribbean Church but also common with the African Church. For instance in Uganda the Anglican Church to this day continues to use the Book of Common Prayer for their liturgy and Ancient and Modern for their hymns, both of which are simply translated word after word into the local languages. All this shows how unconscious they are about their own life situations. Those who oppose end up elsewhere, notably in the independent churches.

In light of the problems identified by L. L. Williams and in conjunction with his experience among the Caribbeans of the stratified society characterised by the dominated and the dominants, he emerges with an alternative model to the one exhibited by the missionaries. He prefers a 'holistic' approach to the gospel. A gospel which addresses not only the spiritual needs but also the political, social and economic issues. Based on M. Douglas Meeks, in his book God the Economist in which he demonstrates economy as one of the divine concerns in the bible, L. L. Williams does not see any justification for the churches neglecting the economic issues in their evangelistic enterprise. On this note he cautions the churches that "If people are evangelised into separating the gospel from their social economic and political realities, that evangelisation is faulty".

The suitability of this model is expressed by the independent churches of South Africa. These churches in contrast to the main line churches are opposed to the

Western capitalist mentality and domination of the capitalist ruling classes. As explained by Itumeleng Mosala, the independent churches owe their origin to the “religious-cultural organisations of the descendants of former pastoralists” and therefore do react to the capitalist penetration which in effect destroyed their African culture and religion. And when their cultural framework was destroyed the people were dispossessed of their means of subsistence, and moreover after dismantling their society the capitalist structure further alienated the victims of this whole process. That exposed them to a position of being no more than tools of the capitalist culture which operated in partnership with the religious formularies in their midst.

These churches, much as they look back to their roots, address real issues in the society today which have been brought about by the capitalist ruling class culture. These include their “influence over streets, townships, the family, education, the workplace, television, the Church, health instruction, sporting activities and the home”.⁵⁹ This is actually what was implied by African religiosity; it referred to the whole of life.

The independent churches of South Africa together with the Zionist churches have openly come out to preach a gospel that encompasses the whole of life and is therefore relevant to the situation most people find themselves in. Because it is a gospel of the struggle against the oppressors rather than merely seeking to construct an African traditional Christian society, these churches have attracted other ethnic groups like Indians, or the coloured and many Africans.

This model of addressing the spiritual, social, political and economic factors in the society concurs with H. Richard Niebuhr’s model of ‘Christ above Culture’. Niebuhr portrays in this model “Christ as the fulfilment of cultural aspirations and restorer of the institutions of the society”.⁶⁰ He further maintains the continuity and discontinuity of Jesus with the social life and its culture, yet he ascertains that it is hard to arrive at a true culture within the confines of human achievement,

values and society. Christ must therefore enter human life bringing with Him such gifts which humans cannot conceive of nor attain with their efforts alone. They must enter into a relationship with Jesus in order to create a new value centre; and this is what those churches in South Africa are struggling to achieve: that people can enter into real relationship with Jesus Christ and set their values on him.

We have seen a number of models suggested by African and Caribbean theologians for a situation in which Uganda and Africa generally finds itself. It is interesting that all share a common ground in that: they all look at the first approach by the missionaries as predominated by Western Christian superiority over other cultures. They also express their discomfort at the way people were indoctrinated wherever missionaries went. All look at their respective people's cultures as having something to offer and having known and worshipped God in their own ways. They all have a story to tell. All these theologians do not wish to replace Christianity with the traditional worship/beliefs but rather to redress it with cultural forms, hence indigenisation.

(e) The Best Way Forward for the Ugandan Church Today and Tomorrow.

In light of the above models and in accordance with the growing dismay to the missionary approach, there is a tendency as observed by H. R. Niebuhr, either to 'divinise culture' or 'humanise God'. That must not be the case. There must be a balance between culture and Christianity or a 'Skenosis' according to J. Pobee or 'Synthesis' according to A. Moyo.

It should be noted that there is no perfect model, just as no model operates in complete isolation of all the others. It is important to remember that all the models we have seen above do not oppose each other, rather, they complement one another.

Having said that however, it does not follow that we have to wander from one direction to another without a framework. Since the Church is a servant of God,

and an orderly God too, we must have an order in form of the best suited model for Uganda as a basis on which to gather all the best aspects from the other models. This is the 'Christ of Culture' model suggested by H. R. Niebuhr. On this basis the Gospel must be seen to mix with culture yet should not be swallowed up into it, that it loses its effectiveness. Jesus must be seen here as an ideal example as portrayed by John Gladwin, enjoying his ministry in the world, mixing freely and with ease with the people of every culture yet his presence was always a challenge.⁶¹

Seeking to "confirm what is best in the past while guiding the process of civilisation",⁶² as expressed in this 'Christ of Culture' model I therefore recommend:-That the Anglican Church of Uganda (ACU) identifies and exploits the religiosity and sense of awe which is naturally inherent in the Ugandan society. This is in agreement with John S. Mbiti's findings across peoples and societies of Africa about whom he rightly says, "Africans are notoriously religious".⁶³ This can form a strong foundation for the Church today and tomorrow. This will require careful study of the Ugandan beliefs, customs and practices. I must cite here for instance the belief in 'Kazooba', 'Nyamuhanga' and Rugaba among the 'Bakiga'.⁶⁴ This could be used to point to the Trinity, while the idea of feasting which normally crowns every event sad or happy, could be developed to point to the Holy Communion. By using familiar expressions, it increases the chances of perception. This is to employ the teachers' principle of beginning from the known to the unknown which reverses the former approach which started from the unknown and is still failing to reach the known!

-That the ACU, looks at the corporate nature of the Ugandan society as a significant cornerstone in its bid to erect a sustainable Church. The idea of corporateness resides in a philosophy, to use J. S. Mbiti's words, "I am because we are and since we are therefore I am". Ugandans have no place for individualism and that is why the Western form of Christianity which promotes individualism has suffered many set backs. This approach for example was adopted by the

Revivalists in the 1950s and following from it everyone remained in one's own cocoon. When for instance during Idi Amin's regime there was serious moral decay, the Revivalists and many of whom the Church leaders minded their own individual salvation and maintained their individual 'Saintliness'.⁶⁵ That is not Ugandan nor is it African. In Uganda "One man's sin defiles the entire clan".⁶⁶ Everyone shares in the good and bad with everyone else. Is this not what Paul encourages the Church to do in Rom. 12:15-16 "Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep. Live in harmony with one another. . . ."? Further evidence regarding the "Gospel of individualism" can be found in Rwanda the architect of the East African revival; for many decades now Christians have fought and slaughtered fellow Christians. In both cases the answer is clear, simple individual-pietism is responsible; a pietism which cherishes the mentality that "as long as it does not affect me directly, it does not matter". This should be coupled with the misconception of the Gospel because it was never dressed up in their indigenous garment.

We saw how this system of corporate existence built and maintained the society in terms of marriage, initiation and funerals; how therefore can the Church afford to throw away that rich heritage? It is by revisiting the ethic of "I cannot be saved alone but with the community" as described by John Pobee that will address issues of national interest like, tribalism, sexism, regionalism, denominationalism, poverty, unemployment and other social ills which for a long time the Church has not concerned itself with. When this is done then Lewin L. Williams' model which expresses a holistic approach will also have been taken on board.

-That the ACU takes seriously the celebrative nature of the Ugandan society. This is another rock on which to found the Church in Uganda. Today there is a tendency to demarcate faith between 'celebral' and 'cerebral' faith as notes John Pobee. However, the Ugandan Church cannot be founded on the latter. Their nature only warrants the former and we must note that most of the society is not a literate society and cerebral faith does not appeal to them. The part played by

music and dance as people celebrate life cannot be ignored, it does not only facilitate fellowship but also internalises abstract religious ideas as well as providing an outlet to the emotional expressions of the religious life. One of the ways to acknowledge the celebrative nature and incorporate it in Christianity could be by Christianising the native festival days. These would include according to Israel K. Katooke, "Planting, harvesting or the new moon ceremonies in like manner as Sunday and Easter from the lunar calendar in Europe were christianised". Certainly Sunday did not begin as a Christian day, it was a day when prayers and sacrifices were offered to the sun god.⁶⁷

-That the ACU recognises and exploits the art and symbols which aspects are indispensable. This has always been one of the ways by which the people externalise what they believe about God. The native society needs a religion which they can feel and touch (a tangible religion) that is why art and symbols should be encouraged within the Christian approach.

Art indeed includes language which enshrines proverbs, riddles and maxims, myths and stories. These further contain the philosophical and theological understanding of the society which could be used to cement the Christian Gospel. The Gospel must be fitted in the Uganda native story so as to arouse that curiosity, motivate learning and broaden absorption. Let us cite the story of Kintu, Gulu, Nambi, Kayikuzi and Walumbe for instance.⁶⁸ This could be developed to convey the creation and salvation stories. In the event of marrying the native story and the Gospel story the latter transforms the former as according to the 'Christ in Culture' model, suggested earlier by A. Moyo.⁶⁹

The recommendations I have made here cannot be effected without people who are prepared to undertake that task. As rightly inquired by Paul: "How are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without a preacher?" What all this means is training. I recommend that the Church undertakes the

training of the clergy and lay readers in this particular area so as to enhance indigenisation of the Church. The process of dialogue between the Church and the cultural practices requires thorough training.

In summation, I should say, one hundred and twenty years is long enough time to consider a fresh firm start. The ACU must not be deceived by the large numbers of people who flock to the Church on Sunday and the mushrooming of church buildings and think all is well. The Church must look at the quality rather than the quantity. As observed by Kofi Abrefa Basia; people's daily activities are completely divorced from their Christian activities.⁷⁰ To this effect we must note that "the mission of the Church is not so much about the establishment of churches as it is about the transformation of people and systems, about enabling them to become human, respecting the dignity of each and every person; it must enable growth, change and transformation into the image and likeness of Christ."⁷¹

In all this I am not seeking to isolate the Church of Uganda, but rather to enable it to participate fully in the world wide mission to receive as well as to offer, and above all to remedy the conflict between culture and Christianity/Church.

Footnotes

1. Taylor, E. B., *The Origins of Culture*, p1.
2. Mbiti, John S., *Introduction to African Religion*, p9.
3. Roscoe, John, *The Baganda, an account of their native customs and beliefs*, p271.
4. I owe this information to Rev. George Erwau, a priest in the Diocese of Soroti, Uganda.
5. Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p19.
6. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p274.
7. *Ibid*, p278.
8. *Ibid*, p452.
9. Russell, J. K., *Men without God?* p48.
10. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p88.
11. Russell, *op. cit.*, p50.
12. Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p100.
13. *Ibid*, p85.
14. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, pp109f.
15. Welbourn, F. B., *East African Rebels*, p179.
16. Idowu Bolaji, E., *African Traditional Religion*, p116 (also see Mbiti, pp16ff).
17. Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p17.
18. Hastings, Adrian, *The Church in Africa (1450-1950)*, p587.
19. See p43.
20. Hastings, *op. cit.*, p588.
21. Gitari, David, 'Church and Polygamy' in *Transformation*, Jan-March 1984, Vol No 1, p7.
22. See p39.
23. Odoyoye, Mercy Amba, *Hearing and Knowing, a Theological Reflection on Christianity in Africa*, p22 (it is a quotation from Christina Oppongo).
24. Gitari, *op. cit.*
25. See p42.
26. Katoke, Israel, 'Christianity and Culture (an African Experience)', *Transformation* Oct/Dec 1954, Vol 1 No 4, p7.
27. See p46.
28. Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p191.
29. Parrinder, Geoffrey, *Comparative Religion*, p21.
30. Katoke, *op. cit.*
31. Taylor, J. V., *The Primal Vision*, pp5f.
32. Welbourn, *op. cit.*, p172.
33. See p18.
34. See p20.
35. Hastings, Adrian, *A History of African Christianity (1950-75)*, pp50f.
36. Pobe John, *Gospel and Cultures (West Africa)*, p6, (a quotation from D. B. Vincent's sermons, debates and lectures).
37. See p56.
38. Moyo, Ambrose, *Gospel and Culture (Zimbabwe)*, pp12, 14.
39. Katoke, *op. cit.*
40. See p11.

41. Shorter, Aylward, *African Spirituality*, p142.
42. Shepherd, Arthur, *Tucker of Uganda*, p115.
43. Hastings, *op. cit.*, p50.
44. See p52.
45. Pobee, *op. cit.*, p2 (a quotation from Kofi Abrefa Busia),
46. *Ibid*, p4.
47. *Ibid*, p17.
48. Moyo, *op. cit.*, pp29f.
49. Pobee, *op. cit.*, p7.
50. Moyo, *op. cit.*, p3 (a quotation from Immanuel K. Twesigye in *Christianity, African religion and philosophy*).
51. *Ibid*.
52. *Ibid*, p11.
53. *Ibid*.
54. Peterson, Kristen H. (ed), *Religion Development and African Identity*, p37.
55. Moyo, *op. cit.*, p13.
56. Book of Common Prayer, p60.
57. Williams Lewin L., *Gospel and Cultures (the Caribbean)*, p2.
58. *Ibid*, p8.
59. VillaVincenzio, Charles and John de Gruchy, (eds), *Resistance and hope*, p111.
60. Niebuhr, H. R., *Christ and Culture*, p55.
61. Gladwin, John, *God's people in God's world*, p118.
62. Niebuhr, *op. cit*
63. Mbiti, *op. cit.*, p27.
64. See p55f.
65. Gitari, 'Church and State', *Transformation*, Vol 5 No 2, April/June 1988, p15.
66. See p37.
67. Katoke, *op. cit.*
68. See p47.
69. See p67.
70. See p62.
71. Pobee, *op. cit.*, p32.

Chapter III

Christianity/Colonialism and the Political Systems of Uganda: Impact and Consequences.

This chapter seeks to show how Christianity and colonialism influenced the political structure of Uganda. It highlights the traditional political systems and how they were overrun by the new administration. Later this chapter will show how religious conflicts of the 1870s permeated the politics of Uganda creating a religious-political sphere which has gripped Uganda to this day. Mention will also be made about the colonial policies which are to blame for the tribal and civil strifes which have characterised Ugandan history. The economic structure introduced by both the missionaries and their partners the colonialists is another issue this chapter will consider.

In its second and third sections, this chapter will trace the pedigree of the model which operated in Uganda then, and has left behind its legacy of institutional linkages. It will end by citing alternative models relevant to the Ugandan situation and also by suggesting the best way forward in matters pertaining to church and state.

(a) The Traditional Structure and the foreign influence.

There were at least two common systems of governance in Uganda by the time the first missionaries arrived in the late nineteenth century. The first of these systems was used by the Bantu people south of Lake Kyoga (see map in appendix). These included the Baganda, Banyoro, Batoro and Banyankole. These were kingdoms and each of them had a centralised Government led by a king and assisted by a Lukiiko, (or Lukurato) that is a state assembly. They had hierarchical chiefs and well organised governments. The other smaller groups shown on the map were integrated within the kingdoms nearby or were ruled by chiefs.

The other system was the one used by the Nilotics north of Lake Kyoga and also some eastern parts of Uganda among the Luo speakers. Here the governance was taken up by clan elders. These were responsible for the decisions affecting their people. More often they came to a consensus but also decisions sometimes fragmented.¹

Those societies south of Lake Kyoga were not only well organised but also were well developed and had rule of law which maintained that relationship between the ruled and the rulers. Also they had external contacts with the outside world which put them on a far more advanced footing than their counterparts in the north, whose only outside contacts were the slave traders, who were a negative influence.² Despite these differences in their systems both peoples were more peaceful than in the later times, as we shall learn.

We saw in chapter I that just two years after the arrival of the first mission in Uganda radical changes began. The turning point indeed started in Buganda where the missionaries first set foot on Ugandan soil. Squabbles first started in a form of theological controversy but soon encompassed the whole political arena. Each of the two rival missions (Anglican and Catholic) was backed by their respective adherents, which in effect extended the conflict deep into Ugandan society. Disputes continued and 1892 registered real civil war after which the victor controlled the political machinery of Buganda.

The situation was made worse when the British used the Baganda to achieve their aims. This was particularly true among the Banyoro, who were regarded as arch enemies of the Baganda. The latter did not only take Christianity but also had the aim of subduing the Banyoro, which led to another chapter in Ugandan history - sub-imperialism. The Baganda were assisted in this respect by the British who also had always wanted to punish the Banyoro for their hostility and resistance to the British influence earlier on in the century.³ For that matter the British rewarded the Baganda for their successful struggle against, and conquest over the Banyoro. A

portion was torn off Bunyoro territory and given to Buganda. This part was divided between the Catholics and the Protestant fighters: the Protestants were given the area south of Mruli while the Catholics were given the area west of Singo.⁴ This did not only enlarge the territory of Buganda at the expense of Bunyoro, but also the gap between the two peoples. Elsewhere in Uganda, the British and their Baganda agents did not face as violent resistance as that of the Banyoro, yet even there divisions and disputes were inevitable. For instance in Toro, Ankole, Kigezi, Mbale and Bukedi people were more or less forced to abandon their traditional lifestyle, thus adopting the Baganda style. To the Baganda agents, this was their time; ordinary men became chiefs over night and chiefs became lords in due course, causing suffering to their subordinates, which suffering cries out loudly to this day. For that reason any national movement which is led by a Muganda receives very little support, most especially in the east where Semei Kakungulu declared himself king after subduing their local chiefs.

The Colonial Policies and their effect on the politics of Uganda.

Once again the scene must be set in Buganda if we are to understand the miscarriages of the colonial policies. In the first place Buganda, following the Uganda agreement of 1900, had acquired special privileges over all the other societies of Uganda. Occupying this special position Buganda knew itself and was more or less known by others as a separate state. In this respect there was considerable inter-dependence between the Baganda and the British.⁵

However that privileged relationship was later to bear lasting consequences in the politics of Uganda. The Baganda have alienated themselves due to their pride in being a mini-state within a state. They have been referred to as sub-imperialists walking in the footsteps of their colonial masters, and this partly explains the cause for the civil wars of the 1960-80s, which I will discuss later.

The missionary church for its part, also raised Buganda's status to the extent that since Tucker's time they were the only people missionaries thought were capable

of evangelising and teaching other people elsewhere in the country. And now when they combined their religious and secular roles, the Baganda could not help calling themselves superior spiritually, culturally and intellectually, hence looking down upon everyone else in Uganda. Ugandan society was segmented and this bred many conflicts, as we shall see later.

The politics of Uganda have extensively been affected by that colonial policy of divide and rule. People were cut off from their kinsmen and were divided by border lines between countries. For that matter we find in the east the Iteso of Uganda and Iteso of Kenya, in the Northwest we get the Sudanic people of Uganda divided only by national borders from their kinsfolk of southern Sudan. In the north east we find the Karimajong of Uganda and Turkan of Kenya whose lifestyle is exactly the same. Then in the south western part we find the Bafumbira of Uganda, of Rwanda and Zaire. In this regard some sections of people were made to live with completely different people ethnically, which was a recipe for friction.

It should be noted that during their time of colonialism squabbles and even fighting were controlled because the colonial government was superior militarily and capable of suppressing every rebel activity. But soon after independence the long awaited civil strife started. Such were the results of the policy of divide and rule both on the local level and on the international level; for instance what today is taking place in Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi is exactly the result of a similar policy emanating from the commonly known 'scramble for Africa'.

What took place in the colonial era was that boundaries were made following physical features like mountains, rivers, lakes and the rift valley and not according to ethnicity.

In Uganda for instance, as Phares Mutibwa has put it, power struggles would have been avoided if for example the people south of the Lake Kyoga had been given

their own state because they belong to the same ethnic group of Bantu people; and indeed even the tribes of Burundi and Rwanda would have no problem if they were part of this Bantu state because they have much in common. On the other hand the people north of Lake Kyoga would do well if they were combined with tribes in southern Sudan because that is where they belong ethnically (thus Luos and Nilotics). Unfortunately the colonialists did not do it that way and the result has been civil strife since the 1960s, and this is what Mutibwa has called the “northern factor”. It should be noted, as observed by Morag Bell, that culture mediates all political, economic and social processes.⁶ So development has been greatly hampered by these cultural incompatibilities.

The basis of the conflicts has been that the people in the north of Uganda have thought since independence that no one else can rule Uganda and likewise nobody was capable of military service except those from the north and a small section in the east, especially those with whom they share their ethnic background.

Following from that Uganda has drawn its leadership since independence from the north thus: Apolo Milton Obote (1962-71), and Idi Amin Dada (1971-79). Even with the Military Commission (1979-80), though it had Paul Muwanga (a Muganda) as its chairman, in real sense the political muscle rested with General Tito Okello and Brigadier Oyite Ojok from the north. And for that matter within that one year Uganda received three Baganda leaders who in effect were mere puppets; Prof. Yusufu Lule for sixty eight days, Godfrey Lukongwa Binasisa QC for about eleven months, and Muwanga lasted for only a few days. Then we revert to Northerners, Obote for the second time (1980-85), and General Tito Okello again (1985-86).

At the turn of events in 1986 when the people’s army waged war against them and defeated them they could not comprehend it, and so have since resisted by engaging in guerrilla warfare in the north, their home area to this day. We cannot separate the missionary church from the outcomes of the colonial policy because

the two were from the beginning inseparable, as this thesis shows. They simply blessed their partners when things were taking the wrong course.

Let us now look at another policy which has been detrimental to the politics of Uganda. This was the policy regarding land distribution. Following the 1900 Uganda agreement the colonial government allocated land to individual chiefs in Buganda, as opposed to the former land policy whereby the King was the custodian of all the land in Buganda. With the colonial policy a new term came into use: the Mailo land - land in private ownership. In this way the King's powers over land were waived.

However, this policy was not uniform throughout the country. Elsewhere, the story was different: chiefs had no access to land, whatsoever. This must remind us of that special position given to Baganda. It is worth noting that even the Baganda were divided in that they were given privileges which in turn were geared to rebelling against their king. Then nationally, other people were left out in this 1900 agreement causing well planned conflict among people of the same nation. It has been noted that agreements signed between the British colonialists and the people of Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro for instance, were in no way compatible with those signed with the Baganda. The former were regarded as inferior contracts and if anything incidental agreements.

However, the colonialists later discovered that they were breeding a strong political and economic power not only in Uganda but also in the region, since the Baganda were becoming so powerful. They anticipated that these people would make their stay later very difficult. They therefore turned against them and devised ways and means of suppressing their intellectual development. They started by terminating their services as soldiers and as colonial agents in those areas which were outside of Buganda. They were disarmed by 1905, and left the territories where they served as chiefs, soldiers, teachers or otherwise. That marked an end

to their role as a stepping stone, and this leads us to another policy: army and police recruitment.

The colonial government set criteria for anyone who wanted to join the army and police which was geared to discriminating in every way against the Baganda. Only people six feet tall and over with a broad chest were enrolled for the security services. The only people who could qualify were these from the north of Kyoga and their kinfolk in the east. It must be observed here that these people were not at all educated. In this regard P. Mutibwa statistically records that by 1920 there was not a single school to the north of Lake Kyoga and in the east while Buganda alone had 328 elementary schools.⁷ Those are the people they encouraged in the security forces, which gave Baganda the impression that such were jobs for only the illiterate and primitive northerners and easterners. With that complacency the British encouraged the Baganda to join only “white-collar” jobs like teaching, clerical work or to be interpreters and work as administrators, though they definitely discouraged them from working outside Buganda.

The fact here is that if the Baganda and the other tribes south of lake Kyoga had been promoted into security forces Uganda would not have suffered to the extent it has since independence. Indeed the British knew all too well that these people were capable militarily. This was well shown during the two world wars, yet even after all that experience, back at home the story was no different when active recruitment took place during the 1940s and 1950s.

It was at a later stage in fact just before independence, that some few Baganda were recruited and sent to Sandhurst and other military colleges. This was because the British realised too late that they were leaving Uganda in the hands of “savages”. However even then, while these Baganda were training, the colonial government continued to remind the people from other tribes, many of whom by now were already high ranked officers in the army and police despite their shortcomings educationally, of the suffering of their fathers at the hands of

Baganda sub-imperialists, in turn planting deeper that disgust and hatred for the Baganda.⁸

It was very unlikely that the southerners and indeed westerners would sit back and allow the uncivilised and uneducated northerners to rule them with an iron hand just because they had the gun. And so soon after the colonial government had pulled out protests and later civil wars characterised the political history of Uganda

The Missionary/Colonial Economic Structure and its effects in Uganda.

By the time Sir Harry Johnson came to Uganda the only export was ivory, which was also facilitated by both Europeans and Arabs. By 1903 the ivory trade was declining, and this affected the government budget greatly: expenditure had risen to £186,000 while revenue had dropped to £51,000. The balance therefore was shouldered by the British Government. Following this irregularity in the treasury Johnson came up with a proposal to introduce rubber, coffee and cocoa plantations, all of which must be grown and managed by Europeans.⁹ And so here the question arose of European settlers or planters as they were called. The issue was contentious, dividing the British leadership both in Uganda and back at home in England. Perhaps it was thought that Ugandans could never manage those crops, hence the necessity to bring in European settlers, or perhaps it was thought that since this was typically a European style economy it therefore warranted Europeans to manage it.

However, Sir Hesketh Bell, former commissioner and later governor of the Ugandan Protectorate (1905-9) decided that Uganda should be developed as an African state. On this note the American upland cotton which had been brought in by the CMS missionary Kristen Borup was given precedence. Cotton growth therefore, receiving every government support, picked up steadily and by 1950 the crop brought in revenue of between £15-30 millions annually, in effect proving the greatest single product, indeed fetching in more money than all other products put together.¹⁰ This crop was better than rubber or cocoa, for which Johnson required

European settlers, because it involved Ugandans. However it was still a colonial crop because though the Ugandans worked hard in the gardens to raise the crop, (in hot sunshine and sometimes blistering wind and heavy rainfall,) they did not control the entire process leading up to the end product. For instance the 140-150 ginneries in the country were then run by Asians, who in every sense were middlemen, while the British were the sole managers. Ugandans were being exploited at both ends of the system: they grew the crop but received little for it, and later when the British brought it back as the end product, 'cloth or cooking oil', they were made to pay dearly for it.

It was not until 1952 that the Colonial Government stated in its ordinances that Ugandans and Africans generally were now allowed to share in the ginning industry. Two years later the government acquired seven ginneries to lease or sell out to Africans.¹¹

Another crop introduced along with cotton was coffee, though it was not given the same prominence as the former until after the First World War. It was then that it gained popularity and started to fetch in £11-12 million annually. Today it has become the chief foreign currency earner, replacing cotton which has dropped tremendously. We observe that all these crops were grown primarily for export. Coupled with the ivory trade which flourished alongside them, the economy was not geared to promoting the indigenous industry. These were not bad in themselves but there could have been other choices at the outset. Uganda had her own local crops, which if they had been encouraged could have benefited people both locally and internationally. For instance they had bananas, potatoes, groundnuts and beans; they also had lakes and rivers for the fish industry. But with the introduction of the foreign crops people left their shambas to work on cotton and coffee shambas. This in turn created hunger and famine as these cash crops could not be inter-cropped with food crops, yet they needed the money as the whole economy had changed from a system of bartering to a money economy, as we shall see later.

After many years the government realised that they had to develop other ways of making Uganda a viable state. Probably the fluctuations on the world stage must have shown them that coffee and cotton were not enough to build a strong economy. In that way they introduced tobacco, tea, hides and skins, sugar, fish and groundnuts. Some of these like hides and skins did not require importation, they were already in Uganda but needed government support to be tapped. Even then some local crops like those I have mentioned above plus millet were not promoted. On this note I can deduce that the Colonial Government was mainly interested in a capital economy and keen to shut down the traditional systems under which people had operated for centuries. However good it may look, it had its own effects on the community because it led to the disintegration of the traditional family life (this was the chief evil of a money economy.) Moreover the family was the chief unit in African society.

The economic development in Uganda was greatly hampered by lack of efficient transport facilities; for example, the railway, which is the cheapest transport, came later to Kampala (1931) and then took a long time before reaching up country where desired commodities could be found. Another problem was to do with the Jinja Owen falls dam, the power station generating hydroelectric power and supplying to Uganda and Kenya which was only opened in 1954, despite the fact that the idea was brought forward by Sir Winston Churchill as early as 1907. The economy received another blow when the colonialists decided to transfer Uganda's Eastern province to Kenya in 1902, an area which comprised fertile highlands. The reason given was to facilitate farming for European settlers in Kenya.¹²

The Missionary/Colonial Economy and Hired Labour

When cotton and coffee were introduced, they were only grown in Buganda (we recall that privileged relationship), and with one exception, Arabic coffee which was grown in Bugishu, they were not extended to other areas until after a long period. Robusta coffee was confined to Buganda for a long time. Though they received little money from their crops and the rest went to the middlemen and their

colonial masters, the Baganda soon emerged into a small community of African capitalists. They attracted to themselves labour from elsewhere in the country to work on their shambas. Some came from as far as Arua (North Western Uganda), Kabale and Mbarara (South Western Uganda) and across the border from Rwanda and Burundi. Others came from Tanzania-Bukoba and Mwanza. Here I am concerned about the way they were treated; they were not regarded as full human beings and they were living at a distance from the family they were working for. In this regard the Baganda have a saying "Twalyanga nabo?" thus "did we dine with them in the past?" That was the result of uneven distribution of wealth which the Church ought to have condemned before it bore adverse lasting marks.

I will now return to the notion of the disintegration of family life. It should be noted that in Uganda like in other parts of Africa the Europeans acquired the best land where they cultivated crops for export. This work was too great for any single man so they turned to African men to work on their farms, who in turn had to leave their homes and families where they lived in communal societies and grew their own food. Now they had to abandon them to look for jobs to earn some money. In that way their former dignity was eroded. In the event of going away to look for jobs the capacity to grow food was also reduced. In other areas like Kenya people ended up in reserves close to the Europeans' farms where they worked, while their 'bosses' enjoyed the honey found in the land. They could not therefore travel to the distant areas to visit their families and tribesmen or even participate in tribal functions.

The introduction of money was another scandal to the then existing welfare of the family. In the first place it was understood as something received yet to be given back in the form of taxes. Taxes were introduced at the same time as the money economy. In the second place money bred greater individual freedom which unfortunately led to self-centredness. Before that type of economy arrived all the family participated and took an interest in the transactions. For example if one family wanted millet, they exchanged their goat for it and everyone shared in that

transaction. This exchange of goods for goods was abandoned, whereby a family maintained a store of wealth that could be drawn upon by everyone in case of need.¹³ With the money economy it turned out to be more or less an oppressive system, because there was virtually no family participation, since the one who worked was the one that earned. It was a private affair and many men concealed their wages and in turn used them to meet their own selfish ends in total neglect of the rest of the family members.

Discontentment; the emergence of pressure groups and the run up for independence (1920s-1960s).

In Chapter one I mentioned the emergence of independent churches. That was the result of religious dissatisfaction; for instance, local people were disregarded in church leadership, and they also grew sick of the way the missionary church was being run, preaching love on the one hand and manifesting hate on the other. Such were the issues leading to the formation of independent churches.

In this section I want to look at people's discontent with the mainly political and economic environment, thus leading to the formation of various groups who had the intention of liberating themselves.

The time came when Ugandans could not simply console themselves while exploitation triumphed over and over again. In light of all this they organised pressure groups which with time bred political parties.

Between 1920 and 1930 a pressure group calling itself the 'Young Baganda Association' (YBA) was formed. In the same period a sister group was operating in Busoga. These were followed by the organisation of the 'Baganda Urban Workers and Peasants Association' (BUWPA) in the 1930s. Similar groups were founded elsewhere in the country. The interesting fact about these groups however was that they operated on a tribal basis, since Uganda was not a nation at this time.

In the 1950s , aspirations for national unity began to emerge. In 1952 Uganda saw its very first national political party, the 'Uganda National Congress' (UNC) which was predominantly Protestant. Two years later the 'Democratic Party' (DP) was formed which was definitely a counter party and therefore basically Catholic. The whole reason for the formation of the DP was to redeem the Catholics who from the inception of Christianity in Uganda had been denied access to political power. It is also right to say, as the current president of Uganda Yoweri Museveni has put it, though himself a Protestant, that the DP was formed to fight for truth and justice because the Protestants had always been in power yet the situation was exploitative and oppressive. In this way the DP served as a pressure group.

Incidentally, though these parties were called "National" parties, national unity was nowhere near, especially among the Protestants because they divided themselves once again and formed another Protestant party in 1955 called the 'Progressive Party' (PP). This party however was mainly concerned about the welfare of teachers, farmers and African entrepreneurs. Its focus therefore was mainly on the economy of Ugandans.

It is important to note that Buganda started reaping what it had sown earlier; for example all these political parties were initiated by Baganda and on a religious base, therefore inviting resentment from other nationals who did not think Baganda would regard them as co-participants. Interestingly the DP stayed intact, though it was led by a Muganda Benedict Kiwanuka. That is probably because the Catholics, having suffered a lot in the past from Protestant aggression, did not want to take chances. Therefore they stayed together and united behind whoever would lead them to victory. However in the east where Kakungulu had imposed himself as king, the DP did not have support.

For their part the Protestants disintegrated further because they could not approve of Baganda leadership. Following this, leading district officials outside of Buganda formed another party called the 'Uganda People's Union' (UPU). Since the UPU

was a non Baganda party and still Protestant based it got on very well with the non Baganda members of the UNC because they both shared similar fundamental policies politically and religiously. For that matter they saw no reason for running two parallel parties which had similar ideologies, therefore they met and merged their parties into one in 1960. They called their new political party the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) whose chairman was Apolo Milton Obote.

This provoked a quick reaction from the DP who saw this new party as a big threat because of its unitary character as contrasted with the former parties. The DP in this regard nicknamed their rivals the "United Protestants of Canterbury". (UPC). Similarly the Protestants called DP "Dinni ya Papa" which means "the Religion of the Pope. In all this the force behind was religion and the Christian missionaries from both camps were busy laying strategies for success in their respective areas.

The Baganda for their part were not happy with the mentality expressed by the non-Baganda. Also we must not lose sight of the Baganda privileged position. For that reason they decided to form their own party in the names of Kabaka Yekka (KY), which meant 'only the king'. This was also a Protestant dominated party. Its aims were to promote Baganda interests, like making Buganda a separate state by way of a federal system. They hated the idea of any other tribes sharing power within Buganda. They advocated self rule and the maintenance of the king as supreme ruler in Buganda, and consequently Uganda, and this is exactly what the other people foresaw when they dissociated themselves from the Baganda, mindful of their earlier experiences. On this note the non-Baganda dubbed this party "Kill Yourself" (KY). KY dug their own ditch when from the very beginning they started fighting verbally and in some cases physically with the DP leadership for dissociating themselves from the Buganda kingdom by organising a party which incorporated all other people. Also DP was accused of participating in the 1961 General Elections, which they definitely won because they were more united than everyone else. Buganda as a whole boycotted these first ever general elections in Uganda and all Protestants fared badly. Following those

elections Benedict Kiwanuka was sworn in as the first Ugandan Prime Minister, which annoyed the Baganda because they could never comprehend any other Muganda above their (Kabaka) king. This therefore made DP anti-Kabaka and anti-Baganda. DP was also accused of folding their hands when the Kabaka was exiled by the British in 1953-55. This further divided the Baganda as a state well organised and with a political muscle to influence the course of events in Ugandan politics. In turn this gave the other rival group a fertile ground to consolidate themselves.

The results of 1961 did not please the colonial government. They were not prepared to leave the political life/direction of a country they had from the 1890s preserved in Protestant hands, all of a sudden under Catholic management. For that matter the squabbles between KY and DP helped them to think out a plan to wrest power from the Catholics. They delayed the time for independence in the first place and secondly annulled the elections. In the meantime they persuaded KY to come into alliance with UPC; after all both were Protestants.

True, UPC and KY had their own differences but for the sake of throwing out DP, they agreed to come together. In this regard we must note that UPC, thirsty for power, unconditionally agreed to work with KY to the extent that they in principle consented to make Buganda a Federal State, though elsewhere it would not be the case. With all the prospects of Protestants winning the elections, the Protestant Church in collaboration with the colonial government organised fresh elections in 1962. KY won all the 21 seats in Buganda, UPC won 37 seats from elsewhere, and DP won 24. Therefore a coalition government of UPC/KY was formed with a specially elected membership of 9. Most interesting Benedict Kiwanuka himself the leader of DP failed to secure a seat in Buganda, which further weakened his position in the opposition because he could not sit in the parliament.¹⁴

Following the UPC/KY Protestant victory, the colonial government was now content to withdraw and allow self-rule. Uganda got her independence on the 9

October 1962. Sir Edward Muteesa II, the Kabaka of Buganda, became the first President of the first republic of Uganda, while Obote became the Prime Minister.

It is worth noting that despite the independence won from the British, the country was founded on shaky ground. The coalition looked all right on the surface while inside tribal differences and uncompromising attitudes, as witnessed earlier, continued to boil. Also the DP, were not happy because their leadership had been prematurely terminated by way of conspiracy. That is how Uganda has continued to suffer due to religious and tribal differences orchestrated by the missionaries and the colonialists.

Hardly had the coalition government ruled four years than things began taking their predictable course. Obote and his company did not want Muteesa anymore as president and so their long awaited conflict soon burst into a civil war of 1966. Consequently Muteesa was thrown out, losing not only the presidency but also his kingdom. He was just lucky to flee with his life to Britain where he later died in 1969. We should remember that the coalition was for convenience, and now that the British were out of the political arena, and Obote had raised himself to the highest office of president, assisted by his Northern Uganda dominated army, he did not see any reason for sticking to the fake constitution which gave Buganda federal status. In effect the constitution was suspended and a new one was made in 1967 which abolished all kingdoms and removed all special favours accorded to Buganda shortly before the elections which led to independence. That was the beginning of the "Northern factor,"¹⁵ Obote in the state house in Entebbe and General Idi Amin Dada at the high command of the army though illiterate; and indeed many others in both the army and police following the colonial recruitment policy.¹⁶

Following the 1967 constitution which gave Obote all state powers as the president of the second republic of Uganda and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he set out to consolidate his power by promoting his tribesmen both in the Civil

Service and in the forces; he also tried to address the religious issues. Obote was well aware of the religious strife which had characterised the Ugandan society since late 1870s. He therefore sought to construct an impartial society religiously and ethnically, though in many respects, ethnically, he followed his colonial predecessors. He started by taking over all denominational schools and set up a government machinery to run them. Many schools became state schools under this regime.

Obote also wanted on the other hand, however, to break Baganda dominance in every way. He did not only concern himself with secular matters but also religious. He would have started with the Protestant church, but its leadership still lay with the British since Leslie Brown was still the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda. Failing to break through that church, and since moreover the Catholic church was centrally organised from Rome, he turned to the Muslims whose leadership was also Baganda. He destabilised them by supporting the founding of a rival Muslim group against the well established Uganda Muslim Community (UMC) whose leader was a Muganda Prince Badiru Kakungulu.

The rival group Obote supported, the 'National Association for the Advancement of the Muslims' (NAAM), was founded by Adoko Nekyon, Obote's cousin and a close friend. This was the beginning of all divisions among the Muslims which have persisted to this day. This group was conceived as the non-Baganda Muslim wing and has seriously retarded development in their faith.

Politically Obote employed the colonial system of divide and rule inherited from Uganda's earlier masters. As we saw earlier, he started by eliminating the power of the Baganda, then he turned to his own people from the north. He made a sharp distinction between those with Sudanic origin commonly called Nubians by descent, a group which encompasses the Lugbara, and Madi people of Uganda inhabiting the region of West Nile (North Western Uganda). Obote distinguished them from the Nilotics that is the Acholi and Langi, the latter of whom is his own

tribe. Obote caused tension between these two groups, both of whom dominated the military and the police, in turn prompting a military coup of January 1971 which led Amin to power.

Obote thought that by surrounding himself with people of his own tribe he was consolidating power; in that connection he created a rival army group which he called the Special Force which was typically Langi and Acholi. His aim was to weaken the regular army which Amin commanded. It should be noted here that Amin did not come from Obote's tribe, but was a Lugbara and therefore of Nubian descent. Probably Obote was using the same tactic he used to weaken the Baganda led Muslim community in Uganda. Also it should be noted that Amin and other officers like Malyamungu, Juma Oris, Moses Ali, Faruk Minawa and Mustafa Adiris were also Muslims loyal to the Uganda Muslim community which he sought to weaken. These could be some of the many reasons why Obote wanted to weaken this army; but certainly there was also nepotism at the base of his divisive policies.

Obote did not feel secure enough even with the Special force, so he created another army which he called General Service Unit (GSU) which he himself commanded assisted by his other cousin Akene Adoko.¹⁷ Just like the Special Force the GSU was also a composition of the same tribes only. Both these armies received presidential favours in terms of arms, equipment and a lot more budgetary allotments at the expense of the regular army. This indeed only intensified the tension between the two ethnic groups, exploding into that coup of 1971 which took place when Obote was in Singapore attending a commonwealth summit.

Amin's Tyrannical Regime.

It is important to note that Amin was backed by the Baganda who thought that probably they could use this chance to come back to active politics. Amin reciprocated their support by bringing back the body of their king and former first President of Uganda Muteesa, II, who died in exile in England in 1969, following

the 1966 Civil Strife. Muteesa's body was brought back in 1971 and buried in the royal tombs of Kasubi near Kampala, (something Obote would not do). Amin also appointed some leading Baganda Protestants and Catholics as well as Muslims to high government offices. Among these were Benedict Kiwanuka leader of DP, and Abu Mayanja. Kiwanuka was made the Chief Justice of Uganda. However Amin later killed him.

Amin undoubtedly got on well with the Muslims, but other religions had to take care. This was the most favourable time for the Muslims since Kalema and Kiwewa the Moslem Kings in Buganda. The Muslim world welcomed Amin and supported him in several ways mainly geared to the propagation of the Islamic faith. In that way they established Mbale Islamic University.

Amin's time was no better than his predecessor. He killed many people, mostly Christians and especially from Buganda and other areas south of Lake Kyoga. He took severe revenge on Obote's favourite tribes, murdered many of those people as well as abolishing Obote's two self-imposed armies. Amin also destroyed the economy, as I will discuss later.

Following Amin's Islamic ambitions and murderous policies coupled with political incompetence, the Church could not sit back but rose up to speak for the justice of the people. As expected, Amin responded by putting to death whoever condemned his actions. Amin's dislike for what the Church was telling him became absolutely clear when in 1977 he killed the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda, Janani Luwum . causing many others to flee the country in panic. Bishop Festo Kivengere and Yona Okoth (later to be Archbishop in Uganda 1980-94) were very lucky to escape with their lives because they were arrested the same day and taken to Amin's command post where Luwum . was later killed.

Luwum . was such a target for Amin, because not only was he a Christian, but he also belonged to the Acholi tribe on which Amin took revenge following Obote's

discriminative policies (which militarily promoted only the Acholi and Langi, causing suffering to others). Soon after Luwum 's death Amin banned twenty-six Christian organisations from operating in Uganda. Some of these were the Churches I discussed in chapter I. On this note the international community, except the Arab world, was alarmed and started withdrawing their support from Amin.

Let us consider the economic situation during Amin's regime. Following the expulsion of the Asians in 1972, the economy was abruptly placed into the hands of incompetent people. The act itself was very patriotic but then the timing was wrong. The colonialists had taken a lot of time training the Asian community to handle the economy which Amin thought he would overturn in simply ninety days. However, for the first time Uganda's economy was entirely in Ugandan hands and this is one good thing Ugandans will ever remember Amin for.

The effects were obvious: soldiers from their barracks found themselves running big companies, sugar factories or Kilembe mines. True, big companies fell to government hands, but it was not their regular managers who made decisions but high ranked officers in the army. We must be reminded of the illiteracy of the Ugandan army then. Smaller businesses fell to low ranked officers, their relatives or close associates. These included shops, petrol stations, cotton ginneries, coffee factories and food processing plants for example. And no wonder many closed down as soon as the original stock ran out because these people did not know where, when, and how to order new stock. Very soon the big shops and the clean flats became goat sheds, millet granaries and hide-outs for thieves, rapists and plunderers.

The collapse of the economy had serious consequences for the community generally; for instance the elite did not have a place in Amin's Uganda. Knowledge was not the priority, only money and therefore power. If anything, elites were hunted down and killed and everything they had was taken away at gunpoint.

Education was no longer a necessity but a luxury and morality became an issue of the past. To this effect Mutibwa has noted that officers and their sons packed their Jeeps, Benzes and Hondas in broad daylight at the school gates with secondary school girls, took them off and brought them back any time they so wished. If the headmaster or even a parent said a word that would be his last ever. Women were won over by either money or the gun and marriages were at stake because married women were easily attracted to soldiers who had money or were sexually assaulted at gun point. Makerere University became a laughing stock since officers' children walked into lectures without any qualification. In fact Amin at one time instructed the Vice-Chancellor to enrol his son who had never been to secondary four for the award of a degree; Amin himself was the Chancellor of Makerere University. Many lecturers, doctors and other academics and professionals left the country and headed for South Africa, Zambia or neighbouring Kenya. Many of course ended up in Europe or America and Canada. Those were the years of dead economy, political incompetence, moral decay and brain-drain among other things. All of this reflects on the colonial administration in close collaboration with the missionaries whose policies promoted the uneducated and less civilised while suppressing those who deserved those places.

After some time Ugandans in exile grew tired of living abroad and of the ever deteriorating situation in Uganda. They therefore met and decided to put their physical and financial resources together at the same time appealed to the international community to eject Amin and reconstruct Uganda. The different groups comprised among others pro-Obote, pro-Museveni and pro-Lule.

Following their efforts Amin's dictatorial regime ended in defeat on 11 April 1979 and a new era of the *Liberation Front* came in. Uganda has had quite a few coalitions since the missionary times and none of them has held up to the end. They have been made and they have been broken. Even here the war against Amin was fought by a coalition of several groups under the name of Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) who purported to be in the Moshi spirit. (Moshi, a city

in Tanzania, is the place where they met to formulate their allied group, lay down principles to govern both their political and military wings and cement their coalition).

The days of the coalition government (1979-1980).

The coalition unanimously elected Prof. Yusufu Kironde Lule a Muganda to lead it; and subsequently he was sworn in as president soon after the fall of Amin in April 1979. However, as history repeats itself, the coalition and indeed the 'Moshi' spirit soon disintegrated precisely after sixty eight days and the old tribal differences came alive coupled with greed. 'Lule' was ejected and fled back into exile in Britain where he later died of hypertension. The coalition fragmented and in this respect some people have remarked that the aftermath of Amin was worse than during his eight-year dictatorial regime.

Uganda in light of UNLF seemed to be heading for a better future because probably this was the most sophisticated government Uganda has ever had. It was championed by leading academics and professionals all of whom because of their knowledge and skill had fled Amin's madness and now were coming back home. Many were university professors and medical doctors in Europe, America and Canada, some were leading Economists in the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In fact it was a well composed government. This government had four wings, both well demarcated and co-ordinated; it had UNLF as its political front, Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) its military wing, the National Consultative Council (NCC) as its legislative and supreme organ and the National Executive Council (NEC) as its cabinet. Unfortunately that colonial disease could not allow it to prosper, because Uganda has been robbed of that spirit to work together due to the religious and tribal enmity planted and propagated since missionary times.

It should be observed that Lule was put at the forefront to win over the Baganda's approval in whose area the liberation war was waged. Secondly the Baganda have always desired to recapture their historical past and thus their superiority lost after



independence, and so naming one of their members as leader of a liberation front was a pointer that the long lost fame was back at last. Lule's removal from power is a clear indication that Uganda still has an ingrained colonial mentality which he sought to undo.

Lule wanted to address the recruitment policy, proposing some amendments to it. He suggested that they should use the quota system of recruiting people into the army, police and prison services. In this case the numbers recruited would correspond to the population of every respective area or region of Uganda. Also that recruitment should be based on academic qualifications. These procedures in effect meant that doors were being opened to the Baganda and other tribes from the south of Lake Kyoga who numerically greatly outnumbered the tribes in the north. Also they were more educated than their counterparts. He sought to abandon the colonial policy of "height and chest breadth". This was hotly protested by the Obote camp who dominated the UNLA wing with General Tito Okello an Acholi, the Army Commander and Brigadier David Oyite Ojoko a Langi as Army Chief of Staff. To them the army and police mainly meant the home for the "Northmen" Following this the consequences were obvious; Lule was ejected on the 20 June 1979 sixty eight days after he was sworn in as president.

The Consultative Council immediately invited Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa QC who at first was pro-Obote and had worked closely with him especially in his first regime when he served as the Attorney General. Binaisa was the man responsible for the 1967 constitution which abolished all kingdoms and revoked all Buganda privileges. Just as in Lule's election, the commission still wanted to win Baganda favours but this time using a man from their camp in terms of ideology. At this time Obote himself was still in exile in Tanzania while his disciples steered the political wheel in Uganda.

However, the Binaisa of 1979 was not the Binaisa of 1967. He now saw Uganda's politics from a different perspective, he introduced a system which was geared to



eliminating all political rivalries in terms of religion or tribe. He called this the “umbrella”, and said all Ugandans must operate under one umbrella. He sought to organise elections whereby an individual would stand as an individual and not representing any party or religion or tribe. Obote’s henchman were quick to react to his proposals which they saw as preventing Obote from coming back to power. Therefore just after his eleventh month in power, on 13 May 1980, Binaisa also was ejected. He was accused by the Military Commission, which took power then, of corruption and attempting to lead Uganda to a one party state.¹⁸ They definitely expected support from mainly the western world by making the latter accusation.

Binaisa anticipated some troubles with his policy; just before his final days he tampered with the centre of power when he announced that Brigadier Oyite Ojoko was to move from the army to become Uganda’s Ambassador in Algeria, and Muwanga, the minister for internal affairs, from that ministry to become minister for labour. Both these people were cornerstones in Obote’s camp. Muwanga, it should be noted, was a Muganda but a strong supporter of Obote, living and dying pro-Obote as we shall see later. Binaisa’s miscalculation led to his downfall, and now the commission came out strongly announcing Paul Muwanga as chairman and Yoweeri Kaguta Museveni (the current president) as vice-chairman; the military command remained intact, which in effect meant that the power base was not in the chairman but in Tito Okello and Oyite Ojoko.

While all these changes were taking place, the general population was suffering from revenge. This affected mainly the Baganda and Sudanic people of West Nile - Amin’s tribesmen who after Obote’s fall in 1971 had done exactly the same in Acholi and Lango.

Shortly after Binaisa’s short regime, the commission organised to return Obote to power. They purported to organise general elections and allowed other parties to participate alongside Obote’s UPC. Three other political parties registered, putting their supporters’ lives at stake since everything was run on the basis of

intimidation. These parties were DP led by Paul Kawanga Semwogerere, Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) led by Museveni and the Conservative Party (CP) led by Jehoash Mayanja Nkangi (former 'Katikiro' - Prime Minister in Buganda kingdom). It should be noted that these two new political parties were mainly formed to fight the "northern factor", UPM with Museveni at its head, also had Eriya Kategaya from Ankole, then Hagi Moses Kigongo and Bidandi Ssali from Buganda, as the founder members. Then CP more or less replaced KY and its manifesto advocated a federal system.

The elections were held on 10 December 1980 and to everyone's expectation they were seriously rigged. Muwanga in his capacity announced UPC as the winner, something which displeased many. True, Muwanga suspected some opposition to his announcement and he categorically made it clear ahead of time that anybody who revealed the outcome of the election, unless authorised, was to face five years' imprisonment or a fine of half a million shillings or both. To that effect everyone kept quiet and that marked the return to power of Obote, a regime commonly referred to as Obote II.

The Obote II regime (1980-85).

Despite the fact that on his swearing in he lifted up the Bible in his right hand; despite his promise not to take vengeance, despite the promise that he would facilitate reconciliation in the country, and despite his Christian background; Obote's regime has been referred as the most brutal in Uganda history.

Economically, Obote II and his supporters knew this was the time to reap the fruits of their sweat, which clearly was not done in the national interest but for personal gain. They knew that they had come to power through the back door which was opened by Muwanga, Okello and Ojoko; therefore without the real people's mandate, they never thought that they would be in power for a long time. They therefore started snatching whatever their eyes could see before turmoil ensued again and forced them back into exile.

The 1980 elections were truly won by the DP, which was then a reformed party cutting across religions, tribal and ethnic borders. But it was never given a chance to practise its impartiality before the people of Uganda. Arising therefore from UPC election thievery, many expressed their dismay. These included Yoweeri Museveni who from 1979 watched intently the course of events in the coalition. He indeed had foreseen the outcomes of the elections and had sounded a loud warning that if elections were not free and fair he would go back to the bush and fight. It must be noted that Museveni had contributed 7,000 men to the coalition army which ousted Amin.

And so soon after Muwanga declared that UPC had won the elections Museveni left with only seven men of his army to start a five year guerrilla war against Obote II.

The struggle against Obote II 1981-86.

It was on 6 February 1981 that the formal operation started, on the one hand in protest to the rigged elections, on the other to get rid of the northern factor. Museveni called his army the National Resistance Army (NRA) and his political wing National Resistance Movement (NRM). Museveni sought to abolish that legacy left by the colonial government and perpetuated by all their successors. One irony however is that all his army for its first part of his struggle was predominantly Baganda, Banyankole, Rwandese and a few other southerners. But it is obvious because these were the people most affected and therefore likely to take up arms against the tyrannical regime. Also many of these were children of the people massacred and therefore without any other choice except to rise against their killers. Today the army is well mixed with all tribes participating in their national army.

It is interesting to note that this struggle was made a lot easier by Obote's divisive policies. As in 1960 he sought to favour one group and neglect the other. This time he had only the Acholi and his tribe the Langi, both of whom had faithfully

raised him to power from exile. However, he soon forgot and ignored the Acholi, in turn promoting the Langi. That led to his downfall even before Museveni reached him. The Acholi greatly outnumbered their counterparts and were more experienced militarily. All was sparked off when Brigadier Oyite Ojoko died in a helicopter crash, allegedly shot down by Museveni's men in Luwero triangle where he had gone to fight against them. Obote was faced with a dilemma. The next person to be appointed to that position of Army Chief of Staff had to be an Acholi by way of seniority in the army. However, Obote stuck to his suicidal policy and appointed a fellow Langi, Smith Opon Acaka, a junior officer who all of a sudden was promoted to the rank of a general. This saw Obote's last days in the state house, for on the 27 July 1985 he had to flee towards the Kenyan border from where he proceeded to Zambia where he is to this day.

The end of the Obote II regime gave way to the Okello regime. General Tito Lutwa Okello the Army Commander became president, assisted by the Commander of the 10th Brigade Brigadier Bazilio Okello Olara; both of whom were Acholi. How did it happen? While tribal strife was boiling Okello Olara commanded his men from Gulu in the north down to the south to take the capital, forcing Obote and his supporters the Langi to flee. That is how the Okellos ejected a man they had supported through thick and thin in the 1970s and led to power in 1980. In every way the historical past of Uganda, which did not seek to unite the people of Uganda but rather divide them, is to blame. It must be observed that after any regime's fall it was followed by revenge and looting. A similar phenomenon happened, for the Acholis massacred their one time associates in arms the Langi indiscriminately.

It is interesting to know that this was another regime of people completely ignorant of the way forward. Many people have remarked that all their life they were people of the gun (this dates as far back as the Second World War where they and Amin fought together). Aware of this, they sought to incorporate other people to help them steer the country. Some of these were former ministers in Obote II's

government, like Paul Muwanga who was Obote's vice-president and minister of defence, and Abraham Waliggo. Like everyone else who has ruled Uganda through struggle, the Okellos sent a message of reconciliation which has apparently robbed Ugandans of the real meaning of that Christian virtue. It is now simply a slogan to be mouthed by any intending ruler. There was no reconciliation except blood baths everywhere.

Hiding in the rhetoric of reconciliation the Okellos invited all fellow fighters from other factions, those who were fighting the Obote II regime to come out and join them. Those who were short sighted rushed to Kampala to take up posts. These included Dr. Andrew Lutakome Kayiira leader of Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) who abandoned his house in America and came back only to meet his death at the hands of the Okellos. Also Lt Nkwanga Commander of the Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEM) left the bush and joined them, to be killed just days later. Museveni for his part watched for sometime from the bush and found out that it was a mere change of guards but the same legacy had stayed. And for that reason he intensified his efforts to liberate Uganda once and for all. Following this the war raged on, and on 26 January 1986 Museveni captured power and the old legacy was no more.

Museveni's regime (1986. . . .).

When Museveni was sworn in as president of a liberated Uganda, he introduced a ten point programme highlighting the issues which prompted him to fight and how he was prepared to address them. Among these was democracy, security for all persons and their property, consolidation of national unity and the elimination of all forms of sectarianism and the laying of the foundation for an independent, integrated, self-sustaining national economy.¹⁹ To a certain extent Museveni's government has endeavoured to address those issues; for example today a cross section of people are represented from village level up to national level. To this effect the NRM government has instituted what is called the Resistance Councils (RCs) in which notably the youth and women have special positions and this

ensures their full participation in decisions affecting the entire community. This presupposes a vision for the future, especially where there are women representatives. As one philosopher said, if you educate a woman, you have educated everyone, so if you allow women participation you have allowed everyone's participation. This coupled with youth participation reinforces the vision for a better Uganda tomorrow. The RCs are formed from village level which is RCI, then sub parish level RCII, parish level RCIII, county level RCIV; the district level is RCV and thereafter is the National Resistance Council (NRC) which is much larger in composition and complexity.

It is that NRC which has worked as the country's national assembly since 1986 until the 10 May 1996 when general elections were held under a new constitution made by all the people's participation in Uganda. In the RC system, everyone is free to stand irrespective of religion, tribe or status except for two positions: the youth secretary and women's secretary, which are designated for those respective parties. This is an indicator for a settled Ugandan society in future. The democratisation process is so far running smoothly, there is freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the rule of law.

The irony however, is that when NRM came to power in 1986, all political parties were suspended. If democracy can only be conceived in terms of political parties then the NRM government has a long way to go, but if it can be seen in another perspective, for instance, by the evolution of social structures, then Museveni is doing well. And for that matter the national assembly has voted and passed the suspension of political parties until Uganda's wounds can be healed. They probably will be re-introduced at the end of this five-year parliament (in the year 2,000).

Museveni has done well in the practice of reconciliation. In his government former UPC, DP, and UPM membership are given positions of responsibility. Surprisingly, even former Amin henchmen like Moses Ali is a minister of tourism in

NRM government. Still in this connection, Museveni has invited back the Asian community whose property was confiscated and mismanaged by Amin's regime. Many have come back and reclaimed their dukas (shops) unfortunately many others died because they could not think of another home, and so when Amin ejected them they committed suicide.

There are however, some loopholes; for instance some massacres have been reported in the north where rebels of the defunct armies continue to fight against Museveni's established government. The problem still is, that they cannot think that anyone not from the north can rule Uganda or be in the forces. For that matter they will protest and fight until they run out of human resources or arms; or else they must learn to live and work together with other Ugandans, and so erase that colonial mentality of "northern monopoly".

Economically, the government has diversified the economy to give it a new shape since independence. However, they are doing it with caution so as not to alienate Uganda from the rest of the world in undoing the colonial economy which benefited the colonial masters while driving to the wall the indigenous Ugandans. Government has encouraged liberalisation as a way to enhance an independent, integrated and self sustaining national economy.

The NRM philosophy on the economy resides in a mixed economy, because they believe this ensures political freedom. To untie the colonial economy the government is emphasising the production and export of other traditional crops, like beans, ground nuts, simsim, maize, millet and other cereals. Some of these the colonial government mentioned but did not really implement. The government is also considering the notion of processing its raw materials and thus selling or exporting finished goods. That policy of exporting raw materials for a mere pittance and in turn buying finished goods for a fortune must end or be minimised. Uganda could do well in areas like leather, textile and fish industries to earn a lot more foreign exchange. On this note it should be observed that one of the legacies

left behind by their colonial masters was to expect to be subsidised by the west. This has been made worse by the instability; people have always been on the run from the blasting bombs and cracking guns. In turn they have always expected 'Manna' to drop from the international sympathisers. Today Museveni is saying everyone must work. However, Museveni has a long way to go to reverse the thirty years of backwardness.

Museveni has been noted for tapping the knowledge and skill of Ugandan women. For the first time Uganda has involved women in decision making machinery of the country. Not only that but they also are running significant government posts; for example the first woman vice-president on the African continent resides in Uganda - Specioza Wandira Kazibwe, there are a few others who are government ministers and in the NRM Secretariat. Others are members of parliament and yet many others are involved in RCs down to RCI. This is in line with their traditional society where women both in terms of temporal and religious matters were much more involved. Uganda had women as landladies and chiefs, and religiously there were women priests.

Educationally, Museveni's regime has put much emphasis on this factor. Government is planning to offer free primary education in 1997, to give a chance to all Uganda's children. As far as higher education is concerned, the government has encouraged private universities while also establishing more state universities. When they first came to power in 1986, there were only two universities: Makerere and Mbale Islamic universities; today Uganda has six, the other four being Mbarara, the Christian University of East Africa (Ndejje), the Catholic University of Nkozi, and Nkumba University. Others like the Anglican University of the Church of Uganda are in the making. The establishment of universities however, clearly shows the colonial legacy of denominationalism and indeed some of those features show up in the process of admissions, not only in universities but also in primary and secondary schools.

The Church's participation in post independent politics of Uganda.

We have already seen how the Church influenced the elections of 1962 especially facilitating the UPC/KY alliance which led to the downfall of the DP government hardly a year after their victory. In that regard the Protestant Church continued to operate closely with the State while the Catholic Church silently opposed every move of their traditional enemies. However, it should be appreciated that the Catholic Church has done tremendous work all the time they have been denied rule. The leader of the Catholic Church Cardinal Emmanuel Nsubuga made several condemnations and constructive criticisms of the Ugandan leadership on behalf of everyone.

The Protestant Church as expected was much quieter and supportive of all Protestant regimes. They only raised their voices during Amin's regime, probably because he was a Muslim, but also because he was as bad as all the others as regards justice. And that may probably explain why Amin was bewildered and decided to kill the Archbishop of the Protestant Church. It is amazing to know that he never killed any bishop in the Catholic Church and I cannot recall any Catholic bishop fleeing the country in Amin's regime as did those of the Protestant Church. That may be because he considered the Catholic criticisms genuine and the Protestant ones simply malicious, for all along they had been quiet! In fact he accused the Protestant Church of supporting Obote's guerrilla war to oust him and for that he killed Archbishop Luwumu in 1977.

The election of Luwumu's successor can also explain the Church's approach to politics. The Church of Uganda could not choose the next Archbishop from anywhere else except Amin's tribe. This was conceived to please Amin and was in line with the old legacy, that is, the Archbishop must be one who will get on well with the president. Indeed Amin was a Muslim but by the fact that Archbishop Silvanus Wani was his tribesman, that made a great impact and until the last days of Amin in 1979 there were no serious problems in the Church of Uganda as there were prior to Luwumu's death and before Wani's election.

Wani continued as Archbishop after Amin's fall through to Obote II's regime. However, Obote did not get on very well with him. And soon after his retirement in 1981, he was replaced by Obote's choice Dr. Yona Okoth. Archbishop Yona Okoth had fled Amin's regime (with Kivengere)²⁰ on the day Luwumu was killed. Okoth had lived in exile, communicating with Obote and allegedly fund-raising and mobilising on behalf of Obote. It is therefore not surprising that when Obote came to power he was the best choice to represent the Church as Archbishop, hence getting on very well with the state. On this note, can we conclusively dismiss Amin's allegation that the Church of Uganda was campaigning against him prior to Luwumu's death? Certainly not with precision. I must observe that Okoth had bodyguards, something which was bizarre in the Church as a whole, and he also had a pistol at his side, he preached with it, confirmed with it and blessed God's people with it.

Okoth, was not only a close friend of Obote but also a man of his ethnic background. He and Luwumu belonged to the Luo speaking group which comprises the Acholi Langi, and Jopadhola.²¹ Luwumu was an Acholi, Obote a Langi, and Okoth a Japadhola, and that exposed Luwumu further as Amin's target. That can explain Church and State affairs in Uganda since independence. Both Church and State leadership have been characterised by the "northern factor" in every way.

Today, the State leadership has shifted to the south, so has the Church leadership. Both the president and the Archbishop belong to one big ethnic group the Bantu people. The president is a Munyankole and Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo - a Muganda. They get on very well. It is interesting that during the elections for Archbishop of the Church of Uganda of December 1994 after the retirement of Okoth and without Obote's regime, the north and east never bothered to present any name, they automatically knew their time was over. Therefore both the Rt. Rev. David Masereka and Nkoyoyo were from the southern

part and from a similar ethnic group to the president (Bantu people). The old legacy continues to reign.

In the light of all this the Catholic Church has been in opposition; for instance when Obote II's government came to power (1980-85) they supported Museveni in his bush struggle. Also they supported other fighting groups like FEDEM and UFM as we saw above, the latter of which was led by a fellow Catholic Andrew Kayiira. When Museveni came to power Cardinal Nsubuga became almost his political adviser. For instance they moved together within and out of the country. The Cardinal wanted to use this chance because the Anglican leadership still identified itself with the fallen Obote government; Okoth was still reigning over the Protestant church and very loyal to Obote though he was out of power, and he never supported Museveni at all until his retirement recently in 1994. In fact the Catholic Church has benefited much from Museveni's regime because it supported his bush war against Obote. Museveni never attended any enthronement of an Anglican bishop, before Okoth retired; he had always sent representatives with presidential greetings. But to every enthronement of a Catholic bishop he has appeared in person.

However, when Okoth retired, the tide also changed, and he could never forget his Anglicanism for good. In public Museveni denies any close association with the Church yet practically he strives to buy their favours. He has made it almost a policy to give a Pajero or a Daewoo or a Mitsubishi car to every bishop while saying openly that he is not a man of the Church but a man of science.²² Also, as a way of reciprocating the State favours to the Church, Archbishop Nkoyoyo, of the Protestant Church, at the time of preparation for the 1996 election, announced that the Church of Uganda was working out a programme through which the Church should work with the State to ensure successful elections.²³ On this note there were some rows not only in the Protestant Church but also in the Catholic Church and in the Muslim community as many people did not think the Church should come out as openly as it did. That has been the Church's position as regards their

interrelationship with the State. In my next section I will highlight the pedigree of this model and some alternative models as regards Church and State.

(b) The Anglican Church and State Partnership in Uganda; any other possible model?

Arising from Chapter I there is clear evidence of the impact the Anglican Church and State partnership has made on the society of Uganda. The two institutions have operated side by side since the colonial days, which gives an impression that the Anglican Church was an established church.

The Anglican Church we should be reminded participated very actively in the enthronement and dethronement of kings, thus sharing its political attitude with its partner the colonists. It orchestrated the sub-imperialism which seriously affected the traditional political systems outside of Buganda. In 1953 Bishop Leslie Brown endorsed the deportation of King Muteesa II by the colonial government; and in 1961 this church conspired with the colonial government to annul the first ever elections which were considered to have been won by the 'Catholic-led Democratic party'. Subsequently they organised fresh elections, in the event facilitating the Anglican led party of Uganda people's congress to victory. There is also evidence of Church and State partnership in the post independence period. All this is highlighted in the first section.

The Anglican Church and State linkages in Uganda have gone so deep that one wonders whether this is a model destined to last for ever. Therefore there is every reason to look out for an alternative model in which the Church can still be itself but co-operate with the State in light of the situation today, the more so in a multi-denominational age and society; where the Catholic Church, the Independent Churches and Islam are also commanding considerable influence. This is indeed the aim of this section. Before considering any alternative models there may be,

however, let us make a careful study of the model introduced by the missionaries and cherished by the Church of Uganda to this day.

Evidently the Anglican Church in Uganda was planted by the English missionaries of the CMS. It follows therefore that they also introduced a model which was familiar to them. Back in England the model in operation was in all appearances the 'Constantinian' model. Commenting on this Constantinian model and citing Constantinian days (the fourth century AD) Alan Richardson says "the Church was basking in the sunshine of imperial favour".²⁴ It is interesting to note that despite the fact that Constantine was not baptised until later on his death bed he was highly praised by the Church. He was referred to as "a friend of God, Universal Bishop, the thirteenth apostle and a man of providence called to fuse the Christian belief and the Roman order into one unity".²⁵ In this model the State controls the Church as contrasted with a church-sanctioned state model or a total separation of Church and State model.

The Constantinian model has a long history which stretches back to the days of King Henry VIII's act when he nationalised the Church.²⁶ In this model writes Canon Gordon Dunstan, "the Statutes of Henry VIII restored a unified jurisdiction to the realm. The sovereign became the fount of justice in causes spiritual as well as temporal".²⁷ Similarly even the Canon A7 which was made later concurred with Henry VIII's statute thus: "we acknowledge that the Queen's most excellent majesty, acting according to the laws of the realm, is the highest power under God in this kingdom and has supreme authority over all persons in all causes as well ecclesiastical as civil".²⁸

Following this establishment the Church in England has always been governed by the laws made by the parliament which according to Cornwell "Seem to constitute a rag-bag of disabilities imposed on and privileges granted to the Church of England". In accordance with the State law the election of a Bishop and Archbishop lies with the Sovereign rather than the Church Synod. Normally two

names are presented to the Sovereign, who on the Prime Minister's advice chooses one name for the office of a Bishop or Archbishop. Most interestingly it does not follow that the Prime Minister must be a member of the Church of England; he can as well be a non-believer.

In this model the State also influences the way liturgy is deliberated upon, for example the 1662 BCP was sanctioned by the Act of Parliament and not the Church of England itself. In every way the State influences all matters pertaining to the Church establishment from administration to liturgy, from pastoral work to Church estates. For example, according to George Moyser, "parish priests cannot choose those to whom they will minister, for parishioners whatever their personal beliefs have common law rights of access to the parish church and the ministration of their vicar".

In this type of relationship the Church takes up the role of anointing and blessing the Crown/State. In England the Archbishops of Canterbury and York along with twenty-four senior Bishops in the United Kingdom take their seats at the right hand side in the House of Lords. All this illustrates the way the two institutions have characteristically embraced each other since the days of the Reformation, and their embrace has spilled over to other nations and societies where Britain had influence.

It was this model which was imported into Uganda, a model which in addition to Bishop Tucker's busy schedule in ecclesiastical matters gave him another role - a consultant and negotiator on political issues. Not only that but it also promoted the Anglican Church leadership in Uganda to the third position by way of protocol, whenever there was a national function. For instance the Governor of the protectorate ranked first, followed by the King, and the bishop (later Archbishop) of the Anglican Church came third. The Catholic leadership did not matter nor did the Islamic leadership.

In a similar style the Anglican mission centres which today have turned out to be cathedrals throughout Uganda were established very close to the administration headquarters. This was mainly because of the security they expected from the State and for easy access to the Government officials.

It is this model which has kept the Anglican leadership mute on many issues affecting the society as long as the regime has been led by an Anglican president. It was only during Idi Amin's Muslim regime that the Anglican Church dared to speak out against the injustices in the Government and this led to the assassination of Archbishop Jonan Luwumu.²⁹

The Strengths and Weaknesses of this model.

This model was very effective in the formative period of Uganda; for example the government quickly supported programmes initiated by the church. These included education, medical services and agriculture. The government for instance made funds available while the church provided teachers. On the other hand the state benefited from the church's influence over the people to establish its administration. Today the church is still being used to enhance government programmes like immunisation against killer diseases. Traditionally the church stands in the place of elders and therefore its voice is heard louder than the state's. When it speaks, people quickly get involved in its cause. In like manner the politicians exploit the close relationship to win support from the congregations. Another strength is to do with the security the church required at the time. For example when there were still a few Arabs hunting for slaves, the church alone was powerless to stop them, so the state provided the forces to stop the practice. Secondly when there was an impending invasion from the Sudan; an invasion which was geared to turning Uganda and the entire East African region Muslim at any cost, the church and state worked together to ward off such an invasion.

However, there were weaknesses to this model, for other faiths/communities were seriously marginalised. In this respect I refer to the Catholics and the Muslims who

were not given a chance to participate in the political evolution of their nation. They were accused of crimes they did not commit simply because their forebears came from France in the case of the Catholics and because they were slave traders in the case of the Muslims. This mentality continues to reign among many Ugandans. The economic and political agenda was dictated by the Anglican church alone.

A church which enjoys a privileged position fails to understand its mission. In this respect the Anglican church failed to establish a strong spiritual base. This was because much of its time was spent in making and breaking political leaders. It was because it was a means to gain access to power, jobs, treatment and education that many people joined the Anglican church.³⁰ On the contrary being a Catholic was considered a disadvantage,³¹ yet its spiritual base is undoubtedly strong to this day. For that matter the mission of the Anglican church has been besieged and overshadowed by the state. This church has shrunk into subordination just like the mother church in England. It has not been able to think systematically about its place in society and the political dimension to its mission. To this effect the Catholic church is far ahead as regards for instance the indignisation and it also addresses political issues appropriately to everyone's satisfaction.

While sweeping serious political issues under the carpet, the Anglican church has confined itself mainly to moral issues like polygamy, abortion, prostitution and pick-pocketing by street boys. By so doing the church has ignored the root causes which are responsible for the entire moral decay. Many of these causes actually lie with the dictatorial, economically and ideologically bankrupt regimes only interested in self-satisfaction while accruing big international debts to buy arms to keep themselves in power.

Another weakness of this model is the suffering which can be inflicted on the Church in the event of changing regimes. This is what happened in Uganda when Kalema, a Muslim king, was enthroned as king of Buganda.³² History repeated

itself when Idi Amin grabbed power in 1971. This also must remind us of what happened in England during Mary's reign (1553-58), when the Protestant church was persecuted, the English prayer book cancelled and three hundred people were burnt including five bishops notably Cranmer the Archbishop, Nicholas Ridley (Bishop of London) and Hugh Latimer (Bishop of Worcester). Then with the accession to the throne of Elizabeth I (1558-63) the trend reverted and it was the turn of the Catholics to suffer. This model has been operated in other countries on the African continent with similar consequences. For example in Ethiopia the Orthodox church was by 1955 recognised as the established church. In this way the Emperor approved of all elections of archbishops and bishops. He held the powers to promulgate decrees, edicts and public regulations concerning the church. As expected "the state gave protection to the church and Emperor Haile Selassie and the patriarch of the church both had thrones in St. George's Cathedral in Addis Ababa". Further to that it has been reported that the Emperor owned most of the land and his subjects were his tenants. He had four billion dollars in Swiss bank accounts while his people were starving to death combined with dire poverty and other social injustices. In all this the church remained silent and paid the price.³³ Another example comes from South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church protected by the state, defended the apartheid policy which condemned millions of African people to "second, third and fourth class citizenship". These people were deprived of their political rights yet the church fully supported the system in the guise of defending "Christian civilisation".

Suggested Alternative Models.

Many alternative models have been suggested and theologians are not agreed upon a single perfect model. I wish however, to focus on models which have been devised and are being tested in African contexts (with cross-reference to other writers whose ideas have a resonance with Africa).

One of these models which was identified by the Colloquium organised jointly by the World Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey (in 1976) is

to do with the Church resisting the State.³⁴ Discussing this model David Gitari well knows that many a Church leader on the basis of Rom 13:1-2 ("Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed and those who resist will incur judgement") may think it is wrong to oppose temporal authorities. However David Gitari thinks this is a misplaced interpretation of the scripture. Indeed certain authorities must be there to maintain order and peace by protecting citizens from 'wrongdoers'. This is in line with the nature of God; he is a God of order and not chaos. Paul knew so well that the authorities were acting on behalf of God who called them to that authority either consciously or unconsciously. The governing authorities are also called Servants of God.

The whole question, however, is whether those authorities can maintain their call; when instead their rulership turns into tyranny and instead of protecting the people they threaten their lives and property; when instead of supplying people's needs they exploit them and when instead of uniting the people they divide them, then those authorities are not worthy to be called Servants of God any longer.

Sometimes those authorities become idols and demand to be worshipped instead of God. When this happens, the Church must rise up and resist, cf. Acts 5:29 "But Peter and the Apostles answered; We must obey God rather than men-". (This does not however mean resisting militarily.)

Indeed, this model is not without witness. In 1967, when the Sudanese government wanted to introduce the rule of the Islamic law (Sharia), the Protestant and Catholic churches in Sudan joined forces and formed the National Council of Churches of Sudan (NCCS) to resist the government policy. This was done non-violently. And in 1983 when finally President Nimeiry adopted the Sharia, that council championed the resistance to his regime which spread to Nimeiry's ranks, provoking a revolt which saw the president's last days in power. Nimeiry was deposed by way of a military coup, and even if the policy persists in the north of

the country where 73% of the population are Muslims as contrasted with the 9.1% Christians in the south, the Church still puts up a ferocious resistance. (Ironically however, some Christian sympathisers took up arms in Southern Sudan)

In South Africa, Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak and Beyers Naude led all Christian communities, except members of the Dutch Reformed Church which was favoured by the State, to resist apartheid. To this effect Allan Boesak wrote protesting to the Minister of Justice in 1979; “over the years gone by, it has become clear that your government expects precisely this sort of unconditional blind obedience. I want to be honest with you, the believer in Christ has not only the right but also the responsibility to be more obedient to God and his law than to the government, should this government deviate from God’s law”.³⁵

Another model is suggested by Adrian Hastings. This model speaks of a state of ‘being in but not wholly of the State’. Indeed Hastings knows it is such a hard thing to do and evidently down the centuries one of the most difficult issues in Christian history has been to distinguish between what is Caesar’s and God’s, what is for the State and for the Church. He uses examples from both Christianity and Islam to illustrate his model. For example he says that the Church’s approach for a long time has been dualistic as contrasted with the Islamic straightforwardness in matters relating to religion and State. However the dualism Hastings refers to here is different from a Lutheran version.

Citing Jesus as the ideal example to the Church, Hastings shows us that Jesus never allied himself with the State and at the same time was not its enemy. He always referred to the Immanence and Transcendence of God, which in Hastings’ words, was “infinitely more and infinitely less than the kingdom of Caesar”. Hastings also observes that even if Jesus was or was not straightforward, he nevertheless addressed issues of the State. For example he taught that people must render to Caesar that which was Caesar’s and to God what was God’s and that is the major dilemma, to choose what belongs to whom.

Hastings does not recall any verse in the Bible where Jesus encouraged his followers to withdraw from the State, nor where they were sanctioned to take it over. What is certain is that his teaching affected the course of events both in the religious and political realms.

Comparing Jesus and Mohammed however, Hastings observes that the latter was straightforwardly a political and religious leader whose establishment was founded on both pillars. There was precise law encompassing institutions of violence both penal and military.³⁶ Unlike Jesus, Mohammed defined how he wanted his government to be run by way of his own behaviour and life experience. And indeed that form of government lasted several years and strict Muslims would wish to follow in his footsteps to this day. True, the Islamic religion avoids in principle religious and political ambiguities, yet Hastings concludes by saying that Jesus' failure to give a clear cut guidance to the Church in matters related to Church and State has given it freedom and allowed flexibility which together have facilitated alterations in the way Church relates to the State down the centuries. And certainly this is a problem Islamic countries are grappling with in the form of Islamic fundamentalism. For that matter Hastings sticks to his model of being in but not wholly of the State.

This model has received support from various theologians, not least Gustavo Gutierrez. Like Hastings, Gutierrez also cites Jesus to illustrate his view. He says, Jesus and his disciples were often related to the Zealots. Also that Jesus expressed his attraction to "law lovers, strong nationalists and those who waited the impending arrival of the kingdom".³⁷ It is also likely that among his disciples some were Zealots for example Simon the Zealot, Peter, Judas Iscariot and the sons of Zebedee.³⁸ On the other hand however, Gutierrez presents Jesus as keeping away from the Zealots. And the reason he advances for this is that Jesus considered his mission much wider than simply the Zealot movement. Also Jesus would never be party to them following their sectarian acts of discriminating against the Samaritans

and Pagans. Jesus' mission was clear: it was inclusive and this is what makes his ministry over and above any political or religious organisations of anytime.

Still in support of the model, Gutierrez cites Jesus' attitude to the State from the way he behaved towards those in power. For instance referring to Herod, a puppet to the Roman oppressors, Jesus called him a 'fox' Lk. 13:32, the publicans who were close associates to the political authorities he placed under 'sinners' (cf. Mt. 9:10). All this he did, not that his followers should rebel against the political establishment; on the contrary, he encouraged them to obey those who ruled over them and to observe the law (cf. Mt. 5:19f).

Having said all this Gutierrez emerged with these conclusions:-

- that Jesus was not uninterested in the actions of this world,
- that Jesus' political attitude must be put in a wider context which Gutierrez has called "the universality and totality of Jesus' work, and it is here that the heart of Jesus' political behaviour must be traced".

Indeed just like any other model, this one also has its own advantages and disadvantages as will be depicted in the Kenyan Church experience shortly. However, it is a model the Church of the province of Kenya (CPK) has chosen to adopt. Commenting on their choice Dr David Gitari (now the Archbishop of the CPK.) one of the exponents of this model, says it was due to their interpretation and understanding of the doctrines of creation, humanity, incarnation and the Kingdom of God that they came out with the position. To that effect he writes "The doctrine of creation reminds us that God not only creates but also sustains his creation; the doctrine of humanity reminds us that God commanded humans to take part in his creation; the doctrine of incarnation reminds us that God took residence among us and spoke on the stage of human history, and the doctrine of the Kingdom of God shows us how Jesus was involved in the social, political, economic and spiritual affairs of the world. These have been the theological roots of my involvement in the public life of Kenya, in particular, in the debate over the

queuing system in National Elections between 1985-90 during which my life was threatened”.³⁹

Clearly this model exposes Church leaders to being targets of politicians. In fact Gitari’s life has been threatened several times yet he maintains that the dominion entrusted to humanity belongs to all human beings, religious leaders and politicians alike. Therefore leaving it only to politicians in many cases has permitted decisions and actions which only devastate creation. For that matter Gitari says Church leaders must always remind politicians that they are only “God’s vicegerent responsible for his stewardship”. The Church is called upon to do this because it is the salt of the earth (cf. Mt. 5:13).

Gitari protests strongly against the politicians’ appeal to religious leaders to confine their ministry only to spiritual matters. He also observes among the politicians the tendency to think that the work of the Church is only to prepare people for the future and not the present. Along with that he also identifies a concept of passive religion which induces Christians to accept decisions without questioning as a means to facilitate obedience to those in authority in order to maintain the peace of the nation. In the sight of politicians, ‘true religion’ and ‘real conversion’ resides nowhere else but in ‘aloofness,’ in the notion ‘they are not of this world’. And this is what pleases politicians because then they don’t expect ‘trouble’ from the Church.

On this note Gitari quotes Jim Wallis’ understanding of conversion thus:

“Conversion in the bible is always firmly grounded in history, it is always addressed to the actual situation in which people find themselves People are never called to a conversion in an historical vacuum. They turn to God in the midst of concrete historical events, dilemmas and choices. This turning is always deeply personal, but it is never private. It is an abstract or theoretic concern; conversion is always a practical issue. Any idea of conversion that is removed from the social, political realities of the day, is simply not Biblical”.⁴⁰

Therefore confining oneself to spiritual matters alone at the neglect of all other issues is simply not acceptable. That would be tantamount to saying that Jesus' coming into this world, and pre-empting himself as well as speaking on human stage was a waste of time. Here again Gitari continues to cite Jesus breaking through the political scene for the cause of humanity, cf. Mt. 9:36 "When he saw the crowds he had pity on them, because they were harassed and helpless like sheep without a shepherd" cf. Mt. 23:23-24. "Woe to you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you tithe mint and dill and cummin and have neglected weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith; these you ought to have done without neglecting the others, you blind guides straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel".

Following from all this the Church in Kenya has abandoned the practice of proclaiming the Gospel from a distance. Now it "penetrates the communities and cultures, cities and villages, so that it can see for itself the harassment and helplessness of God's people and then stand in solidarity with them, even if it means taking a political stand which brings hope to humanity".⁴¹

This model has also been applied in Zambia. This took place during the days of President Kenneth Kaunda in 1982. This was when he wanted to introduce 'scientific socialism' and sought the Church's support to do this. He summoned the Church leadership to a seminar at Mulungushi Hall and presented his case, hiding behind the mask of 'social reconstruction' which he clearly stated was compatible with Christian principles. He therefore pleaded with the Church leadership to educate the masses on those "good" intentions. However on a close scrutiny the Church soon found out that the whole idea was to introduce 'scientific socialism' based on 'Marxist principles'. And because the Church knew it was the salt of the earth, it educated the masses but not in Kaunda's favour but the incompatibility of Marxism with Christianity. This critical, constructive and creative participation in the affairs of the State is what Hastings refers to when he mentions to "being in, but not wholly of the State".

In summation this does not mean that this final model is the perfect fit, nor the earlier one I discussed. There is much to draw out of both models depending on the situation one is addressing. In every way the Church must guard against religious fundamentalism much in the same way as it should avoid getting imprisoned by the State either by choice or by way of imposition. In my next section I will suggest the best way forward for the future relationship between Church and State in Uganda.

(c) The Church and State Politics: The Nature of Their Future Relationship.

Whereas both models (of 'resisting the State' and 'being in, but not wholly of the State'), are attractive to the Ugandan situation, and whereas the situation will dictate which model to use, yet I recommend that the Church adopts the latter. The 'being in and not wholly of the State' model is the one which will enable the Church to exercise a more independent and just position. We must heed David Gitari's words; "Churches which are favoured by the state find it very tempting to respond by giving full support to their patron".⁴²

At the same time it is not practical to be distinctively separated from the State because that would mean living away from the rest of society. We must be reminded that the presence of the Church in the midst of society serves as an agent of liberation and a community of hope. If it therefore moves away from the people by purporting to have nothing to do with the State as R. Moffat suggests, in his book 'Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa',⁴³ it effectively renders itself "saltless" deserving to be thrown outside and trampled upon. (cf. Mt. 5:13)

On the other hand however, getting involved in the affairs of the State must have a clear direction. This entails a prophetic ministry of judgement and not favouritism. The Church is called upon to constantly remind the people of righteousness and justice as the rocky foundation on which to build their lives and the nations. In this form of relationship the Church offers its support where the State maintains good

moral standards and does not shy away when the State does otherwise, but rises up to criticise it. (cf. Phil. 4:8 “. . . whatever is true, whatever is honourable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things”.)

On that note I further recommend that the Anglican Church in Uganda buries and buries very deep indeed the mentality of keeping silent when injustice prevails in the society. I do not think I have to remind the Church to hail the State when the situation warrants because it has been doing that anyway even when a certain section of people were suffering. It would probably be better to refrain from the mentality of appointing the head of the Anglican Church from the serving President's ethnic group because this has also contributed to the silence; (Let the spirit itself choose from wherever). As long as the people who suffer belong to a different ethnic group the Church leadership does not find a reason to criticise the government led by a member of their own ethnic group. It is high time the Church realised that it belongs to Christ and Christ alone calls whoever he wants to serve in any position. Tribal-Church-Politics must be abolished.

The Church should feel secure not because the government guarantees its security to operate but because Christ himself has already guaranteed it. This is one of the reasons why at times the Church thinks it will be doomed to extinction or its operations will be terminated if it criticises the State for its injustice in society. In this matter the Church pursues in Hugo Assmann's words a policy of “Political non-intervention”.⁴⁴

The Gospel cannot be captive to the State as observes Melba Maggay: “Paul may be in chains but the Gospel is unfettered” Melba Maggay continues to note that “Like any other vested interests the Church is often interested in merely protecting its own cultic and evangelistic interests, and is removed from larger concerns of justice and righteousness”.⁴⁵

The Church should unreservedly and constantly remind the state about its duties instead of praising it. In fact some politicians get embarrassed when the Church forgets its duty and gets entangled in the practice of praising them. To this effect David Gitari quotes the vice-president of Kenya when he was addressing member churches of the National Council of Churches of Kenya in 1984; “The church leaders should not spend their time praising politicians; we have enough people to praise us. Your task is to correct us when we do wrong and need to be reminded of the justice that God requires, and to pray for us”.⁴⁶ Following from this remark it is clear that the Church must always point the State to the core of its responsibility for which it is instituted thus; sin and injustice which led, according to Alan Storkey, to the creation of the office of judges preceded by Moses’ reception of the Ten Commandments by which he administered the people (cf. Ex. 18). Indeed there is still cause for this institution which today is in the name of the State and must deal with the “Power of sin to disrupt and hurt, to cause strife, violence and diversions, and to break down economic, marriage and family relationships which is incalculable”.⁴⁷ To this Alan Storkey adds the desire to retaliate which reigns strongly in human hearts, and is this not the Ugandan experience at every change of regime? All these are issues the Church must remind the State of.

The Church should also reveal the partiality, nepotism and favouritism which have characterised the society for decades. Certainly it is a hard thing to tell the State to refrain from these practices especially since the ACU itself has benefited from them; nevertheless it is the duty of the Church to inform the State to practice impartiality. As rightly put by A Storkey “Impartiality is the key to political stability” (cf. Prov. 29:14 “If a king judges the poor with equity his throne will be established for ever”; cf. Is. 3:9 “Their partiality witnesses against them”.) Given the situation that there are many denominations, the State needs this policy of impartiality.

In the course of dealing with each denomination on matters of principle all the denominations will rightfully execute their mission for the development of the society instead of scrambling for a share from the State.

The idea of impartiality does not end with religious groups but must be seen to address a wide range of issues including mobilisation of resources and distribution of services. Uganda has had a long history of disrepute in this regard. The Church in its advocacy must remind the State to treat all its nationals with equity and everyone is entitled to benefit from the national resources and services irrespective of ethnicity, religion or sex. Here I am concerned about issues such as education, health, transport, commerce, the military, political freedom and job opportunities. All these contribute to national stability which is a pre-requisite to development in all its facets. This position may appear to be too political in the eyes of church critics as noted by George Moyser; "That church should concern itself principally (and for some exclusively) with individual spiritual condition. Any attempt to articulate a political platform entails a compromise with principles that lack external authority of the Church either in defined religious matters or in issues of personal morality".⁴⁸ However this position is challenged on the grounds that personal morality goes hand in hand with social and political morality. For that matter the Church must address all aspects of human existence; cultural, social, economic and political as well as mental and spiritual; for all that Jesus came into this world (cf. Jn. 10:10) "-----I have come in order that you might have life - life in all its fullness".

By way of concluding this section I will quote George Moyser in that "The ecclesiastical involvement in public and political life is inevitable. That being the case the Church should take its political involvement seriously;" not as a subordinate to the state, and yet not as one who dictates the agenda; in effect the ACU should balance its creation and reaction to matters regarding Church and State relations. "The Church should also seek to articulate a distinctive Christian

theology on which to base that involvement and then in turn it will be taken seriously by society and the politicians”.⁴⁹

This reminds me of the Uganda government minister who visited Bishop Tucker Theological College in 1988 and challenged the Church in this statement “When I look at the clergy of the Church of Uganda, I see a mass of ignorance”. The Church must therefore show itself competent to address God’s people’s whole of life through its teaching and practice, otherwise politicians will continue to brush it aside and confine it to the pulpit limiting it to a message of hope only in the next life and not here. This will require thorough vision and focus in the theological training.

In summary: I have addressed in this chapter the political development in Uganda. I have highlighted how the traditional systems were influenced by the colonial administration in close association with the missionaries. This chapter has also shown how Ugandan politics have been shaped by Church and state partnership (specifically the Anglican Church). The chapter has also featured the colonial policies which are responsible for the tribal conflicts characteristic of the Ugandan society since independence. Finally I have cited alternative models which could be adopted to replace the Church and state partnership or the Constantinian model and a way forward has been suggested. In my next chapter I will explore missionary education in light of the traditional form of education.

Footnotes

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3. Low, D. A., *Baganda in Modern History*, p215.
4. Ingham, Kenneth, *The making of modern Uganda*, p59.
5. Ward, W. E. F. and White, L. W., *East Africa, a century of change (1870-1970)*, p198.
6. Bell, Morag, *Contemporary Africa, Development, Culture and State*, p6.
7. Mutibwa, *op. cit.*, p9.
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9. Ward and White, *op. cit.*, p144.
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11. *Ibid*, p218.
12. Ward and White, *op. cit.*
13. Mair, L. P., *An African people in the twentieth century*, p7.
14. Mutibwa, *op. cit.*
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16. See p85.
17. Mutibwa, *op. cit.*, p72.
18. *Ibid*, p136.
19. The Ten point Programme of NRM, NRM Publications, NRM Secretariat, Kampala, p7.
20. See p97.
21. See map in appendix.
22. Uganda Newspaper, *The Monitor*, 10 January 1996.
23. Uganda Newspaper, *The New Vision*, 17 January 1996.
24. Richardson, Alan, *The Political Christ*, p36.
25. Hastings, Adrian, *Church and State (the English Experience)*, p5.
26. Moyser, George, (ed), *Church and Politics Today*, p27.
27. *Ibid*, p34.
28. *Ibid.*
29. See p97.
30. See p23.
31. See p22.
32. See p13.
33. Gitari David, 'Focus on Church and State', *Transformation*, Vol 5, No 2, April/June 1988, p13.
34. *Ibid*, pp12, 17.
35. *International Review of Mission*, Vol LXIX, No 273, Jan 1980, p71ff.
36. Hastings, *op. cit.*, p3.
37. Gutierrez, Gustavo, *A Theology of Liberation*, p227.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Gitari David, 'Church and Politics in Kenya', *Transformation*, Vol 8, No 3, p7.
40. *Ibid*, (a quotation from Jim Wallis in his book *the Call to Conversion*).
41. *Ibid*, p11.
42. Gitari David, 'Focus on Church and State', *Transformation*, Vol 5, No 2, April/June 1988, p13.

43. Comaroff, John and Jean, *Christianity colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, p252.
44. Assmann, Hugo, *Practical Theology of Liberation*, p133.
45. Maggay, Melba, 'Jesus and Pilate', *Transformation*, Vol 8, No 3, July/Sept 1993, p31.
46. Gitari, See 33, p15.
47. Storkey, Alan, *A Christian social perspective*, pp294, 299.
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49. *Ibid.*

Chapter IV

Missionary Education in Uganda.

This chapter will address 'Education' in Uganda in the modern western concept; how it was initiated and developed by the missionaries and later was taken over by the government. It will also feature the traditional form of education before the modern education, its values and how the new form tended to pose a threat to it. Analysing therefore both forms of education the inevitable conflict will be made manifest.

Later, this chapter will highlight the model in operation and its history. Tracing its pedigree will exhibit some of the similarities the system of education brought to Uganda had with the system run by the English Church. Also to be mentioned will be the weaknesses and strengths of this model. In the same way as I have done in the former two sections, I will cite some of the alternative models the Church in Uganda could adopt for its future ministry in schools. It is from among those models that I will suggest which way to go now and in the future.

(a) Education before the Foreigners came to Uganda.

Education in Uganda was neither invented by the European missionaries nor by the Moslem Arabs who arrived before them. The people of Uganda had their own indigenous form of education which was tribal and clan based. In that way young people were prepared for life competence; they were exposed to the challenges of society which for its part awaited their contribution politically, socially, economically and religiously.

In the absence of formal schools and trained teachers, the entire adult community took the responsibility for instructing their youngsters for a meaningful life existence. Children learned what they lived and vice-versa.¹ Though informally conducted, traditional education covered almost every aspect of life at that time

which can be collated with modern subjects; for example in traditional society children were taught the names of animals, plants, and insects the equivalent of nature study. Young people were also taught society's values and good morals, which today can be classified under social ethics. They were taught how to grow crops and raise animals, which in modern terms is called agriculture. Present day technical work was also considered in the form of carpentry and art craft. Most importantly children were taught family life and especially nearer the time of marriage they were taught how to conduct themselves in married life and how to raise up children. Today these have been given different names but the aim still remains more or less the same.

Young boys were instructed to guard jealously their ancestral land and property and if need be die for it. They were shown their territorial boundaries distinctly marked by lakes, rivers, mountains and valleys, they were told to respect the chiefs and elders in their society. This is what we may call military science coupled with civics and geography or political science on a higher level. Religiously children were taught when, how, where and what to worship. Emphasis was laid on the veneration of ancestors; they were exposed to legends, proverbs, maxims and riddles, an important way of communicating hidden wisdom to the young people. They grew up knowing the various divinities that existed in their societies and their respective roles. (In modern times all this is referred to as theology). In a nutshell Scarlon has rightly stated that "religion, politics, economics and social relationships were invariably interwoven" in the traditional society and given out to the young generation as one complete package.²

Informal as it was however, it does not mean that traditional education lacked direction. The young people were instructed in accordance with what was expected of them in future, for example while boys were taught how to milk cows, girls were taught how to cook and grow food. On the other hand there were issues which almost everyone needed to know and this formed a basis of general knowledge. Education in the traditional society was an on-going practice intended

to enhance growth and promote personal talents (like sports and games, especially wrestling and fighting), as well as intended to serve the entire community. It is worth noting that the young people were also exposed to warnings. They were taught what punishments and retribution they could expect in case of any deviant behaviour. These ranged from simple to more complex punishments, from caning to capital punishment which had mainly a deterrent purpose.

In the absence of classrooms and books, children learned by word of mouth during celebrations, in the fields by listening to stories and through participation in the various activities. The absence of trained teachers and formal classes does not suggest that there were no people with special expertise. It is well believed that some areas of traditional life required special people and therefore special experience. These areas included doctoring, African medicines, prophecy and priesthood as well as rainmaking. Later even administration required trained people, hence the pages in Mwangi's palace; (these were sons of chiefs growing and working in the palace in preparation to take over after their predecessors). The people who did the work of training and coaching the younger generations often received a payment not of money but of things like food or game, carvings or smoke pipes. Gifts varied from small objects to human beings; for instance if one wanted to show his appreciation following a cure from a serious illness he would offer his younger sister or daughter to the traditional doctor (which also may explain one of the causes for polygamy), while arranging to send his son to the same doctor for training.

In some particular cases the trainee was required to leave his home and live with his coach, especially in the case of religious trainees, leaders like the pages, and those deemed fit to become clan elders. This is similar to today's apprenticeship. Just as the education itself was informal, so was the way of examining it. In every way the trainer concerned made sure the person who passed through his /her hands was well grounded and prepared to represent and serve the community. In fact the traditional education can be summarised in the words of a Prime-Minister from

Ankole, quoted by Adoniya Tiberondwa: -“Our education did not produce paper certificates because we did not have the paper and we did not need the certificates. It did not lead to earning salaries because we did not have money to pay and we did not need it. Our education was meant to produce people in thoughts, people in what was said and people in what was done! You could tell that this girl was born of people and brought up by people because she behaved like people: People who had no personality were not taken seriously and were not respected even if they were rich, we could see through them”.³

(b) The introduction of Missionary Education in Uganda.

Missionary education dates from as early as Bishop Tucker’s time. By the 1890s both the Protestant and Catholics had started building schools, something which both missions envisaged as the most effective weapon to wield political and economic power in Uganda. To that effect Tucker invited C. W. Hattersley from the CMS, whom he charged with the responsibility of shaping the educational system in Uganda.

Soon after his appointment Hattersley embarked on his task of setting up elementary schools wherever he found parents willing to educate their children. Hattersley’s efforts were boosted by the existence of churches in many areas because it was then easier to begin a school where there was a church. During week days the school occupied the building and on Sunday worship took place in the same premises.

In 1901 the Catholic Church appointed Fr Gaudibert to do a similar job on their behalf. In that way, schools mushroomed in many parts of Uganda on a competitive basis. What was important for each mission was who acquired a strategic site to attract children, and who offered better opportunities. For example when the Catholics opened up Namilyango secondary school for boys in 1902, the Protestants soon organised and opened up Budo College for both boys and girls and Gayaza High School for girls, both of which were opened in 1905.

All these three schools were located close to the capital. As if for revenge the Catholics in 1906 opened up another one at Rubaga, still around the capital, but this was later transferred to Kisubi to secure that area near Entebbe the administrative capital of Uganda. In the subsequent years schools were established in many parts of the country.⁴

The main content of the missionary education on the elementary level consisted of no more than religion; thus all they learned was scripture and the catechism and how to read and write. On top of this they were also taught the dangers of their own customs and traditions. They were told that these were wrong and unacceptable to the "New God".⁵ It was then revealed to them that there existed fierce and everlasting fire which was prepared for the non-believers. In light of the traditional education we have seen above which gave special place to the society's customs and traditions, this teaching presented a conflict.

This therefore suggests that education and evangelism were inseparable in the missionary times, as has been observed by Gresford Jones thus; "In the story of the Uganda mission every missionary has been in some fashion a teacher. We have seen Wilson, the lonely pioneer gathering out of the jungle his circle of readers, Mackay, whom as we have watched as surrounded by every embarrassment instructed the African in the rudiments of wood craft and engineering. In the early years every thing was of necessity fragmentary! For what after all is education but moulding of character in high and noble ideals?"⁶

Churches were not only used as places of worship and schools but also as clinics. Most major hospitals in Uganda have developed from this background. For that matter becoming a Christian meant living a good life spiritually, mentally and physically indeed with a new attitude. Following this many people rushed to the missions and confessed to be Christians because otherwise they ran the risk of being regarded as second class citizens, in that if they went seeking jobs, treatment

or education for their children or any form of assistance they had to provide proof that they were Christians.

The separation of religious and educational work, the government takes over and breaks mission monopoly.

For a long time the government seemed contented with mission education, and it was right to do so at the time because on one hand the missions enabled it to avoid responsibility and on the other it was a way of promoting co-operation between the two. But as time went by clashes were inevitable and the main causes were twofold. First the government became dissatisfied with this education as related to the entire development of the country. After the first world war there was a great need for trained and skilled labour. The state in all its various departments thirsted for people with knowledge and skill to serve in different positions. Unfortunately these people could not be found anywhere in Uganda and this forced the government to review the mission educational policy.

It was soon observed that mission policy would never serve national interests. This policy involved:—"An expansion of primary schools whose main purpose was to make people able to read at least two gospels in the vernacular; training of catechists and teachers which in every way reflected an integration of education and evangelical work; training at the highest level of education of the sons of chiefs with a view to their becoming future chiefs themselves while at a lower level young people were being trained for low level employment in the colonial administration especially to work as interpreters and clerks".⁷

Secondly, government was not satisfied with the way missions used the money allocated to them for educational work as the standards were very low. Therefore on that matter the government thought it was not only easier but cheaper and more effective to run the educational system itself, hence breaking the mission monopoly.⁸

The other reason which prompted the government to take over the educational work from the missions was the doubts expressed by local Ugandans. They found it extremely hard to believe that the education offered to their children would prepare them for the challenges of the modern world. These Ugandans considered the ideal of the dual denominational educational system and only saw causes of rifts and potential threat sown among the young people. In fact some Ugandans wondered if the education their children received would help them engage in profitable trade. To that effect some leading Ugandans, especially the ruling classes, started sending their sons abroad for education.

It was that which forced the government to do something about the educational policy. In the first place there were many applications seeking authorisation for their children to leave the country and go to the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Ceylon and Sudan.⁹ When this happened the government considered the impact those young people would make when they came back home. They would be disoriented culturally and so there was fear that they would destabilise not only the government but also their own community. A strategy to counter that move had to be worked out.

As if that was not enough, by 1918-19 a group of young Baganda and graduates of mission schools formed a pressure group, the "Young Baganda Association". This was interested in the welfare and progress of all Ugandans in many respects including education. They demanded that non-sectarian education be established in Uganda. They criticised denomination educational policies and advocated a uniformly standardised and graded form of education. Also they demanded that training and deployment of teachers be undertaken by government.

Following the pressure from the three sides, state-controlled education could not be avoided any longer. But government had to be careful not to uproot completely in order to plant anew. Therefore it started with higher education, meanwhile still encouraging mission participation on a lower level. This higher education included

the establishment of colleges, institutes and above all Makerere University in 1922, which was set up not only for Ugandans but also for the entire East African region. Later primary and secondary schools were considered for review and improvement. The change in government policy continued to get support from within and outside the country. For example in 1920 the Uganda Development Commission recommended that education was primarily the duty of the government. Also members of Phelps Stokes commission in their report on African education (1922-24) categorically indicated that time for mission education had run out. And indeed their report inevitably provoked a reaction. Part of it ran:- "children are not playing games or doing any of the things they would do out of school. The music you hear will not be a native song but the parody of a familiar European hymn. None of the acute problems of village housing, sanitation, water or food preparation are present either in theory or practice. Here there is no building, making or repairing with hands, no cultivation of the garden. Instead the brown bodies are huddled over a chart or a book. The chorus of unintelligible sounds is the sing song of the syllables as they follow one another in meaningless succession. You will hear reading but it will not express the hundred and one real things and actions of the village. . . . , in fact you will wonder if the schools belong to the village world at all!"¹⁰

The missions' resistance to state controlled education was further weakened by the fact that they lacked funds to improve their education and open up higher level education, which in effect would include medical, clerical, technical, mechanical and agricultural training institutes.

For some time from 1905 the government had contemplated setting up at least two non-sectarian schools in Entebbe and Kampala to cater for the non-believers and Moslems, but the missions had made it extremely difficult. They in effect barred government from interfering with education except when the government was called upon to dish out funds.

When at one time the colonial government seemed to be pressing hard for this ideal Bishop Tucker did not hesitate to write to the colonial office in London expressing his dismay. He also added that after all government did not have the machinery necessary to set up its own educational system. He therefore concluded by urging for the continued financial support to supplement what CMS was contributing towards the mission education in Uganda.¹¹

However, with all the pressures discussed above, and financial constraint, mission resistance could not hold up change any longer. For instance by 1922 CMS was faced with two options: either to cut down the number of teaching staff, or to surrender them to the government for payment. Also the £2,200 offered to CMS for unspecified purposes was redirected towards teachers salaries which at the time totalled £5,000.

Arising from all this the government embarked on the formulation of a new educational policy to suit the new environment. This policy according to Hansen was meant to supplement missionary initiatives rather than antagonise them and included:- the establishment of state run non-sectarian schools and other educational institutions at all levels; the separation of religious and educational work, a division of work between missions and government along both horizontal and vertical lines, (this meant that missionary schools would be supplemented and non-Christians would be catered for, the result of which would be a dual educational system); and a continued co-operation between government and missions.

The missions responded with an apparent calm though they could not help reacting angrily to the Young Baganda Association for failing to appreciate their contribution to nation building. In fact they were angered by the suggestion that deployment of teachers be taken over by government which in effect meant placing teachers randomly without considering their religious affiliations.

From that time on decisions were no longer made between equals but rather between a superior (government) and a subordinate (mission). For their part however missions saw this as a division of labour, while the state saw it as a breakthrough and the very beginning of shaping educational work in a modern manner. Following this the government grants-in-aid to missions were cut down and instead re-directed to establishing a new framework.¹²

Missionary work generally was affected by the fact that from the 1920s the government was exerting full control over the educational system. Once this was done it was easier for government to penetrate into other areas where mission control had been unshakeable in the past. Also while it is appreciated that government improved the education system, a sharp divide between sacred and secular was distinctly exposed which has led to the notion that the state is for earthly wisdom while the church is for heavenly and therefore hidden wisdom only. Therefore the people are presented with two options to choose from.

Having described the nature of missionary education in Uganda and the environment into which it came, let us now discuss its pedigree.

(c) The Church and Education in Uganda; Tracing its model, principles and practices.

Section (a) above set the traditional way of learning and the mission education which impacted upon it. There are indeed particular features of it which on a closer scrutiny reflect an English model.

These features include: the way this form of education was introduced and conducted, that is born by the Church, using the church premises for classes, and also administered by the church officials; secondly the failure to distinguish between evangelism and education; thirdly the aim the educators had and the type of pupils they preferred to have, all point to an English model.

Another very important feature in this model is the monopoly the Protestant Church had over the whole enterprise. It was a monopoly which did not wish the government to have an active participation in educational matters. Then the rivalry which the Protestant Church had with the Roman Catholic Church and the struggle between both churches to win over support by providing services like education is also characteristic of this English model.

The discontentment of the government and the society which led to the government take-over of the educational system, the separation of what was sacred and secular, the eventual subordination of the Church to State (after a series of resistances) and the establishment of schools which catered for everyone irrespective of religion or sex, is all evidence of this model. All this has been clearly expressed above. And now we must trace the English education system and learn how it has evolved over the period to see how the situation in Uganda mirrored the English system. I do not intend however to narrate such long history as pertains to the English tradition, but for clarity I refer to particular illustrations which point to a particular moment in history.

Education in England was introduced by the Church as A. F. Leach clearly states in the Durham report on Religious Education in schools; "In England from the first education was the creature of religion, the school was an adjunct of the Church, and the schoolmaster was an ecclesiastical officer".¹³

The content of that education then, consisted in the three 'Rs', reading, writing and arithmetic. Along with this pupils were taught singing. All this was geared to equipping pupils for basic monastic life, though some continued to do more academic work in the monasteries. To this effect Brenda M. Gay has rightly said, that "some sort of education has always been synonymous with the Church".¹⁴

Most importantly it should be noted that religion was an absolute requirement as Colet clearly puts it; "there shall be taught together in the school, children of all

nations and countries indifferently . . . be first se they canne saye the catechyzon and also they can rede and write". It was indeed not only the catechism which was required in the grammar schools but also the liturgy.¹⁵

The tide however eventually began to change during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which was indicative of the situation later in the nineteenth century. It all started when the government gave permission to the non-conformists to operate in England. These did not only worship but also started schools as their predecessor had done. Very soon their schools attracted pupils, as grammar schools then were being accused of abuses. Merchants and manufacturers started sending their children to non-conformists' schools which they said, had more "efficient and realistic education". According to the Eldon Judgement, the grammar schools were accused of using the endowments to provide only instructions in the learned languages, Latin and Greek; this was considered inappropriate education. With the rise of non-conformists' schools and falling standards in the grammar schools, the latter started closing down because they could not get enough pupils.

The pro-non-conformists' schools clashed head on with the established Church protesting against their claim to control schools. Unlike the Church in Scotland, the Anglican Church in England had not worked out a national system of education and so when the social life started changing with the growing industrialisation of the eighteenth century, the norm of religion and philanthropy was thrown off balance. Factories attracted many people from near and far, which undoubtedly led to a change in the pattern of English life. That exposed the children of that time to a situation where they were far from being educated or indeed civilised. It was here that the non-conformists challenged the established Church and wanted to know the relevance of their claim to control education.

When that happened the established Church organised Sunday schools to cope with the appalling situation. This movement has been associated with Robert Raikes'

work in Gloucester in 1780.¹⁶ Even with this development the public still described the established Church's system of education as "one of the most meagre kind". Arising from that dissatisfaction, by the end of the eighteenth century, a Quaker Joseph Lancaster in Southwark established a day school with an aim of offering satisfactory instruction to all. This school received considerable commendation from a cross section of people except of course members of the established Church. They criticised this school for its nature of being non-sectarian. To that effect the established Church commissioned Dr. Andrew Bell to organise a full-sectarian educational system to counter all the efforts and initiatives as manifested by Lancaster and those who shared his view. Dr. Andrew Bell was not taken by surprise; this was the type of thing he had done in Madras (India), and on the basis of his experience the Church invited him to do it in England.

In 1839 the situation seemed to begin changing in the education system in England; the Whig government unveiled their plans for State controlled education. In that regard they set up a "committee of privy councillors" which was charged with the responsibility of distributing parliamentary grants. This was envisaged as a way to bring in the government to a more active role. It was thought that the government then would have the right to inspect schools which participated in these grants. Another task given to the committee of privy councillors was to establish the "non-sectarian State normal school" where teachers could be trained.

Hardly had the committee done any work than the government policy was fiercely attacked by the Church. The Church protested against both a government inspectorate and the setting up of non-sectarian State normal schools to train teachers. The Church's protest coincided with the emerging "Tractarian" group also called "Oxford Movement". This movement relentlessly attacked government initiatives to such an extent that the latter had to surrender.¹⁷

Later in 1840 the government proposal came back but this time it had been reframed. It was steered by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth. There were concessions

offered to the Church, for government inspection in schools in regard to the content of education both in secular and religious instruction was to be done only by inspectors nominated by the Archbishops.¹⁸ On this note a deal of co-operation was struck. To the Church it was seen as a sign of continued strength and absolute control over education matters, whereas to the State it was a sign of victory and to use Cruickshank's words "they had won for themselves the right to promote the extension and improvement of elementary education" and also "the right to inspect its secular efficiency". To this effect Church and State partnership in educational matters was born formally.

By 1850 the government and the established Church were getting on well on the surface, but inside there still remained some discontent especially among the Tractarians. While the greater part of the established Church was ready to co-operate with the government, that other part still wished the entire educational policy to be run by the Church. This group, which was led by Archdeacon Denison and Mr. T. Manning advocated an exclusive clerical control and the only role they wished to leave to the State was that of "a paymaster". This is exactly what Bishop Tucker wanted the colonial government to do in Uganda. To that effect the Tractarians vowed to fight on to limit State interference and so maintain Church independence in schools.

In the subsequent years tension between the established Church and the State increased. This time the State through the Committee of Council suggested limit clerical control over the schools. Some of the government clauses to increase lay involvement and limit clerical influence had been hinted at earlier in 1839 and had been neutralised by the Church. But in 1847 the government decided to effect these policies. Both Catholics and Wesleyans were all too willing to co-operate but as always the Anglicans staged fierce protests. Denison and Manning (of the Tractarian movement) again waged a verbal war to limit government control and therefore urged full clerical control even if it meant losing all government aid. In this regard Denison issued this statement. "I will fight till I die for the Catholic

Church of England. I will not move one finger for a church which negotiates with the House of Commons or any creatures about the means of discharging the trust committed to her by God.¹⁹

Another area of contention was government insistence that the children of parents who did not profess Christianity be exempted from religious teaching. On this note the Tractarians urged the national society not to give in. True, individual requests could be considered but the principle must be held. That "conscience clause" has been noted as one of the most contentious issues in Church and State relations as pertains to educational matters. That unfortunate situation persisted right into the twentieth century. By 1860, however, government impact began to be felt. It was at that time while the spirit of voluntarism was crumbling, and while the Non-Conformists were reconsidering their education policy, the other section of the dissenters was already embracing the principle of separating the secular and religious instruction. At the same time also another wing of voluntarists led by Rev. R. W. Dale of Birmingham turned to the State for a national system of education.²⁰ The gap between the secularists and the voluntarists was therefore closing up. At last a State supported education system had set in and secular and religious spheres had been demarcated. The only problem now lay in determining whether religious education should remain on the curriculum or not.

The secularists wanted religious education to remain entirely the responsibility of the church(es) and their Sunday schools. It was decided that the voluntary schools which were denominational, while sharing the partnership with the State on education matters, should continue with religious teaching. The Board Schools however were to be non-denominational in accordance with the Cowper Temple clause which required that "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught".

At that stage the debate became more of a political agenda between the Liberals and the Tories. I do not propose to analyse those debates. What is certain, is that

in 1870 the last whistle went; the government made it clear that all denominational schools must “confine their religious instruction to the beginning and end of school sessions”. It was also added that “where parents objected, no attendance at religious worship or instruction was required”.²¹

However we must ask ourselves about the underlying causes for this change of attitude. Brenda M. Gay suggests that lack of religious observance outside schools was the major cause. Also the fusion of religion and routine presented another problem to the pupils. The Church has also been accused of a tendency to patronise which unfortunately yielded to a secular mentality. Brenda M. Gay therefore maintains that the Church’s whole project over education was “narrow, dogmatic and compulsory”, whereas elsewhere on the curriculum pupils had freedom to develop independent thoughts. As regards the chapels, they were known for expressing hostility to the religious authorities.

All in all it is the confusion of religion with discipline and hierarchy which lies at the heart of the problem, something which later led to the Bloxham project with an aim to “create awareness among the heads, chaplains, house and other senior staff”. There was a real need to examine and restructure the Church’s relationship to schools. The age of church monopoly in educational matters had passed and gone forever. A new strategy had to be worked out if the mission of the Church in schools was to stay. This is the model which the missionaries imported to Uganda. Let us now consider its strengths and weaknesses with special reference to Uganda before considering a new strategy for the future mission of the Church in schools.

The Strengths and Weaknesses of the English Model pertaining to Church and Education.

There are not many strengths in this model except for the fact that the Church found it easier to uphold morality in society. During the week the Church had full access to the pupils and on Sundays it spoke to both pupils and their parents. In this manner the Church could easily monitor the progress of its congregation both

young and old. The Church controlled what was to be taught, in which case only what the Church deemed beneficial to the young generation was taught. When the Church did that it was able to keep out secular tendencies from influencing the society. The Church therefore helped to create a decent society with Christian orientated principles.

Arising from this model Uganda had for sometime a reliable civil service. Corruption was inconceivable and all government departments were run on merit. Many of those who underwent this type of education have passed away. The few that remain, in their old age look back with pride to the days when life had value and morality was the key to success.

There were however some weaknesses in this model; it was run for instance on a sectarian basis and the pupils were taught to be inward looking. Roman Catholic students saw themselves in a completely different 'world' from Anglican students and vice versa, something which has had a lasting effect on the entire society politically, socially and religiously. The educational system did not inspire a sense of love but of hatred for one another and many elites of today are the products of this system; they continue to tear the society apart in favour of their own religious-education affiliations.

Arising from the missionaries' resistance to state education for such a long time, a large section of the people were left out. These were the non-believers and Muslims, and moreover the Arab world at the time was not ready to set up schools to support the Muslim Arabs wherever they went to convert people to Islam. The Muslims on the other hand were not prepared to surrender their faith for the sake of education in mission schools. In that way they ended up as milk carriers, butchers and taxi drivers to the protectorate.²² Also they resorted to sports and games because they had a lot of time to spend. For that matter they have been the best wrestlers and 'Mweso' players for a long time in Uganda, based in Butambala county which is predominantly Muslim.²³

For a long time in Uganda chiefs were either hereditary or selected by prowess and consensus of tribal opinion. But this was destroyed especially in the second case, when missionaries chose to educate the sons of chiefs in all cases, hence automatically grooming chiefs. The clan elders and tribal leaders were robbed of their responsibility of selecting their own leaders, leaders acceptable to them. Also when leadership slipped from the people of good will, experience and respect and into the hands of younger elites, bribery and other vices became inescapable in the society.²⁴

Odinga Oginga summarises by saying “The new education took leadership from the elders and bestowed it on the youth, but a youth which was steeped in the colonial philosophy and that rejected not only the traditional way of life but also respect for the will of the people.”

L. J. Lewis has accused missionary education for failing to adapt itself to the needs of its recipients, which continually led them further and further apart from their roots.²⁵ In this connection Adoniya Tiberondwa has observed that as children continued going to mission schools there was a shift in their priorities. He cites such examples as children’s failure to refer to the traditional riddles, proverbs and other tales when they came back home and their keenness to quiz each other on matters pertaining to the catechism and English alphabets. (They also spent their time telling Pauline stories, their day always ended in prayer before going to bed).²⁶ Their attitudes were completely disorientated against their God-given cultural background.

Missionary education has also been accused of suppressing personal initiatives and independent minds and hence producing people who are only ready to submit to their masters whatever the case. This education indeed patronised its recipients. Any departure from the norm prompted a drastic action ranging from suspension to expulsion.²⁷ The country was therefore exposed entirely to a ‘Job seeking’ type of education and not encouraged to develop a ‘Job creation’ form of education.

(d) Alternative Models.

When considering alternative models in this section, there are two aspects to bear in mind: alternative models pertaining to school foundations and therefore their administration which in most cases will determine their destiny, and alternative models in as far as the content is concerned. I find that education in Uganda was affected on both these fronts.

I will first deal with models regarding the foundation of schools in Uganda. There are two main categories of foundation for schools to consider in an attempt to replace the denominational model or the traditional model which has operated for many decades.

- (i) The first model is a community founded school. This could be initiated either by the people within the area irrespective of their diversity in religious beliefs or by the government through its representative in the area. This is the easiest model because it looks beyond denominational barriers and its aim is to provide general education to all children. The management of the school is shared by all denominations (that is the governing body). Everybody therefore benefits from the grants given out by the government and this minimises duplication of services and manpower. It is also important to note that through education children of different religions and social backgrounds can grow up knowing what it means to live and work together. One serious objection to this model is that if not helped by their parents back at home these children become atheists in the future.

- (ii) The second model is the independent/private school. This could be founded by an individual or a group of individuals. Because it is independent it may or may not choose to be affiliated to a particular denomination.. It may however choose to invite all denominations within the area on particular days and times. This is a strategy to attract as many children from a cross section of parents. The likely obstacle in this model is about the standards. Since it is an independent enterprise, parents will be required to pay a lot of money because government will not

subsidise it. Because government will not give it grants, it may not monitor its performance and the standards could be very low.²⁸ This however could be remedied by government refusing to issue a licence until standards are certified. All in all I would find this model unpredictable because decisions are taken by either an individual, a family or a group of individuals that happen to be the founders; today they may be unitary, and tomorrow they may be sectarian.

For that matter I would prefer the former model because it seeks to promote a corporate spirit. I will now turn to the content given to the learners.

Suggested Alternative Models by way of Content.

Martin Palmer suggests six alternative models used world wide.

- (i) The first of these models is the 'child centred model'. He observes that "traditional models took it for granted that a child was a blank sheet or an empty vessel that needed to be filled up with knowledge, facts and information".²⁹ Those models therefore ignored the fact that, whereas there was certain information which the child needed, yet the society also expected a certain type of product from the school. It was this tension between the school and society, that led to a 'child centred model'.

This 'child centred model' according to Martin Palmer employs two approaches: 'for a child's-sake' approach which is geared to providing the fullest development of the child in many cases regardless of what society needs, and 'for a society's-sake' approach which firstly focuses on the child and thereafter moves out to address that child's function in the society. The 'child-centred' model therefore aims at equipping the child for a meaningful life both for that child and for the society which awaits his/her contribution.

- (ii) The second model has been referred to as 'meritocratic education'. This is when an individual is educated for what Martin Palmer has called, 'comfort and income-

at the-office job'. This is done in total neglect of manual work. The education only sees the office world running the manual world in anticipation that the latter will slowly be phased out completely. The evident results of this model include emptying of villages as people move to the cities, a shift from traditional life style and a thrown-away of valuable crafts and skills and indeed a high rate of unemployment in the struggle for white collar jobs. This further leads to slums and moral decay in the society. When this is done then the third model comes nearer; this being vocational education.

- (iii) Vocational education: this looks beyond mere information or examinations. It is geared to preparing young people for life competence. Unfortunately it has been observed that many people tend to put less emphasis on it; they prefer elitist forms of education where exams are believed to determine the fate of the student. In a real world however we ought to know that both strands of people exist, the academically oriented and less academically oriented students, and if anything, vocation education would benefit both types for the building of society.
- (iv) The fourth model has been described as the 'ideological response'. The main aim of this model is to use education as a means of imposing an ideology or world view onto the people. On this note Martin Palmer quickly cites the Apartheid education of South Africa in recent years. This model therefore beautifies the values and structures of say, a political or social system, in the event strengthening its grip on the society.
- (v) The fifth model has been termed as 'Benign State Education'. This model does not only focus on a single vision as absolute but endeavours to fuse the meritocratic with the vocational. In doing this the model caters for the individual's ambitions and society's progress. The United States of America is one of the societies which have abandoned a straight ideological system, hence "Americanisation of all regardless of background, and where a benign model has now taken over".³⁰

The Americans it should be observed, resorted to this model only after the collapse of the 'Melting Pot' ideology. At one time they thought that the school would transfuse the various cultures, people's tongues, races and creeds, thus levelling them and facilitating them to melt away completely. This did not happen. The nature of the education system did not make it possible for everyone from whatever social, economic and cultural background to get equal opportunities. This was subsequently followed by social pressure and protests in the 1960s, in time inspiring the government to come out with the 'benign state education' model.

It is not only the Americans who have adopted this model but also the Philippine government has abandoned a monocultural model of education. According to Martin Palmer, the Philippines government in 1985 after the collapse of the Marcos regime, "announced the establishment of a new high school curriculum where all subjects except maths and sciences would be taught in Filipino".

(vi) The sixth model is called the "skills model". This is a very interesting model; it states that "one goes to school in order to learn how to learn". It emphasises the need for certain 'basic skills' to enable one to operate in today's society. Notably these skills are reading, writing and arithmetic. To these one can also add 'Social Skills' and 'Creative Skills'. This is what can be termed as education for the future though Martin Palmer maintains that it lacks a defined vision for the future. Many of these models look very attractive, but are they practicable in the Ugandan situation today, and which is the best model? I will answer in my next section in an attempt to suggest the way forward.

(e) Church Involvement in Schools, The Best Way Forward.

We must observe that situations have changed drastically; today the Church's authority or control over schools has diminished; its role of determining what must be taught in schools is long gone, and the State has taken over the responsibility of educating its children. In the second instance we live in a multi-denominational as well as multi-cultural society. The Church cannot therefore continue dictating

what must be done in schools. In fact many people are talking of “education existing for its own sake”. That would be all right but as clearly expressed by Martin Palmer, “Education is about values and skills. The kind of values and skills it espouses cannot be summed up as just being education. They are about how to live in community, how to develop one’s own talents, how to plan for the future and how to respond to crises among many other aspects”.³¹ It is for this reason that we must not think education should exist for its own sake. Even if the Church will not offer arithmetic or biology classes, it can still make a large contribution through the teaching of religious education, the only likely option left to it. The question therefore is: how can the Church still advance its noble cause in the changing situations, in Uganda in particular?

We must first identify a framework model on which to build a fresh and firm foundation of the church’s work in schools. In that regard I would recommend that the training for a “Society’s Sake” model be adopted by the Church. Definitely it cannot work in isolation of all the others, but by and large it should be the basis of our thinking if we are to build a sustainable society in Uganda. This model for ‘the Society’s Sake’, takes into account both aspects which have affected education in Uganda for a long time; that is the mode of foundation and content given to the learners. Certainly the state has taken over to a large extent the educational system yet in rural areas the Church continues to found and run schools commonly known as sub-grade schools, which this thesis simply cannot ignore. As noted above a foundation which is community based is our preference and Uganda desires to have children who will grow up with community values as contrasted with individualistic values.

Today the Church of Uganda has worked out an education policy which is derived from Matt. 28:18-20 (“I have been given all authority in heaven and earth. Go then to all peoples everywhere and make them my disciples,.....and teach them to obey everything I have commanded you”). In accordance with this command the Church of Uganda has formulated this policy:

- (i) “To facilitate all members of the Church of Uganda to grow to mature personal faith evidenced in Christian lifestyle.
- (ii) To endeavour to provide formal and informal education for all people at all levels and types under a Christian setting.
- (iii) To facilitate and encourage the development of Christian service and leadership for all levels and types of national life.
- (iv) To co-operate with the ministry responsible for education and other bodies, such as Uganda’s Joint-Christian Council Education Committee, in the provision of education”.³²

These are very good aims but on a closer scrutiny it is evident that either they have not been strictly followed , or they do not go far enough or both. They have not been seen to address the denominational diversity for instance, which characterises the Ugandan society today. Even the Joint Christian Council mentioned in (iv) is not broad enough, it only comprises the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The Seventh Day Adventist Church and the independent churches which are on the increase in Uganda are not included. Not only that but also the interests of traditional cultural society are not catered for, moreover this presents a big challenge to the learners and so they need to know the points of convergence and divergence in their religious education classes. Let us not forget that some of the ills inflicted upon the society emanated from sectarian education and failure to put society at the centre ground of the system.

The policies also fall short of the fact that while the Church should promote personal faith it must also encourage corporateness and co-existence, something which the traditional education was keen on.

It is high time that the ACU realised that it is part of a larger body of the kingdom as clearly observed by Palmer; “We are part of God’s story - God’s novel. In the past we behaved as if we had to feature up-front on every page of God’s novel. We tried to make the entire story, all plots, themes, characters and heroes, Christian But what if this is not how the story goes? what if we do only appear

every so often in God's story? Perhaps there are other themes to the novel, other stories or sub-stories which God is interested in and our role is to be in relationship to these other stories?"³³

In light of all this and faithfully following our preferred model, I make the following recommendations:- that the ACU re-identifies its goals in education bearing in mind that it is not the only player in the field but there are other players too. It should therefore seek to know other players' goals so that it can incorporate them in its goals to create an inclusive society.

The Church should get rid of its fears as regards diversity, in which case it should look out for things which divide different religions, and concern must be directed to those aspects which radicalise or upset different groups and the Church should develop a conflict resolving approach rather than a conflict making attitude.

When developing its syllabuses for Sunday schools, catechetics and confirmation classes and for Christian Religious Education (CRE), the ACU should bear in mind, as observed by Vincent J. Donovan, that "its business is the establishment of the kingdom, a kingdom that takes its beginnings here in this real world and aims at the fulfilling of this world, of bringing this world to its destiny".³⁴ That is why I think personal faith which does not take into account the world around that person is not enough. In this same regard I would recommend that religious knowledge given to the young people should incorporate a wide range of experiences as reflected in the society's traditions.

We must also be reminded of the suppression of personal initiatives practised by the early educators. On this note I recommend that the ACU explores ways and means of encouraging personal development spiritually and mentally. Let the child be exposed to as many realities as there may be. This will facilitate that child to build up his/her faith and will grow knowing how to relate to those realities. This is what the "skills Model" is all about, to learn how to learn. It enables

independence of the learner instead of being patronised, which formed one of the chief accusations against the missionary education.

Finally the Church must not think its role has been completely brushed aside by the state. Arising from education policy (iv) of the Church of Uganda, the ACU should use this avenue of co-operation with the ministry of education in collaboration with other religious organisations in the country not just the Joint Christian Council to advise the state on the education policies. This will safeguard the younger generations against any devastating policies which the government may come up with in the absence of a “watchdog”. This is in accordance with Jesus mission statement “. . . . I came that they may have life and have it abundantly” (Jn. 10:10).

In summation therefore, I have discussed in this chapter the traditional educational system before the advent of missionary education. I was concerned to show the value of traditional education and the entire society’s participation. Then I cited the missionary education and its values, values which, though they benefited the community, in the long run yet tended to divorce the learner from his roots and therefore conflicted with the society’s values.

I highlighted the internal squabbles the church had with the state regarding the control over the education system; the insufficiency which the state directed in the same way as the society did not least the divisive/sectarian nature and narrowness of that education which were so evident.

This chapter has also discussed some alternative models as regards the ideal way of founding schools in future and the elements to consider when working out syllabuses for the young people both in the classroom and outside in the Church.

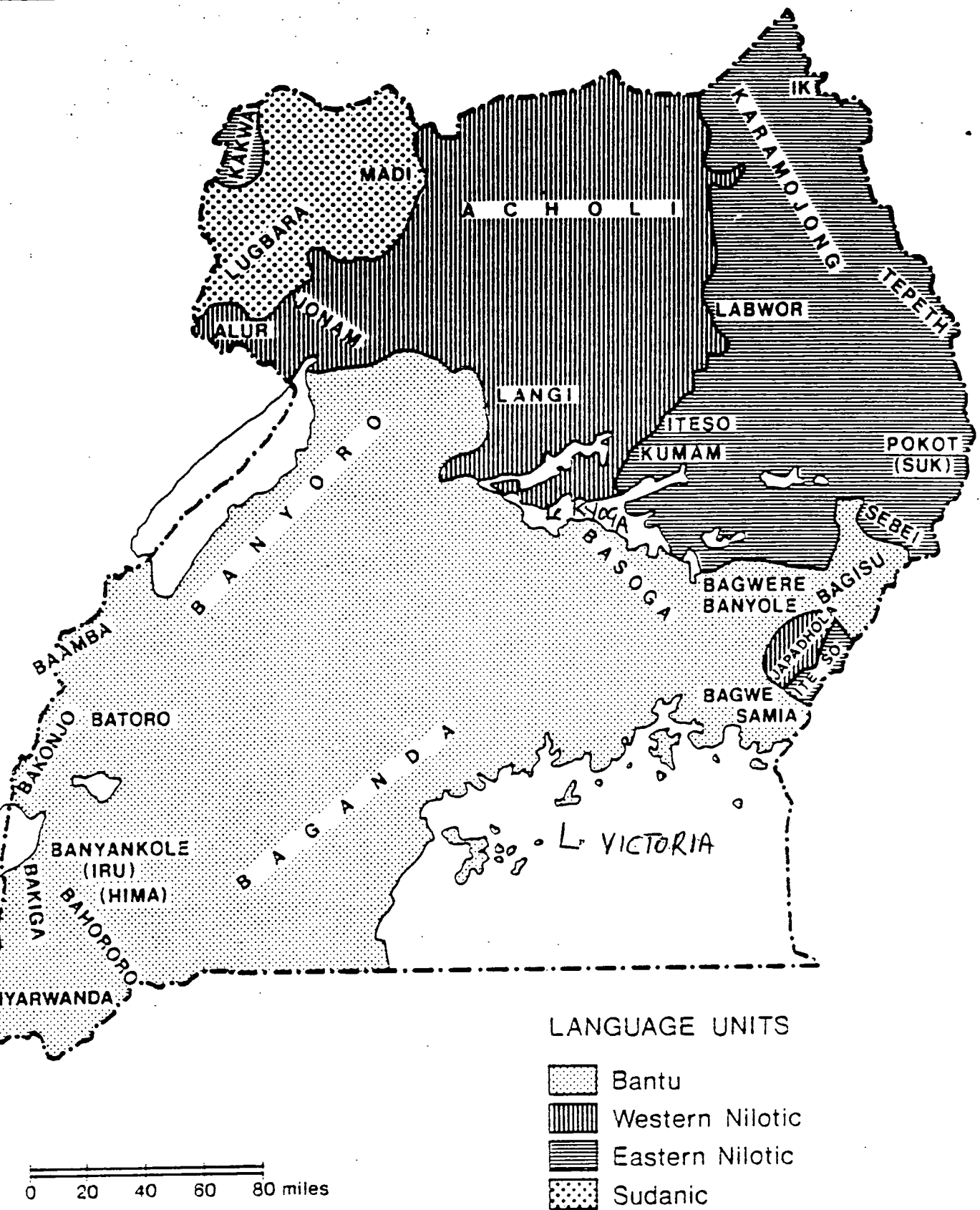
In his book ‘New Alternatives in Theological Education’ C. René Padilla wrote: “To educate is to inform, but even more than this it is for us men and women

prepared to collaborate with God in His work of transformation in the world so that it might reflect His glory. We fail miserably if we do not mould people open to the future of God and if we settle into established models for education. The nature of our task and the demands of Him who makes all things now requires creativity and imagination to the present-day challenges".³⁵ Certainly Padilla was addressing theological education on a more advanced level but his words resonate with the Ugandan situation generally.

In this thesis I have attempted to set out the challenges to the Church in Uganda and make some proposals for tackling them. There is much more to be done and I aim to persue these issues futher as a contribution to the life of Ugandan Church and society.

Footnotes

1. Ocitti, J. P., *African Indigenous Education*, p102.
2. Scarlon, D. G., *Tradition of African Education*, p4.
3. Tiberondwa, Adoniya, *Teaching Profession in Uganda (1890-1925)*, p32 (Unpublished doctoral thesis University of Dar-es-Salaam).
4. Hindmarsh, R., *Church, State and Education in Africa*, p142.
5. Tiberondwa, *op. cit.*, p125.
6. Gresford, Jones H., *Uganda in Transformation*, p177.
7. Hansen, H. B., *Mission, Church and State in Colonial Setting-Uganda (1890-1925)*, p230.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. King, K. J., *An Experiment in Phelps and Stokesism, Pan Africanism and Education*, p150.
11. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p225.
12. *Ibid*, p232.
13. The Fourth 'R', The Durham Report on Religious Education in Schools, p1.
14. Gay, Brenda M., *The Church of England and the Independent Schools*, p4.
15. Cruickshank, Marjorie, *Church and State in English Education*, p1.
16. The Fourth 'R', The Durham Report, *op. cit.*, p3.
17. *Ibid*, p4.
18. Cruickshank, *op. cit.*, p3.
19. *Ibid*, p9.
20. *Ibid*, p12.
21. *Ibid.*, pp36f.
22. Mutibwa, Phares, *Uganda Since Independence*, p2.
23. Welbourn, F. B., *Religion and Politics in Uganda (1952-62)*, p8.
24. Oginga, Odinga, *Not yet Uhuru*, p64.
25. Lewis, L. J., *Phelps Stokes, Report on Education in Africa*, p10.
26. Tiberondwa, *op. cit.*, p32.
27. Welbourn, *op. cit.*, p10.
28. *A future in Partnership*, a Green Paper for discussion, published by the National Society (Church of England) for promoting Religious Education, pp91f.
29. Palmer, Martin, *What should we teach? (Christians and Education in a pluralist world)*, pp17f.
30. *Ibid*, p19.
31. *Ibid*, p21.
32. *Church of Uganda Education Policy (1995)*, pp3-5.
33. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p61.
34. Donovan, Vincent J, *Christianity Rediscovered*, p165.
35. Padilla, Rene C., *New Alternatives in Theological Education*, p158.



Ethnic and language units in Uganda

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ENCLOSURE ONE



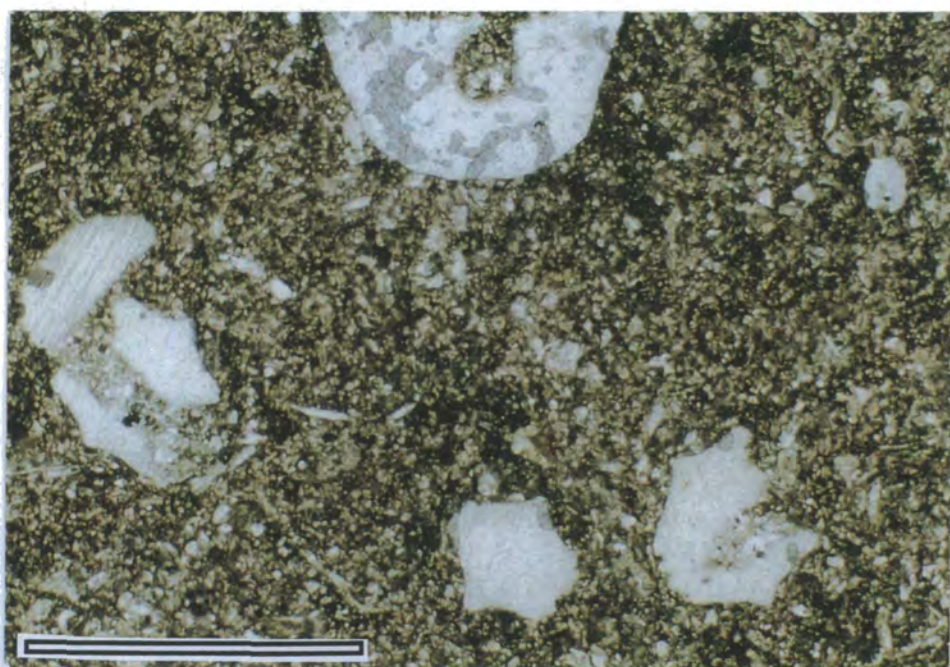


Plate 1 Microfacies R1. Poorly preserved crinoid ossicles in a micritic/microsparitic matrix. Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number OSV1, Olloy-sur-Viroin quarry, southern Ardennes.

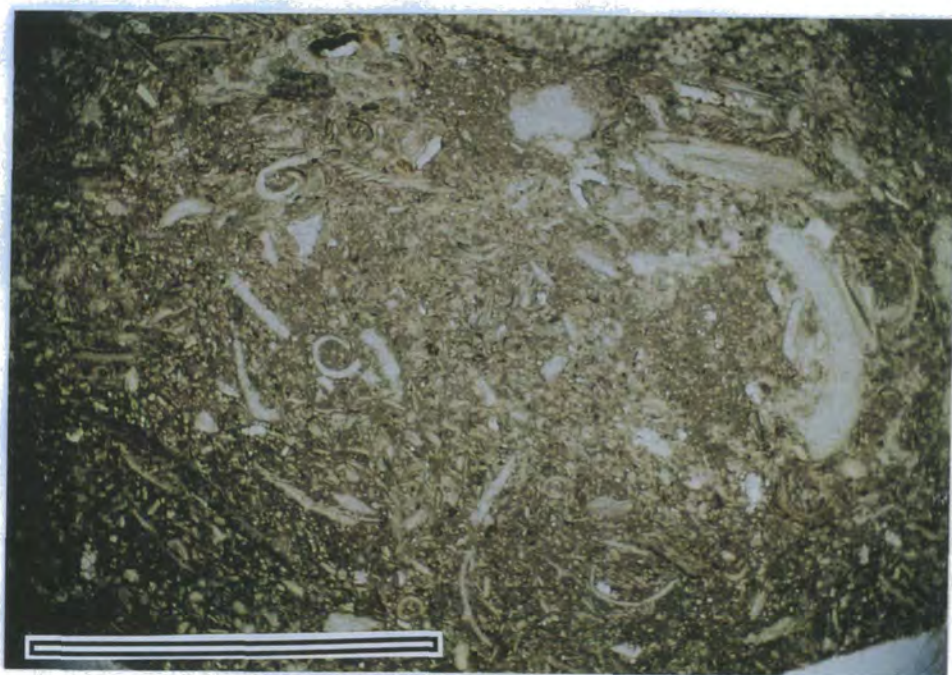


Plate 2 Microfacies R2. Bioclastic wackestone/packstone. Bioclasts dominated by brachiopods and bivalves. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number WSL27, Walheim Southern Limb section, Aachen, Germany.



Plate 3 Microfacies R3. Stromatoporoid floatstones. Stromatoporoid has a columnar morphology and is the correct way up. Scale bar in 1cm increments. Dornap Reef Complex, Germany.

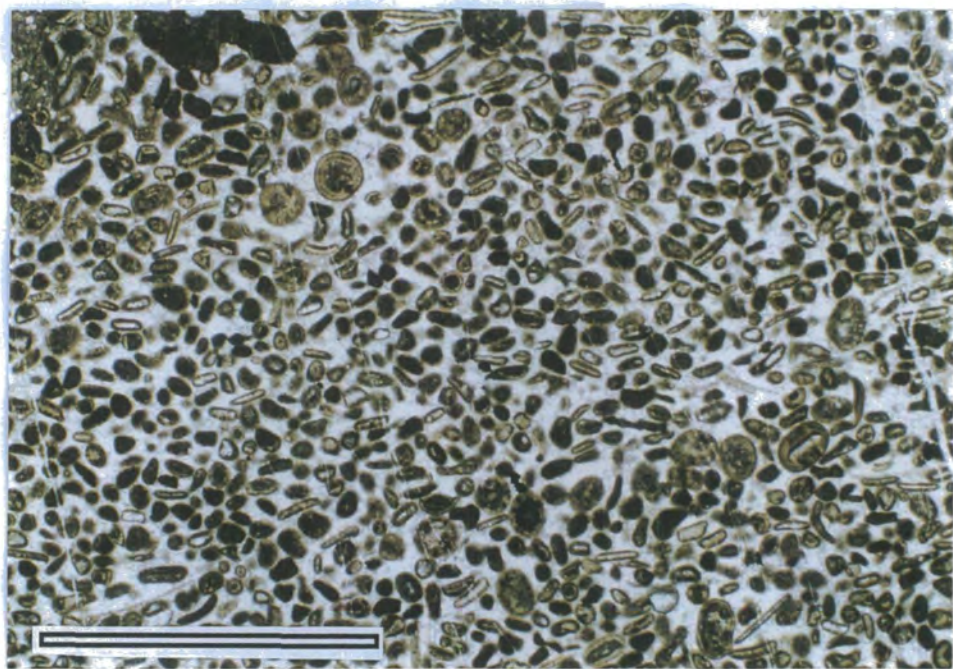


Plate 4 Microfacies R4a. Oolitic grainstones. Nuclei of ooids dominated either by peloids or mollusc bioclasts. Many ooids are superficial. Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number GL17, Glageon quarry, southern Ardennes.

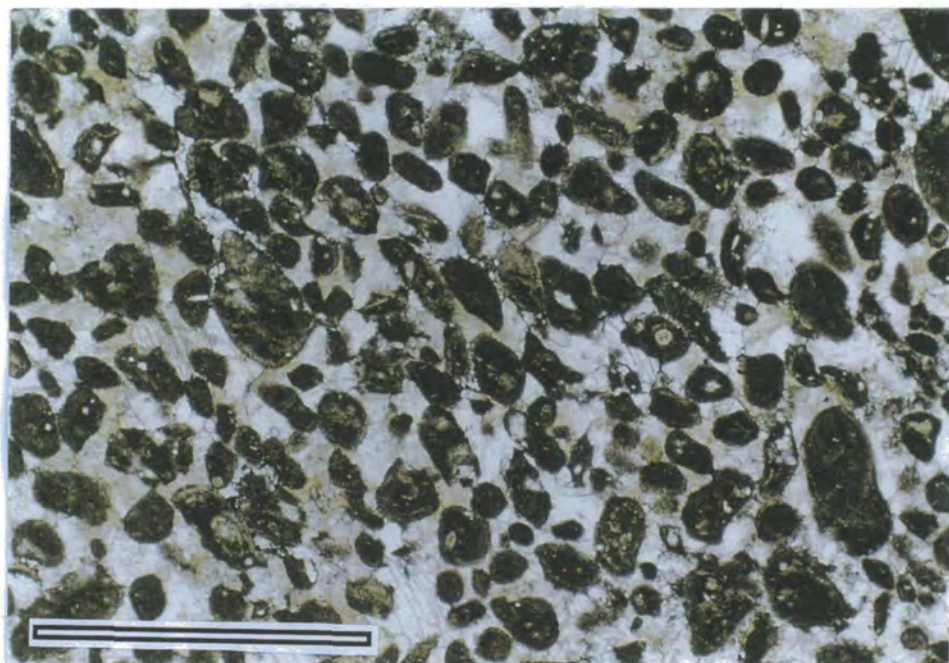


Plate 5 Microfacies R4b. Peloidal grainstone. Authogenic quartz common in many peloids. Scale bar = 1mm. Sample number BB9, Bellignies-Betrechies quarry, southern Ardennes.

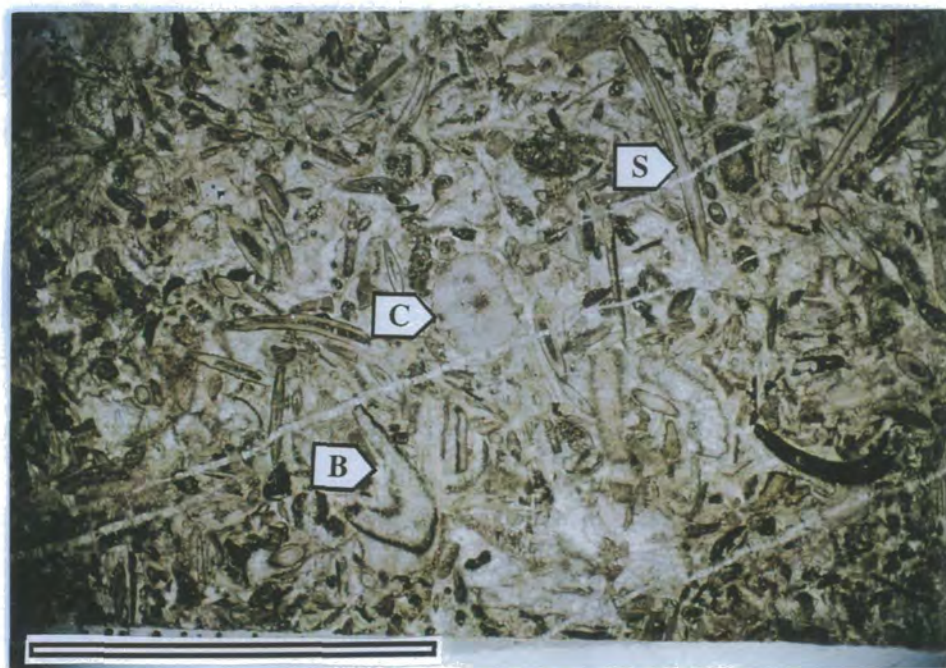


Plate 6 Microfacies R4c. Bioclastic grainstone dominated by brachiopod spines (S), bivalves (B) and crinoids (C). Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number GL15, Glageon quarry, southern Ardennes.

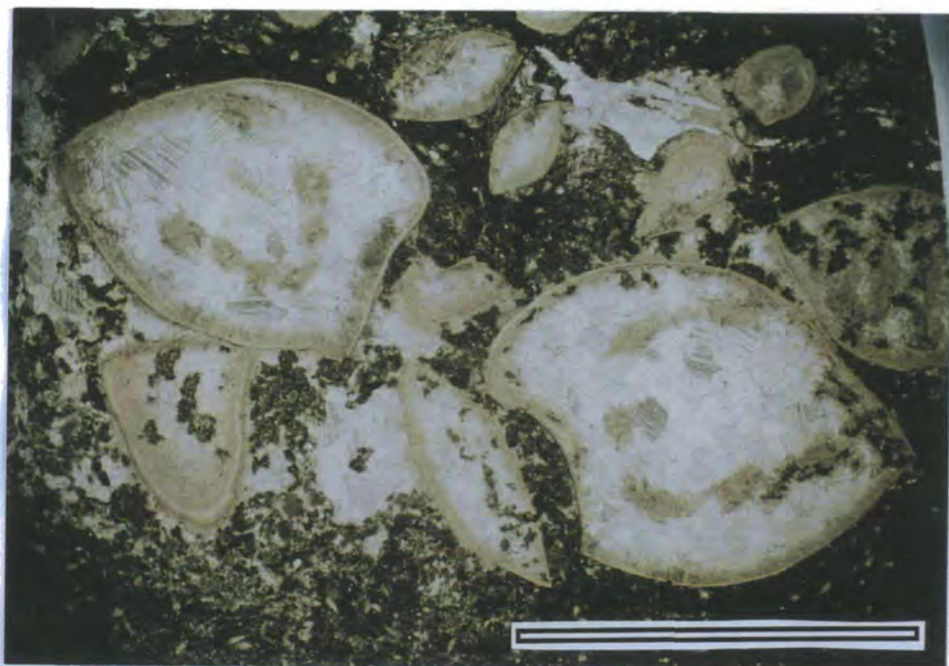


Plate 7 Microfacies R6. Bioclastic wackestones. Bioclasts dominated by Leperditicopid and Myocopid ostracodes. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number BB6, Bellignies-Bettrechies quarry, southern Ardennes.

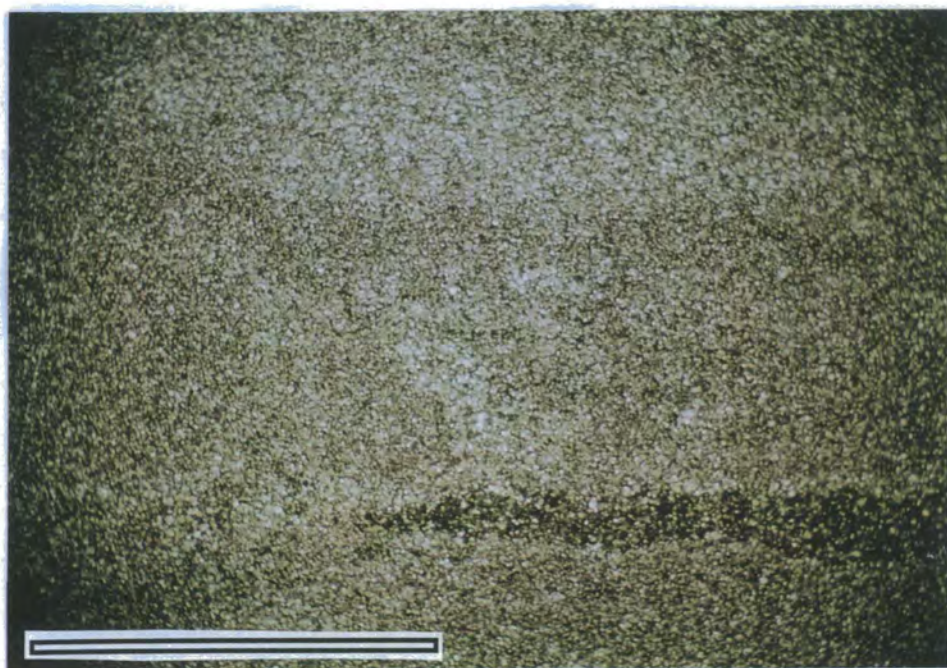


Plate 8 Microfacies R7. Fine-grained dolomudstones. Only a very faint lamination is apparent at thin-section scale compared to that of outcrop scale (see Figure 4-4c). Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number BB8, Bellignies-Bettrechies quarry, southern Ardennes.



Plate 9 Microfacies S1. Field photograph of intraformational breccia. Base of breccia is erosional and irregular (line). Tape measure for scale. Photograph taken at Walheim Section 1, Aachen, Germany.



Plate 10 Microfacies S2. Field photograph of overturned bulbous stromatoloporoids and dendroid stromatoporoids in a dolomitic matrix. Hammer 40cm long for scale. Linhay Hill quarry, Torbay Reef Complex. England.

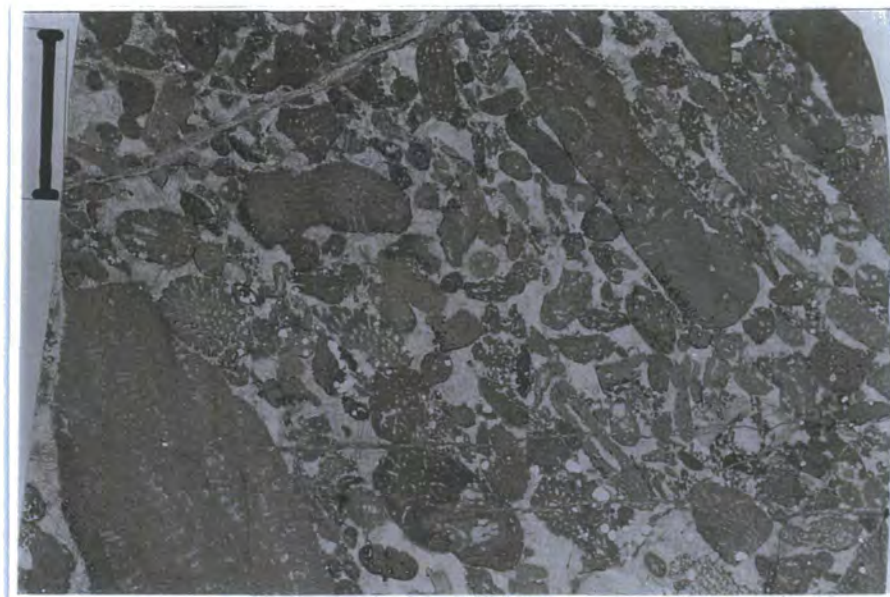


Plate 11 Microfacies S3a. Photomicrograph of bioclastic grainstone/rudstone. Bioclasts are dominated by dendroid stromatoporoids and thamnoporoids. Scale bar = 1cm. Sample number RQ17, Rydon quarry, Torbay Reef Complex, England.



Plate 12 Microfacies S3b. Photomicrograph showing aligned *Stringocephalus* bioclasts. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number R14, Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

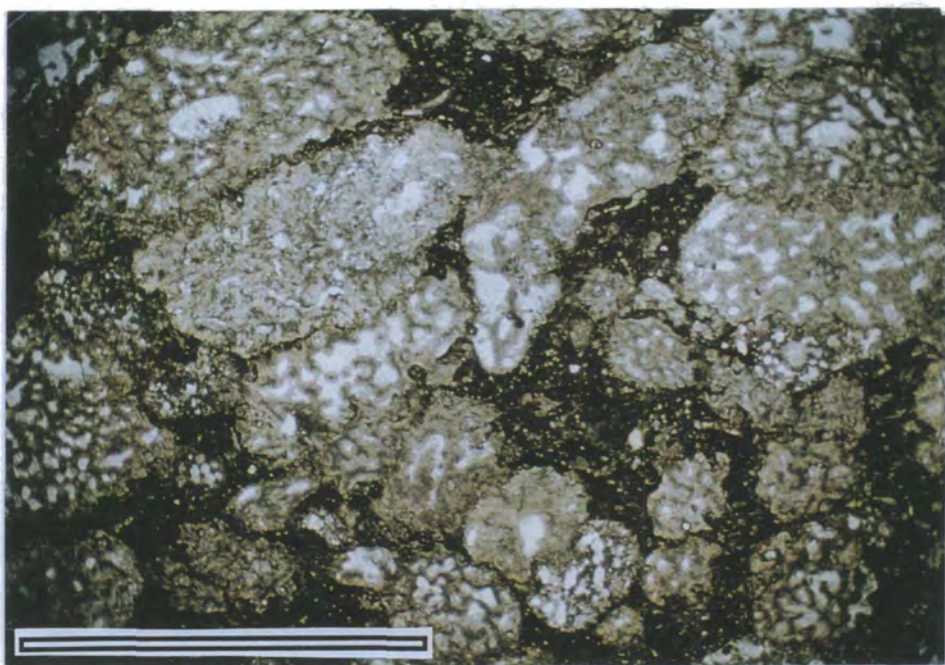


Plate 13 Microfacies S4a. Photomicrograph of *Amphipora* bafflestone. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number BW24. Broadridge Wood quarry, Torbay Reef Complex, England.

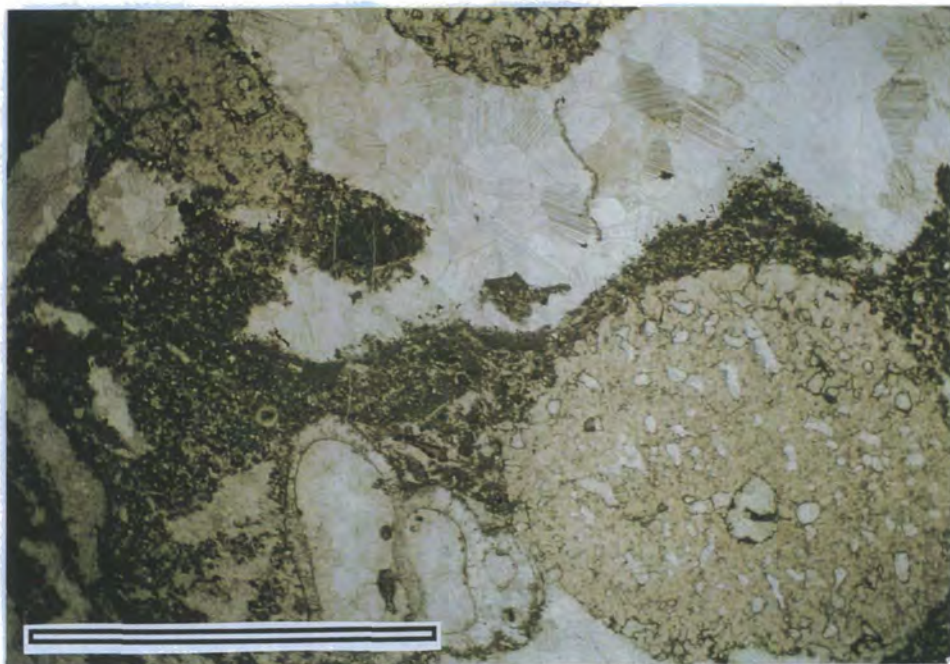


Plate 14 Microfacies S4b. Bioclasts are dominated by dendroid stromatoporoids (*Amphipora* and *Stachyodes*) and also rare gastropods. Matrix is a mixture of peloidal micrite and coarse-grained spar. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number OSV13, Olloy-sur-Viroin quarry, southern Ardennes.



Plate 15 Microfacies S5. Bioclastic packstone, dominated by bivalves. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number KL2, Keldenich quarry, Germany.

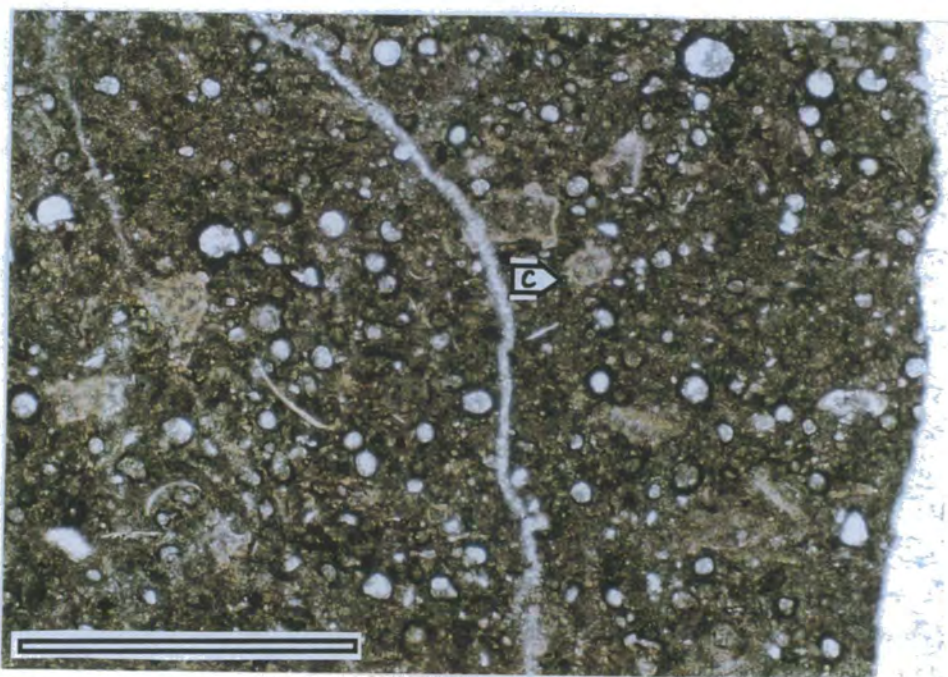


Plate 16 Microfacies S6a. Bioturbated wackestone with abundant calcispheres and Codiacea (C). Scale bar = 1mm. Sample number R6, Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

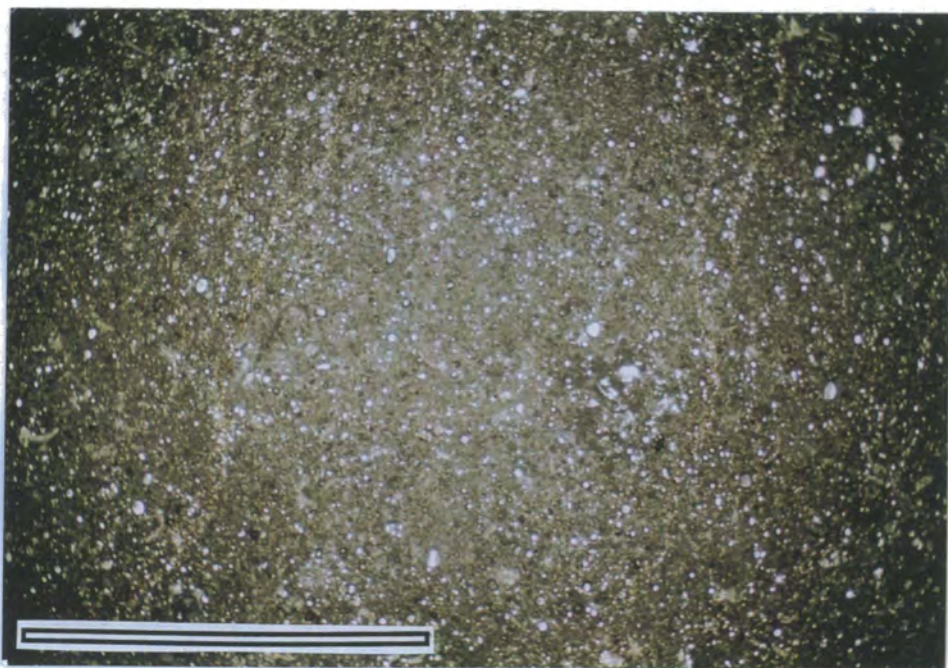


Plate 17 Microfacies S6b. Poorly fossiliferous mudstone-wackestone. Calcispheres are the major grain component. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number OSV14, Olloy-sur-Viroin quarry, southern Ardennes.



Plate 18 Microfacies S6c. Photograph of vertical/tubular fenestrae. Photograph taken at 42.7m, Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.



Plate 19 Microfacies S6c. Photomicrograph of vertical cavity (fenestra). Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number OSV23, Olloy-sur-Viroin quarry, southern Ardennes.

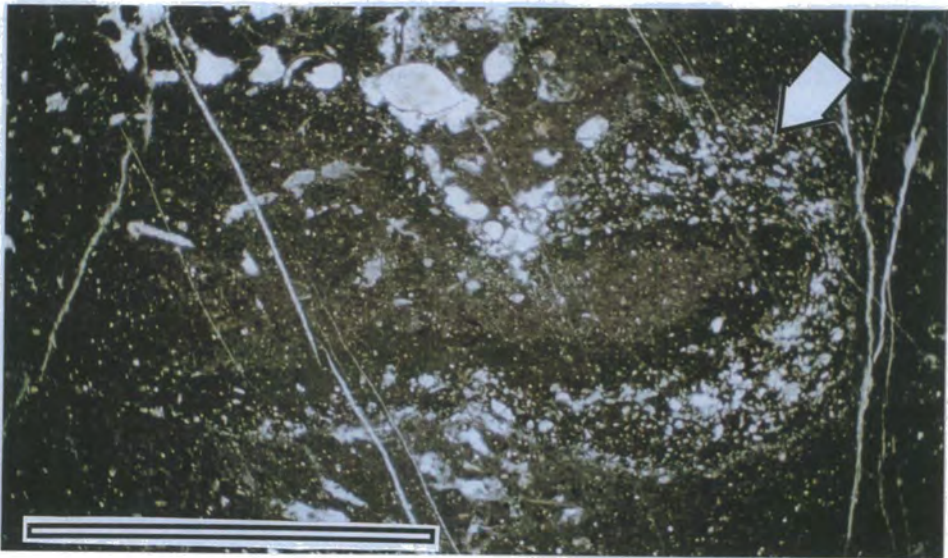


Plate 20 Microfacies S6d. Photomicrograph of oncoid. Muddy cortex is coated by filamentous *Girvanella* (arrow). Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number D6, Dourbes quarry, southern Ardennes.

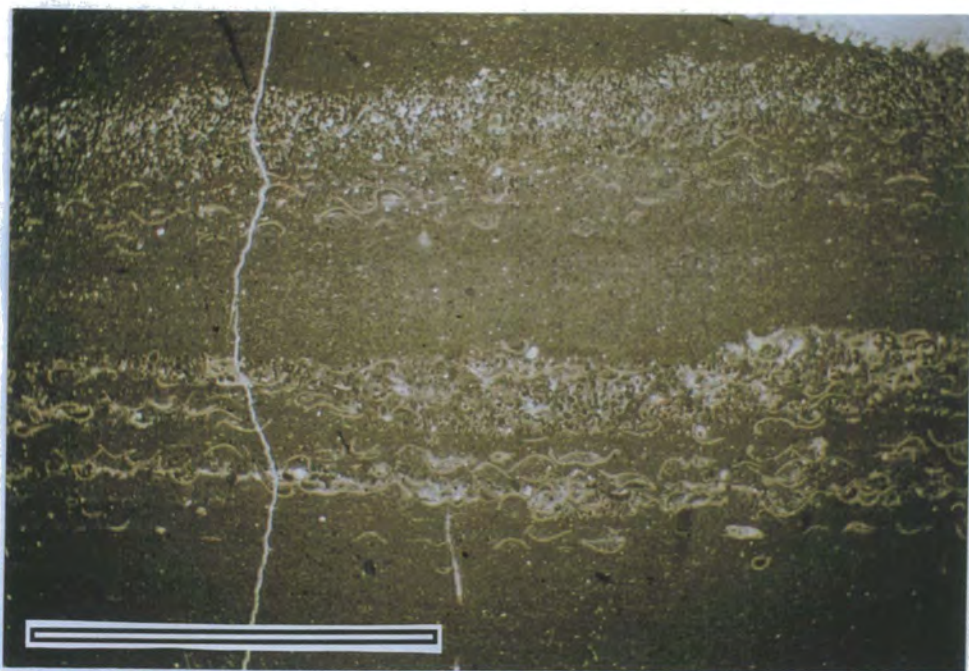


Plate 21 Microfacies S6e. Storm layers (ostracode horizons) in an otherwise mud-dominated facies. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number N1, Nismes quarry, southern Ardennes.

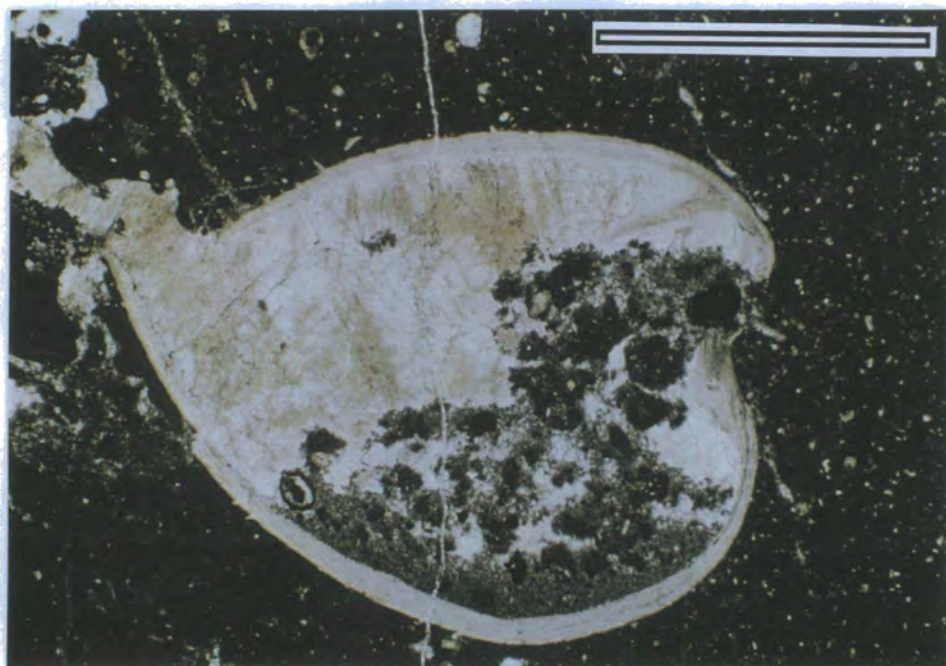


Plate 22 Microfacies S6f. Bioclastic wackestone. Leperditicoid ostracodes dominate. Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number VC8, Vaucelles quarry, southern Ardennes.

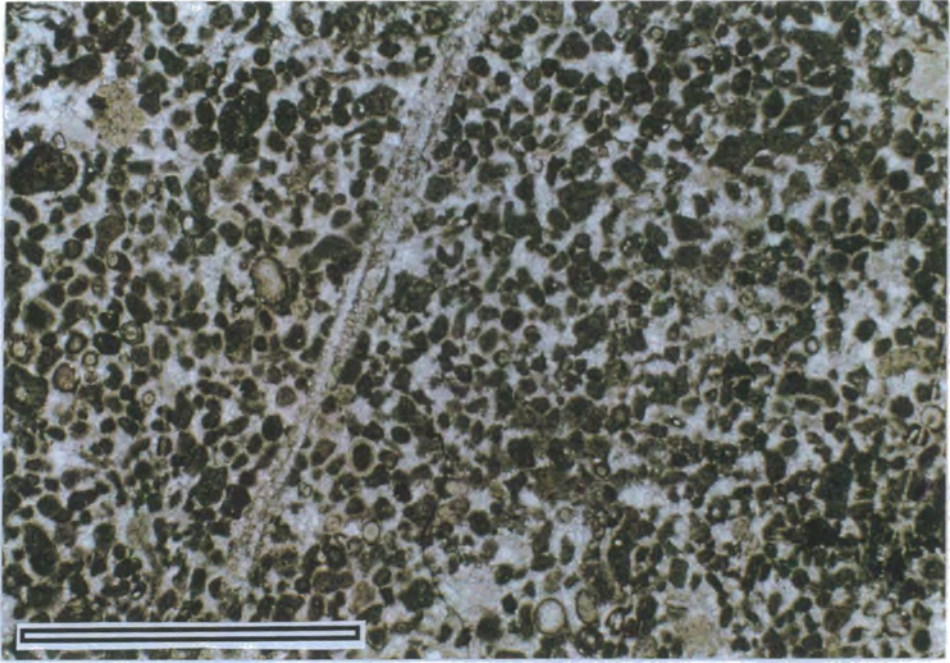


Plate 23 Microfacies S7a. Peloidal grainstone. Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number BG13, Beauraing quarry, southern Ardennes.

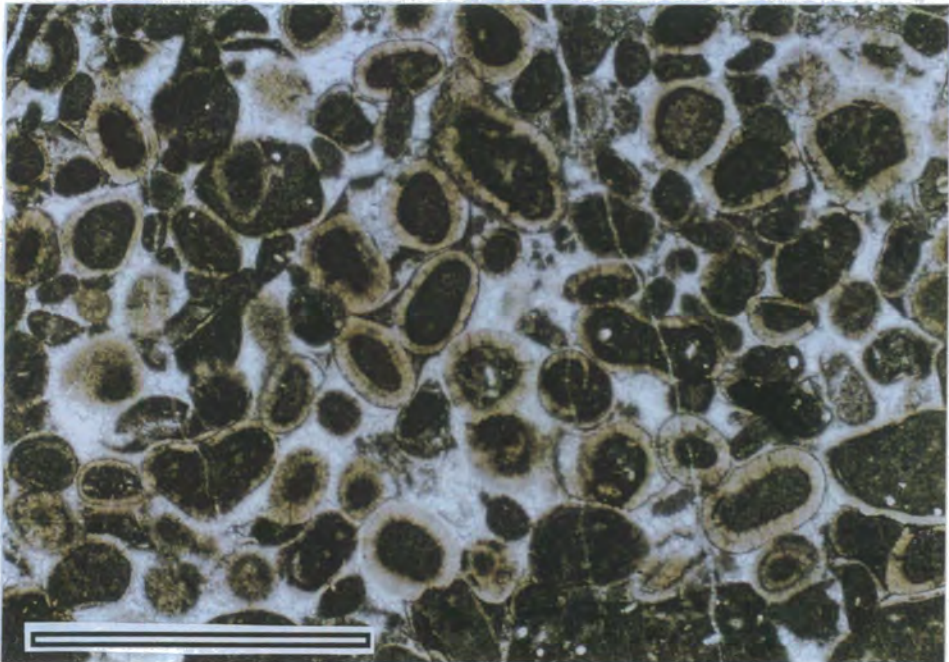


Plate 24 Microfacies S7b. Oolitic and peloidal grainstone. Ooids are mostly superficial, with strong radial calcite microfabric. Scale bar = 1mm. Sample number CDH13, Cul d'Houille quarry, southern Ardennes.

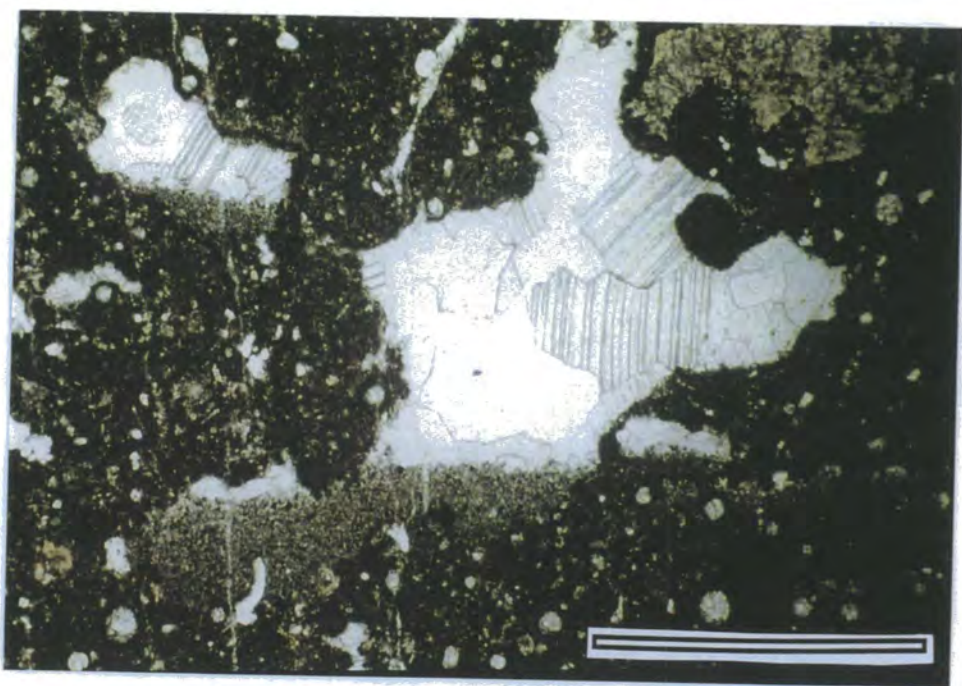


Plate 25 Microfacies S8a. Irregular fenestrae with a mechanically-deposited vadose silt at base. Scale bar = 1mm. Sample number OSV12, Olloy-sur-Viroin quarry, southern Ardennes.



Plate 26 Microfacies S8b. Fenestral packstone/
grainstone. Grains are dominated by peloids.
Fenestrae are irregular and laminoid, and
sometimes have an internal mechanical fill of
very small peloids (arrow). Scale bar = 10mm.
Sample number WSL21, Walheim Southern
Limb section, Aachen, Germany.

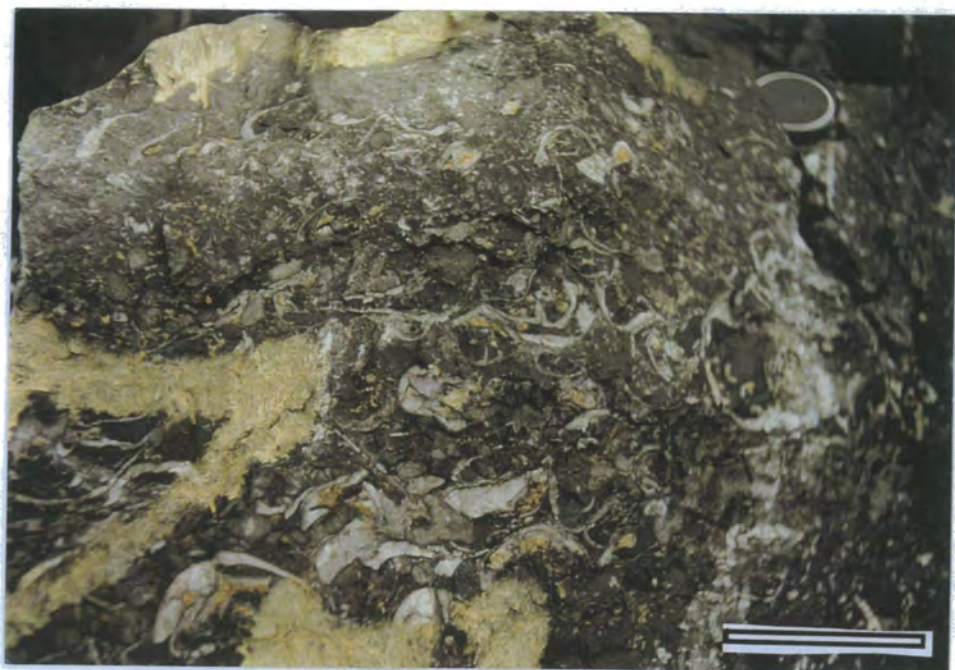


Plate 27 Microfacies S9. Note dominance of *Stringocephalus* brachiopods with their distinctive internal plate. Rock is patchily cemented, especially at the bases of bioclasts. Scale bar = 5cm. Photograph taken at 5.1m, Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

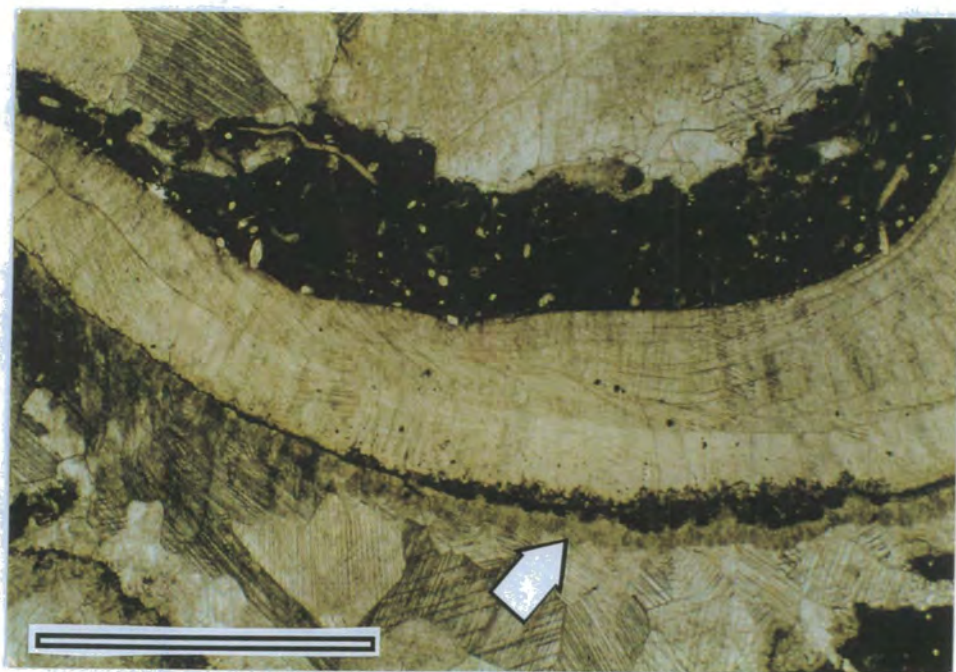


Plate 28 Microfacies S9. Photomicrograph of *Stringocephalus* bioclast with pendant cements (arrow) on underside. Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number R9, Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

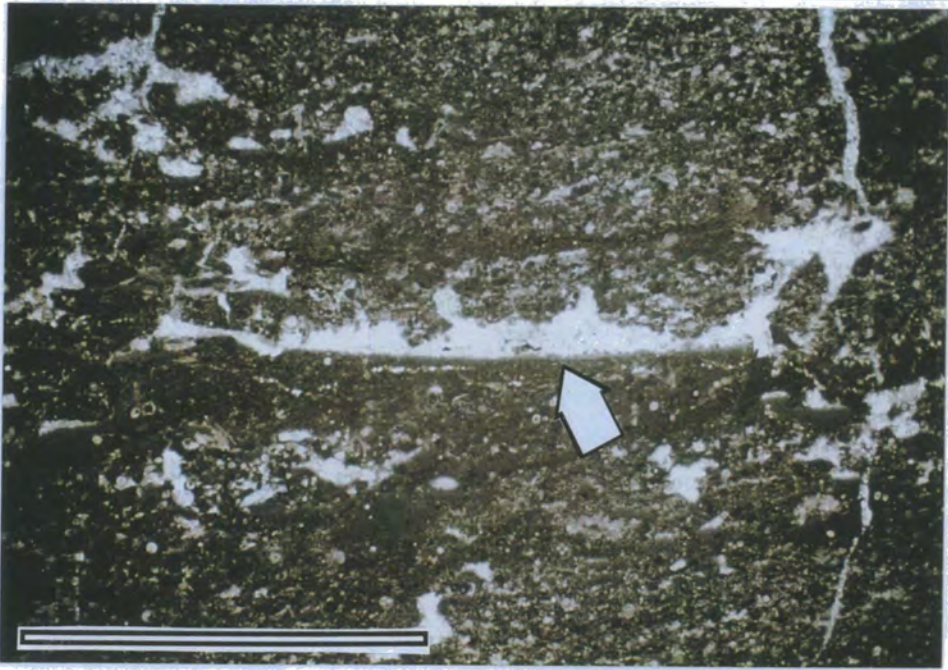


Plate 29 Microfacies S10. Distinctive laminoid fenestrea with thin deposits of vadose silt in base (arrow). Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number BL5, Bleiwäsche quarry, Brilon Reef Complex, Germany.



Plate 30 Microfacies S11. Mud chips derived from reworking of underlying laminite deposit. Photograph taken at Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

Plate 31 Microfacies S12a. Field photograph of mechanically deposited laminite. Tape 5cm diameter. Photograph taken at Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

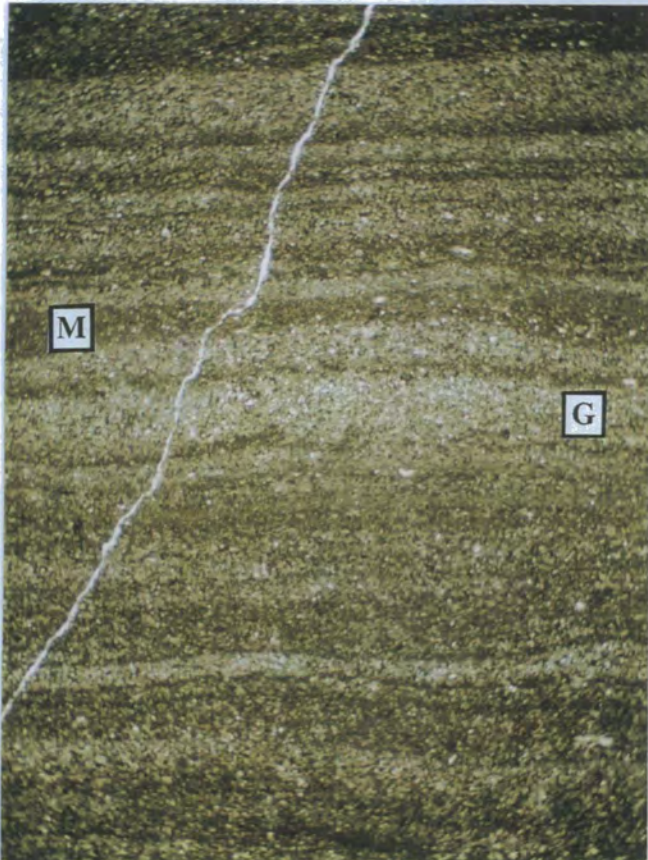


Plate 32 Microfacies S12a. Photomicrograph of cryptomicrobial laminites. Lamina are mudstones (M) and peloidal grainstones (G). Scale bar = 2mm. Sample number R15, Resteigne quarry, southern Ardennes.

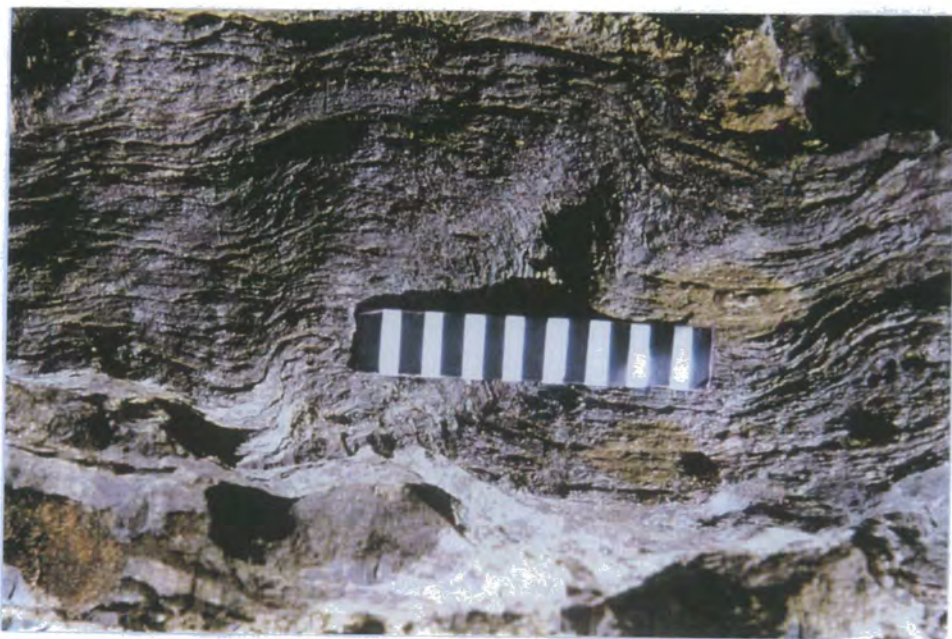


Plate 33 Microfacies S12b. LLH-S stromatolite. The hemispheroids have a relief of approximately 6cm and are laterally linked. Scale is in 1cm increments. Photograph taken at Alt Breinig quarry, Aachen, Germany.



Plate 34 Microfacies S12b. Photomicrograph of stromatolite facies. Peloidal and intraclastic lamina are interlayered with muddy (cryptomicrobial) lamina. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number N6, Nismes quarry, southern Ardennes.

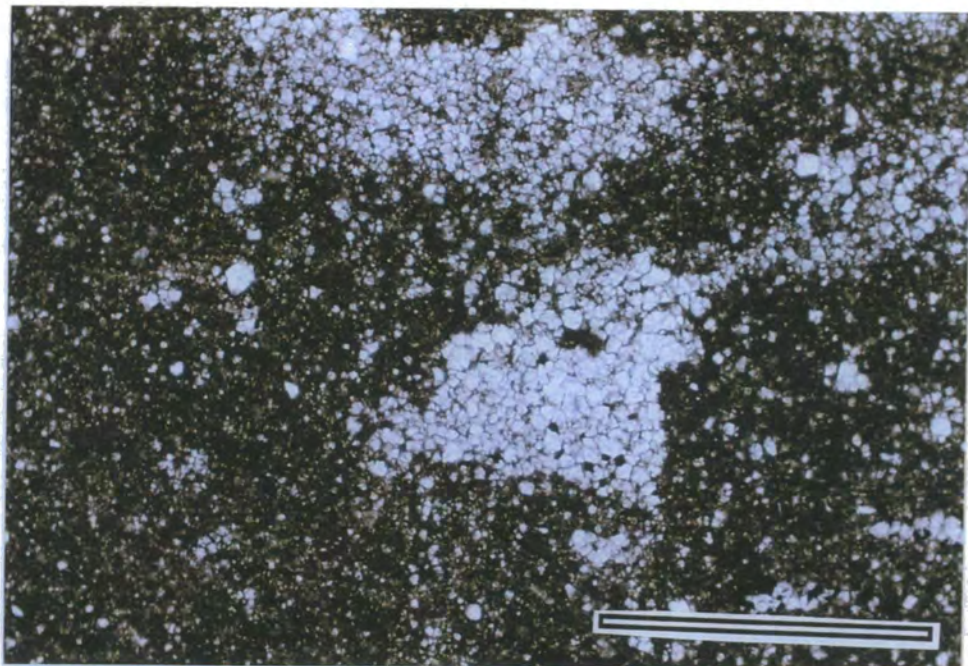


Plate 35 Microfacies S13. Pseudomorph of anhydrite in a fine-grained dolomudstone matrix. Scale bar = 1mm. Sample number KL13, Keldenich quarry, Germany.

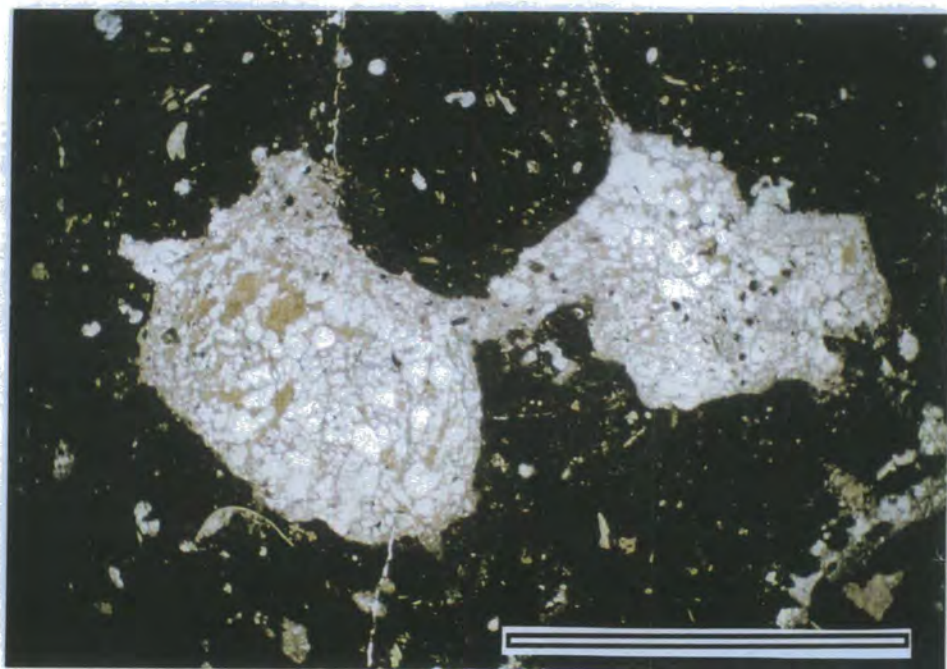


Plate 36 Microfacies S14. Photomicrograph of detrital calcite-filled cracks. Calcrete facies. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number CDH28, Cul d'Houille quarry, southern Ardennes.

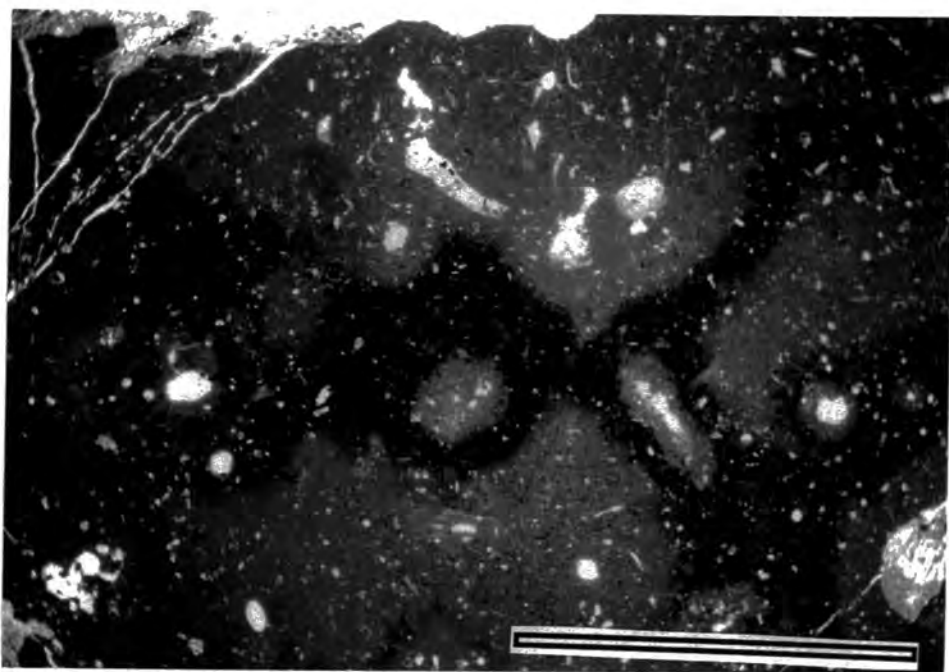


Plate 37 Microfacies S14. Iron-staining associated with calcrete development. Scale bar = 5mm. Sample number CDH28, Cul d'Houille quarry, southern Ardennes.