

**CHIEFS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION
IN WEST BUDAMA COUNTY IN UGANDA DURING THE
COLONIAL PERIOD, 1900-1962**

BY

**YOKANA OGOLA
E83/10708/006**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university or any other award.

Signature..... **Date**.....

Yokana Ogola (E83/10708/06)

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

SUPERVISORS

We confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by this candidate under our supervision.

Signature **Date**

Prof. Samson Omwoyo

Department of History Archaeology and Political Studies.

Maasai Mara University

Signature **Date**

Dr.Pius W. Kakai

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies.

Kenyatta University

DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to two great Malasangs of Moriwa Guma clan of Pajapian. Firstly, Azalia Owori Ogola Japian for his philosophical and religious words of caution, guidance and counseling, and financial assistance that enabled me report to Makerere University for my first Degree program. The generous offer gave me a significant breakthrough.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Babikira | A Dhupadhola version of Nuns. |
| Bitongole | Luganda word for village administrative division. |
| Chooko | Dhupadhola word for bones. |
| Citizens | Privileged section of the population in a colonial situation. |
| Client | One soliciting for support from a more powerful and influential personality in position of authority. |
| Dende | A whip made from the skin of Hippopotamus (Dhupadhola). |
| Derokech | Dhupadhola word for special food storage to cater for difficult times. |
| Faya | Dhupadhola word for a system of exchanging communal labour. |
| Gombolola | Luganda word for Sub-county. |
| Goyo futi | Provision of Physical labour in someone's garden for Monetary payments in Padhola. |
| Jomisowa | Dhupadhola version for Gisu people. |
| Jupadhola | Dhupadhola version for the people or community of |

the Place/ Area of Adhola (Padhola).

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Lwenyi Abiro | Refers to war of clubs (Bukedi riots of 1960) in Dhupadhola. |
| Lwoo | A group of ethnic people, who speak dialects of Luo language. |
| Malasang | Dhupadhola name for Mamba snake which is a totem for the Moriwa Guma clan. |
| Mukopi | Luganda word for common man. |
| Mukyala | Luganda word for a respectable woman. |
| Omuwogo | Dhupadhola word for Cassava. |
| Padhola | Meaning Par-Adhola- the area of Adhola. |
| Rwooth | Dhupadhola word for respectable gentleman in position of authority. |
| Saaza | Luganda word for county. |
| Seewe | Dhupadhola version for the Maasai People. |
| Senda | Dhupadhola word for center, the first place to be by the Misssionaries. |

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACCRONYMS

| | |
|---------------|---|
| ADM | Administration |
| BALG | Bukedi African Local Government |
| BK | Bukedi |
| Can | Canon |
| CMS | Church Missionary Society |
| DP | Democratic Party |
| FN | File Number |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| KAR | Kenya African Rifles |
| LEGICO | Legislative Council |
| NCO | Native Courts Ordinance |
| NLO | Native Law Ordinance |
| NAO | Native Authority Ordinance |
| OI | Oral Informant |
| UPC | Uganda Peoples Congress (One of the political parties of Uganda) |

ABSTRACT

This study is about the role of chiefs in colonial local government administration in Padhola County in Uganda, 1900-1962. Very little had been done on this aspect of Padhola history, the part played by local government chiefs in colonial local government administration therefore, needed a serious scholarly attention. Chiefs were indeed instrumental in facilitating local government administration, a situation that put them in prestigious positions which they guarded jealously. The Jupadhola were chosen for this study because they arrived in that ecological zone way back around 1650, they constituted a large population in the former Bukedi district and had absorbed a good number of people from neighboring ethnic communities. How their chiefs were identified and recruited, the kind of duties they performed, challenges they faced and the overall impact of their activities on Padhola communities constituted a problem that this study investigated. The main objective was therefore, to establish the role of Padhola chiefs in local government and resultant legacy. Qualitative methodology was used in data collection and analysis. Instruments used included library, archival and oral interviews, mindful of reliability, validity and ethical concerns. Several theories were used to inform the study, depending on specific chapters. However, the main theories included: Lugard's theory of indirect rule (1922), Ehiedu's theory on colonialism and indirect rule (2002), Heldring and Robinson's arguments on Colonialism and Development in Africa (2013) and Mamdani's arguments on Decentralized Despotism (1996). It is established that chiefs indeed played significant roles in colonial local

administration, they were highly privileged and protected but they were extremely constrained by the ambivalent and contradictory positions they occupied. Besides, through their activities as collaborators, chiefs set the pace for the systematic development of underdevelopment in Padhola. This was established from their roles in enforcing cotton production, forced labour, tax payment and maintaining peace, law and order. This study is significant as it contributes to the existing body of knowledge and widens the horizon of African history in general and Uganda's history in particular.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Overview

Beginning from the 1870s to the 1900, African continent faced European imperialist aggression, diplomatic pressures, military invasions and eventual conquest and colonization. By the early twentieth century, much of Africa had been colonized by European powers. Three main factors prompted Europeans to come to Africa, these were economic, political and social. As a result of the collapse of the lucrative slave trade, its abolition and suppression, together with the expansion of European capitalist Industrial Revolution, the imperatives of capitalist industrialization that included the demand for sources of raw materials, assumed markets and profitable investments avenues, the Europeans were motivated to scramble, partition and eventually conquer Africa.

Once claims were made and borders were drawn, European nations had to devise a plan to govern their newly acquired territories. There were four main ways in which European nations ruled African colonies. Each of these four divisions were broad categories that are used by historians when discussing types of colonial rule. Within each category, details of individual and local situations varied from place to place (Ikechi, 2002). One of these was indirect rule policy which was adopted by Britain at different times in many of her African colonies. The system involved adapting traditional African political

institutions to serve the administrative purpose of Britain. With this kind of arrangement, African chiefs were identified and entrusted with wide powers beyond what they possessed in the pre-colonial times (Obinta, 2012: 804). This often resulted in the transformation of these chiefs to paramount rulers or complete native authorities whose powers derived from the colonial authorities rather than from the traditional political institutions. Lord Lugard, a British colonial administrator, was the proponent of this system which he used in Nigeria and later in British East Africa (Oyebade, 2002).

The system assumed that all Africans were organized into “tribes” with chiefs. However, on the ground, Africa had diverse types of government ranging from highly centralized states to decentralized societies. In this scheme, the few educated elites in the earlier period of colonial rule were sidelined and rendered redundant (Crowder, 1968: 428). As a result, indirect rule increased divisions between ethnic groups and among members of particular ethnic group. It should however, be highlighted that the British choice of indirect rule was conditioned by the fact that they wanted a solution to the economic problem of shortage of administrative personnel and other logistical difficulties, instead of what has been falsely perceived as a special regard for African traditional institutions (Omoni, 1982:81). It is also noted by some sections of scholars that the British colonial programme was rather gradual in nature; that they hoped to grant selfrule to their subjects at a certain time when they considered appropriate for it (Omoni, 1981; Obinta, 2012: 804).

On this subject, Nwabugluogu (1981) reaffirms the above argument by noting that Fredrick Lugard was one of the foremost practitioners of the colonial system of indirect rule, whereby traditional structures and hierarchies are retained when a country or territory is occupied while the traditional leader is co-opted and reduced to a subordinate position in the social cohesion of the subject country. This is because the British retained the final say in all matters lawful and therefore, were able to exploit it for their own benefit.

Acemaglu et al (2013:2), further draw our attention to the fact that indirect rule was a system where colonial powers used traditional rulers (chiefs) at the local level of government, employing them to tax, dispense law and maintain order. Chiefs often maintained police forces or local guards, prisons and were in charge of providing public goods like roads and governing resources and manpower necessary to build them. As a result of implementation of indirect rule, it is emphasized (Mamdani, 1996) that indirect rule had negative effects on the nature of political institutions in Africa because it made chiefs accountable to the colonial power rather than their people and also rendered them more despotic. Unfortunately, this despotism persisted after independence, influencing both local and national governance. It also negatively affected democratic governance. Goldstein and Udry (2008) and Acemoglu, Reed and Robinson (2013) provide supplementary evidence to show that the persistence of indirect rule institutions indeed had adverse effects on contemporary African development.

It is in the above context that this study investigated the role of chiefs in local government administration in Padhola County in Uganda in the colonial period, 1900-1962. For the case of Bukedi and later Padhola, colonialism reached these areas in a systematic and dynamic manner.

At first the British were reluctant to extend their colonial influence to the eastern part of Uganda. This was mainly because the economic viability of the area had not been fully realized (Okoboi, 1980:10). Sir Harry Johnston was appointed Council General for Uganda in 1890, a decision that marked a turning point in the development of colonial administration in eastern Uganda. Johnston immediately embarked on an expansionist policy that led to deliberate and protracted extension of British occupation of eastern Uganda. The aim was to generate resources for colonial administration and foster “development” (Okoboi, 1980:11).

It is pertinent to argue that Johnston, like other British administrators deployed elsewhere in other parts of colonial Africa, was determined to implement the Dual Mandate policy put forward by Lord Lugard in which Lugard proposed to rule Africa through the indigenous rulers or Native administrators. The scheme also included establishing formal education to make the colonized people become literate, abolish slave trade and replace it with legitimate trade. The aim was to exploit Africans from within their localities and to use Christianity to prepare or pacify the ground for effective administration (Ajayi and Espie, 1965:39). In Bukedi, Johnston first employed the service of Semei Kakungulu, a

Muganda collaborator who came with his Baganda followers and imposed the “Kiganda” system of local government on Bukedi (Karugire 1980:1980; Iyer, 2010).

Kakungulu was in principle, an alleged opportunist who wanted to gain short term advantage by offering to collaborate with the British rule outside Buganda province. He had already fallen out with Appolo Kagwa when he (Kakungulu) was appointed to lead a contingent to Bunyoro. Afterwards, he was elected to go and pacify the eastern areas of the Protectorate where he expected to be elevated to the position of King (Karugire 1980: 104-105). A detailed account of Kakungulu’s activities is covered in Chapter Two. However, it suffices to point out that he divided the whole of Bukedi into administrative units which were manned by his Baganda agents and later, the locally appointed chiefs.

1.2 Historical Background

1.2.1 Origins, Migration and Settlement of the Jupadhola, 1945-1900

The Luo left Bar- El-Ghazel in Southern Sudan from 1450 and moved in small groups. The group that included the Jupadhola pressed their way southwards through Teso and Kaberamaido till they reached Budama in present Tororo around 1650 (Crazzolaro, 1950:32; Ogot, 1996). Adhola moved with his brother called Owiny who led a group through Tororo to western Kenya. Adhola remained behind and together with his own descendants and through

intermarriage with neighboring communities, constituted the present Jupadhola (Ogot, 1996: 76-79). As they settled down, the Jupadhola were attacked by neighboring ethnic communities such as the Gisu, the Nyole and Maasai whom they referred to as “Jusewe”. In these attacks, the Gisu defeated the Jupadhola, the Nyole were driven further away and the Maasai were repulsed beyond Tororo across to Kenya (Refer to Map 1).

1.2.2 Political Organization

By the time of colonial rule, the Jupadhola people were already settled down under a noncentralized political organization in which the rule of clan elders was dominant. There was no standing army and the defense of the community was the responsibility of able-bodied persons. The institution of public authority had, however, started emerging under the able leadership of Majanga of the Nyapolo Ogule clan (Burke and Southhall, 1956: 183). The Jupadhola developed a kinship structure which seemed to have been influenced by the political culture in those areas they passed through during the time of migrations. (Lamphear 1985:55) convincingly notes that migrations in Africa were largely a gradual process of cultural, political and linguistic interaction. It is a result of this that the area of Padhola managed to develop with a shared custom, language and territory similar to those of other ethnic groups. Besides, they must have been influenced by environmental, social and material factors which determined the historical experience which was consolidated into a common goal (Karugire, 1980:2; Ogot, 1996). The clan was a center of reference and identity, reputation and pride. As a result, clan leaders possessed tremendous political and social

authority and were at the center of all social, religious and political activities (Anyoya, OI, 2009).¹

A significant complex and subtle relationship existed between kinship and politics in which elders managed their internal affairs with minimum supervision (Vaughan, 1986:177). As a result, the Padhola community was a conglomeration of a diversity of ethnicities. It also means that the Padhola people had reached a fairly advanced level in social development. Gradually, significant political transformations began to take place, leading to what seemed to be a mini centralized political system with Majanga as its head. By 1900, Majanga had distinguished himself as the paramount chief of all Padhola.

Majanga led his army armed with spears and shields against the British but within a short time, his forces had to succumb to defeat owing to their inferior weapons. He was defeated and imprisoned in Jinja where he died in 1905 (Burke, 1964:197).

1.2.3 The Pre-Colonial Economy

The lives of the people of Padhola in the period under discussion were purely agrarian, depending mainly on land for survival. The major food crop was millet which was used as food in the form of “kwoni” millet bread. Millet was also used to brew alcoholic beverage called “kongo” millet beer.

In this study, the name “West Budama” was the administrative division of one of the counties that constituted the then Bukedi District. It is sometimes referred to as Padhola County because it is populated predominantly by the Jupadhola people. West Budama is synonymous with Padhola because they both refer to the same geographical location that is populated by the Jupadhola people. Jupadhola people who inhabited the area of Adhola, hence, the name Padhola. The people are referred to as the Jupadhola people.

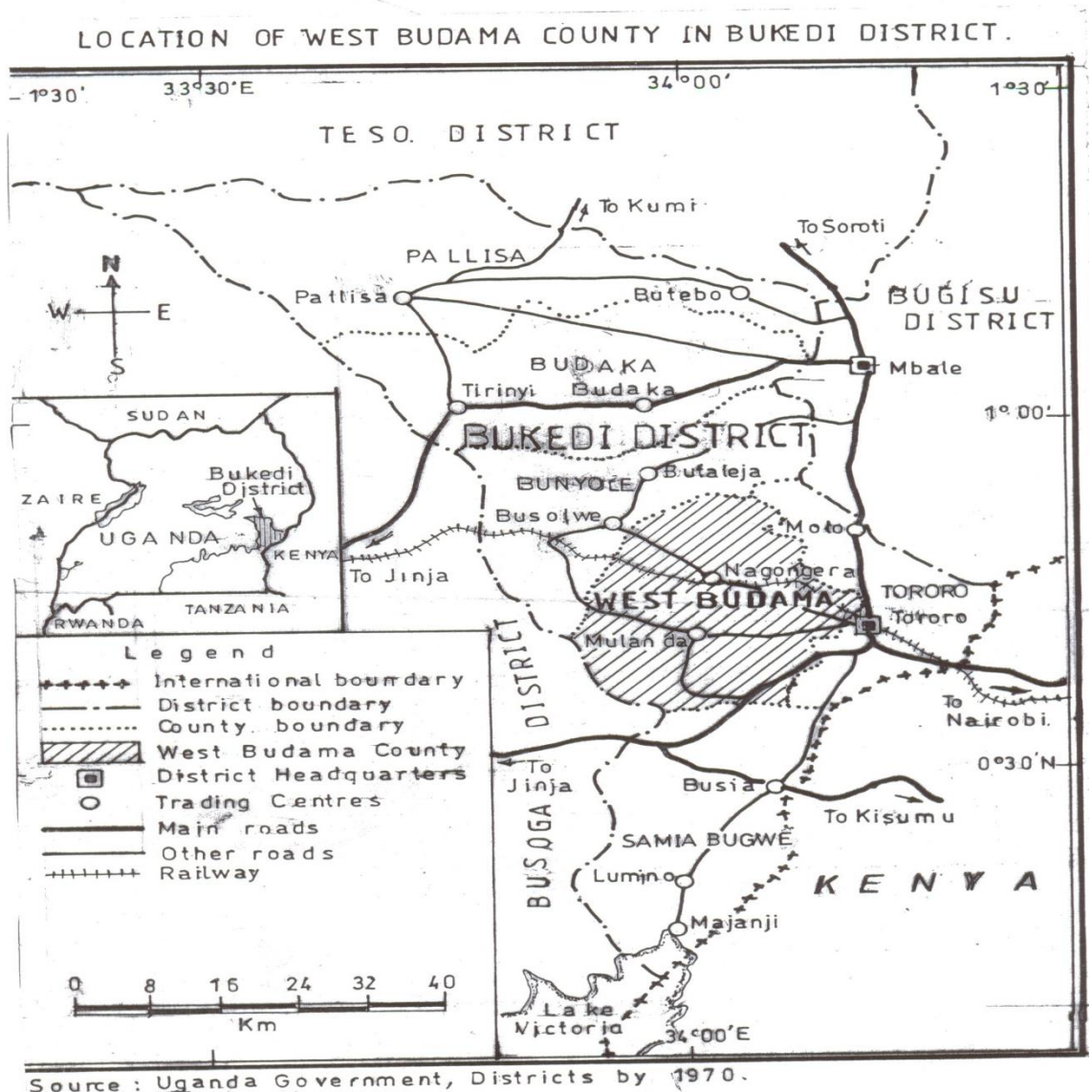
Other food crops included cassava, potatoes and yams (Okumu, OI, 2008).

The unit of production was the family or household; food was produced through family labor and what was produced was mainly for subsistence. Little was exchanged through barter trade.

Agricultural activities included raising of domestic animals and chickens. The traditional economy of Padhola was therefore, devoid of any cash crops in the colonial sense and labor was only used communally for community benefit and conspicuous social differentiation was lacking (Ogot, 1996: 78:79).

By the time colonial rule reached West Budama (1903), the Jupadhola were properly settled down with a formidable and thriving economy that matched with their level of civilization. Law and order were controlled by elders who were headed at the top by Majanga in some kind albeit rudimentary centralized system of administration. The theory that the pre-colonial Padhola community was engrossed in barbarism and primitivity has also been dispelled because investigation demonstrated that they were on the march towards a more civilized community, capable of achieving a more dignified co-existence. This was the socio-political and economic atmosphere that was interrupted by the coming, establishment and consolidation of colonial rule.

Map 1: Location of West Budama County in Bukedi District



1.3 Statement of the Problem

Colonial rule reached West Budama around 1900 and found the Jupadhola already settled down under a formidable agrarian economic environment and a decentralized system of governance. The British then designed to establish their local government leadership first, through the Baganda chiefs headed by Semei Kakungulu, then later through indigenous appointed chiefs. It is important

therefore, to provide answers to questions such as: how were these chiefs recruited and appointed; what duties did they perform; the kind of challenges they encountered and what were the overall impact of their activities on the subsequent development of West Budama. In otherwords, the rationale behind the use of locally appointed chiefs in West Budama and the exact magnitude of their contribution to colonialism in general is not yet well documented, a problem that the study intended to solve.

1.4 Objectives of the study

1.4.1 General Objective

The main objective of the study was to establish the role of chiefs in colonial local government and resultant legacy in Padhola land in the period of 1900-1962.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were to:

- i. Analyze the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in West Budama County, 1901-1953.
- ii. Examine methods used to recruit and appoint chiefs.
- iii. Investigate the duties performed by local government chiefs and challenges encountered.
- iv. Highlight the impact of chiefs' activities in local government and resultant legacy in West Budama County.

1.5 Research Premises

- i. The colonial state used a variety of mechanisms to establish and consolidate its rule in West Budama.
- ii. The British colonialists employed a variety of methods to recruit and appoint chiefs into local government administration.
- iii. Local government chiefs were vested with powers to perform a variety of roles which subjected them to challenging and ambivalent situation.
- iv. The activities of chiefs in local government administration greatly entrenched the process of underdevelopment in West Budama County.

1.6 Rationale and Justification of the Study

The study is expected to contribute knowledge on the historiography of colonial rule in Uganda, East Africa and Africa as a whole. Besides, it would provide good readership for the Padhola community who would wish to know more about their colonial history. It was also expected that the study would inspire other scholars and researchers to carry out related studies else where in Uganda, East Africa and Africa as a whole. Padhola was chosen as a geographical study area because the community had stayed there for a long time, they constituted a large population of former Bukedi district and their social-political organization was viable enough under Majanga of Nyapolo Ogule clan. This therefore, means that they had a big stake in the colonial history of the region.

1.7 Scope/Delimitation of the Study

The study examines the activities carried out by local government chiefs in the control and consolidation of authority and leadership in West Budama County as a whole or samples of it, in the period of 1900-1962. The geographical coverage is West Budama County¹ which was the administrative division containing predominantly the Jupadhola people who constituted a significant population of former Bukedi District and they therefore, had a big stake in the colonial period, a fact that explains why they were chosen for this study. Besides, it was realized that the area would constitute a manageable scope for the period of the study. The study begins from 1900 and ends in 1962. Colonial rule reached west Budama in 1900 and came to an end in 1962 with attainment of political independence. The study focuses specifically on chiefs in local government administration.

1.8 Review of Related Literature

The study is inspired by studies and works carried out by other scholars in related fields else where in Uganda and the rest of Africa.

Karugire (1980) provides an account of the pre-colonial setting in Uganda societies, the subsequent polarization of the population along religious lines and how colonial rule penetrated Uganda as a whole.

1. West Budama is synonymous with Padhola because they both refer to the same geographical location that is populated by the Jupadhola people.

However, Karugire's political history of Uganda is too broad and not specific on any particular Ugandan community. This explains why Padhola is mentioned only once in the whole work. The present study, therefore, provides an indepth study of a particular aspect of political history by examining the activities of chiefs in colonial local government in Padhola.

Ehiedu (2002), while writing on the colonization of Africa, focuses on colonial domination with particular reference to indirect rule. He notes that the British used the system to rule first in Northern Nigeria, the Gold coast in West Africa and later in parts of East Africa. He rightly points out that the theory and practice of indirect rule is always associated with Lord Lugard, a British colonial administrator who first used this system in West Africa. Ehiedu goes on to note that indirect rule increased divisions between ethnic groups and gave power to certain "big men" who had never had it before in pre-colonial history. This observation greatly inspired this study and helped to analyze the subsequent divisions that engulfed Bukedi district as a whole and Padhola in particular as a result of the coming of colonial rule.

Alistair (Publication date destroyed) while writing on why Africa was so rapidly colonized, draws our attention to the fact that the scramble for Africa (1880-1900) was a period of rapid colonization of the African continent by European powers. However, it would not have happened except for the particular economic, social and military evolution Europe was going through. Among the reasons for the scramble, the author highlights end of slave trade and the development of capitalism in Europe. He further notes that the end of European

trading in slaves left a need for commerce between Europe and Africa. Capitalists wanted to exploit the continent through the new “legitimate” trade. Explorers had located large reserves of raw materials and markets for European merchandise. It was time to dedicate Africans to plant cash crops for Europe and if possible to develop and sustain a lucrative commercial monopoly. The study has used this line of argument to analyze and account for British encroachment of Bukedi district and later Padhola County; and the subsequent use of chiefs to coerce people to grow cotton as a cash crop.

Ebine (2012: 795) documents that one of the weapons of colonialism was Christianity by which the Missionaries inculcated into Africans the erroneous belief that every aspect of African culture was fetish and devilish and deserves to be discarded with. Africans were therefore, made to adopt the colonialist’s way of life as direct attempts to undervalue Africa’s culture and tradition; the art, dance, songs, proverbs, stories etc. The author goes on to quote Fanon (1968) who terms this process the colonialists complex of subjugation, that subsequently leads to mental domination. This analysis has been used to assess the social impact of colonialism in Padhola in respect of introduction of formal education and Christianity.

Leander and Robinson (2013) put up a strong argument that most of Africa spent two generations under colonial rule and in the process, this intense experience significantly retarded economic development across the continent; and that, relative to any plausible counterfactual, Africa is poorer today than it

would have been had colonialism not occurred. The authors further observe that it is a conceptual mistake to judge the impact of colonialism on development in Africa by simply looking at outcomes during the colonial period. Instead, post independence Africa looked nothing like it would have done in the absence of colonialism. The authors attribute the post-independence economic decline in Africa to colonialism because the types of mechanisms that led to this decline were creations of colonial society. These strong points have largely influenced our discussion on the overall impact of chiefly activities on the community of Padhola land.

Mart (2011:190) reports that under colonization, the colonizing countries implemented their own form of education within their colonies. This is because the colonialists realized that they gained strength over colonized nations through both physical and mental control. The latter was achieved through education which was meant to expose Africans to superior culture. However, there was a dire need for skilled African man power and the eagerness to propagate Christianity, thereby causing the colonizers to use education as a tool to achieve social control over Africans. Besides, education was a means to propagate Christianity which later on helped to lay the foundation of western education in various parts of Africa. However, Mart's approach is rather too general based on the continent as a whole. This study however, used the arguments to analyze how Christianity penetrated Padhola and prepared locally recruited chiefs to enhance formal education.

Mamdani (1996) notes that in the state's communities, colonial imposition could not resonate with any aspect of tradition. Often, ethnic groups were created on the basis of territorial integrity as villages were brought together under a single administrative authority. Chiefship was similarly manufactured, imposed and based on administrative appointment. Hence, the chief was liberated from all constraints from tradition and made a decentralized despot. This argument partly formed the basis of analysis in this study, especially when examining the recruitment and appointment of chiefs in Padhola land.

Geller (1987: 122-140) observes that because of deficiency in administrative manpower, the British colonial state had to rely heavily on traditional African rulers, chiefs and religious authorities to help in administration. In this way, the indirect rule system permitted traditional rulers and chiefs to take part in administration, but under the careful supervision of European authorities. This observation, however, does not clearly show how chiefs came into local administration and the challenges they experienced. These have been provided in this study which carried out a rigorous investigation on how chiefs were co-opted into the system of local government administration.

Berry (1987:321-24) shares the above sentiment and observes that under colonial rule, Africans were subjected to European strategies by colonial administration. The Europeans had to devise careful methods in order to avoid exposure results, especially by using traditional political structures, finding it easy to rule indirectly through the existing systems of government. Chiefs and

elders who were prepared to co-operate were confirmed and rewarded in exchange for their services. However, the author is silent about the circumstances under which such chiefs and elders operated and challenges they had to overcome, leave alone the overall impact of their activities. All these were investigated in this study.

Burke (1964) reports that there were many problems that affected appointment of chiefs in Padhola. These included religion, ethnicity and clan considerations. The British tried to solve these by dividing Budama County into two parts: the East for the Iteso and West (Padhola) for the Jupadhola. Anderia Obeli became the first Padhola county chief in 1947. This study moves an extra mile by providing a holistic assessment of not only the “modus of operandi” of appointing chiefs, but also their roles and how their activities affected the community of Padhola land.

Ogola (1993) carried out a study on the Bukedi riots of 1960 with particular reference to Padhola. He highlights the causes, organization, suppression and effects of the riots on Padhola community. He underscores the fact that the riots were basically caused by flaws in assessment and collection of graduated tax among others.. The study, was however, skewed toward reaction of the people to colonial rule and how they were defeated. The present study focuses generally on the duties performed by chiefs, beyond mere assessment, collection and resistance to colonial rule.

Onyango (1994) carried out a study on “Church and Politics in Padhola”, in which he investigated and analyzed the coming of colonial rule in Padhola land, the subsequent coming of Protestants and Catholic sects and how they established and spread their faiths in Padhola. This was good work on the Christian churches as religious institutions. The present study aims at examining how these churches collaborated with chiefs to enhance the objectives of colonial rule in the area.

Odoi (1992) carried out a study on the “History of cotton production in Padhola”. In this study, he examines the coming and establishment of colonial administration, introduction of cotton as a cash crop, reactions of the people and how cotton production finally dropped to the extent that food crops replaced cotton as cash crop up to date. Odoi’s study was however, based on an aspect of colonial economic history. This study is focused on political or administrative aspect of colonial Padhola history with particular respect to the role of chiefs in colonial local government administration.

In a departmental peer discussion, members observed that there were multiple factors which influenced the accelerated partition of African territories. These included the search for scientific discovery, markets for finished products and sources of raw materials for further production. It also included the imaginative civilizing mission of the African people with their three principles of colonization, commerce and Christianity transacting to civilization. In other words, the commercial world was insatiable, they wanted territorial expansion,

open roads and interior markets for their wares. While other European countries used other methods to administer their territories, the British adopted the indirect rule system of using the existing native rulers to govern with British officials guiding and supervising. Britain was cautious of the financial burden involved in the administration of her territories. This analysis inspired the present study. Padhola did not possess native rulers to the magnitude of those in pre-colonial centralized states. How then did the British identify and recruit local chiefs in Padhola, what roles did they play in local government administration, with what challenges and subsequent legacy? It is these questions that this study tried to address. The study has actually attempted to justify what members proposed that in the process of colonialism, Africans were subjugated, exploited mentally, morally, psychologically and culturally overwhelmed with the colonial value system which was antithetical to African growth and civilization.

An On-Line Journal (2010), on Types of British Colonial Rule in Africa, notes that indirect rule was the brain child of the British colonial administrator Fredrick Lugard. The system became the main instrument the British used to administer their African colonies. The British used African traditional rulers to work on their behalf and help subjugate their fellow Africans. Though these Africans were normally “ruling”, the actual decisions rested with the British colonial officers. This information helped a lot in assessing the implementation of the system of indirect rule in Padhola using locally appointed chiefs who were employed in local government administration.

Yandaki (2012:10), while analyzing the material basis and Ideology of the colonial state in Africa, underscores the fact that the colonial state was a conquest state founded on violence and force or the threat of it. Its institutionalization was something undertaken to “tap African resources” in order to help resolve the economic problems in Europe. Yandaki goes on to observe that commoditization was a policy consciously orchestrated by the colonial state to force colonies’ largely peasant production to come to terms with the need of colonial capitalism. This involved expansion and intensification of cash crops production which led to production for the market in which the peasant producer was largely dependant on market for survival. In this process, the peasants were legally compelled by a combination of legislative, fiscal and administrative policies (Yandaki, 2012:5). In the present study, an attempt was made to verify the above observation by examining how chiefs were used to coerce Padhola peasants to produce cotton as a cash crop for the British market. The author rightfully identifies taxation as an essential component of this monetization process which was enforced by Padhola chiefs.

According to Lugard (1926:617-619), the Civilizing Mission combined the Dual Mandate by which Europe was in Africa for the mutual benefit of her people at home and native races in their progress towards civilization. Lugard observes that as Roman Imperialism laid the foundation of modern civilization and led the wild barbarians along the path of progress, so in Africa they were repaying the debt and bringing to the dark places of the earth, the abode of barbarism and cruelty, the torch of culture and progress. All cases of resistance and nationalistic feelings were results of the value of liberty and freedom having

been imparted into the minds of the blacks by the colonial masters. The present study was largely inspired by these colonial ideologies, to investigate how Padhola chiefs were used by the colonial state to realize their racist objectives.

Writing on the colonial Phase in Epic-Atissa of Bayelsa state of Nigeria, Omozuanvbo (2012:184) reports that the judicial native authorities operated within a hierarchical administrative and bureaucratic structure linking the village council to the resident who was the arbiter in cases that were referred to him. Thus, the chiefs and the personnel of the native court were responsible to the Assistant District Commissioner. He in turn was responsible to the districts officer who maintained records and stores for the districts in his division. This assessment provided a case for comparison with the administrative structures that linked Padhola chiefs with the sub-county, county and district councils. All their activities were overseen and supervised by the District Commissioner based in Tororo.

Saad'Yusuf (2012) while discussing consolidation of colonial rule in Ilorin, 1915-1954, draws our attention to the various administrative changes put in place by the colonial state to implement the indirect rule system of government. The system was a British colonial policy used to meet the exigency of the colonial situation. It was a policy borne out of necessity to meet the rigors of local government administration. The author reports of division of the territory into administrative units with the high commissioner at its apex. Chiefs were identified and appointed into local administration, a legal apparatus called

Native Authority was put in place, colonial education was introduced to produce administrative staff-leading to emergence of an elite class of people. All these structures greatly helped to facilitate the smooth running of the colonial state. In this study, it was discovered that the British established colonial rule in Padhola County, with chiefs holding the mantle of power at the local level.

Likaka (1955: 203-205) describes the coercive mechanisms used by the colonial regime to ensure effective cotton production and marketing in Zaire. This was made possible by, among others, the coercive local apparatus of local chiefs operating at the point of production. The use of violence against peasants became a kind of “penal code” and violence became the legal language of administration. This Zairian situation provided a comparative case study that was contrasted with that in Padhola to analyze the extent to which chiefs used violence against their own people, in the process of implementing various colonial policies.

On the chiefly stake in colonial administration, Mudoola (1974: 236) emphasizes that chiefs in Busoga acquired a stake which generated mutually indispensable relations between chiefs themselves and also between them and the colonial authorities. As a result, the colonial authorities identified chiefs as the major beneficiaries of colonial resources. It also means that the survival of the colonial authorities lay in the hands of the chiefs. However, Mudoola does not explain what he means by “stake” in colonial administration and how it could be evaluated to determine its degree and value. This study tried to correct

this by studying the activities of chiefs in colonial local government in Padhola, whereby we can evaluate an activity, for example the chiefs' roles in administration of the Native Ordinance and the by-laws made at the district level.

Audrey (1960:13-22) reveals that one of the most intractable problems facing East African governments is the training of officials who make up the core of their local administration. In practical terms however, chiefs were forced to act roles that were unlike those of their fore fathers; finding themselves in the realm of indirect rule which the colonial masters wanted to secure efficiency in the introduction of services. To by pass the traditional authorities was both impossible and dangerous for order and good governance. All these observations made by the author were pertinent to this study because they illuminate the importance attached to chiefs in colonial local administration. They also highlight the problems and challenges faced by chiefs. It is also important to note that Audrey draws most of his examples from selected and apparently centralized pre-colonial political entities, at the expense of non-centralized structures.

Geller (1987) notes that the integration of traditional chiefs as subordinate cogs in the colonial bureaucracy, performing unpopular tasks like collecting taxes and recruiting labor force for the colonial regime undermined chiefly authority throughout much of colonial Africa. The people came to regard them as agents of the colonizer rather than as spokesmen for African interests. For example, in Francophone African colonies where chiefs were mere creation of the colonial

state and had few roots in traditional Africa. Geller was, however, highlighting experiences from French West Africa. In this study it was discovered that the British had similar approach which only had a different name “indirect rule”.

On colonial African chiefs in Kenya, Ochieng (1975:107-108) observes that in the field of politics, the British decided that the holders of power in the indigenous societies should be recognized and utilized as part of an administrative structure. This policy that has become inseparable with the name of Lord Lugard is known as “indirect rule” which empowered the chiefs to take active part in local administration. It was a kind of an association in which whites remained on top but the institutions of the blacks were incorporated into the structure of an alien system to government. This perspective has greatly enhanced this study which was geared toward investigating how Padhola chiefs succumbed to indirect rule system of government. Ochieng further stresses the fact that colonial chiefs should not be blamed totally for what they did to their people during the implementation of colonial policies because most of them had benevolent intentions aimed at developing their locations. He therefore, finally rules that colonial chiefs were not necessarily self-seeking scoundrels. He emphasizes that,

I wish to argue that despite the complexities and the incomprehensibility of the colonial situation, many African chiefs took advantage of the ideas to improve the conditions of their own people.

Ochieng has however, drawn most of his examples from Kenya colonial situation. It should be pointed out that the nature of colonial entry into Kenya was not the same as in Uganda, and therefore, the immediate requirements of colonialism which chiefs were to address were not the same in both countries.

Hence, an in depth study of the colonial situation in Uganda, particularly Padhola County is carried out in this direction.

Lonsdale and Berman (1970:487-488) point out that the colonial state acted as an agent of exploitation, promoter, arbiter and hence, assisted the expansion of peasant expansion. In the process, it enhanced segregation, fragmented local containment of African political and economic forces and promoted ethnic and tribal sentiments. This observation helped us to zero down our attention to how the activities of chiefs in colonial local administration affected the communities at the grass root levels, such as in Padhola County. The author further brings out the issue of “vulgerization” of power, by which the European colonial states compromised with the collaborators such as Semei Kakungulu and his Ganda agents who became the vehicles through which the wishes of the colonial masters were articulated to the masses. However, the successes of these alliances varied from place to place. In this study, an attempt was made to assess how it succeeded in Padhola land.

Wallstein (1961:30-32) reports that though in theory indirect rule provided for a limited measure of indigenous participation in foreign rule, in practice, the architects of the theory did not mean to protect or preserve traditional political structures because it would have boomerang effects on colonialism itself. The powers of the traditional chiefs therefore, remained implicit because they operated under the district and provincial officers. Colonial rules and values remained dominant and the powers exercised by local chiefs were at the grace of

the colonial state power. This observation provided a useful background for a critical assessment of the activities of chiefs in fostering colonial values, rules and objectives of local government.

Ibingira (1973:19) contends that the method the British chose in attaining the Dual Mandate was to rule through indigenous power structures-the chiefs. This was a cardinal principle of British policy in dealing with native races, institutions and methods in order to command success and promote the welfare of the people. It is noted however, that the system of indirect rule had many challenges when it came to effective implementation. Even the proposed formal education was not effectively introduced, leading to problems such as nationalistic feelings that finally led to clamour for independence. This perspective was used in this study to analyze the challenges faced by chiefs in local government administration and the resultant contradictions that came with imperialism.

Mamdani (1996) advances the concept of “decentralized despotism” in which he analyses the ideas of institutional segregation put in place in Africa. He narrates how Europeans ruled Africa and how the British in particular, worked with a single model of customary authority: monarchical, patriarchal and authoritarian. In this arrangement, they placed a king at the center of every polity, a chief on every piece of administrative ground and a patriarch in every homestead or kraal. Authority was considered an attribute of personal despotism. The whole process therefore, involved identifying a chief, group under him, several villages

and rest in him the three pillars of governance: Legislation, execution of laws, judicial powers, administrative powers and control of native treasury. Legislation was done by coming up with by-laws and other forms of statutory instruments. Under this arrangement, Africa came to be bifurcated into “subjects” and “citizens”, a kind of decentralized despotism. This study uses these arguments to arrive at an assessment of the role of chiefs in local government administration in Padhola land. This is because Mamdani places the issue of the bifurcated Africa at a certain particular stage in the development of imperialism. It should however, be noted that Mamdani seems to be writing in general terms about African experiences. In this study of colonial chiefs and local administration, the researcher has tried to narrow down the experiences to a particular ethnic community-the Jupadhola who were encapsulated in customarily governed relations, with the chiefs holding the mantle of local governance. The study has also analyzed how the Jupadhola were subjected to activities of individual chiefs who were themselves also encapsulated and subjected to a set of relations by colonial state machinery.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The impact of European colonial activities in African societies is a hotly debated issue. From the volumes of literature available on the subject, three distinct schools of thought can be identified. The first of these represented by such imperial proconsuls as Perham, Lloyd and Duignan and Gann who argue that in the event of a balance sheet being drawn, colonialism was either a blessing or, at

worst, not harmful (Lloyd, 1972: 80). The blessings, as Lloyd states explicitly, include the provision of:

Infrastructures on which progress in the “independence” period has depended, a fairly efficient administrative machinery reaching down the village in the most remote areas; a network of roads and railways; and basic services in health and education...West African exports of primary products brought considerable wealth to the people (Loyd, Ibid).

Fieldhouse, on his part, informs the critics of colonialism that:

Colonialism deserves neither the praise nor the blame it has often been given for, it did relatively little to overcome the causes of poverty in the colonies, neither did it make them poor for the first time. Empire had significant economic effects, some good some bad... (Fieldhouse, 1981:105).

Despite the fact that the above scholars agree that colonialism was an agency of domination, they strongly believe that it led to cultural development. The second school of thought, which came as an antithesis of the first one, is strongly supported by liberal nationalist, dependency and Marxist scholars. Most of them, especially the Marxists, find completely nothing positive about colonial contribution in any part of the world, as noted by Walter Rodney:

The argument suggests that on the one hand, there was exploitation and oppression, on the other hand, colonial government did much for the benefit of Africans and they developed Africa. It is our contention that this is completely false. Colonialism had only one hand –it was a one armed bandit (Rodney, 1972:223).

As time went on however, there developed a need to arrive at a fairly balanced assessment of both extreme positions taken by the above theories. A third school, therefore emerged, strongly underlining the multidimensional purposes

and effects of colonialism. They also stress the basis of either the “positive” and /or the “negative (Aboki, 2012: 544-545). For example, it was noted that many of the so-called benefits of colonialism were largely accidental by-products of activities or measures intended to promote the interests of the colonizers. The positive efforts can therefore, be regarded as defaults of the iron law of unintended consequences. Things like infrastructure, political arrangements, foreign languages, fiscal and monetary changes, religion and formal education were all designed to promote and facilitate the interests of the colonizers who in principle, did not see the development of the colonized peoples as a priority and as such they should be denied the credits¹ (Aboki, 2012: 545; also see Platt, 1968).

The study of the role of chiefs in colonial local government in Padhola shares the position of the third school of thought whose balance sheet of colonial rule shows more deficit than credit. This is based on the nature and character of the Padhola society-small in size, initially lacked export crops and the general lack of political, economic and social sophistication that could corroborate adequately with those of the imperialist forces.

The incorporation of Padhola traditional institutions into the structure of colonial empire was therefore, a clear manifestation of the iron law of unintended consequences.

1. Detailed coverage on this subject are provided by scholars such as Wanyama, F.O. (2010:98-118), “From Development to Western Domination: A Critique of Development Theory in Africa”, Journal of Science Technology Education and Management, Vol. 3, Nos. 142; and Charles, K.W. Ed. (1973), Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment, Sec. Ed., Part Two: Economic Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective. There are five articles written by distinguished academics, all focuses on Capitalism. Development and Underdevelopment in History. In the latter, Wanyama focused on Development, Development theory, African development and Western Domination.

As a result, whatever the British did in Padhola right from the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule up to the end of it in 1962, every thing reflected the drive to protect economic interests. For example, R.W. Johnson, summarizing the motivations behind British colonialism, writing specifically of Cameroon, argues that the driving impulse behind the British expansion and rule historically are centered on commerce in terms of the expansion of British trade, the provision of adequate security for world wide commerce and expansion of the power and prestige of Great Britain (Johnson, 1970:211).

Crowder (1968:168-69), commenting on the inspiration of indirect rule, observes that indirect rule was inspired by the belief that the European and the African were culturally distinct though not necessarily unequal and that the institutions of government most suited Africans were those that they devised by themselves.

Perham, a strong advocate of the Dependency Marxist school, explicitly identifies several factors that prompted the British to adopt indirect rule in their colonies. There was that tradition of colonial self-government on earstwhile colonies, the extensiveness, distant and scattered nature of the newly acquired empires; and the important factor of the cost and difficulty of extending enough British personnel to establish “direct” relations within the extensive empire (Perham, 1985: xxxix). As a result, the British who underlined the idea of economy in administration of life, the laws and customs of the subject people,

and this means a willingness to use native agencies such as Padhola chiefs for local government purposes in such a way that they possessed a measure of clearly recognizable power.

However, in order to achieve colonial objectives and ensure natural justice, morality and humanity, significant adjustment had to be made to the indigenous customs especially on these practices that were repugnant to European ideas of the qualities of good governance and also to put in place only those structures that ensured the smooth realization of the main objectives of colonial rule-exploitation of the colonial economy. These modifications were, especially necessary in Padhola where the traditional political culture was not yet well developed, though they had their own ways of regulating themselves, law and order (Onyango, OI, 2013).

It is also emphasized that in spite of the different methods and approaches of the various colonizing nations of Europeans to colonial administration in Africa, their common denominator was trade and commerce (Odinga, 1968: 312-313). The goal of politics was also to guarantee trade and commerce. The economy itself was a monopoly capitalist market because commodities from other rival entities were either denied outrightly or subjected to high tariff rates. It should thus, be born in mind that just as the goal of colonial rule was economic exploitation, the overriding interest of colonial rule was economic wellbeing of the metropolitan countries and never those of the peripheral colonial states (Obinta, 2013: 806 -7).

As a result, the repudiation of food crop production and the encouragement of cash crop economy completed the integration of Africa's economy into the orbit of the global capitalist economy. The driving force behind the construction of road and railway facilities was the availability of raw materials in exportable quantities to the coast for outward shipment to Europe rather than from genuine desire to develop Africa (Obinta, 2013).

So far, an attempt has been made to demonstrate the major arguments of the Dependency and Marxist theory that underscores the fact that European enterprise in Africa was exploitative; that it laid the foundation for the underdevelopment of African economies. This approach has largely been adopted across the board to analyze the role of chiefs in colonial local government administration and its resultant legacy in Padhola land.

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

The study is mainly based on qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Focus is on indepth study and description of events, aspects of people's everyday life and contexts. This called for use of interviews, focus group and participant observation or ethnographic methodology in data collection. Open-ended questions were designed and presented to participants in advance by research assistants. Then the researcher followed afterwards according to agreed schedules. This method was found to be useful because it gave good idea of the

variety of ideas and feelings the respondents had for the subject under discussion. It also enabled them to think and talk freely for longer periods, exposing their feelings during interviews more fully. The respondents were made to express their views in a flexible atmosphere using the language of their choice.

1.10.2 Focus Group Discussion

Here, the researcher used smaller group discussions focused on specific topical issues facilitated by the researcher. The unit of analysis was the group, focusing on how they collectively argued and manipulated their opinions to reach a consensus on a given topic, based on socially agreed format (Lunt and Livingston, 1996:90). We particularly used the fixed schedule of questions and topic guides methods. Most groups constituted five to ten people, basing on the level of their comprehension of the issues to be discussed and education level. A recorder was used to tape the proceedings of the discussions.

1.10.3 Participant Observation/Ethnography

This method of ethnography was based on participant observation in which the researcher became a participant observer. The aim was to come to terms with the internal logic of the values and institutions under investigation (Seale, 2004:226). Participant observation was particularly used for getting information on the lifestyles of chiefs and chiefly groups which transcended the colonial period and could be observed in the way they dressed and organized their

homesteads, brought up their children and organized their families. Using this method, it was discovered that most ex-chiefs possessed at least two wives, with the last one being relatively too young for the aged husband.

1.10.4 Variable/Categories of Analysis

In this study, independent variables were those properties that were presumed to be the causes of specific events such as colonial rule, chiefs' roles in local administration and mechanisms of recruitment into local administration. Dependent variables were those presumed effects arising from independent variables; such as disruption of indigenous political institutions, the contradictory position of colonial chiefs and response of the Jupadhola to colonial administration. Active variables included items such as age differences, sex, attitude of colonial masters, clan and religious differences.

1.10.5 Area of Study

The study was carried out in Tororo District, West Budama County that is inhabited mainly by the Jupadhola people. West Budama was one of those counties that constituted former Bukedi District. Participants were drawn from all the seven sub-counties that make up west Budama County: Rubongi, Kirewa, Nagongera, Iyolwa, Paya, Nawiyoyoga and Mulanda (Refer to Map 2). The study population constituted all individuals living in all the seven sub-counties of Padhola (West Budama) County at the time of research (Seale, 2004:173; Fraenkel and Wallen, 1990:95). It is to these people that the results of the study apply.

1.10.6 Sampling Techniques and Sampling Size

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

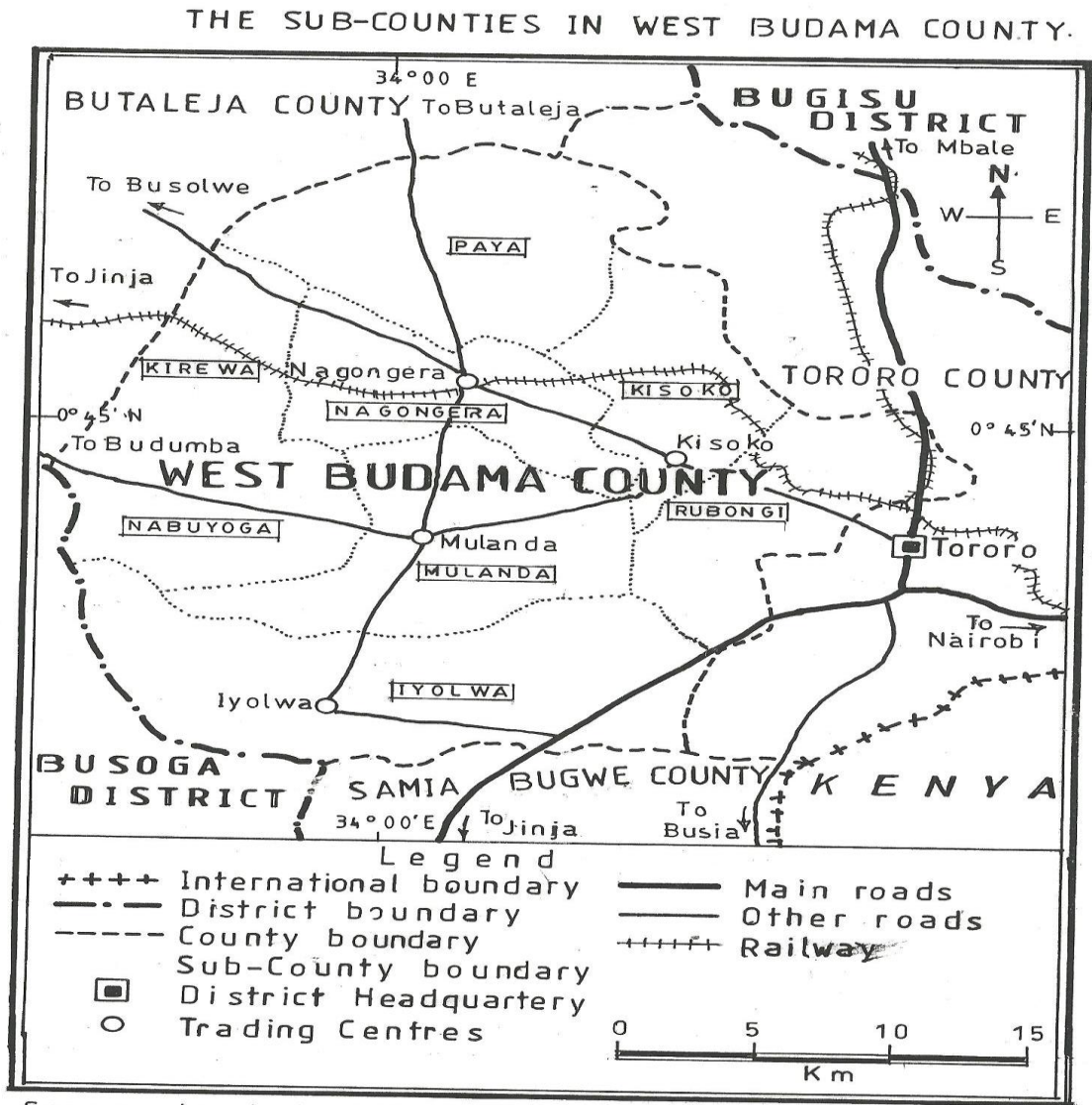
Sampling Techniques

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

Sampling Size

Fraenkel and Wallen (1990:104) correctly observe that a sample should be as large as the researcher can obtain with a reasonable expenditure of time and energy. It also means that researchers should try to obtain as large a sample as they reasonably can. A number of criteria were therefore, used to guide the sampling process. Since we were dealing with an aspect of contemporary history, a good number of people who witnessed and or participated in colonial administration were still alive, especially in the age bracket of eighty years and above. Samples were therefore, obtained from this group. There were also retired teachers and headmasters of primary and secondary schools. These constituted members of the middle class who together with other government civil servants, had good memory and assessment of what happened in the colonial period. There were elderly men and women who engaged in business, were active in politics and organizers of women groups.

Map 2: Sub-Counties in West Budama



Source : Langlands B.W, The Population Geography of Bukedi District, (1973).

A total of one hundred and fifty men and women were sampled at the ratio of 100:50. Owing to the nature of colonial formal education that favored education of boys at the expense of girls, the researcher realized that there were generally few women on the required age brackets who could provide authentic data or effectively participate in the focus group discussions. Most women therefore, lacked the ability to provide informed opinions on political events during the

colonial period. Mental judgement and greater degree of prudence were therefore, used to sample one hundred men and fifty women for effective participation in the research process.

1.10.7 Research Instruments

Library Search

This was conducted in the libraries of Higher Institutions of Learning such as Kenyatta, Makerere, Kyambogo, Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), and Uganda Christian University Mukono. The Uganda National archives at Entebbe, the Tororo District Court, Kisoko County Archives and Mbale District Archives were also consulted. Records and personal documents of important personalities were examined. The library material was used to test results from other sources. It was also used to access census data and lists to draw purposive sampling.

Interview Schedule

In the process of data collection, we came across knowledgeable people but who were illiterate. This called for use of the interview guides which was found most suitable for qualitative methods (Seale, 2004) which involved working according to a set of topics using non standardized questions. This method provided greater degree of flexibility, greater depth and following the contextual structure of the interviews. The main language of conversation was Dhupadhola supplemented with English whenever necessary. The questions were

unstructured, only providing key points around which investigative discussion could be administered. Tape recorders were used to record the proceedings of the interview.

1.10.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity

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

Reliability

External Reliability

This was obtained by the following measures:

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

Internal Reliability

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

1.10.9 Data Collection

Data collection commenced in December 2009. Two field assistants were trained on methods of data collection, how to administer the questionnaires and general ethical standards.

The researcher's main task was to collect archival and oral data, and to receive and analyze data from field assistants.

1.10.10 Data Analysis

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

1.10.11 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

Data Management

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

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

Ethical Consideration

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

1.11 Summary

Qualitative research methods were used to study chiefs and local government administration in West Budama County in Uganda 1900-1962. It was underscored that the colonial state found it expedient to recruit chiefs to help in local administration; chiefs were recruited and appointed on the basis of a variety of factors; chiefs were vested with powers to perform a variety of duties; chiefs duties were largely contradictory and ambivalent and that the activities of chiefs in local government administration left a legacy of underdevelopment in Padhola land.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIAL RULE IN WEST BUDAMA COUNTY 1901-1953

2.1 Overview

This chapter examines the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in West Budama County in the period of 1901-1953 (Refer to photograph 2.3 for county headquarters). It focuses mainly on the role of Buganda, with particular reference to collaborative activities of Semei Kakungulu with his Baganda followers. The part played by Missionaries; evolution and development of the peasantry and establishment of structures of local government administration are also covered. Analysis and discussions are largely influenced and guided by the Dependency and Marxist theory that underscores the fact that European enterprise in Africa was exploitative, a process that laid the foundations for the development of underdevelopment of African economies.

The development of British interest in Eastern Uganda was largely influenced by the appointment of Sir Harry Johnston as Consul General for Uganda and adjoining territories. This development subsequently accelerated British expansionist policy in the eastern region of Uganda. Formerly, British attention was only focused on Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga regions. Deliberate steps were therefore, taken to open up eastern Uganda for exploitation of its resources to generate funds for colonial administration. Johnston therefore, emphasized the importance of security, expansion and development. In order to sort out the

problem of lack of administrative staff, he employed the service of local agents, chief of whom was Semei Kakungulu (Okoboi, 1980:10; Karugire, 1980:4).

One can, therefore, rightly argue that British interests in eastern Uganda, like in other parts of Africa, were influenced largely by activities of men on the spot such as Harry Johnston in East Africa, George Goldie in West Africa and Cecil Rhodes in Southern Rhodesia (Ajayi and Crowder, 1974:26). These men decided to use agents and chartered companies to solve financial and administrative problems. This pragmatic approach was indeed inevitable, given the distance between Africa and Britain.

One aspect of colonialism is the search for economic territory. The British, therefore, used several methods to secure consolidation of their power in various parts of Africa. For example, they used institutions like the Imperial British East African Company (IBEACO) to secure monopoly of East African trade. They also used the concept of treaty making which led to the 1890 Anglo-German Treaty by which a defined geographical sphere of influence was obtained. Kenya and Uganda fell under the British spheres and Tanganyika under the German control. However, these were mere spheres of influence which did not involve serious colonial penetration into the interior (Onoja, 2012: 20-21; Kabweghere, 1995:49).

After obtaining the sphere of influence, internationally recognized boundaries and signing treaties with various stake holders, using violence to destroy

resisting groups, the British then employed their last but effective method: this was the establishment of the inductive system which was used to bring the man in the countryside under colonial rule. It was also used to confirm this man's subordination and compliance with orders and regulations from the center. At this level, chiefs were already identified, villages grouped under them and all the three pillars of governance: legislation especially in the making of bylaws to enforce urgent policies, execution of laws and judicial powers all fused together on them as village despots (Mamdani 1996:52-65; Ikechi (2002)). This system involved reorganization of the social structure, the missionary factor and the use of personal gifts to change people to the side of the foreign rulers.

Before we examine the role of individual agents of colonial rule such as Semei Kakungulu and his Baganda agents, it suffices to highlight the historical position of Buganda in the expansion of colonial rule in Uganda in general and Bukedi and Padhola in particular.

2.2 The Role of Buganda in Expansion of British Rule in West Budama

Apter (1961:64) reveals that British attitude towards the Baganda was very unique in the Ugandan context and even the rest of East Africa. For example, English elites coming to Uganda were instructed to look upon Buganda as having for East Africa the pre-eminent position that England had for Europe. The Baganda, therefore, held a special position in the eyes of the British and, as such, they were employed as agents of colonial expansion. Historians such as Roberts (1962:18-40) called this "The sub-imperialism of the Baganda". But

Kabwegyere rightly disagrees with this interpretation because the Baganda were only being used to transplant the Kiganda system of political organization which the British found to their benefit (Kabwegyere, 1995).

The British also found it expedient to use the Baganda as agents because they were Africans who could be used and indeed they were willing to be used as a shield to protect the British from direct contact or confrontation with the Africans (Karugire 1980:104-107). In case of problems, it would be the Baganda themselves to blame. These agents were exposed to all dirty aspects of colonial penetration while the colonialists acted as instructors or supervisors. In Bukedi, each agent was armed with 15-20 guns with 40-50 rounds per gun. They were ranked according to their salary position.¹

In case of misbehaviour, the agents were punished by posting them to areas where there was too much work to do. They were also closely supervised and warned against mistreating the natives. These agents carried out several duties that included tax collection, punitive expeditions and mobilizing the masses for “development” purposes (Mutibwa, 2008).

In principle, therefore, these people should not be referred to as “Baganda sub-imperialists”. Instead, they should be termed “indirect rulers” who were being used to establish British stronghold at the village levels. In Mamdani’s language,

1. D.C. Bukedi, 17-5-09 to Chief Secretary, Buganda Agents, File No. 82, 13-11-10, E.A, Entebbe Archives. For detailed coverage, refer to Twaddle, M.J., 1993, Chaps. 4-6.

In principle, therefore, these people should not be referred to as “Baganda sub-imperialists”. Instead, they should be termed “indirect rulers” who were being used to establish British stronghold at the village levels. In Mamdani’s language, these were decentralized despots or puppets whose main role was to transmit orders from the colonial officials to the people (Mamdani, 1996).

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

The undoubted administrative gifts of the Baganda have been utilized in these districts by their employment as government Agents to educate and supervise the local chiefs, a system which is open to obvious objections, but which in its ultimate results has been uncontroversially successful. This method of administration was only tolerable under the closest supervision by District Officers (Murindwa 2011:63-95).

Myers (1970) notes that indirect rule, the British policy of employing indigenous tribal chiefs, was a political strategy designed to win legitimacy for colonial officials. The system became the basic template from which segregation emerged during the twentieth century. The system shows the ways in which leaders struggled to legitimize themselves through the costumes of political power. Myer goes on to observe that indirect rule was a type of European colonial policy in which the traditional local power structure, such as the Kiganda model of administration, or at least part of it, was incorporated into the colonial administrative structure. It was practiced in large parts of the British Empire, especially in Asia and Africa. The system was ideologically and

practically pinned to the work of Captain Lugard, the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1899-1906.

Acemoglu, Chares, Kwaako and Robinson (2013), while discussing Indirect Rule, strongly note that in the British protectorate of Uganda, the role of Buganda state was even more institutionalized than the Asante state was in Ghana. Not only was the protectorate named after the state, but the state had expanded with British help to annex surrounding territories, particularly the so-called “Lost Countries” of Bunyoro. During the protectorate, Ganda governors were appointed by the British in some of the contiguous, previously stateless societies. In Bukedi, such a governor was Semei Kakungulu.

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

unique position as administrative intermediaries. In this regard, the activities of Semei Kakungulu and his Baganda followers are instructive.

2.3 Kakungulu's Rule in Bukedi, 1900-1914

A detailed account of Kakungulu's activities in the whole of the then Bukedi district is beyond the scope of this study. However, a brief outline suffices because it was his activities that finally brought British administration into Padhola.

Kakungulu first emerged into the spotlight of collaboration when he demonstrated his sympathy with the British by helping to capture Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro. It was later realized that Kakungulu could not work peacefully with Apollo Kagwa because of a long standing loggerheads. As a result, he was appointed by Johnston to lead an anti-riot squad against the Sudanese mutineers in the north. He went and settled at Bululu from where he raided the surrounding areas including Teso, Pallisa, Bugwere and Bugisu. He later moved to Bugwere and settled at Naboia. In the process Kakungulu used violence against the indigenes and this brought about resentment among the communities he conquered (Twaddle: 1993:113). Kakungulu used the traditional Kiganda method-armed expedition. Isaka Nziga, one of Kakungulu's loyal and brave followers, was given command of an expedition with 150 guns and enough quantity of ammunitions, and "a

government flag”. They were given orders to conquer the territory of Bukedi. This they did with much ease because of their superior military status.

Ibingira (1973:10-11) rightly observes that the Protectorate administration opened up the eastern region of Uganda with the aid of a distinguished warrior and administrator of Buganda, Semei Kakungulu. In 1896, he started building a series of military posts in Lango. He extended this scheme all the way to Teso, linking all the strategic positions behind him with military posts. Aundrey (1960:82) makes a convincing observation that although Kakungulu ruled for only eight years, his forcefulness, his deep conviction of the superiority of the Ganda, and the support which he received from the British, served to implant the Ganda system so firmly that the Soga had difficulty in recalling earlier conditions. The larger units of Soga Kingdom became “Saaza” (counties) on the Ganda model, while smaller ones were amalgamated as “gombolola” (subcounties). This, therefore, means that Kakungulu initiated a tailor-made plan to effect great administrative changes in the eastern part of the Protectorate.

By 1900, he had managed to settle at Nabumali. Kakungulu was assisted on his expedition by his Baganda followers who included alleged thugs and opportunists and close relatives. By this time, he had started taking himself as the “Kabaka” of Bukedi. Thus, his people assumed a superiority complex that made them mistreat the local people. Their brutal activities were terminated by a wandering European called John Gemmill who found things in a very bad shape in Budaka where the Baganda were robbing the Bagwere and molesting their

women. (Twaddle 1993:139) notes that Gemmill took action by disarming the Baganda. Gemmill's actions were received with mixed reaction from both Baganda and colonial government circles, but at the end of the day, Kakungulu was asked to transfer his capital back to Budaka.

Despite this development, Sir Harry Johnston was satisfied with Kakungulu's activities in Bukedi. He saw him as fit to be referred to as "a gentleman", with all the qualities of leadership. Johnston told Kakungulu that what he was doing in Bukedi was nothing but "Kitalo", meaning a wonder. He, therefore, declared Kakungulu "Kabaka of Bukedi" (Twaddle, 1957). It was from here that Kakungulu began to take an interest in Padhola. How he and his men interacted with the Jupadhola deserves special and detailed analysis.

2.4 Effects of Kakungulu's Activities in West Budama

After doing a good job for the British, Kakungulu was awarded the title of "King" of Bukedi. It was at this time that he raided Padhola, defeated Majanga and established a fort at Nagongera. In the process, his men captured many cattle belonging to the Jupadhola, besides abusing many of their women (Traddle, 1993).

Okoth (1994:63) however, holds a contrary view, noting that it is wrong to accuse Kakungulu because the protectorate government had not facilitated Kakungulu's activities. Hence, Kakungulu and his men had to live on the land and people they governed. However, the brutal activities of Kakungulu's people were becoming too much. In 1905, three of his men were killed as they tried to

collect taxes on Sunday in Mulanda sub-county in Padhola. These were Zakayo Katono, Merekizadeki Tabagamu and Alikizanda Njubirese. Even the British government itself complained bitterly against the brutal acts of these people.¹

The protectorate government reacted very quickly by deploying colonial forces that attacked the Jupadhola in Mulanda and Petta villages. However, they blamed the Baganda agents who were accused of provoking the people by raiding their cattle and abusing their women. This was an aspect of contradiction in indirect rule. The position of the Baganda was tricky because they did not own absolute administration powers. The modus operandi of indirect rule had to be changed as usual, when new forces began to operate in order to modify the habits of the people (Karugire, 1980:06; also: Adejo, 2002).

Nwabughuogu (1981) rightly emphasizes that the British were also more than willing to impose their system of indirect rule militarily. This more often than not was encountered when traditional rulers sought to assert their independence from British rule. The British considered traditional rulers as subject to their laws, they felt it was their duty to remove those rulers who posed a threat to British interests. This was how Lugard weakened Kano in West Africa and occupied it.

The defeat of the Jupadhola was inevitable, given the inferior military

1. For details, refer to Source Materials, Department of History, Makerere University, 1971, MAISOR Library.

organization and lack of solid ideological foundation, a situation that forced the Padhola leader Majanga to caution his people against further resistance. The commander of the Budama punitive force rightly made it clear that because of total lack of organization and improved weapons, the Jupadhola were quite unable to cope with the superior Protectorate forces. Besides, Majanga was fully aware of the potential indigenous neighbors such as the Basoga who rallied their support for British forces against the Jupadhola (Okoth, OI, 2009; Refer to Photograph 2.10).

Majanga could also have realized the futility of resistance and instead viewed colonialism as an opportunity to safe guard his own position. This is sometimes referred to as being “mature and independent minded”, which was characteristic of certain pre-colonial African leaders (Roland and Fage, 1962:203; Iliffe, 1995:199).

2.5 The Outcomes of the Riots

First and foremost, the protectorate government, operating from Mbale, reacted by suspending tax in all areas of Bukedi lying south of Mbale. All Baganda agents operating in these areas were to be withdrawn to Kakungulu’s private estate. Kakungulu had been instructed not to collect taxes outside his area of allotment without direct orders of the Chief Collector. A commission of enquiry was put in place to find out if Kakungulu had followed these orders¹ (Fanthorpe, 2001).

However, before the above instructions could be implemented, Hyse Sadler on 27th July, reported that the attack was prompted by the action of one Kisaka who was at that time out in the field collecting taxes from the Badama in form of Hut tax. Cubitt later on reported that local resentment in Padhola was mainly a result of longstanding hatred against Baganda agents as a result of the latter's misbehaviour and sexual harassment. Hence, the tax issue was not the major cause as such. He, therefore, recommended several changes to be made in administration. He later wrote in another letter;

... we should make it clear to the natives that we are at the head of affairs and not Kakungulu, and in order to make this evident, I would recommend that we should appoint our own agents... In the past he had been allowed to appoint his own men and I think that this should now be stopped... The men we now appoint as our agents might receive a refund of 5% of tax collection (Ibid).¹

It is logical to conclude from this position taken by Cubitt that all was not well with Kakungulu. This is because the relationship between him and the colonial authorities was based on administrative expediency, not on principles.

The British had hidden themselves behind the scene for along time leaving Kakungulu to think he was the overall master of the situation.

The British therefore, came out openly to show Kakungulu and the Jupadhola that they were the ones in control of the colonial situation.

1. Sadler to Cubitt, 25th July 1905, A/27/6, ESA, National Archives, Entebbe. This is a clear demonstration that Kakungulu and his people were overstepping their authorities in Bukedi. As usual, the Colonial State had to step in to show that they were the ones in direct control of the affairs.
2. Sadler to London, 27 July, 1905, A/27/6 ESA, National Archives, Entebbe. In these riots, the Jupadhola people showed the colonial state that they could also get annoyed when pushed too hard. The British always took their colonial subjects for granted as inferior and ready to do everything they were told.

In other words, what had been a form of “indirect rule” turned into the reality, direct rule.

Writing on related issue in West Africa (Omoiya, 2012: 201) makes it clear that as it were in all other areas where colonial rule had been fully established, the indigenous institutions of government were turned to mere tools of indirect rule system. In other words, Kakungulu was made to know that he was merely a symbol of colonial authority and not the authority himself. Hence, in a meeting attended by many Baganda in October 1905, Cubitt made it clear that the campaign of Budama was caused by the Baganda because they stole things from the Jupadhola daily. As a result, significant changes were made in local administration. This included removing the titles of “Sekibobo” and “Mugema” from all Baganda appointees and every Muganda chief was to get a specified amount out of the taxes they collected (Twaddle 1993: 198).

The most significant consequence of the rebellion on the Jupadhola was that a chief called Bwinokiko was forced to surrender because he was implicated as one of those who organized the riots. He resigned on 24th September, 1905. Besides, the riots led to severe bloodshed and social disturbances. Oral sources further recalled that about seventy people lost their lives in the process of suppression (FGD, Petta village, 2010). We can also imagine the magnitude of desperation that must have pervaded Padhola at this time. This is exemplified by the fact that people were forced to take up whatever local weapons they

possessed to confront the colonial agents. Besides, it also tells a lot about the inherent level of political consciousness among the Jupadhola which was demonstrated by taking a tough position against the colonial agents.

The defeat brought about humiliation and the people finally succumbed to the new locus of power. The political officers were treated with respect and it is on record that this expedition cost the colonial government very little in terms of money. What transpired was a necessary preliminary to closer administration.¹ Furthermore, the rebellion was also a clear manifestation that the colonial regime was ready to use force to suppress any form of resistance to the establishment of their rule because they thought this was the only language that the natives could understand. This stereotype attitude was underscored by a former colonial agent who remarked:

... there has been bloodshed, there has been loss of life among the native population, you cannot have omelets without breaking the eggs, you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition without use of force (Ibid).

However, this was the colonial version of the story. The Jupadhola instead proved to be a formidable force that compelled the colonial regime to call for reinforcement from other places to come and assist in defeating them. Besides, it proved to the authorities that if pushed too far, the Jupadhola had the capacity to resist violently.

Thus, force was inevitably used as a matter of political expediency to pacify Padhola. The people were cowed down and the colonial administration was entrenched by the continued use of Baganda agents. As a result of the riot in question, some chiefs in Padhola changed their attitudes against the colonial

regime, by refusing to implement their orders. The case in point was chief Ogut of Tororo who came out clearly against the ideas of tax collection which he considered was alien. Ogut, among others, saw no reason why they had to force their own people to pay what they themselves used not to ask them to pay (Okoth, OI, 2011).

The British were quick to notice this negative sentiment on the part of the old chiefs. In 1912, the provincial commissioner of Eastern Province also complained to the chief secretary at Entebbe about the same. Perryman also noted that the unrest in Padhola was partly caused by unpopular health policies imposed on the people by Baganda health inspectors. This included having straight paths leading to people's homes. This was coupled by forced portorage by which the Jupadhola were forced to transport goods to Majanji in Busia.¹

The British, therefore, decided to replace those old defiant chiefs with those who would positively respond to the demands of colonial rule. In this respect, in 1912 five chiefs were withdrawn from Kisoko, Mulanda, Nyimera and Nagongera. This action took effect on 12th March, 1912 (FGD, Adioma, Okecho, Nyamwenge, Aginesi, Achieng, Owanda, 2011).

The British strategy in this period was to use Baganda agents to train traditional chiefs in their new system of administration as they waited for the missionary products.

1. Annual Report for Budama Sub-District, 1906, National Archives, Entebbe. This development confirmed the fact that the Jupadhola had to succumb to the inevitable predicament- colonial rule.

The greatest toll on old traditional chiefs took place between 1920-1940. The old and illiterate chiefs were replaced with the young and literate ones. For example in 1923, eight chiefs were gazzetted for Padhola, Bunyole and Samia Bugwe. Out of these, only one person, Wanyama of Buteba, was not a mission product. These new chiefs were charged with the task of collecting taxes, implementation of colonial policies and keeping law and order.¹

Having analyzed the reactions of the protectorate government against the Budama rebellion and the resultant administrative changes, it is pertinent to examine the role of Missionaries in consolidation of colonial rule, as discussed below.

2.6 The Role of Missionaries in the Consolidation of Colonial Rule in West Budama

It should be underlined from the onset that the activities of Catholics and Protestant Missionaries were instrumental in enhancing the aims and objectives of the colonialists in Bukedi in general and West Budama in particular. The Missionaries first established their strongholds in Buganda where they set up a rival administrative hierarchy similar to that of Kabaka Mwanga. Competition soon arose between the Missionaries on the one hand and Kabaka and the Muslims on the other.

1. Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province to Entebbe, 16th March, 1908, SMP 519/08, Entebbe National Archives. These cases of forced labour led to many people migrating away from Padhola, causing great concern on the part of the colonial state.

This led to religious wars that seriously threatened British interests in Buganda (Low. 1971).

Besides, it was also realized that the British East African Company, headed by captain Lugard, was operating at a discomies of scale. Lugard was therefore, called to Britain in 1891. However, the Church Missionary Society's Bishop Turker expressed profound concern about the British government's neglect and lack of support for evangelization in Uganda. He therefore, offered to finance Lugard's journey back from Britain to Uganda. While in Uganda, Lugard divided Buganda into three zones: Protestant, Catholic and Muslim. Being aware that war was in the offing, he secretly armed the Protestants. After the war that followed, the Missionaries dominated the political affairs of Buganda. However, the Protestant church became the state church and pillar of the Protectorate. As British rule spread to other areas of the Protectorate, this Missionary factor also followed suit.¹

It should also be noted that the activities of missionaries prepared peoples' minds and souls to receive foreign values. In this way, the church itself should be regarded as an instrument of imperialism. In this regard, H.H Johnston himself is quoted to have confirmed the role of Missionaries in persuading Buganda chiefs to sign the 1900 Buganda agreement. He observed:

1. Mbale District Annual report, 1915-20, Annual Archives, Entebbe. This Protestant influence was later on extended to the eastern part of the Protectorate and later Padhola.

I shall be bound to acknowledge the assistance afforded me by the missionaries especially the CMS (Bishop Turker). Without their assistance, I do not think the Uganda chiefs would have agreed to sign the treaty which practically places themselves, their country and their people entirely in the hands of the British (Kabwegyere, 1995:8).

This clearly shows that the Missionaries and British imperialists had complementary interests. For example in Karamoja, Eden, the British provincial commissioner in 1923, invited the missionaries to enter so that they could counter a rival Muslim group that was operating there.

2.7 The Establishment of Christian Churches 1902-1945

In 1900, as a result of the conquest of Bukedi by Kakungulu and as part of the establishment of British colonial administration, the Christian evangelists followed. By 1902, both Church Missionary Society and Roman Catholic Missionaries (RCM) had already entered Padhola. In 1903, Reverend Father Kirk visited the areas of Nagongera from Budaka. On his way back, he left behind one catechist named Daudi Kisaka Bogere to stay at the palace of “Keere” of Padhola –Oloo Majanga, based at a village called Senda. This was in January 13th, 1908 (Oboth, Agat, Ajwang; OI, 2010). Within the five years, the Missionaries made some contacts with the community but did not achieve much. On October 30th 1912, Bishop Biermans also visited Padhola at Nagongera. It was after he had gone back to Budaka that Dr. Willeman of the Mill Hill Fathers

1. Mbale District Annual Report, 1915-20, National Archives, Entebbe. By Missionary factor, we mean the influence that was exerted by Missionaries in relations to the overall colonization of the region.

was sent to Nagongera at the end of May 1913 to begin a Catholic mission station.¹ The early conversions to Catholic church included members of the Nyapolo Ogule ruling hierarchy, a development that led to many ordinary members of this clan to become Catholics. This later on largely influenced the politics of the area. The Catholic missionaries first settled among the Nyapolo because the clan was so dominant in the whole of Padhola that it could provide adequate protection to these newcomers. It was, therefore, imperative to start by converting the members of this ruling clan as a preliminary move to convert the whole of Padhola into Catholicism.

Oral sources (Ngereza, Oboth and Owora, OI, 2008) emphasize that the Church Missionary Society entered Padhola through Samia Bugwe where they established the first mission station. Most prayers, baptisms and wedding ceremonies were, however, organized at the District Commissioner's office at Mbale. The same respondents further observed that in 1925, the CMS evangelists started the first mission station at Kidera (Rubongi) in Padhola mainly for prayers and conversions. It was, however, discovered that the area was not geographically suitable for putting up a major church.

1. Budaka Diary Vol.1 1903, pp,38-39; Father Grimshaw, Mission Original , part 1:109, Mbale District Archives. This explains why up to date, Catholic population exceeds that of the Protestants in Padhola. However, in local government administration, Protestants were more dominant.

The visiting priests from Samia approached a Mutaka chief named Obbo Wadoyo, a prominent member of the Moriwa Guma clan, who gave them land at

an area known as Kisoko (Obadia, OI, 2010). In 1926, Manjasi, the Arch Deacon of the sub- district of Budama, Samia Bugwe and Bunyole, led a group to Kisoko. They decided to transfer the church to an area of higher altitude allocated to them by Blasio Wasenda who was the sub –parish chief of the area (Ibid). In 1927, Manjasi appointed a Muganda priest named Eria Muchaki to serve Kisoko evangelical centre. In 1930, Reverend Rampuley replaced Manjasi as the Arch Deacon of Padhola sub-district. In the same year, he laid the foundation stone for Kisoko Church Missionary Station, the main one in Padhola.¹

From their respective stations at Nagongera and Kisoko, the two missionary groups started spreading their tentacles throughout Padhola by establishing branches of their churches at “Miluka” levels. They also organized catechism classes where people were prepared for baptism. A detailed account of missionary activities in Padhola is beyond the scope covered in this study. However, it suffices to highlight those areas where their activities actually prepared or leveled the ground for effective colonial administration as discussed below.

2.8 The Church and Economic Transformation in West Budama County

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) carried out with prominent elders in Paya, Kirewa, Rubongi and Nagongera sub-counties in 2009 all agreed that the Christian churches never came up with defined economic policies of their own. However, since they came with the support of the colonial state, their role was

mainly to encourage their converts to follow or take up colonial economic policies. For example in 1925, they were used by the government to pass information about cotton growing. At first, people had either refused to grow cotton, or failed to understand its immediate benefits. The Christian churches convinced the people that the funds obtained from cotton would help them pay taxes, school fees for their children and purchase imported manufactured items. Besides, cotton could also be used to prepare gardens for millet and could be intercropped with other food crops like maize, beans and ground nuts. In this way, the churches provided the only organized forum where the interests of the colonial regime could be more meaningfully articulated and compromised with the local population.¹ These Propagandist activities immensely boosted the aims and objectives of the colonial state in the area (Nwabugluogu, 1981).

Okoth (1994:68) notes that in Uganda, the Church Missionary Society took the challenge seriously and formed the Uganda Company whose aim was to train Christians in “industry” as a means of introducing them to “legitimate” trade. By this move, the missionaries demonstrated their support in the new phenomenon of economic exploitation. The British Cotton Growing Association supplied Borup of the Uganda Company with cotton seed which he brought to Uganda at the end of 1903. The colonial regime also imported 1.5 tons of cotton seed in

1. Uganda Notes, January- December Vol. 16-18, 1968, Bukedi Diocesan Archives, Tororo. This explains how one of the first secondary schools in Tororo was named Manjasi High School.

1904 and distributed it in Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga. From this period onwards, the Christian missionaries started showing deliberate interest in the social and economic transformations in Padhola. For example, around 1901-1902, there was a serious outbreak of small pox locally known as “Two Kooyo”. The churches responded promptly to this epidemic. For example, in 1903, Bishop Turker and Dr. Albert Cook made an Episcopal visitation to Padhola and were deeply torched by the health and food situation in the area. Peter and Debula Oburu (OI, 2009; Refer to photograph 2.4) confirmed this when they recalled how the missionaries reacted by using the missionary centers for distributing relief food to the starving people. They also distributed medicine and offered medical counseling to the community.

In 1939, the community was helped out of a serious famine situation by a certain local chief called Odandala of Gwaragwara village who supplied free cassava later known as “Odandala cassava” or “Omuwogo Odandala” in Dhupadhola (Peter and Dedula, OI, 2009). There was another famine named “Kech Mawele” or “Mawele” famine mentioned above. “Mawele” name was derived from a certain variety of yellow posho which was distributed by missionaries as relief food. Elderly women still recalled how they braved long distances and hot weather as they struggled to get their shares of the relief food from Father Rampuley based at Kisoko (Onyango, Nyakecho and Akumu, OI, 2008).

1. African Inland Mission Report, 1925; also refer to speeches of E.W.M Griggi delivered at Gild Hall, London 24th May 1927, Entebbe National Archives.

The above analysis, therefore, clears any doubt that those humanitarian gestures went a long way into humbling the people of Padhola to accept to be subjected to colonial rule which was implemented by the chiefs. The above sources also note that the pioneer missionaries also helped a lot to sensitize the masses about the benefits of good networks of roads around their villages.

These were locally known in Luganda as “Bulungi bwansi” or in “Dhupadhola” as “Bero mapinyi”. At first people were opposed to participating in these road works mainly because of the coercive practices that were associated with them. But later on, the missionaries managed to convince them that the roads were meant to “benefit” them. In other words, people were told that all the policies that the whites came up with were for “development”. For example, in 1935, the Catholic church crowned it all by erecting the first protected well at Nagongera. This was later referred to in Dhupadhola as “Wangi Pii pa Muzungu” meaning the white man’s well (Othieno, OI, 2009). Mention should also be made about the role of Christian churches in fostering the development of early formal education in Padhola.

2.9 Church and Early Western Education

As a result of colonization, the colonizing countries implemented their own form of education within their colonies. Colonizing governments realized that they gained strength over colonized nations not only through physical control but also mental control. This mental control was carried out through education. The colonizer’s educational goal was to expose Africans to a “superior” culture with

the aim of transforming them into the “modern” world and bring them to a higher level of “civilization”. However, the need for skilled native labour for economic development and eagerness to propagate Christianity caused colonizers to use education as a tool to achieve social control over African people¹ (Mart, 2011: 190).

Writing on *Missionary Education in Tropical Africa*, (Peace, 1988) proposes that it is a delusion to suppose that before European Missionaries reached Africa there was no indigenous form of education. Long before the coming of Missionaries, education existed in the sense of initiation into the life of the adult community. There was continuous informal education or incidental education which takes place in society. The author finally contends that it is true to say that for many parts in Africa, formal schooling began under the influence of European ideas and European Missionaries. During partition of Africa in the late 19th Century, Europeans had no definite policy on the form of education they would provide to their colonies. Everything was left to the Missionaries to provide the money and manpower towards colonial education. By 1925 however, the British Colonial Office came up with a White Paper on education in Africa and to regulate the educational activities of Missionaries.

1. On this subject, Mart, C.T. (2011) provides an exclusive coverage on “British Colonial Education Policy in Africa”, *Internal Journal of English and Literature*, Vol. 2 (9), pp. 190-194, <http://www.academicjournalsorg/ijel>, DoI: 10.5897/IJEL 11. 050.

The Author highlights the fact that colonizing countries found it necessary to gain control of the mental aspects through education meant to expose Africans to superior culture leading to higher levels of civilization. The main aim was to gain social control.

The Christian Missionaries therefore, ushered in Padhola, like in other parts of Bukedi District, what could be referred to as cultural confrontation because the Jupadhola also had their own form of education for their children.

This started at family levels whereby the parents were the first teachers, then followed by the community.

Colonial education instead aimed at taking over this important indigenous traditional role from the community (Okoth, 1994:71; Kabwegyere, 1994: 178).

It was therefore, an essential ingredient of this cultural confrontation.¹ On this note, Affiong (1980:111) supplements the above observation by emphasizing that just as the Europeans controlled Africa's participation in the new economic order, they also carefully structured Africa's education so as to perpetuate their underdevelopment and dependency. The colonial powers knew that the introduction of western education was the sinequanon for the exploitation of Africa and Africans. Without this education, there would not have been clerks and technicians to execute those tasks in government and commerce, particularly those that the white people could not carry out themselves. However, whatever the African was taught about themselves was designed to enable them internalize their inferiority and to recognize the white man as their savior.

The missionaries were therefore, the pioneers of formal western education in Padhola. Unfortunately, the objectives of this type of education were very much limited to provision of basic literacy that emphasized reading and writing, simple arithmetics and scriptures.

1. Personal diary of Azalia Owor, reknown vernacular teacher, recorded between 1945 and 1960. The diary is a comprehensive collection of many important events, circumstances in which they took place and their dates.

They were also drilled in the belief that African customs and beliefs were barbaric and unacceptable to the new God.

They were also warned against the everlasting fire in hell that burns non-believers. As a result, many people joined Christianity either in fear, conviction or both¹. The Roman Catholic Missionaries were the first to open a primary school at Nagongera in 1913. This was followed by Nagongera Boys' primary school which was later turned into a Junior secondary school for the Catholics. Other schools were subsequently opened at various places such as Siwa in Mulanda sub-county, Achilet in Rubongi and Nagongera seminary in Nagongera sub-county. Later on, a girl's primary school was opened at Nagongera by Catholic nuns, locally called the "Babikira" (Akoth, OI, 2009). By 1930, many of these schools were fully operational in different parts of Padhola.

The Protestant missionaries first set up schools in Rubongi, Mulanda and Nagongera. By 1925, these schools were already well established. They were referred to as Bible schools which were used to train Christian converts how to read and write, some simple arithmetic and drills in Christian faith. In 1930, Reverend Rampuley opened Kisoko Boys' school. It was taken as the central school and turned out to be the most popular for Protestants in Padhola. Others were Kisoko Boarding and Kisoko Girls Primary Schools. In total, there were two junior secondary schools in Padhola (Ongango and Olowo, O.I, 2008).

In Padhola is beyond the scope of this study.¹ Here, we are primarily concerned with the role played by chiefs in facilitating this early development of formal education. For example it was soon realized that the European missionaries

alone could not possibly manage to teach in all the newly established schools and churches throughout Uganda and Padhola in particular. Missionaries were too pre-occupied with fulltime church work and teaching. Tiberondwa (1998:49-57) observes that apart from using the already converted Christians, the missionaries used, among others the chiefs who were working directly under the control of the colonial government and whose performance was judged, among other things, by the number of schools opened, the number of pupils enrolled and the number of “pagans” converted to Christianity¹.

On the chiefs’ contribution, Tiberondwa further quotes the CMS:

Minor chiefs are now handling together and, with the help of county chiefs are putting up school rooms at the centers of the counties where their sons may have special teaching in a better equipped space with a better paid native teacher....²

The kind of education provided by these mission schools was mainly to produce a few Africans who would help in facilitating colonial administration by serving as clerks, messengers, interpreters and chiefs.

1. Excellent comparative analysis can be obtained from the works of Betoto, J.E. (2012: 464-462). The author covers Missionary Activity in Bekunduland Cameroon, 1873-1960, an historical appraisal. The coming, evangelism and other activities of Missionaries are well elaborated. Then there is also the work of Gbenda, S.J. (2012: 482-495). The author examines the Impact of Colonialism on African Institutions and Religion. The author focuses on the historical development of indigenous religions, early and recent studies on African indigenous religion and the impact of colonial legacy.

2. Uganda Government, Colonial Annual Report, 1909:17, National Archives, Entebbe. Investigations demonstrated that most of the sites for church buildings were donated by either chiefs or people who were closely connected to local government administration. More details about Christianity and formal education, the philosophy and rationale behind it, refer to Omolewa (2006: 267-287; Tuma and Mutibwa, 1976: 55; Afigbo, 1962: 191-193) and Okoth, 1994: 73.

It was as such, a capitalist and imperialist oriented education aimed at producing instruments for colonial exploitation. It was not a homogenous education aimed at imparting values that could generate confidence as members of the Ugandan society. This was in contrast to the traditional education system in which the fire place was the classroom, the homestead was the school, the elders were the teachers and things taught included African history, geography, music dance and drama (Kenyatta 1959; Curtin et al 1978: 523-527). However, this only constituted the social basis of colonialism. Another equally important sector was the economic basis. This is because effective colonial administration at the local level could only take place in a favorable economic climate. It was therefore, imperative for the colonial government to establish a strong economic background if their objectives were to be realized, as examined below.

2.10 Evolution and Development of the Peasantry

Before a systematic analysis of the evolution of the peasantry, it is pertinent to provide a contextual definition of a peasant or the peasantry. Peasants are a community of people who are made to produce specific crops for sale to a market system in which they do not control the prices of their commodities. Production is based on local labour force from the family or a group of families. Emphasis is based on cash crop production as opposed to subsistence production and the market is controlled by a wider capitalist system that usually buys the produce at the primary levels of production. The peasants are paid a token which they use for domestic survival and to pay taxes to the government. It is usually

an exploitative system that seeks to make use of cheap labour right from people's homes (Asimwe 1991:50; Fendru 1985:51; Mamdani 1976:218-221).

In Padhola therefore, the pre-capitalist modes of production were incorporated into the capitalist modes by use of force. This was enforced by using the Baganda agents. The British also found the peasants' mode of production cheaper in terms of labour costs. This was in contrast to the plantation system which had failed especially between the 1920 and 1930 economic slump.

However, some scholars have argued that the Peasantry prevails in much of tropical Africa and that this mode is resistant not only to a significant penetration of capitalism but also to any changes that might bring about modern development or modernization. The most significant contributor in support of the above argument is Hyden (1980). A summary of his views are provided by Chambua (1984: 39-40) who in part, states that although the peasantry in Africa is the creation of the colonizing power, African peasants are more integrated into the cash crop economy than peasants elsewhere; the PMP is still the predominant mode in African societies. Zeleza (1993:126-127) elaborates that peasant farmers used different forms of labour, the most important of which was provided by the peasant household itself. Household labour was sometimes supplemented by inter-household labour pools (locally referred to as "Faya" in Padhola), share cropping, slave, indentured and wage labour.

In Padhola, for example, it was common for several household members to pool their labour resources during peak periods of harvesting and planting millet and cotton. This was when individual farmers would organize plenty of “Kongo”-alcoholic drink made from millet or “Mwenge” made from bananas. The farmer would also slaughter a goat or a turkey to entertain his workers after they had finished the task. The result was that crops would be removed from the fields within a short time or a big garden would be cleared off weeds within a day (FDG., Apenda, Achienga and Loda; 2010). In this way, peasant household became the backbone of agricultural production in most parts of Bukedi and Padhola in particular.

For Padhola, therefore, the peasant system was officially sanctioned at household levels. Those peasants who could not make ends meet supplemented meager incomes by working for those who had more wealth. This practice was called “Goyo Futi”, because areas allocated to the peasants in the farms were measured in terms of feet (Owino, OI, 2008). However, peasants were not autonomous rural cultivators outside the modern world. They were only referred to as peasants just because they had been subordinated and incorporated by the world capitalist system, hence, by forces outside their own communities (Beckman, 1977:1; Othieno 1967).

Success of peasant cotton growers destroyed the imperial myth that success in agricultural development in Africa was impossible without European run plantations (Karugire 1980:13; Okoth, 1994:69). As a result, the colonial government endeavored to extend cotton growing based on peasant small holdings whenever climate and soils were conducive. In this way, cotton

growing was extended to Teso, Busoga, Acholi and Bukedi-Padhola, inclusive (Ibid).

Brett (1973:220) observes that peasant production was cheap and profitable because it could sustain itself by providing its own labour and buying implements from income. This concept of “cheap and profitable” only accrued to the colonial state machinery and not to the peasants themselves. (Chambua 1984) also note that the imposition of export cash crops by colonial powers broke up the traditional natural economy of pre-colonial Africa, the result of which was irreversible, leading to African peasants being differentiated along class lines and also integrated into the market for both their production and reproduction. In essence, Padhola was experiencing a systematic process of the development of underdevelopment. The establishment of colonial rule in Padhola not only incorporated the area into the expansion and development of the world industrial capitalist system but also introduced monopolistic metropolis and satellite structure and development of capitalist economy and society itself. In the long run, Padhola became increasingly marked and identified with economic, social and political structure of satellite underdevelopment (Peer Discussion, Okware, Onyango, 2010).

Gunder (1979:106-107), while writing about the development of underdevelopment in Latin America, identifies Brazil as perhaps the clearest example of both national and regional development of underdevelopment in which the expansion of the world economy converted many regions into export economies and incorporated them into the structure and development of the

world capitalist system. Each of these regions experienced what appeared like economic development, but it later turned out to be a dependent development which could not perpetuate or generate itself, a condition that finally led them to the underdevelopment they live in today. The cash crop which affected Padhola was cotton, which was introduced in Uganda in 1903. Large scale production of the crop started in 1925.¹ (A supplementary discussion is provided by Sanusi, 1985).

It was also a British policy that colonies should be developed on the model that they had to pay for their own administration. We have already noted above how the British parliament was skeptical about the financial burden colonial administration would incur on the British taxpayers. The most gainful method of extracting revenue from these people was to tax them. It is true taxation had been imposed on Padhola from 1904, but this time it was connected with income from cotton. Taxation was therefore, as noted earlier, one of the methods through which the Jupadhola were brought into the world capitalist system. The lives of the people depended largely on money and goods they did not produce and could only acquire with money (Beckman 1977: 1-6).

Writing about the establishment of colonial economy in Kenya, Ochieng and Maxon (1992:64) draw our attention to the fact that several forces associated with the imposition of colonial rule brought about peasantization.

1. H.H. Bell, Report on the Introduction and Establishment of the Cotton Industry of Uganda Protectorate 14th September 1909, PP, C.D 4910, 1909, National Archives Entebbe. By this time, chiefs and Missionaries had done enough sensitization of the people on the viability of cotton as a cash crop. It was already confirmed that the peasant mode was the best for Uganda.

This included engagement of marketing opportunities which was made possible by the transportation system established by the colonial rule; encouragement of establishment of European trading companies dealing in imports and exports and the settlement of Asian traders. The development of local feeder roads or “Bulungi bwansi” mentioned earlier, therefore, facilitated transportation of cotton to market centers. This also marked the emergence of a trading class—the Indians who established shops and a cotton ginnery at Nagongera. Their operations in Padhola started as early as 1925. Besides the cultivation of cash crops, the colonial government imposed a poll and hut tax to be paid by every adult male or head of any household in cash. The imposition of cash crops was also meant to force Africans to accept wage labour in order to obtain cash for tax payment (Iliffe 1969:137, 158-59; Austern, 1968:54; Hogendorn, 1976).

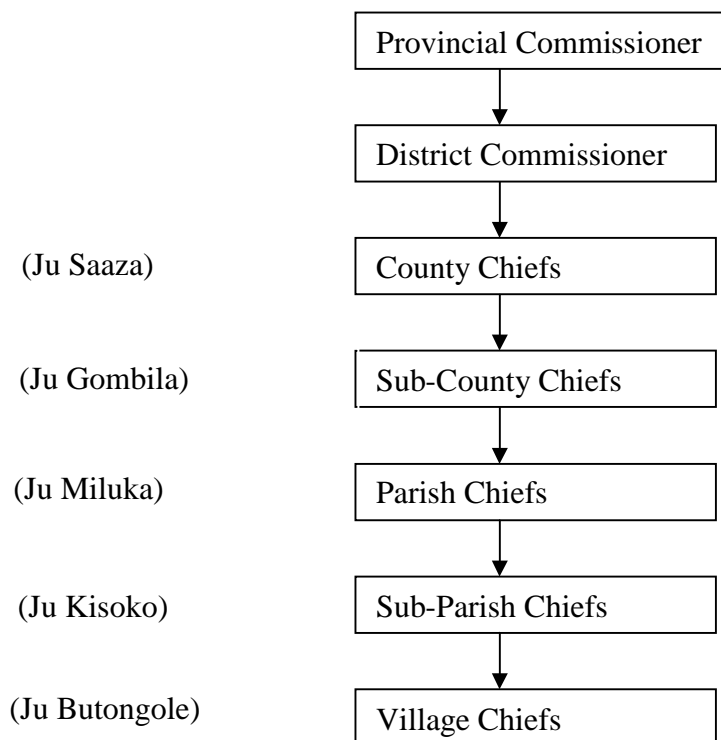
2.11 The Structure of Local Government

The idea of dividing Padhola into administrative units was initiated by Semei Kakungulu and his Baganda agents. Kakungulu brought with him a “Kiganda” hierarchical system of administration by which territories were divided into counties “saazas”, sub-counties “gombololas”, Parishes “milukas” and sub-parishes “bitongoles”. This “Ganda” system was used all over Uganda as the basis for local government administration (Aundrey 1960: 265; Mamdani, 2012). By the time Kakungulu’s powers in Bukedi started declining, Padhola’s position as a distinct county was already well defined. It was known as Budama county which included the present Tororo county, Samia and Bugwe.

Following the bitter experience of the Padhola riots against Baganda agents noted above, the British government changed their methods of administering Bukedi. Mention has already been made about the recommendations made by British colonial authorities to the effect that there must be changes in local government administration.

However, the colonial government could not dispense with the agent system forthwith. This was because the District Commissioner of Bukedi realized that progress would be slow when dealing directly with the natives. However, from 1910 onwards, Kakungulu's agents were dismissed and replaced with new colonial appointees. After effecting these changes, the structure of local government administration can be represented as below.

Figure 1: The Structure of Local Government Administration



Source: FGD., Opondo, Oloka, Mukulo, Odunde and Ondhoro, 2010.

In Bukedi, therefore, the counties became the units of administration and the county councils the centers of power. After 1919, the British decided to have a firmer grip on the affairs of the people. Besides maintaining law and order and collection of taxes, three ordinances were promulgated to this effect: the Native Authority Ordinance (NAO) No. 17 of 1919, the Native Courts Ordinance (NCO) No. 24 of 1919 and the Native Law Ordinance (NLO) No, 32 of 1919. The first one defined the powers of the chiefs: to detain and prevent law breaking, keep security, restrict the production of alcohol and make sure that they (chiefs) also obeyed the law as well as respecting customary laws (Okoboi: 1980:126)¹.

By this arrangement, it means that chiefs who were appointed were not guided by spiritual or cultural consideration, a situation that undermined traditional authority. Chiefs were entitled to free and compulsory labour from their subjects. The powers that these chiefs wielded were far over and above those possessed by their illiterate former counter parts. As a result, chiefs found themselves in a dilemma and ambivalent situation: below were the people they had to administer, at the top they had to be strictly answerable to the central government (Kiwauka 1967:315-16; Karugire 1980: 116-119).

Writing about the role of chiefs among the Lugbara community in the West Nile part of Uganda, Middleton (1965) argues that chiefs were the creation of Europeans,

1. Cubitt's Report on recommendation of several changes in local government in Bukedi, 22nd September 1905, 19/27/6, National Archives, Entebbe. As usual, when there were problems in local government administration, the colonial state chose to side with the people.

Hence, they stood and were held responsible for all the destructive aspects of any changes in the society. In Padhola, this was one of the causes of the riots of 1960. The NCO set up High courts, District courts and the Native courts. An oral source remarked that the spirit of consultation that used to prevail in the pre-colonial judicial procedure was put aside, one man now sat to judge cases. The colonial government also had veto powers over all decisions of the court and councils at all levels.¹

Suffice it, therefore, to concur with Mamdani (1996) that Padhola population was being divided into two groups: “citizens” who were the chiefs and the councilors and the “subjects” the common men and women whose only duties were to obey the law as they paid taxes and produced cotton to sustain the interest of colonial administration. They were at the mercy of their own brothers and sons who were empowered by legal apparatus to rule them on behalf of the colonial masters. Due to financial constraints the British decided in 1943, to group counties in Bukedi into divisions. This was how Padhola became amalgamated to Tororo division to form Budama county. What followed, however, was immediate incessant and feverish reaction throughout the district as people demanded that the counties remain units of administration because they conformed with particular ethnic entities (Adioma, OI, 2010).

1. Useful comparative case studies are provided by studies carried out by Sunday, N.T. (2012: 159-183), “British Colonial Practice in Southern Cameroon, 1945-1961”; and Ani, K.J. (2012:221-237), “Unveiling the Dynamics of Colonial Experience in the Isu of Afikpo and Owerri Divisions, South Eastern Nigeria”. The latter focuses on basically the mechanisms of indirect rule which includes British Colonial policies, the Judiciary, the departments, indirect rule proper and Native administration. The former begins with philosophical discussion, then focuses on aspects of colonial experience and ends with impact of colonialism on the Isu Communities.

Archival sources revealed that in 1947, the Iteso, who occupied East Budama, demanded to be granted a separate district, a demand rejected by the District Commissioner on the ground that there already existed Teso district in the north-eastern part of Uganda.¹

Scholars have rightly noted that while implementing indirect rule, the British never took the trouble to respect the interests of the traditional system of the people. Because of this, people were grouped arbitrarily under a native chief whose only source of power was his appointment. In 1948, the first Bukedi District Council was formed. The chairman was Kageni from Bugwere. The colonial regime, however, forced the appointment of Paul Ofwono from Padhola to the position of Secretary General. This was done against the wishes of the Bagwere who were the majority (Ondhoro, OI, 2008).

The promulgation of African Local Government Ordinance gave each district administration. However, in practical terms, they had trouble with loyalties. By loyalty, we mean remaining firm in friendliness and obedience. Should chiefs be answerable to their people or the colonial authorities. They were ruled and checked by the district councils and at the same time they were controlled by the central government.

1. Bukedi District Council Minute 115 of 1943, Tororo District Archives. This demand came up again in the 1990s during Museveni's rule when there was a massive exercise of establishing new districts across the country. A lady politician chewed the head of a rat to demonstrate that the Iteso were a distinct ethnic group from the Jupadhola and should be granted separate district with Tororo town as the headquarters. The President ignored the demand and Tororo district remained intact for both the Iteso and Jupadhola. It was also clearly highlighted that Tororo town was a creation of an Act of Parliament and therefore, belonged to neither the Iteso nor the Jupadhola people.

However, the chiefs, as a matter of strategy, were forced to be more loyal to the appointing authority which gave them their job (Karugire, 1980:116-118). This dual character of the chief was a major weakness of the Ordinance.

2.12 Summary

This chapter has dwelt on the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in Padhola, a process that involved Semei Kakungulu and his Baganda followers as agents of colonial rule. The manner in which they executed their duties, however, provoked a violent reaction the outcomes of which caused significant administrative changes. The process also involved activities of Missionaries who established churches and schools to take care of formal education.

Economically, the Jupadhola found themselves connected to the wider international capitalist system through the production of cotton as a cash crop. Lastly, Padhola was divided into administrative divisions based on the Kiganda system of local government structure, involving a hierarchy of chiefs headed at the top by the District Commissioner and empowered by legal means to perform their duties.¹

The chapter has been guided largely by the Dependency and Marxist theory that paints a negative picture of the European activities in Africa as basically exploitative, leading to gross underdevelopment of the economy of African

territories. The collaborative activities of Kakungulu and his followers, the role of Missionaries in establishing churches and formal education and the division of Padhola into administrative units were all grounds for economic exploitation that subsequently led to permanent underdevelopment of the area.

1. A Study Carried out by Ogola, Y. (2012), Padhola and the Bukedi Riots of 1960: A Study of Peasant Uprising Against Colonial Rule, LAMBERT Publication. pp. 1-154, chapter one, provides good discussion on the material covered in this chapter, especially on establishment and consolidation of British colonial rule in Padhola.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE MECHANISMS OF RECRUITING AND APPOINTING CHIEFS IN WESTBUDAMA COUNTY 1905-1953

3.1 Overview

As part of the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in West Budama County, the colonial state had to come up with a proper and efficient means of recruiting and appointing chiefs into the system of local administration. The rationale for this strategy was a tailor made policy whose philosophy was found right in the logic of colonial rule itself. This was an aspect of indirect rule which the British adopted in some parts of East Africa and later the rest of Africa to meet the exigencies of the time. It therefore, means that how colonial administration selected, trained and appointed its African agents chiefly determined its character. Indirect rule was therefore, a colonial policy born out of expediency, not principle (Omoiya, 2012: 13-14).

Crowder (1964: 199) explains that the system of indirect rule was, with modifications, practiced wherever possible, in Britain's colonies in West Africa and else where in her other African territories. Where there were absences of notable identifiable executive authority. Britain tried her best to discover or invent them. However, in practice, the overall goal of ruling through traditional political units on whom local government could be devolved was maintained and later on a system of democratically elected councils was formulated as most closely corresponding to the traditional method of delegating authority.

For the British to manage their colonial possessions with limited administrative staff, they had to adopt the policy of integrating the indigenous administrative system or create one where there was none, into its own structure. The ideology and organization of African administration thus, constituted the indirect rule system in which chiefs were made responsible for social discipline and provision of social services. New councilors were recruited to advise chiefs, but in all areas, the District Commissioner exercised final authority (Afigbo, 1962:160).

This chapter therefore, examines how the British colonial state grappled with the task of recruiting and appointing chiefs; the different methods adopted to identify and appoint chiefs and challenges they faced. However, it should be underscored that at the back of their mind, the British had a deliberate motive to connect the Jupadhola, like all their parts of Uganda and the rest of Africa, to the wider capitalist economic system. As a result, Mamdani correctly observes that the British appointed a chief on every piece of administrative ground and rendered the free peasants totally under the mercy of the chief whose powers were dependant but largely despotic and authoritarian. As part of the establishment of colonial administration, therefore, chiefs were identified and appointed into the system of local government administration.

3.2 Problems of Recruiting and Appointing Chiefs

There is a general tendency to view the recruitment of chiefs in the colonial process as simply an administrative process (Aundrey 1960:55). In areas like Buganda and Northern Nigeria which enjoyed some limited degree of autonomy, chiefs were appointed with the ultimate approval of the colonial authority. In other areas, the colonial authorities made and unmade chiefs as they wished. Aundrey goes on to note that in Buganda, there were occasional conflicts between the Buganda establishment headed by the Kabaka and the protectorate government over appointment of chiefs. There were conflicts between Baganda, Protestant, Catholic and Moslem chiefs over chiefly appointments on the basis of religion. This study treats recruitment or making of chiefs in Padhola as a political process that involved conflicting interests of colonial administrators on the one hand and those of the indigenous social forces on the other.

The main assumption here is that the people of Padhola, especially those who had just replaced the Ganda agents, considered the recruitment of colonial chiefs, especially the position of "Saaza" chief so important an exercise that should not be left entirely in the hands of the colonial authorities. Chiefs and councilors, therefore, fought very hard to see that they influenced the recruitment process so that the outcome was to their satisfaction. It is true that Padhola could not boast of an elaborate centralized pre-colonial political organization. But all the same, even when they elected their clan leaders, it was

a very important political resource that deserved serious attention. Besides, after the establishment of colonial rule, the Baganda chiefs enjoyed prestigious status that was envied by the Jupadhola¹. To be a chief was almost the highest position that could be thought of by any person at that time because there were no other ways of climbing the vertical ladder of leadership. As a result of these concerns, chiefs took deliberate political actions through appointments, to see that their interests as Jupadhola people were catered for. On the other hand, the colonial authorities were equally concerned about the kind of man to be appointed to a chieftainship position for a number of reasons. Firstly, by having the right to appoint and dismiss chiefs was one of the means of ensuring hegemony over the colonial situation. It was also a way of ensuring that they employed the right administrative personnel to implement their policies.²

These politico-religious maneuvers in local government appointments transcended the colonial period and crossed into post-colonial period. It is only the Movement government under President Museveni that has tended to reduce its tempo because the influence of religion has been demystified.

1. Saaza Chief Safania Ochieng's address to the Gombola councilors, Kisoko County Headquarters, 14th May, 1945, Tororo District Archives. In the period before and immediately after independence, this religious war was very stiff. Marriages could be broken, pupils walked long distances to access the "right" schools even when there was one near home. The Saaza chief had therefore, to caution his chiefs and councilors, to ask them to bring the "right" persons-Protestants for chiefly appointments.

2. D.C.s Address, Bukedi District Council, Maluku BDA, F.N.10, 1914, Mbale District Archives. Most particularly, the colonial government underscored the issue of adequate formal education and experience in local government administration. Such a person must have got his education in the hands of Missionaries and as such, would easily be sympathetic to the motives of colonial masters.

The Movement party has overshadowed most other differences.

Following the death of Majanga in 1905, the British recognized the embryonic preeminence of Majanga, by appointing his son Oloo Majanga and lesser relatives as the first Padhola chiefs. By this arrangement, the Nyapolo clan in general and the direct descendants of Majanga were put on the political pedestal (Ndelo, OI, 2010). In effect, the colonial state was implementing Lugard's policy of divide and rule and that of ruling through indigenous ruling structure.

This development was followed by dividing Padhola into administrative divisions. By this time, the Catholic church had entrenched itself in Nagongera in 1913. The Catholic Church Missionaries then went ahead to convert the indigenous holders of authority to their faith, a situation that made Catholicism to assume a dominant position in Padhola. After all, Majanga himself had welcomed these Missionaries and given them a portion of land in a place called "Senda". The first Catholic church in Padhola was built in 'Senda Pamadolo'. It was then transferred by Father Willyman to Nagongera in 1913, on a land donated by Owara. However, Father Willyman was preceded in 1904 by Father Pere Kirk locally known as "Pere Keke" (Odongo, Obonyo and Ogwaro, OI, 2010).

Consequently, most of the Nyapolo Ogule clan and early chiefs became Catholics. The Protestant church had also been established at a place called Kisoko in 1930. They also started systematic conversion of people into their

faith. However, as time went by, the Protestant church started identifying with the colonial government. This can be traced right from Buganda where the rulers were basically Protestants. As a result, Semei Kakungulu and most of his Baganda followers were Protestants. The British colonial state itself was Protestant oriented. It was small wonder, therefore, that the Protestants in Padhola as elsewhere in Uganda identified themselves with the colonial authorities. What followed is that Protestants were encouraged to take their children to get formal education in Protestant schools where they received instructions in Luganda and English. In the long run, these educated men became ready raw materials for recruitment as chiefs, clerks, messengers, interpreters and teachers (Odongo, OI, 2010).

The above situation notwithstanding, there was also another problem that confronted the colonial conquerors. This was inter-ethnic rivalry between the Iteso community who lived in the eastern part of Budama (Tororo) and the Jupadhola in the western part (Padhola) as discussed below.

3.3 Ethnic Conflicts Between the Iteso and the Jupadhola 1911-1939

After conquering Budama, there was the immediate task of establishing mechanisms to keep law and order. Local guards locally referred to as “Waserikale” in Luganda and a police force was put in place for this purpose. It also entailed setting a network of roads and communication networks to connect West Budama with other parts of the District and outside world. A system of taxation was also imposed on the people.¹

The immediate concern with establishment of colonial law and order determined the pattern of recruitment of chiefs, especially the “Saaza” or County chief. The colonial regime was ready to use force to impose their will on the people. Meanwhile uncooperative or defiant chiefs were threatened with punitive legal actions. At this time 1930, the colonial government had wielded the territorial status of Budama into a centralized political system. It therefore, meant that it involved positions carrying authority over far wider areas than was possible in the Padhola and vice-versa (Aundrey1960:226).

The above situation presented the colonial government with serious administrative predicament because neither parties (the Iteso and Jupadhola) could accept to be ruled by a “foreign” county chief. The colonial government responded to this explosive situation by appointing a man who was neither an Iteso nor a Japadhola. This was chief Odinga, a Samia by ethnicity, who had served as a minor chief in Padhola for many years.¹

At this juncture, it is clear that the principle of divide-and rule that forms one of the major tenets of the theory of development of underdevelopment was at work.

1. Ref. No. PUW. 3 (a) B.G., Bukedi African Local Government, 2nd October, 1951, Tororo District Archives. The local guards were indeed necessary because of the inherent conflicts in Budama County. For example the tribal conflicts between the Jupadhola and Iteso, between the Jupadhola and Banyole and also religious conflicts between Protestants and Catholics. Even taxation being a compulsory contribution needed some kind of repressive force.

At Padhola level, Christian religion had already divided the community into two hostile camps of Protestants and Catholics. At Budama level, the colonial government was dividing the Iteso and the Jupadhola¹. In Padhola itself, members of Nyapolo Ogule clan had united under the name of Majanga to claim an additional right to office of the county chief at the expense of other clans. As expected, following the appointment of Odinga as county chief, the Jupadhola decided to shelve their domestic, religious and clan conflicts and united against a common enemy: Odinga a “foreigner”. They demanded that a county chief was not to be a non-Japadhola. They demonstrated their dislike for Odinga’s rule by writing a petition to the District Commissioner (Gulliver, 1969), refer to table 3.1.

The District Commissioner reacted by ordering the arrest of people who opposed the installment of Odinga as county chief. They were produced in court and during the hearing, one of them named Onyango Okwach, demanded to see the letter which the court claimed was written by them. When the letter was produced in its original form, he grabbed and chewed it in a bid to destroy evidence. The court reacted by dismissing all of them from chiefship in 1938. The case also died a natural death because there was no substantive evidence (Obonyo, Okola, Obbo, OI, 2010).

1. Olukungana Lwa Kansulo Lye Twale Lya Bukedi, 36 (4) 24th January 1954, Obadia Ochwo’s personal file, Kisoko village. This kind of confusion was apt given the different levels of division and counter- division that had engulfed Padhola land. The District Council, sitting at Maluka, was thrown into dilemma.

At this level, it was clear that there was a clash of interest between the colonial authorities and the Jupadhola who threatened to oppose all moves towards installation of Odinga. The Provincial Commissioner however, went ahead and installed Odinga in total defiance of the threats of the people. The Jupadhola reacted very bitterly by attacking the convoy of the District Commissioner but were repulsed. “The colonial state however, opted to solve the problem by dividing Budama County into two: the East containing predominantly the Iteso in Tororo and West containing the Jupadhola, hence, the name “West Budama” (Bernnet, 1969:62; Mamdani, 2012; also see Lonsdale and Berman, 1987).

Writing about a similar case in West Africa, Omoiya (2012:199) reports:

...Since the resident was the eyes and ears of the colonial administration, his recommendations were more or less the confirmatory statement of the government.

Like wise in Padhola, the Provincial Commissioner was the mouth piece of the British government. His direct involvement in the appointment of Odinga was a clear sign that the chief was being installed to serve the colonial interests. The colonialists wanted someone who would serve as a conduit and administrative tool of colonial policies.

The British colonial administration tried to curb agitation of this kind by rearranging administrative boundaries to correspond with ethnic groupings. In

his annual report for 1939, the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province (Tongue 1940:10) declared that he had divided the Budama District of that time into counties roughly corresponding with the tribal (sic) distribution of the inhabitants. Bukedi became a separate district in 1954 when it was separated from Mbale but it was not until July 1967 when Bukedi District Administration moved its headquarters from Mbale to Tororo (Uganda Argus, 5th July 1967, cited in Twaddle 1969:202). This is a clear testimony that “tribal” or ethnic sentiments greatly influenced the direction of local government policies in Bukedi and later in Padhola.

Table 1: Names, Religions and Villages of Resistant Chiefs

| No. | NAMES | DENOMINATION | VILLAGE |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. | ZAKARIA ONYANGO | PROTESTANT | MUKWANA (NAGONGERA) |
| 2. | YAKOBO OBBO OMBULA | PROTESTANT | POKONGO (NAGONGERA) |
| 3. | ANDERIA ANGI | CATHOLIC | POKONGO(NAGONGERA) |
| 4. | ANDERIA OBBEL | CATHOLIC | SENDA (NAGONGERA) |
| 5. | ANDERIA OCHWO | PROTESTANT | KIYEYI (NABIYOGA) |
| 6. | ANDERIA OFUMBI | PROTESTANT | KIDERA (RUBONGI) |
| 7. | YONA OCHOLA | PROTESTANT | MAUNDO (NAGONGERA) |
| 8. | ISAKA OFUMBI | PROTESTANT | MAUNDO (NAGONGERA) |

Source: Confidential File No. C. ADM, 20 (K), 19-8-1937, TDA, Tororo District Archives; Also: Personal file of Obadia Ochwo, Kisoko.

The above table clearly shows the inherent religious factor in Padhola during this period. Seventy five percent of the chiefs were Protestants. In that kind of situation, a Catholic county chief in the person of Anderia Obeli could not survive political intrigues and malicious manipulation from the Protestant majority of the chiefs.

3.4 Intra-Ethnic and Religious Conflicts among the Jupadhola

Having defeated their common enemy, the Jupadhola went back to their original clan and religious quarrels. The Nyapolo Ogule clan which was predominantly Catholics made it a point that they grabbed the position of county chief of West Budama. Anderia Obeli Majanga was subsequently appointed the first chief of West Budama. He took over the office in 1943. In 1944, however, the Protestant and non-Nyapolo contenders maneuvered and implicated him in cattle theft and other small offences. He was subsequently arrested and prosecuted (Oboth, Obbo, Okach, OI, 2008).

Despite the division of Budama into East and West Budama, the entire Padhola communities were still not yet satisfied at all because they believed that the Iteso community as a whole did not deserve to be given a county status of their own because they were mere “visitors” who had intruded Padhola land. This sentiment has lingered on up to date in the politics of Tororo district.

In 1947, the dominant position of the Catholic-oriented Nyapolo clan was altered by appointment of Anderia Ofumbi, a Protestant and non Nyapolo.

Ofumbi held the office of the county chief till he died in 1953. He was later succeeded by Zafania Ochieng, also a Protestant and a member of the Koyo clan. He ruled up to 1960 when Padhola witnessed the Bukedi Riots. In these riots, the people of Padhola, especially Catholics, demonstrated their accumulated anger they had tolerated for a long time against the oppressive rule of Protestant chiefs. It resulted in a political revolution that saw the change of county leadership being taken back to Nyapolo clan. This was the appointment of Hon. Paul Ofwono, a grandson of Majanga and a former member of the Legislative Council. He was also a recognized heir to the Nyapolo Ogule clan (FGD, Ondhoro, Odeli, Okwiri, and Onyango, 2007).

From the above analysis, one can discern that from the point of view of vertical acceptability and basing on the concept of indirect rule, there was an earlier commitment on the part of the colonial authorities to recruit chiefs from the traditional ruling clan in Padhola. However, what disturbed them was that these people were identified with Catholicism, a situation that gave the non-Nyapolo Protestants a political leverage to exert their influence and alter the balance of power. The Nyapolo Ogule clan chiefs are represented in the following table.

Table 2: Members of Nyapolo Ogule clan who Ruled Padhola Between 1911-1939

| No. | NAME | TITLE | RELIGION |
|------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | Obel Majanga | Saaza (County) | Catholic |
| 2. | Omony Majanga | Gombolola (sub-county) | Catholic |
| 3. | Kainja Majanga | Gombolola | Catholic |
| 4. | Patrice Omol Majanga | Gombolola | Catholic |

| | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------|----------|
| 5. | Paul Ofwono Majanga | Gombolola | Catholic |
| 6. | Oloo Majanga | Gombolola | Catholic |
| 7. | Kawaka Majanga | Gombolola | Catholic |
| 8. | Owora Majanga | Gombolola | Catholic |

Source: Field Data, 2009

After 1939, Protestants started coming in, as shown below.

Table 3: Protestant County Chiefs in Padhola, 1953-1962

| No. | Names | Title | Clan | Religion | Year |
|-----|-----------------------|-------|-----------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. | Ochieng Oburu Safania | Saaza | Kijwala | Protestant | 1953-1960 |
| 2. | Anderia Ofumba | Saaza | Koyo | Protestant | 1947-1953 |
| 3. | Opondo Gastavus | Saaza | Rua Pa Alapa | Protestant | 1962 |

Source: Field Data, 2009

From the foregoing analysis, it is evident that the selection or recruitment of chiefs in Padhola was based on a number of variable factors that can be examined as follows:

3.5 Patron-Client Relations

This started right from the time Kakungulu who was mandated by the colonial government to go to Bukedi to establish colonial rule. At that time, Kakungulu was the client and the colonial rulers were the patrons. This is why and how

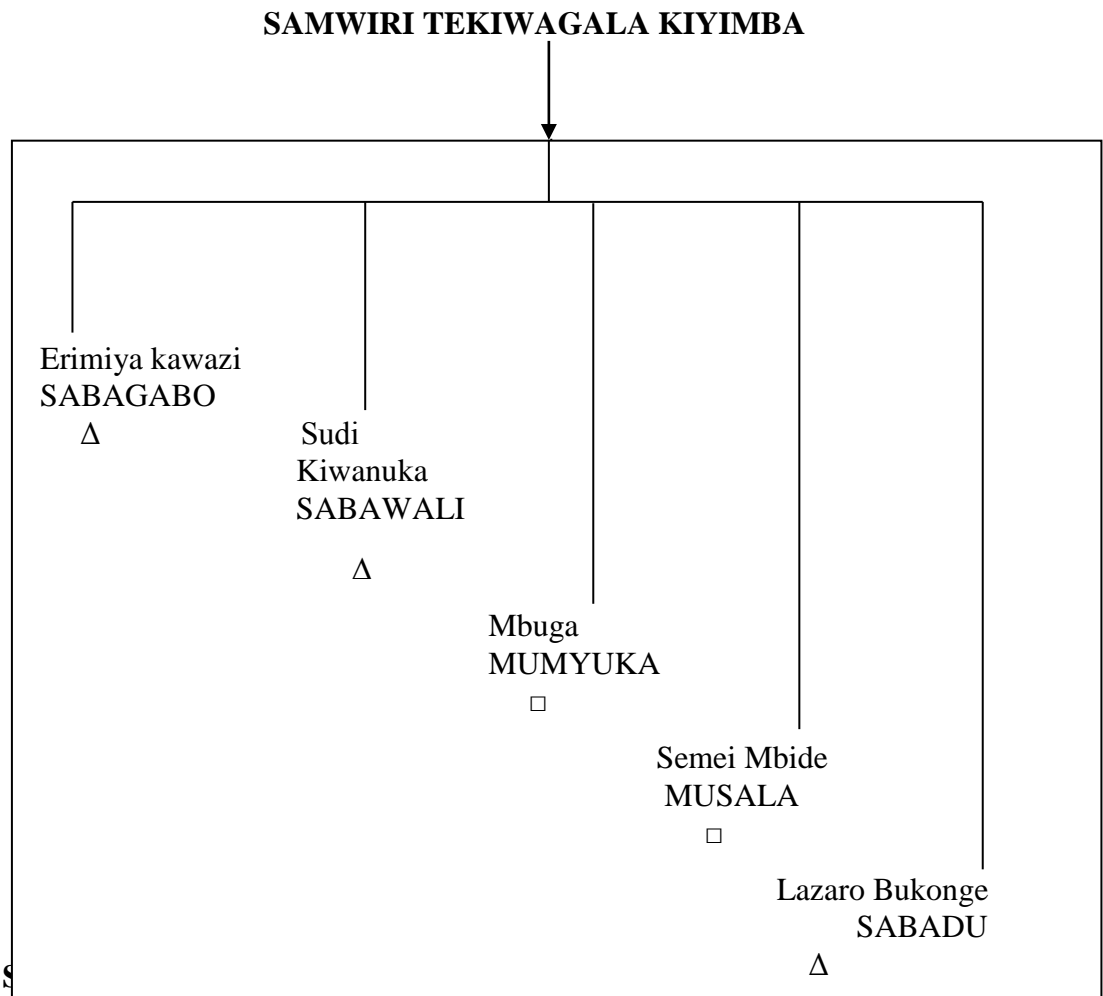
Kakungulu even dreamt of becoming a “king” of Bukedi, just because he was given extensive powers that made him become a decentralized despot. In the long run, Kakungulu himself also assumed the position of patron by supporting and empowering his Buganda followers to rule various parts of Bukedi in general and Padhola in particular. These Baganda agents later on used the powers decentralized to them by the colonial regime through Kakungulu as their local patron, to exert their influence in the area (Twaddle 1993:164).

From his headquarters at Budaka, Kakungulu’s kingdom consisted of a complex of military forts, sub-divided into “Saaza” or counties. From these centers or forts, the Baganda agents would assume their various duties in the villages under their control. By the beginning of 1902, the number of these agents had reached five thousand. Kakungulu himself encouraged this increase because the survival of his “kingdom” in Bukedi depended much on clientship as had its inception. Twaddle further draws our attention to the fact that Kakungulu was careful to control this expansion in three related ways: the appointment of county chiefs whom he kept firmly in his own hands; controlling certain appointments within the counties themselves; and strengthening his political position at Budaka by welcoming Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Kakungulu was, therefore, both a beneficiary and an architect of the Patron client system (Twaddle, 1993).

He appointed Samwuri Tekiwagala Kiyimba to rule Budama with the help of sub-chiefs, some of whom were under his direct control (Please refer to figure below). It is however, the intention of the researcher not to repeat what has

already been said about Kakungulu, but to highlight his role in the patron-client relations that was used as a modus operandi to appoint and recruit chiefs into local administration.

Figure 2: Sub-chiefs Under Chief Kiyimba in the Saza of Budama, December 1901



Key:

Δ: Chiefs appointed by chief Kiyimba

□: Chiefs appointed by Kakungulu himself

The Patron-client network was widely used in many parts of Africa both in centralized and acephalous political systems. Aundrey (1960:176-195) cites the Buhaya political system where the princes and the royal favourites were always present at the capital as advisers, councilors or assistants, but the governors over districts were always appointed by the king, while princess ruled over groups of villages, assisted by their own clients or supporters. The same cases were identified in Busoga and Buganda.

In Busoga for example, during the 1920s, there were some changes in the “Saaza” or county personnel chieftainships. For a long time since his appointment as President of Busoga Lukiiko, Wako Wambuzi had retained the chieftainship of Bulamogi as well. It was, however, realized that it was too much for Wako to combine both offices. In 1921, the British persuaded him to relinquish his tenure of the “Saaza” chief of Bulamogi. However, Wako made sure that the Bulamogi chiefship did not go out of the family line. He therefore, solicited for support from the “Saaza” chiefs in a meeting with colonial officials, and recommended his brother Yowasi Nyiro to be appointed “Saaza” chief and his nomination was accordingly approved (Mudoola, 1974:44).

The Busoga experience clearly demonstrates the fact that there was a lot of politicking in the process of chiefly recruitment. It means that, no one would wake up overnight and assume the position of a chief. In Padhola, client Patronage system played its part very seriously. It was either based on clan, kinship or religion. Oloo Majanga made sure he posted only his brothers to rule the various parts of Padhola. This is because the Nyapolo Ogule clan was like a

royal clan that could be equated with the Zibondo family in Busoga (Mudoola, 1974:46).

3.6 Religion, Kinship and Protégé Relations

The most critical variables in the recruitment of “Gombolola, “Miluka” and “Kisoko” or village chiefs were religion, kinship, protege relationships as well as the educational, administrative and occupational backgrounds of the candidates. This called for what was termed in Luganda as “Omwana wani?” meaning whose son is he? This depicts a person whose names were well known in religious or kinship circles and whose name became more known as his son assumed a chiefly position (FGD, Obbo, Aginesi, Angelina and Owora, 2008).

It, therefore, means that the issue of religion came first, followed by education. This is because it was religion that brought formal education, and besides, it was the chiefs who first took education much more seriously. During nomination of “Saaza” chiefs, there would be a lot of political maneuvers among council members. For example, there were talks of “let us this time, support our fellow Protestant” or “this time we shall not support a Protestant”, or “we are tired of being ruled by one particular clan” These religious sentiments are clearly demonstrated in the figure below.

Table 4: A Sample of Parish and Sub-Parish Chiefs, 1920-1961

| Name | Religion | Education | Post in Local Administration | Year of Appointment | Place of Work |
|------------------|------------|-----------|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Abyazali Oketcho | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1954 | Perper |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|------|-----------|
| Alex Oketch | R.Catholic | Nil | Mutaka chief | 1958 | Nagongera |
| Aloni Magara | Protestant | Primary 3 | Muluka chief | 1951 | Nabiyoga |
| Alupakisadi Onyango | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Nagongera |
| Amosi Odongo | Protestant | Primary 2 | Muluka chief | 1949 | Sopsop |
| Asanasio Oyuk | Protestant | Primary 3 | Muluka chief | 1945 | Mulanda |
| Ausi Gatwasi | Muslim | Nil | Mutaka chief | 1959 | Peta |
| Azalia Owor | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1951 | Rubongi |
| Bonifansio Omiel | R.Catholic | Junior I | Muluka chief | 1958 | Katajula |
| Charles Oboth | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Ojilai |
| Charles Okoth | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Pokongo |
| Charles Owor | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Perper |
| Damiano Olowo | R.Catholic | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Nyagoke |
| Danier Ogol | R.Catholic | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Perper |
| Daudi Owor | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1958 | Katandi |
| E. Owora | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Nyamalogo |
| Edward Oboth W | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Dida |
| Erieza Owor | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1959 | Nagongera |
| Erisa Ofwono | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1958 | Kidera |
| Eryazali Obeli | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Agwok |
| Esau Oringo | Protestant | Primary 5 | Mutaka chief | 1953 | Paya |
| Ezekeri Obbo | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1953 | Ramogi |
| Ezera Olowo | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1958 | Paya |
| Ezera Owino | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1951 | Pawanga |
| Festo Owor | Protestant | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1951 | Pajwenda |
| Gabriel Onyango | R.Catholic | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1952 | Magola |
| Gastafas Opondo | Protestant | Junior I | Muluka chief | 1956 | Kirewa |
| Geresoni Otheino | Protestant | Primary 4 | Muluka chief | 1960 | Okwira |
| Gideon Ochwo | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1954 | Kirewa |
| Gideon Onyango | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1958 | Rubongi |
| Hanington Olingi | Protestant | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Mwenge |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-----------|--------------|------|------------|
| Ignatio Olowo | Protestant | Nil | Mutaka chief | 1945 | Sere |
| Isirairi Okongo | Protestant | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1952 | Kyawolo |
| Isukaya Ologe | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1954 | Yokango |
| L. Owor | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Kirewa |
| Lino Owora | R.Catholic | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1955 | Namwaya |
| Mesusera Oketch | Protestant | Primary 4 | Muluka chief | 1956 | Petta |
| Mikaeri Ofwono | R.Catholic | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Gwaragwara |
| Mikaeri Okoth | R.Catholic | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1956 | Kirewa |
| Mikayili Esyaga | R.Catholic | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1949 | Destroyed |
| Nikauli Obo | Protestant | Primary 6 | Muluka chief | 1956 | Oyameri |
| Noah Otheino | R.Catholic | Junior II | Muluka chief | 1956 | Maundo |
| Pius Okitwi | R.Catholic | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Ramogi |
| Rafairi Ogwaro | R.Catholic | Primary 3 | Muluka chief | 1953 | Nyasirenge |
| Rasari Odoi | Protestant | Primary 5 | Mutaka chief | 1952 | Osia |
| Sem Ochola | R.Catholic | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1953 | Maundo |
| Semu Olowo | Protestant | Primary 2 | Mutaka chief | 1953 | Bira |
| Serwano Odoi | Protestant | Primary 3 | Mutaka chief | 1953 | Agola |
| Stanely oketch | Protestant | Primary 4 | Mutaka chief | 1960 | Perper |

Source: List of Chiefs in West Budama, Confidential File, Tororo District Archives, 1961.

The table indicates explicitly that Protestants dominated local government administration in the period. The same trend was shown in appointment of court clerks as shown in the following table.

Table 5: Court/Cash Clerks, 1927-1961

| Name | Religion | Education | Year of Appointment | Place of work |
|-------------|------------|-----------|---------------------|---------------|
| A. Oyuki | Protestant | Primary 3 | 1927 | Merikiti |
| Alex Okello | Protestant | Junior II | 1961 | Iyolwa |

| | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|------------|------|-----------|
| Danieri Okello | Protestant | Primary 4 | 1954 | Kisoko |
| Dominiko Okoth | R.Catholic | Junior II | 1949 | Paya |
| Esau Okongo | Protestant | Primary 4 | 1948 | Mulanda |
| J.Obonyo | Protestant | Primary 1 | 1961 | Kisoko |
| James Ofwono | Protestant | Junior III | 1952 | Mulanda |
| John Obonyo | Protestant | Primary 6 | 1954 | Paya |
| Kelement Ochieng | Protestant | Junior III | 1954 | Kisoko |
| Manueri Ofwono | Protestant | Primary 4 | 1957 | Paya |
| Mususera Okecho | Protestant | Primary 4 | 1948 | Kisokoo |
| Nekemia Oboth | Protestant | Primary 4 | 1956 | Mulanda |
| Noah Othieno | R.Catholic | Junior II | 1948 | Nagongera |
| Owere Christopher | Protestant | Junior III | 1961 | Nagongera |
| Peretia Ofwono | Protestant | Primary 5 | 1954 | Mulanda |
| R. Ochwo | R.Catholic | Primary 3 | 1961 | Nagongera |
| Rupent Ogara | R.Catholic | Primary 4 | 1950 | Paya |
| Yowasi Owolo | Protestant | Junior I | 1952 | Nagongera |
| Yowasi Oyo | Protestant | Junior III | 1956 | Rubongi |

Source: Confidential File of Court Clerks, Tororo District Archives, 1961.

3.7 Education

Besides issues of religion and kinship, a person had to fulfill a minimum of educational and administrative criteria that were acceptable to both the community and the colonial regime. In this way, religion and formal education became the yardsticks for defining a value system for the chiefly establishment. The Protestant faith spearheaded early formal education by encouraging chiefs to take their children to school where they received instructions in the languages that mattered in politics and administration, these were English and Luganda.

The graduates of these mission schools were the ones who later on accessed chiefly positions as “Saaza” and “Gombolola” chiefs (Ondhoro, Okango, Owanda, Awino and Nyafono, OI, 2011).

The education of young chiefs was so highly emphasized that later on had important political consequences for the future recruitment pattern of the chiefs. The reasons for sending the young chiefs to school were two fold: firstly, the schools served as institutions for political socialization to mould them into malleable instruments of colonialism. Secondly, they were to be equipped with relevant academic skills including accounts, so that they would be useful in areas of local administration. The mission schools were expected to infuse into the young chiefs a religiomoral code that was not politically antagonistic to the established colonial order (Mudoola 1974:2).

There were therefore, deliberate efforts aimed at taking boys from chiefly homes to Protestant schools. These schools included Kisoko Boys Boarding Primary and Budaka Junior Secondary School in Bugwere where prospective Protestant young chiefs were taken for training and subsequent recruitment as chiefs. With the development of local government from a system concerned primarily with the transmission of orders downwards, to a more complex one concerned with the new and various tasks of modern local administration and social development, it was logical that power was to be devolved to these new chiefs. This is because any meaningful change in Padhola had to be initiated from above and the chiefs were the ones in contact with its source (Oloka, Mukulo, OI, 2008).

The colonial government, therefore, made it a policy to identify educated, Protestant youths, gave them temporary and probationary appointments as clerks, office messengers and teachers then later on co-opted them into chiefly duties where they were promoted accordingly. It was also realized that these new chiefs could easily opt out of local administration and gain opportunities in other ways including politics. Those prospective candidates for the lower positions of “Miluka, Kisoko” and “Bitongole” had to identify with these fellows at the top either as close relatives or sharing religion and educational background as “old boys” of certain schools (Aundrey, 1960:341).

However, corrupt practices could not be ruled out. Our respondents revealed that there were cases of people “pulling” cows or bulls to the homes of “Saaza” chiefs in order to influence their appointment to chiefly positions. (Owora, Jambaka, OI, 2010). They cited the case of a chief called Yona Owori who after bribing his way was posted to Paya sub-county against the wishes of the people. His appointment in 1948 had been approved by the District Commissioner called Delmore. As a result, the people of Paya violently resisted Yona’s appointment by beating him seriously. The colonial government reacted by arresting and imprisoning those who were involved in the violence. They were seriously tortured while in jail. Some of them died while in prison, one example was Paul Otako who died in Butaleja jail in 1949. As a result, Yona had to remain as a sub-county chief of Paya (Owora, Jambaka,; Ochola, OI, 2011) argued that he had to bribe the “Saaza” chief, Safamia Ochieng with five cows in order to get sub- parish chieftainship of Per-per village.

Chiefs were also selected on the basis of charisma, the way they kept their homes and how they practiced agriculture. Contrary to an earlier observation that education greatly influenced the choice of chiefs, most oral sources emphasized that education was not a big issue. This was how a strong man, Gastavas Opondo who was a primary six graduate, managed to become a county chief in 1963 mainly because of his strong and awesome personality. Besides, he was a Protestant and a progressive farmer (Oringo, Ogwang, Ogola, Odeli, OI, 2009).

Another oral source confirmed that “Saaza” chiefs were appointed by the District Commissioner on recommendation of District Councilors. Sub-county chiefs were appointed by the “Saaza” chief with recommendation by the sub-county councilors, chaired by the “Saaza chief”. The lower chiefs were identified by the sub-county chiefs and names were approved by the District Commissioner. It was further explained that after selection of chiefs, their names were shortlisted for short courses conducted at the District Farm Institute in Tororo, where all government departments came to train them. These included the departments of agriculture, forestry, public health, finance, judiciary and even police. The chiefs were expected in turn, to go and train their people under them (Othieno,Oburu, Oboth, Obonyo, OI, 2008).

Another important variable that largely influenced the recruitment of chiefs was the desire on the part of the higher chiefs to control the flow of information about their social, political and administrative activities to the higher colonial authorities. It was, therefore, important for the “Saaza” and “Gombolola” chiefs to make sure that mainly those personalities who shared with them the same

social background were seconded for the position of chiefs.¹ Subordinates were to be reliable and dependable enough so that the chiefly establishment in general and individual chiefs in particular spoke with one voice on certain fundamental administrative issues.

Hence, a prospective candidate for chiefly position had to possess attributes that were acceptable both to the chiefly establishment in general and the colonial authorities in particular. It should be emphasized here that colonial authorities themselves were Protestant oriented; hence, they started an earlier encouragement of formal education to equip themselves with reliable personnel in administrative circles (FGD, with Omolo, Owor, and others, 2008).

3.8 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the success of British administration in Bukedi in general and West Budama County in particular was based on the effectiveness of the local government system that they introduced in the area. They thus, introduced a local government system that was characterized by a colonial concept known as indirect rule which necessitated indentifying, recruiting and appointing chiefs to act as conduits between the colonial state and their subjects.

1. Saaza chief's Adress to Sub-Parish chiefs, Peta Primary school, Aug. 1915, F.N. 33, BK, D.ADM. Kisoko County Archives.

However, in the process of carrying out the above exercise, they had to face several challenges that included inter-ethnic, inter-clan, intra-clan and religious contradictions among the people of Padhola.

These elements of division were themselves products of colonialism which opted to divide the people in order to rule them effectively.

All these notwithstanding, the colonial state had to devise clear modus operandi for recruiting and appointing chiefs. These included the patron client system of relations, religious, kinship and protégé relations, education and to some extent charisma.

With these chiefs in the saddle of authority, West Budama was formally brought into the era of colonialism. The British colonial masters were set to improve their ideas, interests and institutions in the Padhola societies. These locally appointed chiefs did not have legitimacy among the citizenry and also promoted social disintegration which was rooted in the increasing alignment for and against the chiefs. By their recruitment and appointment into colonial local government administration, chiefs became accomplices in the scheme that exploited and subsequently underdeveloped Padhola.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 TASKS AND CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY CHIEFS IN WEST BUDAMA 1920-1962

4.1 Overview

This chapter seeks to analyze the duties or tasks that were performed by local government chiefs on behalf of the colonial state and the subsequent challenges and contradictions they encountered as they executed their activities. It covers the duties of tax collection, enforcement of development programmes, maintenance of peace, law and order, overseeing social sector planning and indentifying and recruiting soldiers into the kings African Rifles (KAR). However, as they carried out these duties, there were inevitable challenges and overhead predicaments that they had to grapple with. These notwithstanding, the chiefs enjoyed a high degree of priviledges that accompanied their status. It should however, be noted that the British colonial state had certain specific motives for vesting these responsibilities on these local chiefs. These were firmly rooted in the fundamental objectives that formed the foundation of British imperialism in Africa.

Pratt (1968) strongly advances the theory of “economic necessity” as the overriding factor that necessitated British colonial enterprise abroad. This was based on: expansion of British trade; provision of adequate security for world wide commerce and expansion of the power and prestige of Britain. According to Lugard (1965:95-6), the administrative branch of colonial administration was to:

Foster the sympathy, mutual understanding, and co-operation between the government and the people,... to promote progress in civilization and justice and to create conditions under which individual enterprise may most advantageously develop.

In principle therefore, the administrative branch was responsible for supervision of native administration, direction of policy, education and control of direct taxes; legislation and administration of justice in courts and any other tasks essential to the realization of the goals of the trusteeship.¹

By vesting the powers to direct local government administration on the local rulers in Padhola, the British were implementing the policy of “indirect rule” system in which the European and African were culturally distinct though not necessarily unequal and that the institutions of government most suited to the latter were those which he devised himself (Crowder, 1968: 1689; Sunday, 2012:168). By willing to strike a partnership with thee colonial authorities to act as local government administrators, chiefs became part and parcel in the process of exploiting the resources and the overall development of underdevelopment of West Budama County. This argument forms the backbone of the entire analysis in this chapter.

4.2 The Role of Chiefs as Tax Collectors

After conquering Bukedi District as a whole and West Budama County in particular, the British began a systematic policy of reorganizing the area for colonial exploitation. The establishment of an administrative control over the people was just one important aspect. Others had to be taken towards the total imposition and consolidation of new economic and social structure. One of such measures was the introduction and imposition of taxation on the people. This was coupled with the introduction of colonial currency. Thus, besides the persistent efforts to consolidate “Pax Britannica”, tax assessment and its collection remained a persistent source of conflict between the colonial state represented by the chiefs and the people of Padhola (Agaba, 2012:41). Taxation is a compulsory transfer of money, goods and services from private individuals, institutions or groups to the government. It may be levied on wealth or income, or in the form of purchase on prices of commodities (Agaba, 2012). In the context of colonial rule, taxation was one of the major means by which the colonial state earned income for expenditure. It involved direct extraction of taxes from indigenous communities to aid colonial administration. Lugard, therefore, saw taxation as a triple aged weapon: as stimulation to production, as a source of revenue for the support of colonial administration and as a mark of recognition by the community of the protecting power of the colonial state. In

1. For details, see Michael Crowder’s article on “Indirect Rule- French and British Style”, in AFRICA, Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. XXXIV, July 1964, No.3., Cambridge Univ. Press, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/11158021>. Here, Crowder makes it clear that where chiefs governed small political units (Like in Padhola), and in particular where their executive political authority was questionable, the political officer found himself interfering in native authority more frequently than ideally he should.

was also a cardinal principle that colonies had to finance their own cost of administration and development. Lugard also believed that the whole process had to start with politicizing the people about it. He observes:

Among unorganized communities the tax affords a mean of creating and enforcing native authority, curbing endlessness and in tribal evolution and hence, it becomes a moral benefit and is justified by the immunity from slavery which the people now enjoy (Lugard, 1965; also see Agaba, 2012: 686-688).

Lugard further states in his various political Memoranda and report on amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria that the immediate object of taxation was to provide revenue for government projects and payment of employees. There were many other reasons for taxation, but the overall objective was to foster colonial exploitation of the resources of West Africa. The first official attempt to introduce a more organized system of taxation in Bukedi was when the District Council appointed a committee which included a Sub-county chief, Parish chiefs and representatives of the Sub-county Council. They were assisted by members of the Parish and sub-parish Councils. This committee was charged with the duty of determining and assessing of taxes to be paid by the people.¹

The assessment was made against people's wealth which included domestic animals, acreage of land, number of wives and children and business premises

1. Ref. No. 1688/ADM.1. Secretary General's Office, BALC, copy to District Commissioner, Bukedi, Tororo District Archives. For more details, refer to Report of Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in Eastern Province, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1960.

such as shops and bars and also the volume of cotton produced by individual farmers. Government poll and education taxes were always automatic for all people and were not included during the assessment structures (Obonyo, OI, 2010). The whole system of colonial taxation was resented by the people of Padhola because there were rampant cases of corruption, malice and unfairness based on personal vendetta on the side of the chiefs who administered taxation, sometimes, the malice was based on religion. Most of the chiefs were Protestants and it was common to find some one assessed over and above his level of income just because of his religious status (Apusi, Olowo, Omolo, Olwenyi, OI, 2008).

There was also the quota system, applied to counties, sub-counties and lower units. The aim was to reach a specific sum of revenue by making each area pay its specific or maximum share or quota in form of tax. There was, thus, inherent competition among chiefs of different areas as they struggled to meet their respective quotas. Instructions given to the District Secretary of the Treasury of Bukedi in 1959 went as follows:

The assessment committee must remember that their first aim must be to reach the Kitongole quota. The second aim must be to make the rich men pay more. The third aim is to make the peasants pay sufficient tax. The peasants must pay on average of forty five shillings each to reach the quota so that peasants will have to pay fifty or forty shillings (Eastern Province Report, 1960:38, Government Printer, Entebbe).

It therefore, means that these communities were merely implementing orders from the colonial masters. This system of taxation was arbitrarily imposed without considering the material circumstances of individual tax payers. The

logical consequence was that the chiefs deliberately over assessed tax payers in order to meet their obligatory quotas. In case they failed, they were forced to succumb to scandalous and arbitrary reassessment exercises that turned out to be extremely detrimental to the tax payers (Okoth, Oketcho, OI, 2008).

Besides the quota system, there was the method of collecting taxes that aroused wide-spread opposition from the communities. One oral source from Mulanda sub-county, narrated how his only cow which was in-calf was seized in 1958 by chiefs to pay his sixteen year old son's tax. The cow was later bought cheaply by one of the chiefs (Opendi: OI, 2008). Other respondents across Padhola, including Nabiyoga sub-county in the west, confirmed and emphasized the unfairness and brutality in tax collection exercise, especially when it came to education tax which was imposed by the District Council. In 1953, a rate of two shillings was fixed for all males above eighteen years. After only one year, a notice was released in 1954, to be effected in 1955, raising the education tax to five shillings. In 1957, it was raised to ten shillings and in 1959 to twenty shillings.¹

This element of unofficial taxation (which was not officially declared by proclamation), was practiced in other areas of British colonial Africa. In South Africa, there were smaller unofficial taxes extorted by chiefs from peasants before granting permit to cut wood, to cut thatching grass, to brew beer and to hold initiation rites for boys and girls.

1. Bukedi District Council Meeting to Discuss Education Tax, Maluku, 18th June 1954, Ref. No. ADM, 21/2, Eya 28th /6/54, Mbale District Archives.

Besides, individuals had to pay bribes to smaller personalities who would influence the chief to grant the permit (Mbeki 1984: 108-9). Cases of corruption in West Budama county were also reported by a wide range of oral sources (Anyoya and Onyango, OI, 2009).

Most of them recalled a sub-county chief by the name of Olengo who in the 1950s, had the habit of asking tax defaulters to offer him whatever little money they could afford to pay or anything in lieu in form of chicken, a goat or a tin of “Mwenge”, a local alcoholic beverage made from bananas. As he received these items, he would remark, “Maichi a mateki”, meaning what goes into your stomach is more important than anything else.¹

The situation that prevailed in South Africa mentioned above was equally prevalent in Padhola, where chiefs regulated people’s activities by giving permits for slaughters, beer brewing, cutting wood for charcoal, holding functions and selling domestic animals such as cows, goats and chicken. Londo Machika of Mwenge village was arrested for brewing “Mwenge” without official permission was made to carry a full pot of the booze on his head to Paya sub-county headquarters. He angrily threw down the pot on the way. These habits were mostly prevalent beginning from 1940 (Londo, Jawange, Yoga, Makola, OI, 2010).

In view of the above analysis, it can be concluded that Padhola chiefs were empowered by colonial authorities to implement very fake, arbitrary and

1. BDA, Sept. 1940, Ref. No. 33/2, 24/7/1940, Kisoko County Archives. This concept of “Maichi amatek” is used up to date in a mockery or jocking way when referring to trying to use one’s position to extort some money or items in wrong way by some one in position of authority.

exploitive tax policies. By this act, they demonstrated that they were no longer representing the interests of their people, but rather, their own interests and those of their employers. This particular observation was raised by a school teacher at that time. He decried the faulty tax assessment in which school leavers were assessed seventy six shillings. To use Mbeki's analogy, "the whip remained in the hands of the white government but the chiefs, riding the horse, were the ones who applied the spurs because they were well in the saddle" (Mbeki 1984:109).

However, it was not only in the field of fiscal policy that chiefs were seen to be very active participants. The chiefs were also instrumental in safeguarding wider perspectives of economic "development", a subject to which we now turn.

4.3 Chiefs and Colonial Economic "Development"

The effectiveness of colonial local government administration depended largely on a steady flow of income or revenue. The British, therefore, legislated that colonies had to pay for their own administration rather than leave the burden to the British tax payers. This could be done with the full knowledge that all steps taken had to be

cautious, with the aim of "developing" the areas they colonized.¹ This was part of Lugard's Dual Mandate theory by which he proposed that instead of selling

Africans as slaves, they should be left intact in their original habitat to be used to advance British economic interests.

It was a situation (Ochieng 1973:108) in which the blacks and the whites interacted through an association in which the whites were on top, the institutions of the blacks were not abolished, but incorporated into the structure of an alien system of government. Colonial expansion into the area, therefore, meant extending the areas of expansion for an import-export economy which the British wished to enhance in order to generate revenue. In Padhola, therefore, there was a close link between colonial administration and economic policies which the chiefs found themselves implementing and promoting. The British realized early enough the need for closer administration and this could only be effected by taking care of important and strategic infrastructure.

Thus, roads were constructed to facilitate movement. For example, the Tororo-Nagongera-Paya up to Mazimasa in Butalejja was built between 1905-1910; Nagongera-Merikit-Busiu, in 1912 and the Tororo-Mulanda-Nabiyoga which extends up to Buwesa in Bunyole, in 1912. There were many other small “Bulungibwansi” networks that criss-crossed West Budama county. All these needed funds. To achieve this, the colonial regime relied on taxation and available cheap labour.

Mbilinyi (1974:168) identifies four types of “cheap” labour systems in response to different kinds of employer demands and different local conditions: migrant, casual, peasant, and family labour. The colonial state in Tanzania intervened in

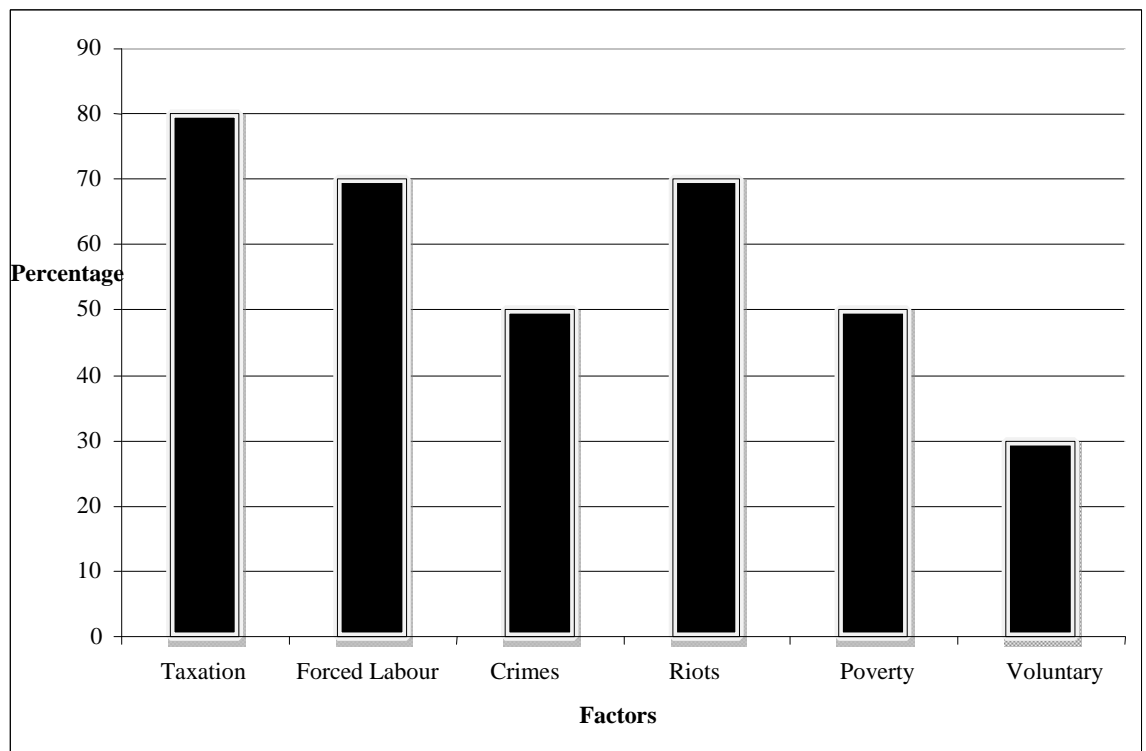
particular ways to support each of these labour systems; for example by encouraging issues such as customary marriages, inheritance and property systems. All these subsequently helped to reproduce family and peasant labour. There was, therefore, demand for a large reservoir of cheap labour. There were two aspects of labour, the voluntary labour and the “Luwalo” meaning involuntary service. Voluntary labour constituted free movement of people from their areas of origin to other places in order to sell their labour for cash¹.

The Jupadhola, therefore, moved out especially beginning from 1950s. They went to work in different parts of East Africa, preferably Kenya and Bugerere in Buganda. This movement was prompted mainly by poor cotton harvests, meaning that people had to escape in order to avoid being arrested by the chiefs as tax defaulters. This was referred to as “Ringo Musolo” escaping from poll tax. There was also “Luwalo” which demanded all able-bodied tax payers to render thirty days’ labour in a year or pay five shillings in lieu. There was also the “Busulu” which was compulsory labour rendered for twelve days in a year to chiefs or one had to pay six shillings in lieu. Omolo, (OI, 2009) expressed bitterness about the way they were made to work in the gardens of their chiefs from morning up to late in the evening without water and food. He also revealed that one day in March 1959 when he was arrested together with others and taken to Kisoko County headquarters, only Protestant prisoners were allowed to wash plates in the home of the “Saaza” chief. Catholics were considered to be heathen and untrustworthy.

1. Colonial Secretary in House of Common Debate, 27th April, 1905, Entebbe National Archives. Refer to Lugard’s Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, 1922, for details.

A survey carried out in Mulanda and Iyolwa sub-counties (2010) demonstrated that there were various factors that prompted people to run away from Padhola to look for migrant labor, as seen in the figure overleaf.

Figure 3: People's Views on Factors that Forced People to Move Out of Padhola, 1950-1962



Source: Field Data, 2010.

The figure indicates that the highest number of people ran away from taxation policies, followed by forced labour, then those who feared being arrested for participating in the 1960 riots. This clearly shows that the situation in Padhola was pathetic for the ordinary tax payers. A documentary source reported the following activities inter alia, involved in both types of Luwalo and Busulu labour services: maintenance of roads, bridges and swamp embankments. They were also involved in planting and harvesting food for chiefs, planting and thinning cotton, harvesting food for government stores, fetching wood and

water for Europeans on “Safari” and digging valley dams. From 1950 onwards, these activities were enforced with a lot of brutality on tax payers¹.

The use of compulsory labour was practiced in other parts of colonial Africa. Berry (1986:310), writing on “Economic Change in Contemporary Africa”, notes that colonial administrators permitted white farmers in East and Central Africa to occupy some of the best agricultural land. They facilitated a steady supply of cheap labour to these farms by limiting opportunities for Africans to sell their own Agricultural produce in the world market, or by raising taxes in order to force Africans to seek wage employment. And where the economic incentives proved inadequate, colonial governments resorted to forced labour and mandatory resettlement of Africans in reserved areas (Schneider 1986:193-194).

In apartheid South Africa, Mbeki (1984:98-99) elaborates that expenditure on a development scheme had been low because the government used compulsory unpaid labour. Mbeki quotes the Minister himself as admitting that,

The fact of the matter is that by making use of the services of the community, we are carrying out those same works at half the cost estimated.... (House of Assembly Debates, 9th-May-1962).

1. Secretariat Minute, Paper /R/85/ I, 1958, Entebbe National Archives. This was a very bad period in Padhola land. Tax payers composed a song which was played on local instruments called “Tongoli”, lamenting how poverty forced them to flee to Bugerere, a sub-region in Buganda. People used to flee to Bugerere as migrant labourers to raise money for taxes.

Mbeki further observes that compulsory unpaid labour not only robs the peasants of the meager monthly income but also saps their energy and their time. The situation in South Africa also had a negative bearing on gender relations. Meanwhile, their wives were forced to find food which they cooked for the working teams at no cost at the expense of their domestic obligations.

In the long run, the Jupadhola started regarding labour as something possessing both exchange and use value. It was the duty of the colonial state machinery to change them from producing for subsistence to produce for exchange. This was done by first of all determining who was to produce what, then afterwards they introduced agricultural inputs like fertilizers, herbicides and tools. These had the desired effects of integrating the peasants into the wider capitalist modes of production (Ake, 1978: pp. 62-3; Ngereza, Adioma, OI, 2008).

For this purpose, the British introduced cotton. A detailed study of its development is beyond the scope of this study, but of serious concern is the role of chiefs in its introduction and subsequent production. The success of cotton as a cash crop in Padhola, especially in the early years, was a result of coercion executed by the chiefs. It would have been very difficult to convince the average Japadhola about the economic viability of cotton which to him, seemed not to possess any immediate use or value. Physical force and utter violence had to be used to enforce cotton production. The chiefs, therefore, provided the much needed administrative alliance between the people and colonial state (Tanga, 1992:69; Ehrlich 1958; 1967; also Platt, 1968).

Cotton was introduced in this area in 1905 in order to acquaint the people with the use of cash rather than barter and also to provide traffic for the newly constructed Uganda Railway which passed through Nagongera. The colonialists had by the 1920s identified the usefulness of Padhola chiefs and equipped them with the necessary know-how, empowered and protected them with legal apparatus and then co-opted them into the system of administration (Mamdani, 1996).

It therefore, means that chiefs were no longer ordinary members of the community; they were unique and possessing decentralized responsibility and power that prompted them to perform their duties with a high degree of loyalty and confidence. They had wide powers to arrest, execute, torture and even grab property. These coercive functions inevitably had cumulative negative effects on the part of the peasants most of whom were their close relatives and friends. The negative cumulative sentiment was later on demonstrated during the Bukedi riots of 1960 (Ogola, 1993). Amidst all these, cotton prices were not determined by the growers (Tanga, 1992). They were low and even when they were high, Padhola farmers did not benefit much; instead, most profits were expropriated to benefit the metropolitan countries. For example, in 1930, the average earning per tax payer in Bukedi was six pound sterling only, compared to the high tax rate of about forty Uganda shillings.¹

1. Agafa E'Buvanjuba, Feb, 1954, Community Development Office, Mbale District Archives. This was a local weekly Newspaper, meaning in Luganda : News from the Eastern Region. This was the period when there were many cases of burglary, cattle theft and highway robbery, mainly because people were poor and yet they had to raise money for tax and other expenditures.

After realizing that many people had neglected food crop production in favour of cotton which gave them cash, the colonial regime started promoting the production of food crops.

For example, towards the end of 1940s, they introduced several varieties of food crops, including a cassava variety called “Number Munana”, probably a number allocated in the research center. Oral sources still recall the force and brutality with which the cultivation of this crop was enforced, which was seriously resented by the peasants and even primary school teachers. One school head teacher and choirmaster in Paya Primary School, Owino (OI, 2008) agreed that he was prompted to compose a song in resentment of cassava enforcement policy by chiefs.

Chiefs were, therefore, village despots, their children received formal education, their wives were dressed very well and they possessed large and comfortable homes with large granaries full of different kinds of food stuff. The song depicted that people had gathered enough grievances against the brutal and inhuman acts of chiefs. It was found desirable to sensitize children about it. It is not possible to provide all the cases of brutality and unfair treatment meted by the chiefs on their fellow people. However a few interesting cases were detected during data collection and therefore, deserve to be mentioned.

One respondent, a resident of Parima Village, Kisoko Sub-County, narrated a story in which he had a sick child admitted in Nagongera dispensary on Tuesday

30th October, 1960. The following day, he was to go and check on the patient. Unfortunately, Wednesday was the official day for compulsory road works by all tax payers. When Andiriko reached the site, he found a sub-parish chief had tied a rope across the road preventing people from passing across. The chief immediately ordered Andiriko to get a hoe. Andiriko pleaded with him in vain. Andiriko decided to force his way through and a serious fight ensued. Though a short and smaller man in size, Andiriko proved to be even more tactful. He squeezed the chief's testicles so hard that by the time people intervened, the chief was already in tears. This was after throwing him down several times. (Andiriko, OI, 2010; confirmed by FGD, Ondhoro, Osoli, Otako, Othieno and Anyoya, Opendi, 2011).

This story clearly demonstrates the level of desperation and coercion with which Padhola chiefs executed their duties without favour or fear of possible consequences of their actions. It is interesting to note that, the culprit was a Catholic and the chief was a Protestant. There were many cases of such physical and verbal confrontations because the local chiefs were using their acquired authority over their own people, some of whom were their own relatives with whom they grew up together, attended village dances together, engaged same girls and even looked after cattle together. After assuming the status of Mamdani's "citizenship", they left no stone unturned to demonstrate their authority over their "subjects". Hence, it reached a point when such extreme behaviours of chiefs could not be tolerated (Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2011).

Thus, in the sector of the colonial economy, Padhola chiefs played significant roles mainly in the areas of taxation, promotion of cash and food crop production. But of equally significant role was in the sector of social and welfare development, as elaborated below.

4.4 Chiefs in Social and Welfare Development, 1940-1962

Chiefs played a big role in the area of food security especially between the 1940s and 1960s. They were empowered to ensure that every homestead possessed a special large granary “Derokech” that was owned by the head of that home or patriarch and securely “locked” by mud soil to prevent encroachment by women. In such a granary, the main food crop of Padhola called “kali” or millet would be packed tight to the brim, waiting for bad times of the year such as drought and resultant famine. During such times, the man would release the food in rations that matched the existing situations. So chiefs would move around and physically demand to check the granaries to ascertain compliance with food security policy.¹

Besides “Derokech”, there was a system of cultivation called “Katale” or communal gardens that were established on idle large pieces of land. Drums were sounded by chiefs, calling upon women to be allocated portions of land on which they planted “rabwo” or potatoes and “omwogo” or cassava.

1. County chief, P.C. Ofwono’s address to Parish and Sub-Parish chiefs at Petta, 15- Feb 1948, Kisoko County Archives. This concept of Dero Kech however, continued in Padhola even after colonial rule. It has only disappeared with the decline of cotton as a major cash crop. Food crops such as millet, maize and groundnuts have now replaced cotton as cash crops and therefore, cannot be left to stay outside in granaries.

This practice started in the late 1940s after the great famine known as “Kech Mawele”. When the foods matured, chiefs drummed again calling the owners to come for harvest with supervision of Agricultural Officer and chiefs. One chief who is specifically remembered for this work was Obbo Nganji from Petta sub-Parish (Obonyo, Ochieng, Obango, Onderi, OI, 2010).

In other words, the roles of the chiefs were drifting toward playing a big part in advancing the welfare of their people. Accordingly, the colonial state machinery started highlighting the chief’s involvement in legislative, judicial and executive functions. Under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927, chiefs were empowered to issue rules and orders for administering their areas of jurisdiction. By this arrangement, chiefs were expected to regulate moral behaviours, threats to public order and some other smaller offences against the state (Country Chief’s address, 1948).

Chiefs therefore, played significant roles in matters of health and sanitation. Sub-counties could be made to compete in matters concerning cleaning roads around their areas, erecting straight paths from the ‘Bulungibwansi’ towards their homes, digging and constructing pit latrines, having generally clean homes, and making sure they separated animal shelter from human residence (Agafa E’ Buwanjuba, March 1954, Tororo District Archives).

Oringo (OI, 2011) recalled that during the rule of Safania Ochieng as “Saaza” chief, chiefs were instructed to mobilize people to erect latrines, at least fifteen

feet deep. They were also supposed to obtain water tanks to tap rain water, erect visitors' houses, separate houses for domestic animals, "Katandilo" or structures for drying utincils and foodstuffs. Chiefs also ensured that people took their children to school. Domestic violence, especially the beating of wives by husbands was abolished forthwith. At first women were involved in involuntary labour services to make roads. But this was abolished in 1923 during the reign of Bwana Tanga as District Commissioner of Bukedi. His wife protested against the practice and women were removed from forced labour services.

Chiefs competed among themselves in promoting health and sanitation. For example, in 1954, a Sub-parish Chief of Paya named Esau, led the whole of Bukedi in cleanliness. He was awarded "Ngabo" gift. Chiefs also dealt with cases of immorality and violence against parents which were rampant in Padhola and still exist up to date though in a reduced scale. Agafa E'buwanjuba (Feb. 1954) reported that Morikiswa village, found in Kisoko Sub-County, West Budama was the first in the competition, followed by Kamuli, found in Molo Sub-County, Tororo County and lastly by Pallisa village, in Pallisa Sub-County, in Pallisa county. The credit for such competition largely accrued to the chiefs who worked hard to see that their areas satisfied the required standards.

The chiefs were, however, very ruthless during the enforcement of these policies. There was a case of Obadia Ochwo Wadoyo (Refer to photographs 2.8 and 2.9) who literally accepted being "very tough and brutal" to his people when he was Sub-Parish Chief of Morikiswa, a reason that made the village to lead in the competition mentioned above. Obadia narrated how he would deal with

“big-headed” people who would be found without latrines, drunkards, gamblers (Jugoyi gagi) and notorious wife beaters. For those without latrines, Obadia said he would first go peacefully, take the measurement for the pit latrine and even physically initiate the digging up to about two feet down. Afterwards, he would give a deadline of about one month, after which he would go back to check the progress. If he found out that no work was done, Obadia would arrest the culprit, tie him against a tree and torture him till he cried like a woman for mercy. By this time, the victim was bleeding like a slaughtered animal. Obadia would then untie the victim and give him another deadline of two weeks. The victim could not report the torture anywhere because the chief was implementing orders from above (Obadia, OI, 2011; confirmed by Onjie, Obonyo, Opendi, Ochieng, OI, 2011).

Ochola, (OI, 2010) had no kind words for Obadia. He remembered bitterly how in February, 1943, he had a domestic brawl with his wife. The following day, the woman reported him to the sub-parish chief-Obadia, who went immediately and arrested him, tortured him thoroughly before making him carry his wife on his back from Rubongi to Kisoko county headquarters, a distance of about three kilometers. On reaching there, Obadia tied him against a tree and beat him till he cried like a woman for mercy. The chief kept on asking him why he was crying like a woman if he called himself a real man. This was because men were expected to show courage by enduring pain silently, unlike women who started crying after a mere slap on their cheeks. Here we are trying to highlight the ruthlessness with which some colonial chiefs executed their duties.

In protest of Obadia's brutal and inhuman punishment, a song was composed and sang by peasants in Padhola, both men and women. The song was begging Obadia not to keep using his whip because it destroyed the human skin, it was destructive. Here, chief Obadia found himself in the exact position that the system of indirect rule put him, between his own people whose values and concepts of leadership were clearly defined, and the colonial state which he had to serve and maintain only by satisfying certain European values and demands. This kind of situation rendered him estranged from his own people. Ochieng (1995), quotes an early British officer as saying:

...He (the chief)...must clearly understand that he is responsible for all lawlessness and misbehavior in which his people may be guilty, that on him will rest the onus of keeping the peace in his district..., of even arresting criminals, but that on the other hand, you (the District Officer) will back him through thick and thin in enforcing his authority provided he... serves the government honestly.

In this aspect, therefore, people like Obadia can be regarded as symbols of oppression, exploitation and alien rule simply because they were servants of the colonial state. Besides, they were expected to enforce peace, law and order, as examined below.

4.5 Colonial Chiefs and Promotion of Peace, Law and Order

Chiefs in Padhola also dealt seriously with thefts of all kinds, especially of cattle. During the period under investigation, there were rampant cattle thefts throughout the district and beyond. These are termed "thefts" because people or someone came mainly at night and silently took off with a cow or cows they

wanted. The aim was to sell it somewhere or simply slaughter the animal for meat. It was, therefore, different from cattle rustling or raiding that was a cultural practice among cattle keepers. This could be attributed to high levels of poverty among the tax payers. There was only one single cash crop, -cotton which fetched very little income that could not make ends meet for peasants. People had to pay taxes and feed their children. If they reached a predicament especially when the cotton harvests were poor, people resorted to all sorts of lawlessness that included burglary, gambling, highway robbery, cattle theft and irresponsible drinking (Onyango, Dewo, Apusi, OI, 2009).

In order to check these activities, chiefs came up with a series of by-laws. For example, any butcher who intended to slaughter a cow or goat had to get a license and inform the public by having some one to announce by shouting on top of a tree. The announcement told the public that there was going to be meat of very good quality. The aim was not only to advertise the meat, but rather to make sure that no animal was slaughtered stealthy by potential thieves. Besides, the head, the skin and the legs of the slaughtered animal were not to be sold till all the meat was sold off. This was to allow possible complainants looking for their stolen animal to view “appearance” of the slaughtered animal (Oketcho, Jamori, Jayang, OI, 2011).

It should however, be noted that in Padhola, chiefs and elders had to strike a balance of cooperation with colonial authorities especially on issues or policies that overlapped between the colonial and traditional sectors. This included cases of drunkenness, adultery, incest, rape, and domestic violence, violence to parents and women and land disputes. The reason was that colonialism did not

destroy all the pre-colonial traditional values which had to operate side-by-side with those of the colonial masters. This also explains why elders were called upon to assist as court assessors during the judgement of certain sensitive criminal cases. However, the overall opinion of the colonial masters was paramount (Oboth, Omali, Oketcho and Owino, OI, 2010).

One can therefore conclude that the colonial system of law in Padhola was a hybrid or a mixture of European and African principles but under the strict supervision of European colonial officials who had the power to appoint and dismiss judicial officials and regulate appeals. It was found out that local authorities were now part and parcel of the larger colonial system, whereby they were forced to exercise old duties and responsibilities in new ways. However, they had to tread cautiously because if they proved to be very popular with their people, they would be suspected by their supervisors (Personal file of Obadia Ochwo, at his home, 2011).

As a result of this development, people tried hard to identify or seek relations of patronage with people who mattered. For example, when a chief or a group of them were on "Safari" in the villages, a tactful man would offer to host them at his home, where a cow and several chickens would be slaughtered, with plenty of well prepared assortment of food and decent women to give the chiefs company. At the end of the day, the "Saaza" chief would take away a gift in form of a bull or bags of food (Ibid). In principle, these gestures of good will were investments because in return, the host expected profitable kick-backs in form of appointment to chiefly position or otherwise. The point which is being advanced here is that people had to be identified who were to help advance

colonial interests. In other words, chiefs had to be allocated profitable resources that would enable them to functionally identify with the objectives of colonialism.

On this subject, Lugard himself (1922:210) observes that the Personal interests of the rulers (chiefs) must rapidly become identified with those of the controlling power. The force of disorder does not distinguish them and the rulers who will soon recognize that any upheaval against the British would equally make an end of them. Once this community of interests is established, the central government cannot be taken by surprise, for it is impossible that the native rulers should not be aware of any disaffection. In line with this concept of “identity of interest”, chiefs in Padhola were allocated administrative and judicial powers, financial and material rewards, status and prestige. We have seen above how chiefs issued orders by virtue of the native laws and customs in force at that particular time as long as such a law was not repugnant to morality or justice (Native Authority Ordinance, 1949). Under the Local Government Ordinance, the chiefs still wielded meaningful power thus,

Every chief shall administer such protectorate as he is legally competent to administer and in particular he shall administer the provision of the Native Authority Ordinance (1949) and any by laws lawfully made by any District Council.

Hence, what the chiefs of Padhola did, such as declaring curfew, inspecting health and sanitation, arresting and prosecuting law breakers, were all aspects of exercising the powers devolved to them by the colonial authorities. This is what Mamdani (Opcit), refers to as a system of chiefship, a full-blown village despot

possessing powers built on administrative variant as opposed to the traditional system of leadership. It should also be pointed out that for the first time, District councils were established by law (Karugire 1980:127) and were officially recognized as the basic units of administration so that the 1949 Ordinance was the legal instrument which established “tribal” local governments in Uganda. This means that every district in Uganda to a large extent conformed with particular ethnic groups, except Bukedi; West Nile and Kigezi Districts.

In essence, chiefs were in the bandwagon of a decentralized despotic system, a regime of extraeconomic coercion. The acts of brutality that we saw in the case of Obadia Ochwo, were not unique to Padhola alone. There was a case in Busoga of a chief called Gideon Mayengo who was appointed as Gombolola chief in 1922 in Butembe County, later transferred to “Gombolola” Kigulu. Mayengo used the whip freely against the peasantry. He could not tolerate drinking of alcohol and indolence. The peasants were required to have a definite acreage of cotton and to look after it properly. He mobilized the peasants into building a network of local roads “Bulungibwansi.”. Mayengo’s ruthlessness, however, attracted the concern of the administrators in the field. They noted:

The chief himself boasted that there were so many footpaths in his Gombolola, that lorries could go anywhere across the country to collect cotton. Judging from the number of punishments in the case book, this willing horse is being flogged to death.¹

Even the D.C. thought that Mayengo’s style of leadership was at the extreme expense of the peasantry. The officer on tour further observed:

1. Personal Record of Gideon Mayengo, 1930-1939. This was a demonstration of contradictions of Imperialism at its highest stage. The British could no longer hide behind the scene. The situation was apt enough for them to exert direct authority by denouncing their own collaborator.

The peasants have to provide an enormous amount of food for the chief and his retinue when he goes on cotton Safari. It appears he travels in semi-state and accompanied by his wives! Huts have to be built for him when he goes on Safari and guards were provided when he went on last Safari (Ibid).

The end result was that Mayengo was dismissed from the post of “Gombolola” chief. However, it should be noted that both Obadia and Mayengo were acting within the confines of the terms of the 1919 Native Authority Ordinance. As usual, when such officers fell out with the people, the colonial authorities always found it politically and administratively expedient to side with the complainants. This is largely because though a common interest had been identified, the relationship between the colonial authorities and the chiefs was one of unequal partners (Mudoola, 1974).

Mutibwa (1992:9) notes that the policy of indirect rule was only partially implemented elsewhere in the Protectorate, where the D.C.s and D.O.s were the real rulers of the colonized peoples. The chiefs were appointed, paid their meager salaries and told what to tell their people; if they failed to do so, they were sacked. But in practice, the real power lay with the British authorities, hence, the rule was “direct” and the subjects also felt it directly. The different regions of Uganda were not encouraged to make contact with one another, a situation that seriously affected national politics towards independence.

Despite this apparent contradiction surrounding the chiefs’ duties, chiefs generally possessed exaggerated powers and responsibilities. They were all-in-one and they even went to the extent of assuming they knew the subject matter of law. This particular sentiment sometimes led them into head-on collision with judges and judicial assistants. “Saaza” and “Gombolola” chiefs responsibilities

were to implement administrative policies and maintain law and order at the grass root.

After 1955, they had the powers of arresting law breakers and prosecuting them before a judge or judicial assistant. However, archival and a good number of oral sources indicated that county judges and judicial assistants always complained that chiefs (Gombolola and Saaza) interfered with the judicial processes. The chiefs claimed they knew the law even much more than the judicial officers, to the extent that they disagreed with some of the decisions made by the legal experts. Besides, the chiefs also complained that the judicial official always released criminals or dismissed genuine cases as a result of mere technical argument. These actions, they felt, were encouraging crime¹ (Jambaka, Masiali, OI, 2009).

It should be pointed out that Padhola chiefs were not ordinary people in practical sense. Chiefs held a big stake in local government administration and this was demonstrated by the wide range of privileges and opportunities that were open to them. This particular aspect deserves some degree of analysis.

4.6 Privileges and Distinctive Lifestyles Enjoyed by Colonial Chiefs

4.6.1 Economic Privileges

Before the introduction of salaries and pensions scheme, chiefs enjoyed a wide range of economic privileges and benefits. Firstly, they had a percentage of tax collections given to them. In Bukedi including Padhola County, they received

15% of the total tax collection.² As long as a chief managed to meet his required quota, he would be entitled to this percentage automatically. This explains why most chiefs used all possible means, including torture in order to realize their respective sub-county and county quotas.

Then there was what was referred to as “Bwesengeze” in Luganda language. These were areas reserved for them where they obtained free labour and other resources. These privileges had to be given to them in order to secure their cooperation because it would have been very difficult for chiefs whose material base had been disorganized and undermined to serve as effective administrative agents. As a result of this consideration, chiefs were empowered to make use of unpaid labour under their control.¹

In Busoga, it is reported that the colonial authorities took care of material interests of Basoga “Minor” chiefs who were in school. Their cattle, land and money were kept safely to ensure that when they came of age, they would have a soft landing in positions of affluence and would not harbour discontent arising out of pecuniary needs. For example, William Kajumbula, on return from England, found great wealth in form of money and cattle awaiting him.²

The situation in Padhola was different, probably because the area did not possess a strong centralized political system comparable to that of Busoga.

1. File No. 28 April, 1961, ADM, F.N. 31K, Tororo District Archives. There was a case of three suspects who cut down a banana plantation but were released because of lack of substantial evidence. Chiefs could not understand this legal technicality.

2. Bwana Tanga’s Address to councilors, Maluku, BLGA, F.No.34/1946, Tororo District Archives. By this arrangement, chiefs were officially turned into civil servants.

However, the concept of privilege was inherently imbedded in the “modus vivendi” of chiefs’ working relations. For example, when cotton was introduced as a lucrative cash crop of economic wealth, chiefs competently exploited their administrative positions to secure the use of compulsory free labour services of the peasantry. As a result, they managed to secure large gardens of cotton from which they obtained profitable rewards (Tanga, 1992).

The money that accrued from the sale of cotton and tax rebates uplifted the status of the chiefs to luxurious and affluent positions. It was this money that chiefs used to take their children to well-established schools. It was also possible to identify a chief’s home in terms of wealth, number of wives, educated children and modern homesteads. The reason is that they produced surplus of food that was used to support large families cost-effectively.¹

Investigations also showed that the county and sub-county chiefs were entitled to use the free labour offered by convicts and suspects who were awaiting prosecution. These people were forced to dig for very long hours in the gardens of chiefs without adequate foods but only being given water to quench their thirst². They were also forced to harvest maize, groundnuts and to pick cotton. In the long run, chiefs became a class apart, a privileged class as opposed to their subjects who were subjected to all sorts of economic difficulties (Jambaka,

OI,

1. U.G.A.E., S.M.P.6025, Vol. 1, Report on Dues and Tributes for Chiefs, 1947, Jinja District Archives. This aspect of free compulsory labour was seriously resented throughout Padhola and was one of the causes of riots of 1960.

2. U.G.A.E., SMP, P.22/35 – Kajumbula son of Nadiope, Jinja District Archives. Kajumbula later on assumed a high profile position in Busoga local government leadership.

2008). Besides the economically related privileges, chiefs also enjoyed other forms of privileges, the most notable of which was status or “Rwooth”¹, as examined below.

4.6.2 The “Rwooth” Status Enjoyed by Chiefs

The Dhupadhola version of chief is “Rwooth”, meaning ruler or leader. It depicts a person of significant authority and status. In some respectable homes where Protestant religion and formal education have taken root, women have to address their husbands as “Rwooth” as the men addressed their wives as “Mukyala”, a Luganda word for a respectable woman (Researchers observation, 2009). In bureaucratic parlance, this status and prestige systems are both functionally useful. In Padhola, the concepts are a product of both traditional and colonially related values. The traditional rulers of Padhola were also called “Rwooth” or chief.

Hence, when one was elevated to the position of a chief, this prestige was greatly enhanced in the face of his people, and also increased his own loyalty to the appointing authority. The colonial authorities, therefore, defined the administrative and judicial powers and wealth of the chiefs as some of the major components of their status and prestige.

1. County chief’s letter, West Budama to Secretary General Bukedi, Mbale, F.N. ADM. 1943,31/K; Privileges to Chiefs, Tororo District Archives. The County chief had to take the trouble to defend the privileged position of his chiefs.

Padhola chiefs left no stone unturned to exploit these positions or “Rwooth”-oriented privileges and opportunities. For example, chiefs were entitled to free milk from any home of their choice where cows had calved. They could demand to be served the milk till the cows weaned. (Jamori, Paya and Jawange (FGD., 2009) confirmed that the most notorious chief known for this insatiable demand for free milk was Kamu Oboth, parish chief of Mwenge and later Per-Per village (For details refer to photograph 2.5). Chiefs were also entitled to mandatory two pounds (Latiri) of meat from whoever slaughtered a cow or goat for whatever purpose. There was a specific part of the animal called “Oguro” meaning the part that joins the ribs, which was supposed to be reserved for “Rwooth”. It was extremely difficult to dodge meeting this chiefly obligation because chiefs were the ones who gave written permission called “Lasensi” in Dhupadhola for slaughter.

There was also the practice of giving precedence to chiefs over other indigenous elites in official functions or gatherings. A teacher could be asked to leave a seat for a “Muluka” (sub-parish) chief in a public gathering, or chiefs were generally offered preferential treatment and hospitality. In essence, everything associated with the chief had a specific “Rwoothship” prestige over those in the homes of the “bakopi”-commoners.

The rationale behind this preferential treatment is that chiefs were expected to act in exemplary manners in all aspects of life, including dressing, homestead planning and children’s education¹.

1. Bwana J.C.S Address, West Budama County, F.N. 23/16th/ April 1958; “The Chief’s Roles in Health and Sanitation”, Kisoko County Archives. This clearly justifies Mamdani’s typology of “Citizens” and “Subjects”. Chiefs were transformed into village despots over and above their own people, some of whom were even more educated than them, such as teachers.

Padhola chiefs, however, were not chosen just because they were Protestants or because they knew how to read and write or because they smiled very well for the colonial masters. Many of these people possessed prestigious backgrounds, some were talented and charismatic leaders who had shown remarkable examples in progressive lifestyles and charismatic decision making. Formal education and religious factors were added advantage to their ascendancy to leadership status. As a result, respect for “Rwooth” was automatic and inherent in the social and political fabric of Padhola community. Chiefs were modernizers, peace makers, resolvers of conflict, negotiators and conduits between the colonial state and their people (Odunde, Adongo, Akoth, OI, 2012).

Ochieng (1975:110-111), therefore, passes a positive judgment that many of these people had been notable personalities whose pre-colonial activities had won them fame, respect, admiration or envy of their countrymen. Ochieng cites the example of Owuor Wuon Kere, the first colonial chief of Nyakach in Kisumu District, who was never a traditional chief in the pre-colonial times, but was later appointed chief by virtue of being a respectable medicine man. Ochieng and Maxon (1992: 65) further observe that the colonial state particularly encouraged the chiefs and headmen to engage in commodity production. They were favoured by being provided with new and improved

seeds and technologies, chiefs and headmen also facilitated the process of peasantization through their use of coercive power of their new position.

Using this “Rwoothship” status, a chief could lay an authoritative claim on someone’s young daughter as being very beautiful and fit to be his wife. The parents of the girl on their parts, took it as an honour for “Rwooth” to fall in love with their young daughters, most of whom were being taken as the third or fourth wives. As a result, a cross-section of elderly ex-chiefs around Padhola showed that almost all of them possessed more than three wives, with the last one being very much below the age of the husband (FGD., Oyo, Perepetwa, Apenda, Nyamwenge, 2008).

Scanty cases of adulterous behavior were also reported in which chiefs used their positions to cause trouble in people’s marriages by sleeping with people’s wives. When these husbands complained, they were either arrested or threatened with arrest over concocted unlawful acts. However, these were scanty cases of personal weaknesses rather than general weakness of all Padhola chiefs. Oral sources held that most chiefs had benevolent intentions for their people. The only problem was the contradictory positions they occupied, between their own people they ruled and the colonial officials whose policies they implemented, and were their employers (FGD, Owino, Hellen, Jambaka, Okoth, Obonyo, 2009).

Aundrey (1960:339) admits that chiefs had attributes that emphasized their difference from and opposition to traditional functionaries and headmen. Chiefs and their clerks and the police were literate members of a bureaucracy. They were representatives of the “New people”, the educated and semi-educated protégés of the Europeans. They were a distinct group which regarded itself as members of a class as distinct from the local inhabitants. They had little respect for their own clans and lineage ties, their families intermarried, attended the same schools, they provided the lower administrative officials of the central government, the teachers and traders and were closely associated with either the government or the Christian Missions which were the sources of power and education. In other words, they were participants in the whole process of the development of underdevelopment. Besides, they enjoyed privileged, distinctive and influential lifestyles that are examined below.

4.6.3 Distinctive and Influential Lifestyles of Chiefs

Padhola chiefs enjoyed other privileges that were not accessible to the ordinary people. This included the possession of fire arms. The distribution of income became skewed in favour of chiefs who enjoyed free labour and a steady flow of income in form of salaries. Sometimes, cotton could not yield much revenue as a result of bad weather and climatic condition. The result of all these was the rampant cases of robbery-both highway and domestic, burglary, cattle theft and open killings by thugs. Local government administration reacted by instituting a curfew to limit movements and a security measure referred to as “Dembe” or “Siem”, meaning peace. The movement started in Molo sub-county in 1950 then

spread to Padhola through Merikiti where it was most serious. Consequently, the colonial government allowed specific chiefs, councilors and financial officers to possess a gun for their security. However, besides serving as a weapon, the gun was a symbol of authority, prestige and status of “Rwoothsip”.¹

The colonial state was very much aware that the status enjoyed by chiefs would attract the wrath and jealousy of the other elites and commoners. By-laws were therefore, passed, including harsh legal regulations that protected chiefs from bullying and other forms of violence. From 1930 onwards, local Administration Police or guards were recruited in the county and all the subcounties as permanent residents, ready to accompany chiefs during tax assessment, collection, law enforcement, arresting suspects and tax defaulters. They were armed with batons, handcuffs and whistles. In such a situation, the chief was a very big person, highly protected against all forms of hooliganism and violence meant to obstruct or hinder lawful duties (Okoro, OI, 2010).

This need for protection of colonial chiefs is echoed by Ochieng (1992: 125) who notes that the first problem which the colonial chiefs faced, after they had been confirmed in their posts, was how to contain foreign and traditionally hostile clans which had been brought under them in the administrative location.

1. W.B. Lukiiko Minute Book, 1958, Kisoko County Archives. These firearms were used by Kakungulu right from the time he set a fort in Bukedi. He used it to conquer rebellious communities such as the Gisu and later other groups. Because of the nature of colonial rule, it was important that chiefs possessed guns. However, the colonial state refused the proposal that chiefs wanted to pass the possession to their heirs, “Musika”, Luganda.

He goes on to note that this problem was solved for them by the District Commissioner who told them to “take this gun and these Askaris. If the savages overwhelm you, we will be around the corner”. For the case of Padhola chiefs, they badly needed protection because there were inter-clan and inter-religious conflicts.

The study also established that very few chiefs, especially between 1905 and 1945, were prosecuted and jailed. The most common punishment for chiefs was dismissal. Many chiefs were implicated in acts of embezzlement, poor administration or torturing suspects, but the punishments remained dismal. This demonstrates that the colonial state was not prepared to subject the institution of “Rwoothship” under disrepute by humiliating chiefs. Besides, they (the colonialists) were very much aware that chiefs were wielding delegated authority that was given to them, to act on behalf of the colonial state machinery (FGD, Owino, Ondere, Alowo, Nyapendi, 2011).

This elevated status and prestige attached to chiefs, therefore, influenced their lifestyles which were already defined by the colonial authorities when they bifurcated the Padhola society into “citizens” and “subjects”, the rulers and the ruled, with the value systems of the former well packaged as Protestants, formally educated and empowered by legal and coercive means to exercise their duties (Mamdani, 1996:37-45). Chiefs were recipients of a large and steady financial income both in form of salary and sale of cotton, hence, had access to western goods and values (Mudoola, 1974; Mamdani, 1996).

Mamdani (1999:156) reminds us about the rationale for creation of chiefs in Uganda. Padhola chiefs were part of the group of civil servants who were recruited as bureaucratic functionaries of the colonial order. The aim was to solve the problem of administrative personnel. Mamdani quotes a Commission of Inquiry as reporting that;

The European Officer in Africa is expensive, and if his numbers were multiplied..., the burden of his remuneration would weigh too heavily upon the population. Only from the African race can sufficient qualified men be obtained at an economic cost (Mamdani, 1999:156).

Chiefs were, therefore, a new class of “citizens” who were aware of themselves as a distinct class of people, ready to exert their presence and authority as a ruling and salaried class. As such, they had to design for themselves a distinct lifestyle that was conspicuous enough to alienate them from the “subjects” they ruled.

Chiefs also used their status and prestigious influence to secure lucrative positions for their children and close relatives in areas like local government administration, local government police, teaching and the manufacturing sector. This was how the concept of “Omwana wani,” (whose child is he or she)? came into full force, thereby underscoring the idea of patronage. It means that a recipient of a particular opportunity had to show or prove that he or she was from a prominent home or connected to an influential personality. Behind this concept, people were looking for issues like religion, clan, kinship and political affiliation (FGD, Ofwono, Ochwo and Jayang, 2010).

Berry (1987:323) observes that in both colonial and post-colonial Africa, people have found it expedient to invest in relations of patronage and traditional social obligations in order to acquire property, mobilize labour and gain access to profitable opportunities. Following this line of argument, it was next to impossible for a Catholic or child of a “Mukopi” to climb to position of dominance because the Protestant local government administrators tried hard to maintain their “status quo”. So far, the study has dwelt on the duties performed by chiefs especially in relation to their roles as tax collectors, in economic development, in security, the health sector and sanitation, keeping law and order and the privileges and influence they enjoyed as they executed these duties. However, in the course of exercising these duties, chiefs found themselves faced with significant challenges, contradictions and predicaments, as discussed below.

4.7 Challenges Faced by Chiefs

In order to bring out clearly the challenges and contradictions that faced the colonial chiefs, it suffices to begin with first and foremost, a brief analysis of the Bukedi riots of 1960, with particular reference to Padhola. It was in these riots that most of the salient features of indirect rule showed themselves most explicitly. The crisis itself was, in fact, a logical derivative of the structural administrative bottle-necks involving Padhola peasantry, chiefs, councilors and the colonial authority. It should, however, be noted that a detailed coverage of

the riots is beyond the scope of the present study. The origins of the riots are analyzed as follows.

4.7.1 The Significance of the Bukedi Riots of 1960

The Bukedi riots started on 16th January, 1960 and ended on 22nd of the same month. It was characterized by mass roaming of the countryside amidst killings, pillaging and intimidation.¹ This source, plus a good number of oral respondents (FGD, in Nabyoga, Mulanda and Kirewa Sub-counties, 2009) contend that the first signs of the riots were realized in Bunyole county in 1959 when it was heard that the Banyole were seriously contesting the tax assessments done by chiefs and were preparing to resist the tax payments. This also applied to the Bagwere, the Banyoles' neighbors. Later on, the Banyole came out officially and declared their refusal to pay taxes. The declaration was contained in a letter addressed to the Secretary General of Bukedi District Council (Details are given in appendix 3).

The letter threatened violence on chiefs and on any commoner who defied the declaration. It was purportedly signed by five people. But when the Secretary General finally went to Butalejja – the headquarters of Bunyole, a self-styled spokesman named Wesukulu told him that the five people would not identify themselves as demanded. He also assured the Governor that the Banyole would

1. Report of Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in Eastern Province, Entebbe, 1960:4. The riots in question took the colonial state by surprise, a situation that prompted a thorough investigation through a special commission whose findings revealed glaring truths about the ambivalence that surrounded chiefs' duties in local government.

only pay forty six shillings per year. Wesukulu further confirmed to him that the County Chief, Safania Ochieng had acted ultravires to assess taxes to the people without proper consultation with the tax payers. Because of this, the Banyole demanded to see and talk to the District Commissioner in person.

These statements were strongly supported by numerous sources and interviews conducted with prominent personalities in and around Butalejja. The District Commissioner, R.F. Roper, later on visited Butalejja on 13th January as the people demanded. He was accompanied by the Secretary- General and Forbes, a Police officer. The D.C, however, warned the County Chief Zafania Ochieng to keep aloof because he knew the crowd would be violent to him. When the District Commissioner reached Butalejja, he found a large crowd already waiting to receive him. Immediately, their leader Mr. Wesukulu presented a memorandum to him, containing complaints against unfair tax assessment and a demand for resignation of the County chief. Details of the memorandum are contained in appendix 3. Before the D.C, could even appreciate the contents of the memorandum, the crowd charged and started shouting maximum tax limits of forty five or forty six shillings. They also accused the county chief of arbitrary alteration of assessment forms to suit his own interests (Kardi, Naudo, Perepetwa, OI, 2008).

Roper ironically decided to side with the crowd and subsequently suspended tax payment in Bunyole, pending inquiry on the matter. The committee that was

proposed to look into the matter included the Chief Judge, “Saaza”, “Gombolola” chiefs and a nonofficial member. However, the Banyole ardently refused the inclusion of chiefs on this committee which did not even begin its work because of continuous spread of violence to other areas of the district (Naudo, OI, 2010; Report of Commission of Inquiry, 1960).

The Banyole wanted a flat rate of forty five or forty six shillings as tax. There was also clear evidence that the methods used to assess taxes were flawed because there was no adequate consultation with all the stakeholders. There was therefore, genuine reason for the Banyole to regard the chiefs who assessed these taxes as the immediate enemies who should be eliminated. The “Saaza” chief on his part, felt extremely molested and humiliated by the people’s refusal to pay the taxes, and more so by the subsequent decision of the D.C. to suspend payments thereafter. Appendix 4 shows details of the moratorium on tax payment.

It is now pertinent to provide an explanation and interpretation of this scenario. We can begin by noting that this was a point of contradiction between the D.C., the chiefs and the people they ruled. It was the D.C. himself who had delimited and given the chiefs wide powers to execute over their people, but it was the same D.C. who came to take a unilateral decision that not only embarrassed but also discredited his chiefs in front of the people they ruled. It means that the D.C. disowned the chiefs at a critical moment when they were to exercise collective responsibility. This line of thinking is echoed by Mudoola (1974:29), when he states that colonial chiefs were, in terms of their economic interests and

the roles they played as bureaucratic functionaries, alienated from the general mass of their people. Mamdani (1999), on the other hand, talks about a regime of extra-economic coercion exercised by chiefs who possessed dependent but largely despotic and autonomous power. These can help us explain the attitude of the chiefs who assessed the taxes.

Unfortunately, the moratorium released by the D.C. on taxes in Bunyole instead had an opposite effect because as the Banyole calmed down, the resistance spread to other areas of the district, while at the same time taking violent proportions. This is because the suspension of tax payment in Bunyole was seen by members of other counties as a great and rare achievement. The same decisions were, however, taken for many other areas such as Kadama, Buseta, Mbale and later Naboa. In all these places, the D.C. is quoted to assert that,

...They put down their sticks when I spoke to them. They were delighted with the news that they need not pay till investigation had been made. But they showed great antipathy to the chiefs... (Eastern Province Report, par.79).

The spread and development of these riots throughout Bukedi is beyond the scope of the presented study. What is important to note is that it demonstrates one of the significant challenges faced by chiefs.

4.7.2 Occupational Challenges

We noted earlier that Padhola chiefs enjoyed a substantial degree of protection. However, there were cases whereby notorious criminals tried to resist arrest and in the process, beat up chiefs together with their local police. The colonial authorities however, reacted to such situations very severely, by arresting and

bringing such elements to book. Those who escaped these punishments only did so by running away to another district. Such were the people who migrated to such places as Bunya, Iganga, Bugwere and parts of Kenya.¹

Investigations also revealed that one Salmon Oketch of Atapara village, slapped a chief called Owora Stephen on 4th-July-1945. This was a day for maintaining “Bulungibwansi” roads and Oketch had deliberately refused to participate. When the chief went to his home, escorted by the local police, Oketch came out of his house and landed a heavy slap on the chief’s face. This prompted immediate arrest and imprisonment of Oketch for four years (West Budama Court Registry).

Under section 7(1) of the Native Ordinance, the Provincial Commissioner established Counties (Saaza), Sub-Counties (Gombolola) and Parish (Miluka) Councils all of which contained a majority of selected members plus the chiefs. Their functions included electing members to the District Council who were advisory to the County Chief (Eastern Province Report, p. 27). However, most of those councilors were Protestants and as such, always made sure that those elected to those positions were of the same religion. They did this by manipulating the election results. The kind of arrangement in Bukedi was in such a way that the counties acted as units of political and administrative orientations. Basing on this arrangement, the county chiefs were more

1. West Budama Court Registry, Reg. No. 65/1935-40, Kisoko County Archives. These are sometimes referred to as Jupadhola in the “Diaspora”, meaning those people of Padhola origin who are permanently settled outside Padhola, some have even lost their original culture and language.

influential than the District Councilors, apparently because of the heterogeneous nature of the district. Going by this arrangement, chiefs had a substantial degree of autonomy over the district councilors because they were the ones who implemented the policies from above. In practice however, the D.C. remained the overall boss and supervisor of both the councilors and chiefs (Eastern Province Report, p. 27).

Thus, Padhola chiefs governed their people, not as independent but dependent rulers with the orders of governance emanating from the Resident District Commissioner. However, the attitude of the D.C. was that of a “watchful adviser”, a seemingly non interfering ruler who jealously protected the rights and liberty of the peasantry.¹ There were practical problems on the ground in that the responsibilities of the various officers were not well defined. As a result, the duties of the D.C. and those of the top executives of the council greatly overlapped. The assignment of dual roles to the chiefs was another weakness. Chiefs saw themselves as primarily responsible to the central government as the appointing authority as opposed to the fact that they had to perform their duties in consultation with their people.

Commenting on this kind of arrangement, an ex-sub-county chief, Vona (OI, 2009) remarked that the relation of the chiefs to the councilors in most of Padhola was rarely harmonious because the chiefs tended to ignore or manipulate the councilors. There was a conflict of paternalism between the chiefs, the colonial authority, the councilors and the nationalists. This was because while the chiefs claimed to be the custodians of their people’s interests, the colonial authorities also claimed to be the custodians of all the interests,

including those of chiefs. At the same time, the nationalists also claimed to represent the interests of the people as opposed to the interests of the colonial authorities. And yet the councilors, having been elected by the people, also claimed to represent the interests of the same people.

Going by these conflicting, divergent and contradictory claims, it can be suggested that the interests of the people were used to advance individual, group and selfish interests. This structural predicament had a direct linkage with the chiefs' performance and integrity. For example, when there was a problem over tax assessment in Bunyole, the D.C. District Councilors, the District Finance Committee and the county chief were all supposed to be collectively responsible and accountable to the decision on tax assessment. But when the District Commissioner decided to deviate and exonerate himself, people were forced to advance their demands because they thought that they had identified the "real-enemies"-the chiefs. This particular decision to suspend tax payment was the immediate cause of the riots (Adioma, Owino, Owori, OI, 2008).

The above line of argument, therefore, leads us to the conclusion that colonial administration put chiefs in a dangerous position which eventually led to the

1. Lugard's Report on "Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria", 1919, Entebbe National Archives. This was when Lugard released an elaborate scheme that defined the philosophy and mechanisms of indirect rule policy in Africa.

Bukedi riots and the subsequent problems that chiefs faced thereafter. Besides the difficulties and challenges already mentioned, there were others that can be referred to as occupational hazards. As they preoccupied themselves with the task of maintaining law, order and peace, some of the chiefs fell into grave problems beyond their control. For example, in 1949, there was a Parish chief called Dominic Owalagala of Namwendia village who met his fate when he was trying to intervene in a murder case in Mwenge village, Paya sub-county. A team led by Owalagala had gone there to arrest the culprit, Loka Magoma, who had murdered his brother. The murderer entered his house and refused to come out as he tried to resist arrest (Ogwaro, Obonyo, Okoth, OI, 2011). Owalagala, being a courageous chief, entered the murderer's house to catch him by force. Unfortunately, Magoma was well armed with a sharp spear which he used to kill the chief instantly. After killing the chief, Magoma came out of his house, brandishing a deadly spear and ready to strike any person on sight. He particularly targeted the local government guard who was armed with a baton. People ran for their dear lives including the guard. The murderer then sat on the body of the dead chief waiting to be arrested. However, he later on ran to Bungoma in Kenya.

In historical parlance, this scenario can be explained and interpreted in different ways. Owalagala met his death while executing lawful duty on behalf of the colonial state which empowered him using legal and coercive means to do his job. He had been made a village despot, a power to reckon with and probably this was why he got the audacity to enter the murderer's house. If he did not possess the administrative authority, it is possible that he would not even have

reached the scene of the murder. This was one of the most serious incidents that involved a chief in his respective capacity as a servant of the colonial system. In a similar circumstance, a chief called Aron from Morigwang village was also killed on duty when he was on tax operation against defaulters (Dewo, Adongo, Nyamwenge, OI, 2010).

A good number of respondents (FGD with elders in Nabiyoga, Nagongera and Rubongi subcounties, 2010) emphasized that one of the real challenges that chiefs faced was tax collection. Taxation being a compulsory contribution, tax collection was a challenging exercise because of a number of factors. Firstly, most of the chiefs were Protestants by religion and their leadership was brutal and oppressive to the Catholics. Hence when it came to tax operation, mostly carried out at night, chiefs found themselves in vulnerable situation and were easy targets of violence and hooliganism sometimes leading to death. Secondly chiefs were unpopular people, owing to their method of rule which involved forced labour, unfair tax assessment, unlawful arrests and detentions (Personal emphasis added).

Sometimes a person would be arrested and detained then a chief came back to lure his wife into sexual affairs. One chief was netted having sex with the wife of a detained man on the man's bed. Probably, it is this kind of situation that makes Ochieng (1975:102) to note that there were many colonial chiefs who failed to grasp the nature and demands of their offices, and as a result did certain things which brought them into conflict with their people. Consequently, they were swiftly removed or demoted, because of inefficiency, corruption and

tyranny. For the case of Padhola, it was also because of immorality (For a detailed coverage of the Kenyan situation, see Lonsdale J. and Berman B. 1994).

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, we have attempted to analyze the tasks and challenges that chiefs encountered in colonial Padhola. These include their roles in tax collection, enforcement of “development” programmes, promotion of social and welfare development, maintaining peace, law and order and carrying out administrative and judicial junctions. As they performed their functions, chiefs were entitled to specific privileges such as free forced labour, the “Rwooth” status which gave them a range of entitlements including gifts from the “subjects”, as well as protection and security. We have also highlighted that all these privileges and the prestige they had were part of the colonial package that accrued to these people as servants of the colonial state.

The chapter has also examined the challenges faced by these chiefs. These ranged from the contradictory and ambivalent positions they occupied in local administration to occupational hazards and risks associated with their duties. Nevertheless, chiefs offered commendable services in local government administration, most of them performed their duties diligently and tried hard to protect their positions. Their contribution in the whole process of underdevelopment of Padhola should therefore, be seriously underlined.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 THE IMPACT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION ON WESTBUDAMA COUNTY 1900-1962

5.1 Overview

This chapter examines the impact of colonial local government administration on Padhola community. A number of theories have been advanced to explain the impact of colonialism on Africa by non-economic historians such as Hallet 1980; Ake 1996 and Rodney 1972, among others. They see European enterprise in Africa as exploitative, meaning that it laid the foundation for the underdevelopment economies. On the contrary, the colonialists see their activities in Africa at the time as being extremely rewarding, that it enhanced development of African states (Helleiner, 1996). This line of argument can be linked to the fact that it was colonialism that initiated the establishment of schools, churches, health centers, feeder roads, cotton production for cash and the money economy to replace barter trade among others.

Obinta (2012:804) however, documents that the primary purpose of Europeans in Africa was precisely commerce and all other gestures of altruism were in pursuit of this purpose. This is why colonialism which some times also means imperialism, refers to the policy by which one country acquires full control or partial control over another country, occupying it with settlers and exploiting it economically. This has often involved killing or subjugating the indigenous population. It also involves legitimatizing the occupation of a territory, its

political domination and its economy by a foreign nation. It is against this background that this chapter seeks to examine the impact of local government administration on Padhola community. The aim is to develop a balanced appraisal of the essence of colonialism and its implication for the resultant post-colonial situation (For details, see Karl Marx, 1978).

The chapter also draws a strong assertion that the preeminent interest of colonialism in Africa was to convert Africa's economy to dependent status upon those of the metropolitan countries. This process subsequently led to the orbit of the global capitalist economy (Heldring and Robinson, 2013; Museveni, 1998; for details, also see Hopkins, 1973).

5.2 The Economy

Scholars have expounded on the negative effects of colonialism on the colonized peoples of Africa and beyond. Dependency theories such as Gunder Frank argue that colonialism leads to the net transfer of wealth from the colonized to the colonizer and inhibits successful economic development. Frantz Fanon, Sedar Senghor among others observe that colonialism does political, psychological and moral damage to the colonized. The pitfalls of colonialism are therefore, glaring enough especially in the styles of administration adopted by the imperial power¹ (Gunder, 1995; Fanon, 1968; Rodney, 1982).

1. Obinta, R.F. (2012: 808); informs us that one of the lessons that post-colonial African countries could learn from their colonial past was the fact that political independence has not fully translated itself into true economic independence. The pace of development had been slow, leading to Odinga's Not Yet Uhuru, (Odinga, 1968: 312315).

As part of Lugard's Dual Mandate, the British found it expedient to introduce peasant production in Uganda as opposed to the plantation agriculture. The reason was that it was cheap and the system could sustain itself by producing its own labour and implements from income. A class of collaborators was recruited to maintain law and order. Transport problem was solved by completing the Uganda Railway which subsequently linked Uganda with international capitalist economy (Mamdani, 1996).

In the same year, the British Cotton Growing Association was formed, followed by the introduction of cotton itself in Padhola in 1903 (Brett, 1973:220). In this way, Padhola was itself linked to the wider capitalist system whose center was situated in the most advanced parts of Europe. Oral sources recount with bitterness the degree of brutality and coercion that chiefs used in order to enforce cotton production. Indeed they had to employ force because cotton was an alien crop whose values were not yet known by the people and its prices were not determined by the producers (Olengo, Athieno, OI, 2007; Brett, 1973).

Writing on this subject, Kiwanuka (1973:320-21) explains:

The job of the African was to grow crops which were bought at prices fixed by the government. Price fixing was usually the result of the influence upon the government by Indians and European traders. Thus, the price of cotton paid to the African farmers was some times so low that the farmer lost interest and the acreage decreased considerably.

Hence, life of the peasant farmer in Padhola was dominated by frustration, hopelessness and molestation by colonial authorities. Respondents agreed that people used the money from cotton to pay fees, buy manufactured goods and

also consumable goods like meat especially during the festive periods. However, even the prices of the manufactured goods were fixed by the traders who shifted most of their business burden to the retail consumers.

Anyoya, Omolo and Othieno (OI, 2008) also pointed out that they did not abandon food crop production. In fact the colonial government encouraged and enforced production of foods such as millet, bananas, potatoes, cassava and beans, some of which were intercropped with cotton. By this arrangement, the economy of Padhola was being restructured to reflect relations of both capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production. The process was however, not only taxing but also painful and distressing to the community because it was being injected coercively using force exerted by chiefs (Mamdani, 1999: 46-7). Mamdani further explains that in 1925, when there were many complaints about forced cotton cultivation, the government, through the Orms by-Gore Commission maintained that people should not be forced into cotton production. They were instead to be encouraged to choose between growing cotton and providing their labour for government or for planters. Staying idle was however, discouraged.

However, our main concern in this chapter is the long term impact of cotton production as an economic activity had on the community of Padhola. Indeed, the whole episode was extremely detrimental to the future of Padhola. The dilemma is clearly reiterated by Geller (1986:137) when he observes that although colonial economic policies clearly stimulated economic growth, the growth was often achieved at the expense of indigenous population. This is

because colonialism meant the expropriation of traditional communal lands, the transformation of many Africans into uprooted and poorly paid rural and urban proletariat.¹

For the case of Padhola, it tied the peasants into cotton production while giving them little time to engage in selling their labour resources in the urban sectors. A sub-county chief while addressing his tax payers at Petta Primary School in 1948 passed the following information.

Every person must have at least two acres of cotton gardens. This is not out order, but we are merely enforcing order from the D.C. My chiefs will start moving around to see that you obey this command.²

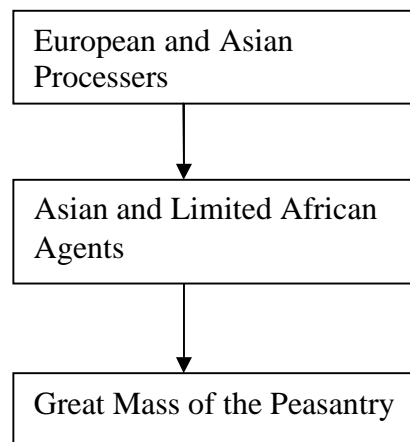
Here, the chief was demonstrating the coercion with which cotton production was enforced in Padhola. It also underlines Myint's vent-for-surplus model that explains the development of cash/export crops in tropical Africa (Myint, 1971). The model explains that colonial or the international trade, masterminded by the colonial administration, was the overriding factor in the development of the domestic commodity market. Myint further argues that all the British colonial territories were considered as sources of primary commodities for British industries as well as markets for British merchandise. Railways, harbors and roads were all constructed to ease movement of goods and services.

1. Egbefor (2012:617), writing on the same subject in Esanland of Edo state, Nigeria, notes that the exploitation of the agricultural and mineral resources of Africa, and the quest for trade were the bases for imperialism. In Esanland, like in Padhola it meant the intensification of production of Palm produce for export purpose. Akpan (2012: 731-733) reiterates the same observation while discussing the economic impact of colonialism in Africa. He points out that the British cash crop economy was a change from subsistence economy, which also meant the expansion and improvement of the crop cultivation of major agricultural crop as cash earners, organized farming methods, encouragement of foreign private farms, etc.

2. Address by the sub-county chief of Kisoko, at Petta Primary School, 1st -Oct-1948, Kisoko District Archives. These routine movements of chiefs escorted by armed local guards who were sometimes referred to as "Ogwang Gweno", (meaning wild animal that catch chickens) was feared by tax payers because they would always go away with some "catches" of culprits. Some people would even take to their heels away from vicinity.

The attitude portrayed by the sub-county chief above was therefore, in line with right wing indirect rule proponents who recognize the necessity of maintaining the authority of the local rulers who acted as agents to run local administration (Nottingham and Rosberg, 1966:85). They were rewarded with privileges enjoyed by their colonial bosses. However, these chiefs became ready targets of conflicts that emanated from the system. This is largely because conflict is always an integral and inseparable part of the indirect rule system of governance. The subordinate position of Africans within the colonial economic system was also maintained by discouraging African competitors in the modern capitalist sectors of the economy. Thus, European import/export companies and banks thwarted the development of modern African entrepreneurial class (Geller, 1996:138).

Oral respondents (FGD, Oburu, Onderi, Japian, Omolo, Owino, 2009) remorsefully described this process of underdevelopment by recalling how they saw the Indian middlemen taking away their cotton at low prices. Having been denied the lucrative sectors, some of them succumbed to position of servitude as casual laborers, purchasing agents and cotton inspectors- those who ensured that good cotton did not contain “fifi”- stained and rotten cotton. Using Brett’s typology, the relationship in the rural areas became rigidified as shown in the figure overleaf.

Figure 4: The Economic Relations in the Rural Areas

Source: Brett (1973:294-300).

The elders interviewed above further expressed their concerns, that they did not only have the money to operate business, they also realized that they were cleverer and even more educated than some of the Asians. The only problem was the opportunity that was denied them to participate in the free market system. As part of the strategy of keeping the Africans perpetually underdeveloped, the colonial powers also monopolized economic activities, thus, preventing the rise of an indigenous entrepreneurial class. For example, in West Africa, Sir Tabman Goldie managed to eliminate Africans from the lucrative Niger trade by imposing taxes that Africans could not afford. In the export trade, Africans were strongly discouraged by charging them more export fees than Europeans (Ehrlich 1965; Heldring and Robinson, 2012).

In the capitalist system, contradictions could not be concealed any further. People naturally and spontaneously started protesting bitterly, leading to

formation of cooperative societies whose branches were established and scattered in various parts of Padhola, especially from the beginning of the 1940s. These cooperative societies later on provided useful fora through which people articulated their collective concerns against the colonial system. On this point, Brett (1973) observes:

This was very clear of Uganda politics in the forties, when the riots of 1949 were directly related to marketing and pricing policies, and where the Uganda Farmers Union began an attempt to fight the expatriate monopoly and ended up as the Uganda National Congress committed to the elimination of the colonial state.

This means that people were tired of being marginalized on the basis of race right in their own country hence, the emergence of an effective opposition that was to challenge the activities of the colonial state.

Another scholar, Green (2011) while writing on Indirect Rule and Colonial Intervention in Nyasaland, identifies yet another aspect of contradiction of Colonial Rule. He notes that from the 1920s onwards, colonial administration increasingly intervened in farming methods lacking major technological and institutional changes. For this purpose, they used chiefs to disseminate information and propaganda. In this way, indirect rule became the solution whereby development could be achieved without disrupting traditional community. Commercial agriculture was encouraged and capitalist relations of production were encouraged.

The long term effect of colonial administration under chiefly rule in Padhola therefore, retarded meaningful economic development geared toward the community rather than the Metropolitan Country- Britain. Tribal identities were constructed at district level, customary laws were promulgated, all these were geared toward exaggerating the powers of the colonial state. As people became polarized along tribal, clan and religious lines, there were ideological changes away from liberal and market- oriented policies towards social- conservative ideas of protecting rural Africans from modernity. The implication of this kind of development was that people remained ideologically myopic and development phobia. As the colonial state siphoned the resources, people were made to fight one another along tribal, clan and religious bases (Peer discussion, 2013).

Mutibwa (1992:8) reinforces this line of argument by asserting that the Asians, formed a privileged class acting as middlemen between Europeans and Africans. They later dominated both the rural and urban trade, a situation which angered local people because it blocked their own efforts to run small businesses. It was to these Indians that peasants pawned the whole of their crops in exchange for money for school fees and basic necessities. However, it was the Asian control of the coffee-curing and cotton ginning processes which first inspired discontents of Africans, especially in Uganda, where riots in 1945 and 1949 were directed against Indian businessmen and chiefs. The same riots were carried out in Padhola in 1960 against the Indians and African chiefs.

The Jupadhola welcomed the cooperative movement as a way of joining the group of active nationalism. This kind of development was usually sporadic and spontaneous and took the colonial system by surprise. It was a normal development in the sense that when capitalism reaches the imperialist and monopolistic stage, its hidden contradictions come out glaringly and inevitably. Writing on this point, Oliver and Atmore (1994: 147) elaborate that,

...However, in the long run, the missionaries unconsciously were teaching the Africans to weigh, judge and criticize the influence of Europe from within. Later on, they aspired not to take back the societies to the pre-colonial situation, but to capture the institutions that were brought by colonialism from the colonizers... to capture power of leadership.

In Padhola, therefore, the first eloquent and active political agitators were the Mission products who were engaged in cooperative movements, the teaching service, the police force and the local government clerks and workers. From the sale of cotton, people paid taxes. This came as a result of the introduction of the money economy. It is true there was some form of taxation in Padhola in the pre-colonial time when people would provide gifts to their ruler. However, this time, it was connected with income from cotton. The lives of the people therefore, depended on money to buy goods they did not produce and could only acquire using money (Kasfir, 1984; Odoi, 1992).

While demonstrating the permanent and perpetual aspects of European domination in Africa, Ebine (2013: 798) emphasizes that from the colonial period till date in contemporary Africa, the dubious military connection between France and most of her colonies is not only a legacy of colonialism, but a

continuation of direct rule. For example, French colonial exploitation is well narrated in the example of Guinea by Walter Rodney (1982) as he shows that the colonial master exploited the resources of the colonies with impunity for the development of the home country. This explains the reason for the uneven development in the countryside. In Bukedi district in Uganda, there were separate quarters reserved for the Europeans and other high-ranking civil servants. This was known and has still remained as “Senior Quarters”, well facilitated with splendid infrastructures. In other places, one would hardly get even a borehole for water (Eweriebor, 2002).

It may be justifiable to suggest in the whole commercial relationship between the Jupadhola and the British colonial government, that it was the latter which was the major beneficiary. The other major beneficiaries were the Indian middlemen and the co operative societies rather than the petty community producers who shouldered the whole process of production. The British clearly maximized their benefits to the disadvantage of the local people. This was largely because it was a relationship between two unequal partners: one that toiled to produce the cash crop and the other that bought the crop at prices fixed by themselves¹ (Odey, 2012:655; Zeropwanzor, 2012).

Field surveys also revealed significant data on the marketing of cotton whose process impacted negatively on the Jupadhola.

(Oketcho, Owino, Sunday, OI, 2009) narrated that the whole exercise was dominated by the Indian traders who had by this time, settled in Nagongera trading center where they established shops and cotton ginnery. They processed the raw cotton and exported it through Mombasa to foreign markets. The major

transport facility was the Uganda Railway that passes through Nagongera from Mombasa to Kampala.

There was a deliberate policy enacted from above, that discouraged the local entrepreneurs from competing with the Indians. A good number of local traders and farmers could actually afford to buy cotton from peasants but there was a stiff policy that stopped them from doing so. Besides, the Asians obtained huge loans from the colonial government for buying the crop. This systematic control and monopolistic marketing incapacitated the development of local entrepreneurs (Leys, 1996; Afiong, 1980; Brett, 1973).

5.3 Taxation Policy

After the establishment of colonial rule in Padhola, the colonial state began a systematic policy of re-organizing the area to serve British interests. There were therefore, deliberate steps taken towards the imposition and consolidation of a new economic and social structure. Two of such measures included the introduction of colonial currency and subsequent imposition of taxation on the community (Agaba, 2012:686). Concurrent with the consolidation of the “Pax Britanica”, tax assessment and taxation together with its collection continued to be a source of continuous conflict between the Jupadhola and the British colonial state machinery.

1. On this subject, Igwe (2012: 743), quotes Lugard while outlining British colonial policy that, “We in our colonial policy, as fast as we acquire new territory and develop it, develop it as we trusteeship for commerce of the world”, meaning development of free trade. However, in practice, goods from other parts of the world were prevented from entering British territories in Africa.

Here we are looking at taxation as a compulsory transfer of money or goods and services from private individuals, institutions or groups to the government. It may be levied on wealth or income or in the form of purchase on prices. In essence therefore, colonial taxation involved the extraction of direct taxes from indigenous communities by the colonial chiefs (Agaba, 2012). Interviews conducted with elders in Kirewa, Nabiyoga and Rubongi sub-counties confirmed that there were some elements of taxation in pre-colonial Padhola but it was voluntary and did not involve cash. It only involved giving some part of someone property to a chief or elder as a mark of respect and offered out of good will (Okoth, Opendi, Okola and Ofwono, OI, 2009).

The colonial taxation on the other hand involved assessment and coercive measures to enforce its payment. This is because revenue was needed to finance colonial administration and also to ensure the supremacy of the British authority in Padhola. As an economic policy, taxation proved to be a terrible experience that forced a good number of people to flee out of the region to escape the wrath of tax collectors. Some of these people were prompted to settle outside Padhola permanently up to date. Chiefs adopted crude and arbitrary assessment methods that subjected the tax payers to immense frustrations. Citing examples from West Africa, among the Idoma community, Agaba (2012: 697) further observes that:

Considerable degree of violence was adopted whereby a poor man who could not pay his tax was made to lie down on his back facing the sun without blinking... Adolescents had their pubic checked in public and the presence of pubic hair was regarded as evidence of adulthood.

This method was not only faulty but also extremely degrading. It suffices to note that the colonial government was probably not aware of the fact that sometimes people defaulted on tax payment due to conditions beyond their control. For example, as a result of poor harvest of cotton resulting from natural catastrophe such as heavy storms with hailstones, or the international dilemma of the Great Depression, meant that the peasant found it hard to raise the money to pay the tax. In this way, the peasant became a victim of the vagaries of the international economy. No wonder in Padhola, taxation was one of the causes of the riots of 1960.

Taxation also affected gender distribution of labour in people's households. Taxes were mainly paid by men and grown up boys. As a result, cotton came to be identified with males because it was produced mainly to raise money to pay taxes. Women were therefore, engaged in food crop production, such as millet, potatoes, cassava, beans, peace and round nuts. Unlike these days, all these food crops we produced specifically for subsistence (Opendi, Oketcho and Obbo, OI, 2008).

5.4 Political Impact

The political impact should be considered first and foremost, in respect to Kakungulu's arrival in Padhola in 1901, a situation which witnessed Kakungulu raiding Majanga's headquarters at Senda. Majanga was defeated by Kakungulu's superior forces, arrested, and imprisoned in Jinja where he later

died in 1905 (Traddle, 1993: 160) Hence, the first immediate effect of colonial local government was the tampering with the indigenous political institution and replacing it with the colonial structure. Immediately after Kakungulu's defeat, Padhola, like other parts of Uganda, was parceled out into Kiganda type of administration in which Baganda chiefs were appointed to head. Accordingly, Traddle notes that:

Kakungulu spent about a week campaigning against the Jupadhola around the close of 1901. The first day was occupied fighting against the Jupadhola (Badama) from morning till evening, second day constructing a fort at Nagongera....

This is clear evidence that the destruction of Padhola political leadership was a foregone conclusion and the resultant administrative demarcations initiated remained in place permanently. This was a significant underdevelopment because the Jupadhola were robbed off their symbol of unity in the person of Majanga. Even the traditional leadership that used to prevail through the system of elders was seriously weakened. When they finally regrouped in the 1930s, they had to dance to the tone of the new colonial administrative structure.

The Jupadhola, like other politically decentralized communities in Uganda had already attained a substantial degree of civilization and were moving steadily toward political transformation that was to lead them into a centralized political system. Burke (1964: 182) supportively observes as follows:

It seems evident that even before the arrival of the British, the segmented Padhola were moving toward a more centralized and decentralized political system wherein the concept of

territorially based political authority was gradually replacing kinship. The catalytic agents into this evolutionary process emerged in the guise of the supernatural leader, Majanga...who was well on his way to establishing a unified Budama when the Baganda arrived on the scene.

This line of argument is clear testimony that the colonial invasion dealt a serious blow to Padhola's political structure. This is largely because colonialism represented a superior and advanced political force with a much superior military stamina. This intervention later on led to radical political transformations in Padhola (Leander and Robinson, 2013). Colonialism not only blocked further political development, but indirect rule system made local elites less accountable to their citizens. This kind of development led in the long run, to preponderance of predatory rulers. Scholars further observe that there is little evidence today to support the argument that any country in today's third world is more developed because it was colonized by the Europeans (Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2011).

Writing on the negative effects of indirect rule on Africans, (Zeropwnzor, 2012), draws our attention to the effect that though indirect rule was considered a more human system of local administration compared to the direct system used by France, there were numerous problems with indirect rule in both theory and practice. Ultimately, the system was hopelessly flawed. In this system, Lugard proposed to leave management of African colonies to Africans, subject to the laws and policies of the British colonial staff. This was mainly because it was assumed that European culture could not be adopted by Africans, because they were inferior people. This stereotypical attitude and approach jeopardized the entire success of the system right from the on set.

In Padhola, this claim about the inferiority of Africans was used in many instances to justify the many cases of violation of human rights that occurred under the rule of chiefs. For example, the Baganda chiefs under Semei Kakungulu molested women in Mulanda and Petta in 1905, crushed pots of beer being consumed by people and grabbed people to indiscriminate torture. Even the New Men-the locally recruited Padhola chiefs also committed these atrocities with impunity, such as brutal arrests and detention without trial, unfair assessment of taxes without due consultation and corruptive tendencies. This means that the colonial state was not primarily concerned with promoting the concerns of the people who were considered to be “less advanced”. The cumulative effect of all these was blatant exploitation of both the mental and physical resources of the area (FGD: Nyaketcho, Nyafono, Opendi, Abbo and Dewo, 2011).

For the case of Padhola, oral sources further agreed that indeed colonialism blocked further political development. They give the examples of the disappearance of the predominance of Nyapolo Ogule clan under Majanga, the core political sovereignty which was destroyed and the tempo of progressive social relations were also reduced if not shattered completely (Okach, Oyo and Nyafono, OI, 2009). In a peer discussion with colleagues (Okware and Onyango, 2010), issues were raised to the effect that the clan system which was the core of pre-colonial leadership was not destroyed by the onslaught of colonialism. Instead it remained intact and later adopted itself to the modern

local government hierarchy. Each clan today has a line of leaders whose powers are parallel to the local government system.

However, the view taken in this chapter concurs with those of the Dependency theorists such as Gunder, Fanon, Sedar Senghor among others. These scholars stress the view that colonialism did political, psychological and moral damage to the colonized. The researcher is of the view that this was the case in Padhola where the clan leadership that continued to flourish was grossly inferior and subservient to the colonial local government structure which was manned by chiefs. These chiefs were empowered by legal apparatus to execute their duties without favour or fear of any other authority.

Padhola chiefs, like those others in other parts of colonized Africa, used the administrative powers entrusted to them to undertake arbitrary and unlawful arrests and detention without regard to the rule of law and natural justice. In all these activities, traditional rulers were rendered powerless to intervene, lest they fell victims of the same treatment (Ebine, 2012, 7934).

Writing on the French colonial system in West Africa, the same scholar reports that the system was autocratic, despotic and exploitative. The situation explains why traditional rulers in the colonized territories are irrelevant till today, largely because the colonial regimes relegated them to the background as useless political units. It is true in Padhola, that some of these traditional and opinion leaders were invited by the local judicial system to give their opinion on sensitive cases such as incest, murder, rape, adultery and land conflicts.

However, in principle, these fellows did not have a final verdict which was reserved for the judicial system proper and the Resident District Commissioner.

Perhaps, to demonstrate another element of contradiction, when cotton was introduced as a cash crop, colonial administration through chiefs, encouraged people to stay around at home as they produced cotton for export. At the same time however, they were expected to move out to sell their labour in plantations and industries as migrant workers (Tordoff, 1997). This policy had disintegrating effect because people were denied chances to advance freely and swiftly into the modern sector, a fact which prompted people to have one leg in the rural areas and the other in the urban centers. The fact is that people feared to lose the loyalty and servitude of the colonial power while at the same time they were supposed to be loyal to their chiefs. Besides, the chiefs on their part, were supposed to work independently and yet in principle, their powers were subordinated to those of the district authorities, leave alone the fact that they were alienated from their people (Ochieng, Okello, Peer Discussion, 2009).

However, as elsewhere in colonial Uganda, a new class of people emerged as a distinct group that obtained their material survival from the modern sector, and yet were seriously limited from both vertical and horizontal mobility. They were also kept in low profile, earning meager incomes. Later on, it was members of this group that became politically radicalized and politically problematic to the colonialists (Peer Discussion, Kyambogo University, 2009). The same group began to spearhead social transformations by agitating for expansion and establishment of schools, dispensaries, improved health and sanitation, improved condition for industrial workers and peasants and higher prices for

cotton. Archival investigations retrieved documentary evidence to this effect showing the County chief Safania Ochieng instructing his people to take their children to school because it was through formal education that Padhola would move forward with other parts of Bukedi and Uganda as a whole¹ (Eweriebor, 2002).

5.5 Administrative Changes and Effects

Due to the ethnic, religious and partisan diversity of the district, the colonial authorities decided to establish the Appointment Board which was relatively free from all those forces in order to ensure ethnic equity in public employment. It was also found imperative that staff had to be recruited on the universalistic criteria of training and explicit capability. However, the scheme failed because of the parochial nature of most people in Bukedi. They denounced the process as biased and corrupt.¹

The problem was that the counties corresponded with particular ethnic groups that could sometimes fail to raise someone eligible for top administrative posts in the district headquarters. In such a situation, a whole ethnic group would fail to be represented in the decision making fora. The board system was, therefore, eventually abolished.² The Jupadhola also complained seriously over the above issue. For instance, in 1962, the D.P. Catholic leader, Orach, tried in vain to press for a separate Budama district on the argument that most of the

1. Ref. 45/ADM., 25th-3-1955, West Budama Archives, Kisoko County Headquarters. This call was however, seriously taken up mainly by chiefs and members of the Protestant faith, a situation that later saw local government administration being dominated by Protestants.

administrative posts were filled by people from Samia and Bunyole counties, and that 45% of the revenue collected was spent on these counties. However, this was mere political radicalism because the remaining 55% of the tax was spent on the remaining counties.³

After the riots, chiefs ceased to have influential roles in decision making process. Councils became democratized, at district level, emphasis drifted from county to district and the nationalists assumed the role of spokesmen of the people through political parties. Relationship between chiefs and the people remained poor because the experience of the riots was still fresh in the memory of the chiefs. One of the ways through which chiefs revenged on their enemies was during implementation of development programmes that involved forced labour. During the discussion, Chief Obadia Ochwo accepted that this was the time he remembered his property which was destroyed by therioters; that he used his whip mercilessly.

This forced one tax payer, Obwaga Zaker of Kidera to compose a song against Obadia's brutality (Ogwaro, Obbo, Ochieng and Ofwono, OI, 2009).

At this juncture, we need to point out that the British, in their implementation of the policy of indirect rule in Africa, had to face a number of social- political and economic challenges.

1. Secretary General to Bukedi District, F.N. 2095/ADM/BK, Tororo District Archives. Pararchical in the sense that some ethnic groups generally lacked adequate literacy and could not comprehend most political processes.

2. Bukedi District Council Minute 116/1962, Tororo District Archives. Same explanation applies here.

3. Orach's letter to Secretary General, Bukedi, 4th-May, 1962, F.N. 2092/ADM/BK, Tororo District Archives. Orach was a radical Catholic who always found it hard to see any sense in what the Protestant-oriented colonial government was trying to do. Hence, he was always in opposition to colonial government policies.

This therefore, demanded the need to recognize their political strategies in the administration process.

It was however, unfortunate that the British tried in vain to create homogenous British styled administrative systems in communities that were far different in political, social and economic backgrounds (Peer Discussion, Kyambogo Univ, 2010). For the case of Padhola, the colonial state never took the trouble to understand the cultural orientation of the community they were ruling. They took people for granted, even their locally recruited chiefs took their own people for granted without understanding the psychological and philosophical fabric of the society. As a result, they faced violent oppositions the climax of which was the Bukedi riots of 1960. Decisions were therefore, taken haphazardly and emotionally without due consultation with the stake holders (Peer Discussion, 2010; Eweriebor, 2002).

To compound it all was the imperialist objective of the British government in London which was interested in exploiting resources in the colonies but was unwilling to release funds for colonial administration. Hence the administrators on the ground were thrown in a dilemma, which was partly sorted out by trying to raise funds locally through taxation. It also forced them to rely on locally recruited chiefs to shoulder the problem of local administration. However, in practice, it became difficult to convince the communities about the rationale of collecting taxes after realizing that the whole move was geared toward exploitation of their resources. Naturally, they started responding negatively by becoming defiant against the chiefs. The riots that took place in Petta and

Mulanda in 1905 in Padhola were clearly instructive in this direction (Green, 2011).

Basing on these mistakes and challenges and especially after the violent oppositions put up by the Jupadhola peasantry, the British colonial state had to come up with positive changes. They realized that the Jupadhola, like those others in other parts of Uganda and Africa at large, could also demonstrate their provocation under certain inevitable circumstances. As a result of these concerns, every where the organization and reorganization of the colonial state were a response to a central and overriding question, the “native question” (Mamdani, 2012).

Report of Commission of Inquiry (par 5) shows that it was recommended that the District Commissioner be divested of his powers over district council meetings by refraining him from attending them. This means that Padhola chiefs’ actions were to be sanctioned by council institution. The aim was to avoid the personal prerogatives of chiefs which had accumulated for a long time. By this new arrangement (Report, par. 131) chiefs no longer bore the full burden of administration.

It was also realized that the 1960 riots in part, reflected the frustrations of peasants with the situation that neglected their opinions in important matters such as taxation. It was also recommended that more staff be recruited at district level in order to connect the D.C. with the people. A sub-committee of the district council was to be set up to supervise assessment of taxes, after which it

was passed by the District Council that chiefs were not allowed to exert any pressure or threat of it on tax payers. The notorious quota system was also abolished forthwith. However, the D.C. still had powers to revise an assessment schedule and with these changes, tax began to reflect the tax payers' capability to pay.

Paulo Magala (OI, 2009) observed that in principle taxes were not reduced because besides the assessed amount, there was the taxation levy of forty five shillings. In fact, the amount of money received from taxation increased. This is because after the riots, stringent measures were taken in tax assessment and collection which eventually acted to the advantage of the tax payers. Improvements were also realized in other sectors, such as development projects. Oral sources (Okwiri, OI, 2008) contend that as a result, the government embarked on improving health services. This was when various dispensaries were established throughout Padhola through the able leadership of James Ochola who represented Padhola in Parliament.¹ From 1962 onwards, the government also decided to improve the quality and quantity of cotton by encouraging people to use scientific methods such as planting the crop in straight lines and proper spacing in general. Inputs like insecticides and sprayer pumps were loaned to the peasants on hire purchase basis through the cooperative societies (South Bukedi Cooperative archives, Tororo). Dams were dug with government aid in order to provide drinking water for livestock.

1. Writing on a related aspect, Ogot (1960) provides a detailed coverage of the experience of the Central Nyanza Province of Kenya, 1900-1960. It also involved proper auditing of education expenditure in the district.¹

Veterinary extension services were spread throughout Padhola by building dips in strategic areas and availing the services of veterinary assistants to provide service delivery (Okwiri, Petelina, Alowo, OI, 2010).

This was also when government started vigorous health and sanitation campaigns through health workers and the chiefs, by setting prizes for those sub-counties which won. Besides, the people of Padhola (Ofwono, OI, 2010) reaped significant benefits in the social sector as a result of the riots in particular and also contact with colonial local government in general, as elaborated below.

5.6 Social Effects

One of the reasons that prompted the 1960 riots was mismanagement of education funds which had been unfairly imposed on the tax payers, assessed separately and even after its collection, was misappropriated in those areas very remote from education. Hence, at the lower level, the tax payer did not have much to gain. After the riots, members of the commission recommended that the District Council should direct the proceeds of taxation into the fields of Primary education through the Education Authority. The education tax was also amalgamated to graduated tax because it was found to be unwise to separate them. The District Commissioner began to take tighter measures to ensure proper accountability of education expenditure in the district councils as in other

The riots were followed by a significant increase in cotton production, encouraged by the liberal and fair distribution of education tax. This was when

parents threatened even to walk naked in order to spare money to pay fees for their children. The reason was that they had received a fair share of humiliation at the hands of chiefs who had received formal education. It was also realized that poor people's children performed far much better than those from rich homes.

The riots also led to migrations of people out of Padhola to various places. The reason being that taxation had become a fait accompli and no one could dodge paying it (Acetamaglu, Chaves, Kwaako and Robinson, 2013). So, people ran away as migrant workers and some of them ended up settling in places like Bugerere and Busoga for good. Others paid the graduated tax from there and only came back with tickets together with fees and other assortment of domestic ware. Besides separating families, thereby distorting gender relations in peoples' homes, the migrations also seriously affected the demographic structure of Padhola society (Okwiri, Obbo, OI, 2009). Most people ran away especially in 1960 because they were escaping being arrested after the riots. There was a case of Donato Okwiri who accepted having participated in the riots because he was motivated by personal hatred against his sub-parish chief. Hence, like many others, if he did not escape, he would be arrested and imprisoned under the influence of that chief. This kind of resistance was not the first of its kind in Uganda. In Kigezi, Murindwa (1991:130) observes:

It is important to note that there were other various forms of resistance, which were not under the Nyabingi movement. These included crossing both internal and external borders, with all their property for new settlement.

From other parts of Africa, Asiwaju (1977:31), writing about protest against colonial rule in West Africa, states:

Whether someone left his home voluntarily or otherwise, he left in protest. And because of this, the armed form of resistance that often claims the attention of writers, was not the only aspect of resentment pressed by Africans... Protest migration constituted an important element of effective revolts which took place in many parts of Africa during colonial rule.

For the case of Padhola, where people crossed mainly internal boundaries, these were serious forms of resistance to colonial oppression. In order to have a better perspective of the social impact of colonial rule, it is necessary to analyze the mark left by Christian religion, as seen below.

5.7 The Effects of Christian Religion

Christianity spread slowly but surely and by 1930, it had already entrenched itself very securely throughout most parts of Padhola. It was also established that Christianity was introduced in Padhola, among others, to replace the

indigenous religions, a task which was not fully achieved. The efforts made by Christian teachings (Yoga, Ajwang, Apenda, OI, 2008) at first registered some successes because many people embraced the new faith with enthusiasm. But generally in principle and from historical perspectives, traditional religious practices never got destroyed but ran parallel to the new faith. For example, when people were baptized, their last names remained intact, while the other was Christian. Besides, the traditional Gods of the Jupadhola, “Were” and

“Nyakiriga” continued to be significant. As people joined Christianity, they continued to worship their traditional gods. Besides, on top of Christian names, sir names remained traditional, for example Oketh Joseph, Ogola Yokana, Obbo Jackson etc (FGD, Morikiswa, 2011; Refer to Photograph 2.1).

Tiberondwa (1998:10-12) notes that when the missionaries and the colonialists arrived in Uganda, they converted some Africans, especially the chiefs and other influential people to the new religion and condemned the medicine men and women and herbalists whom they labeled “witch doctors”. They regarded the worshipping of traditional gods as “primitive” and “superstitious” and discouraged the wearing of certain ornaments which were regarded as “native”. However, in Padhola, there were those who called themselves Christians in public while privately they believed in magic and made frequent visits to “witch doctors” (Yoga, Apio, Agat, OI, 2005). This means that they had one leg in Christianity and the other in their traditional religion.

Christianity, therefore, introduced divided loyalty, a new culture which is a mixture of both the traditional and the Christian ways, a development that constitutes a significant impact on the community of Padhola in the sense that it led to social transformation, in which people adopted new values. These notwithstanding, it should not be forgotten that the divided loyalty was further entrenched by the antagonistic nature of the relations between Catholic and Protestant Missionaries themselves right from Europe. Mention has already been made of the bad relations between Catholics and Protestants in Padhola (Ogola 1993: 124-125) which partly caused the Bukedi riots of 1960. Christianity

therefore, permanently divided Padhola community into two hostile camps. Hence, this kind of division that did not lead to progressive transformation was and should be termed underdeveloping Padhola (Supplemented with FGD, Paya Trading center, 2010; Refer to Photograph 2.7).

The researcher further established that during colonial rule and even after, it was not easy for a Catholic to marry a Protestant. Pupils could be made to walk several kilometers to access a primary school of their parents' faith. When active nationalist politics started, people were divided between the Democratic Party (D.P) for Catholics and the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) for Protestants. Marriages could be broken because of the same reasons. There was a case of a prominent lady (Ochieng, OI, 2011) who was even one of the first active women political activists (Refer to Photograph 2.2) who reacted very violently because her daughter got married to a Protestant! When the marriage proceeded by force, she swore not to reach her daughter's home till she died. No bride price was accepted. In this way, Christianity had two major impacts: that of softening the minds of the people for colonization and dividing people into hostile camps. It was indeed, at par with Lugard's policy of divide and rule.

It is also important to highlight the contribution of Christianity in the field of formal education. Christian Missionaries were the first to introduce formal education provided in schools in order to strengthen the mental control of the people they ruled, to provide them with "superior" culture that would usher them into modernity and civilization. As a result, people obtained literacy as they were encouraged to disown their pre-colonial cultures and customs.

However, in the context of the issue under investigation, Missionaries did a great job to train and pass out educated people who were later on co-opted into local government administration and other sectors of governance. The schools continued to produce people who later on constituted the elite class which later constituted a radical and active group that challenged and spearheaded different sectors of development. Most of the prominent personalities who participated in the riots of 1960, those prominent teachers and civil servants were all products of Missionary education.

The fact that these people later acted in opposition to the colonial state marked a significant aspect of contradiction inherent in imperialism at its moribund stage of capitalism (Lenin, Trans., 1982). This aspect of contradiction was a spontaneous and logical development that was not catered for by the colonialists. Their primary and sole purpose was to exploit the resources of Padhola. All other gestures of altruism such as health centers and roads were all geared toward exploitation. It is true these infrastructures have continued to appear beneficial but we are mainly concerned with the motives behind their initial establishment, which was exploitation. As a result, the fundamental effect is that these were strategies that led to the development of underdevelopment of Padhola.

5.8 Chiefs and Gender Relations

A detailed examination of the impact of chiefs' activities on gender relations is rather beyond the realm of this study. However, it suffices to provide albeit brief

coverage under social impact. This is mainly because Padhola community was a conglomeration of women and men, boys and girls. The term gender is used to mean socially and culturally determined differences between men and women, contrasted with the biological differences determined by nature. In the present context therefore, it means gender relations between men and women as they interacted daily during the colonial period.

Gender relations in pre-colonial Padhola were skewed in favour of men who were engaged in predominately male-oriented tasks that needed physical energy. On the other hand, women were confined to domestic and garden work. They were pushed to the background as men engaged in activities that needed wisdom, physical energy and serious deliberation. All activities, rights and responsibilities were determined by gender, age and status considerations (Ayinebyona, 2011: 32). By the time colonial rule reached Padhola, the Jupadhola were already used to these stereotypical gender relations that emphasized culturally shared beliefs about expected behaviors of individuals. This was the situation in most male-dominated communities across Africa¹ (Ogola, 2014: 236-237).

After establishing administrative structures, the colonial regime empowered chiefs to enforce cotton production using force on men. Tamale (1999: 10) notes that this process marked the systematic introduction of capitalism in Uganda. This also greatly influenced women's and men's relationship to capital. It enhanced men's control over women's labour and women were forced to succumb to an even more embarrassing subordinate position when the new system discouraged them from working for wages. Hence, as men were engaged

in both production of cotton and working for wages, gender relations in those households were greatly altered.

The intensification of female labour in peasant economies confined male labour for the production of cash crops. Women's productive labour was geared toward subsistence production, a situation that subjected women to an economic dilemma. Even the men were equally caught in the same dilemma because they had to cultivate the cash crop in order to meet their tax obligations to the colonial state (Onkware, 2010: 140-141).

Besides, by the time the British took over administration of Uganda in general, they had already formulated a definite ethnocentric perspective on male-dominated politics which completely ignored the contributions of women. Christian Missionaries and colonial administrators brought with them Victorian conceptions concerning the place of women in the society (Hay and Stichter, 1992: 13-14). This explains why the colonial chiefs remained passive because they were employees of these very people who had no respect for women's contributions in society. Besides, chiefs themselves got their wives from the traditional African setting in which women did not get married voluntarily. Instead, they were violently grabbed in village dances or when they went to collect firewood or water from the well. Interestingly, this was taken to be a normal habit, just because of the long term patriarchal system that had for long extended influence over women's lives (Tuyizere, 2007: 135-6; Shibanya, 2001).

These acts or threats of violence in the homes and community perpetuated by chiefs, instilled fear and a sense of insecurity that hindered achievement of equality, development and peace. It also acted as permanent constraint on both vertical and horizontal mobilities of women and limited their access to resources and basic activities (Nyapendi; Alowo, Akech and Nyafono, FGD, 2013).

Sheldon, in “Women and Colonialism” (2008), reinforces this argument when she observes that studies of women’s history during the colonial period often show that they lost power and economic autonomy with the arrival of cash crops and women’s exclusion from the global market. Legal systems under colonialism gave men advantages over women because customary laws were established based on male testimony that disadvantaged women over issues of marriage and divorce. Besides, women’s pre-colonial political activity was generally disregarded by the colonial authorities who turned exclusively to authorities with whom they established local political offices. This explains why Padhola women were not included in the chiefly positions in the local government administration.

Women were therefore, subjected to severe lack of protection to the extent that they took the situation as normal and had to be tolerated.

1. Unmen J.O. (2012: 412-440), has interesting and indepth coverage on this subject. The author provides excellent discussion on the position of women in traditional African society, emphasizing how they were treated as useless beings and “colonized” people by the society. In the same vein, Onkware, K. (2010: 138-147), in “A Philosophical Analysis of the Impossibility of Gender Equality in Society”, argues that may be they can achieve gender fairness but not total gender equality.

A woman would be beaten by her husband, tried to run to the parents only to be driven back because dowry had been paid. Girls would be raped during village dances or when they went to collect firewood, but they had to keep mum because even if they reported, the culprit would never be brought to book (FGD., Apenda, Obbo, Achieng). Padhola women were squeezed between colonial oppression enforced by chiefs and gender oppression, a situation that led to low esteem, lack of initiative, confidence and limiting access to profitable opportunities. It was indeed, gender violence inflicted on one sex because of their sexuality. It included physical, social, political, psychological, administrative and religious violence (Owino (Mrs), OI, 2011; Refer to Photograph 2.6).

It would have been the chiefs to come to the rescue of these women. However, even the chiefs were themselves in precarious situations. Administratively, they were torn between their people they were supposed to serve and the colonial authorities who gave them employment opportunities. Socially, they were forced to consider gender relations in the ethnocentric views of their colonial masters. Worse still, the pre-colonial character of Padhola community was extremely patriarchy oriented and embodying male domination in all sectors.

Oral evidence revealed that chiefs in general and the judicial system in particular did little to protect women against gender based violence which was very rampant in Padhola. In this context, gender based violence is perceived as a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy their

rights and freedom equally with men. It involves the use of force and other ways of causing suffering and pain to a person or people. Gender violence usually aims at keeping women in subordinate and submissive position so as to perpetuate their dependence on men. It is a universal reality that is the result of a historical inequality of power relations between men and women arising from a long time of extended control over women's lives (Mrs. Ofwono, Retired School Teacher, OI., 2010).

Similarly, there were other cases involving domestic violence, rape, forced marriage, and wife beating. In all these instances, men always escaped prosecution because they were protected by the chiefs who did not wish to see men being embarrassed. In the homes of most of these chiefs, where it was common to find more than three wives, women never enjoyed adequate liberty and freedom. Oral sources confirmed that these chiefs even served chicken in their homes. Ironically, most women were exempted by tradition from eating chicken together with other delicacies such as eggs, mud fish (Mamba) in Dhupadhola, ducks and certain parts of cow meat called "Oguro" in Dhupadhola and the milky parts of intestines of cows and goats (Maliza, Loda, Akongo and Mama Fred, FGD, 2011).

There was a case of one man who beat his wife into comma. The matter was taken up by the relatives of the women who caused the arrest of the culprit. During the prosecution, the man alleged that he had beaten his wife because she denied him sexual intercourse, a reason for which he had to punish her very severely. The woman tried in vain to explain that her husband had spent several

days without bathing, always coming back very late in the night, drunk. The explanations notwithstanding, she lost the case because the assessors and the chiefs who presided over the case were all men who believed that a man had total right over sex in his home.¹

Sometimes the case would not be allowed to reach the county courts. The village chiefs, with support of elders would declare such a case so simple that they would handle by themselves. In such a situation, the elders would employ purely patriarchal method by making summary ruling against the woman's complaints. Reliable oral sources involving elderly ladies revealed that they never got married voluntarily, but were grabbed at different times from village dances or when they went to fetch water or firewood.

This was done by energetic men who grabbed them and carried them on their shoulders like goats. Ironically, it was a privilege both for the girl and her parents to be married to a chief even if it meant being the third or fourth wife (FGD, Mrs Oburu, Nyaketcho, Abbo and Akongo, 2012).

Oral sources also demonstrated that chiefs were involved in mobilizing people, women inclusive, for forced labour in public works. Some women tried in vain to protest the exercise, arguing that this was men's work. Such women were subjected to torture and imprisonment for as long as twelve weeks.

1. For example in Padhola land, it has always been a taboo for a woman to try to be stubborn to her husband over sexual affairs. They believed that a woman's "No" is a "Yes", a situation that leads to forced sexual intercourse in most homes. The dowry paid to the woman's parents is partly to "buy" the woman's sexual property.

This was when in March 1959, two women gave birth in the county jail as they served their sentences (FGD, Abbo, Kotilida, Okero, Nyapendi, 2010). In one home, both the man and his wife were detained, leaving their children to suffer at home. It was also established that on every Wednesday, women were required to report for forceful duties that included road works, cleaning the homes of the chiefs and communal planting of food crops (FGD, Ofwono, Okecho, Owori, 2010).

Besides forced labour, many Jupadhola men were recruited as migrant labourers to work in plantations of Asians and Europeans farmers in Buganda, Busoga and sometimes in Bungoma, Kenya (Okoth, 2010). While in these places, they were paid meager wages that could not be saved to cater for domestic obligations back at home. Married men were forced to stay away from their families with no hope of having an effective balance between work place and home. Evidence from elsewhere showed that Padhola women were not alone in this kind of cruelty. In Cameroon, (Hay and Stichter, 1992) document that women were terribly mistreated, especially widows, some of whom were killed or subjected to painful insect bites. In this way, colonial rule, whose policies were implemented at the grassroots level by local government chiefs, put in place changes that seriously tampered with the balance of power within African families.

The views that have been expressed above are however, largely based on the Dependency theorists and their sympathizers who emphasize that no recognition

was given to the status of women either in the economic or the socio-political life colonial administrators (Rodney, 1972). Other scholars however, hold the view that the status of women was enhanced under colonialism. As a result the changes brought about by the colonial rule, from the point of view of African women, cannot be dismissed as solely positive or negative in all African societies. This is because African societies in pre-colonial period differed very significantly in organization, role, structures, socio-political systems, customs and traditions. For the case of Padhola, the study maintains that the predominantly pre-colonial patriarchic nature of the society, with strong stereotypical cultural traditions and customs that were negative to the status of women, local government administration had negative connotations for the status of women. A detailed coverage of this subject is rather outside the realm of this study.¹

5.9 Summary

The chapter has dwelt on the impact of local government administration on the community of Padhola in the colonial period. 1900-1962. It has been established that local government administration with chiefs in the saddle of power at the local level, had significant impact on the community of West Budama (Padhola) County.

1. A detailed coverage can be obtained from the following sources which offer general overview of the impact of colonialism on African women: Berger (2003) is a concise summary which provides a history of the development of African women's history beginning from America in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Hunter (1993) is an early publication that looks at the impact of South African Colonialism on Pondo women. Kanogo (2005) on women in Kenya, and Schmidt (1992) on Shona women in Zimbabwe. It used examples from one place to address a variety of women related issues.

Despite the fact that the colonialists themselves see their enterprise in Africa as largely beneficial to Africa, the study, basing its arguments on the Dependency and Underdevelopment theories, emphasize that the primary purpose of European activities in Africa was economic and all other measures were mere strategies to achieve this goal. As a result, the economies of Africa were rendered dependent on those of the developed countries, a process that subsequently led to exploitation and underdevelopment of the continent.

All these were achieved by the coercive introduction of agricultural cash crop economy; imposition of taxation; monopolistic control of the agricultural marketing sector; dominated by the Asian community; developing the necessary infrastructure and weakening the pre-colonial political institutions. They also established an effective local government system manned by chiefs but largely controlled by colonial agents; improved the welfare of the people and provision of formal education largely with the aid of Christian Missionaries. There is no doubt that all these activities were strategies to exploit the resources of Padhola and thus, leaving behind legacy of permanent state of underdevelopment. It is indeed a past that permanently affects the present and the future.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Overview

This study has used qualitative methodology to investigate chiefs and local government administration in West Budama (Padhola) county in Uganda, 1900-1962. The main thesis is that chiefs played indispensable roles in facilitating colonial local government administration. This explains why they were identified, recruited and appointed into the system of colonial local government by the colonial masters.

6.2 Summary of Findings

After reviewing a number of theoretical paradigms, the study finally decided to use the Dependency and Marxist theory to inform the investigation and analysis. The theory underscores the fact that colonialism was a one handed bandit whose sole aim was to exploit the resources of the African continent. All gestures of positive attributes were strategies that led to unintended benefits that were not catered for. It was established that Bukedi in general and later Padhola in particular, constituted a viable area for colonial exploitation. Deliberate steps were therefore, taken to open up the region. Sir Harry Johnston opted to use Semei Kakungulu who came with his Baganda followers to establish colonial rule in the area.

In response to the trust vested in him as a colonial agent, Kakungulu came headlong to establish and consolidate British colonial rule in Padhola, a task which he accomplished by first defeating Padhola Political leadership under Majanga and later on dividing the area into administrative divisions based on Buganda's model. When Kakungulu and his followers started having problems with the local people, their powers were subsequently reduced by identifying, recruiting and appointing local chiefs to help in local government administration.

Investigations also revealed the important roles played by the Protestant and Catholic Missionaries in the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in Padhola. Besides establishing churches and schools, the Missionaries added their weight in the field of economic transformation by encouraging their converts to grow cotton and undertake colonial developmental projects such as road works and erecting valley dams. Their activities went a long way into humbling the Jupadhola to accept colonial domination and exploitation. However, in the long run, their activities sharply divided the people into two hostile camps of Protestants and Catholics, a division that later on trickled down into the political sector.

Field surveys indicated that the colonial state decided that cotton should be produced at peasantry scale for cash. This development, together with establishment of communication networks, taxation policy and promulgation of a system of local government administration manned by chiefs and councilors,

all these were efforts geared towards effective exploitation of the resources and subsequent underdevelopment of Padhola.

After accomplishing the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule, the colonial state went ahead to identify, recruit and appoint chiefs for local government administration. This was done because Padhola, like other parts of eastern region, did not have a centralized political system. Because of the dire need to have mechanisms to keep law and order, the British had to grapple with the difficult problem of identifying the right people for chiefly positions. Field surveys and documentary sources indicated that it was not easy to recruit and appoint chiefs because of the ethnic heterogeneity of Budama. For the case of Padhola, there were problems of inter-clan conflicts between the dominant Nyapolo Ogule clan on the one side and other clans on the other. Besides, there was the problem of rivalry between Protestants and Catholic religious factions.

As a result of the above predicament, local government leadership oscillated simultaneously between the Nyapolo Ogule clan and other clans and between Protestants and Catholic factions till 1947 when the colonial government broke the preeminence of the Nyapolo Ogule clan by appointing a non-Japadhola, Anderia Ofumbi as county chief, later replaced by Zafania Ochieng in 1953. The point to be noted here is that all these divisions, conflicts and counter conflicts among clans and religious factions were aspects of contradictions and manifestations of indirect rule. All these had a negative bearing on the future development of Padhola. It can therefore, be concluded that Bukedi generally

and Padhola land in particular, in common with other regions of Uganda, are sharply divided by religious conflicts and differences that affect almost every aspect of society and government hence, a permanent state of underdevelopment.

Data collected across Padhola also underlined that fact that the British used a variety of factors to identify, recruit and appoint chiefs into their system of local government. This ranged from the patron-client relations, religion, kinship and protégé relations, formal education and to some extent charismatic considerations. The whole process was marred by sectarian, nepotistic and corrupt tendencies that often gave the Resident District Administrator grater leverage in determining the right person for chiefly offices. In principle, the colonial officials had to identify the right personalities who would serve to promote the interest and objectives of colonialism.

In this study, we also wanted to establish the tasks and challenges encountered by chiefs as they performed their duties in local government administration. One thing is clear, the British had a goal to achieve in Africa, Uganda and Padhola in particular. This goal was basically economic. Chiefs were therefore, recruited and empowered to administer different strategies towards this goal. Because of the challenging and difficult nature of the strategies, the British had to hide or use chiefs as bullet proofs in the economic battle. The chiefs were to act as condutes between the British colonial masters and the subjects. Chiefs were thus, empowered by statutory instruments to assess and collect taxes, keep law

and order, enforce economic and infrastructural “development”, enforce social and welfare “development” and in the process, enjoy certain specific privileges that accrued to them as servants of the state. All these powers were devolved to them in principle.

However, in practice, there were fundamental challenges and contradictions that emanated from the ambivalent nature of their responsibilities. Firstly, by virtue of being appointed from above, it means that they were alienated from their own people below them. They were no longer morally obliged to serve them obediently and respectfully. They were paid salaries to do a job for the state, they had to safeguard their status quo and security of tenure.

Secondly, they were empowered to assess and collect taxes without favour or fear and to realize the expected quota allocated to them. In this regard, they were forced to use all sorts of brutal means to get the taxes from their people. But in case of disagreements from the tax payers, the Resident District Administrator had the right to side with the tax payers against the chief. This kind of predicament was the cardinal cause of the Bukedi riots of 1960, waged against chiefs. The riots became most viral in Padhola.

Chiefs were empowered to mobilize free manpower to work in public projects such as roads, dams, plantations. In case of problems, it was the chiefs who faced the brunt. A chief called Owalagala was killed in Mwenge zone by a tax payer. Another one was severely beaten up when he tried to force a man to work in a road project. There were many other cases in Padhola and other parts of

Bukedi where chiefs faced problems, some losing their lives in the process of executing their duties.

Chiefs were empowered to execute unpopular policies, such as payment of “Lasensi” Dhupadhola version for mandatory payments for beer brewing, slaughter of animals and operating small businesses. They also enforced health policies such as possession of pit latrines, clean homes and food security measures. However, the brutality that went with these duties forced some people even to flee to other districts. During the riots of 1960, many chiefs were attacked mainly because of their brutality on these issues.

It is true, chiefs enjoyed certain privileges, such as owning fire arms, choosing the parts of cow meat they wanted to take home freely, receiving free milk from people’s homes till the cow stopped providing milk and choosing whatever beautiful young girls they wanted to marry as second, third or fourth wives. However, they were accomplices in the whole process of the development of underdevelopment of Padhola. The tasks they performed were strategies to realize the objectives of colonialism and their positions were unfortunately, ambivalent and counter productive.

In this study, extensive survey was carried out to assess the impact of local government administration in terms of economic political and social developments. The assessment was made on the background of the motives and primary purpose of colonialism in Africa as a whole: to transfer wealth from the

colonies to the Metropolitan countries of Europe. The significant economic impact of colonial rule on Padhola started with the introduction of cotton in 1903. Apart from linking Padhola to the world capitalist economy, chiefs used extreme brutality in seeing that the crop was planted by every tax payer. Most of our respondents expressed bitterness at the way they were forced to produce cotton whose prices were determined from some where else. Cotton production therefore, confirmed and enhanced the peasantry status of Jupadhola people.

Interviews conducted in most parts of Padhola revealed the bitterness people had against the Indians who were favoured by the colonial regime. This development locked out most indigenous people from the marketing sector. No wonder, during the riots of 1960, rioters attacked the home of Paul Jamwa, a weighing agent who used to mistreat them at the ginnery situated in Nagongera trading center. Worse still, cotton production was linked to tax payment, whereby peasants were expected to pay their taxes from the money earned from cotton sales. Chiefs would station themselves in the cashier's office of the cooperative societies waiting to grab money for taxes. The whole scheme was a vicious circle of exploitation. Cotton was sold at prices fixed by the buyers. The money earned from its sales was used to pay taxes and to purchase foreign manufactured goods. Even if it was used to pay fees for the children's education, the kind of education was meant to produce largely subservient and lower ranks of civil servants and chiefs.

Because taxes were paid by men, cotton became largely a man's crop and yet even women and children injected their labour in its production and marketing.

Women and children were preoccupied with production of food crops. All these seriously affected gender relations in people's homes, families were separated as men took off to other districts as migrant workers. So what we are saying is that the colonial economy was specifically geared towards siphoning both the human and physical resources of Padhola to the Metropole. All other altruistic gestures were strategies to safeguard this primary motive.

Politically, colonial administration first and foremost, dealt a death blow to the indigenous political system of Padhola in the person of Majanga of the Nyapolo Ogule clan. This was followed by disorganizing the power of the lower traditional elders whose system of law and order could no longer function effectively because of the laws promulgated from the district level and implemented by chiefs. This study therefore, concurs with the views of the Dependency theorists who hold that colonialism did political, psychological and moral damage to the colonized. This was indeed the case in Padhola where the clan leadership that continued to flourish was grossly inferior and subservient to the colonial local government structure which was manned by chiefs. They were rendered irrelevant in a system that was autocratic, despotic and exploitative.

Hence, local government administration grossly interfered and hampered the indigenous democratic political pattern in Padhola, and the legacy drifted into the postcolonial era because those who assumed leadership were parts of the bandwagon of compradors who were awash with sectarian tendencies based on religion and political party cleavages which were also inflicted with Protestant and Catholic religions animosity. Hence, the political and administrative

arrangement put in place by the colonialists in general and Padhola in particular was a tailormade scheme geared towards systematic exploitation and continuous underdevelopment of Padhola.

The flagrantly destructive nature of local government administration and its impact on Padhola could be seen in the social sector as well. It was established that chiefs and those in chiefly positions were the ones who first gave openhanded welcome to Christianity, and even gave them protection and land to build churches,. Christian principles soon started conflicting with Padhola traditional religious practices and other beliefs and customs. When it came to formal education, the sons of chiefs were the first to receive it in order to prepare them for leadership. Hence, people were encouraged to denounce their traditional practices and adopt the new beliefs.

However, it is interesting to note that though Christianity had a great influence, it did not destroy everything. Most people remained with one foot in the Christian and other in the traditional sector, for example, one Christian name and the rest traditional. This kind of interplay eventually led to emergence of some kind of hybrid culture, a social transformation and together with the influence of formal education, a new class of people- the elites came in.

This new social-economic and political transformation had a significant influence on gender relations generally. Women became increasingly powerless in the face of marginalization encouraged by Christian teachings and colonial policies that emphasized gender differences. The chiefs who would give them

protection were also equally encapsulated in stereotypical gender differences that were rooted in the pre-colonial traditional African customs. Field surveys therefore, unearthed many glaring cases of domestic violence, child abuse, marital unfairness, denial of female formal education and other cases related to undermining the status of women. We therefore, concluded that the system of colonial local government did not give due regards to the status of women in the economic and the socio-political sectors. This was largely based on the views expressed by the Dependency theorists as Rodney, 1972, Cheryl, 1979 and Mangarita, 1972 and their sympathizers.

However, there is always the other side of the coin. It is important to remember that we are dealing with indirect rule which inevitably had its own inherent contradictions. Lenin tells us that when capitalism reaches the stage of imperialism, it becomes moribund and therefore, its contradictions will come out conspicuously. For example, the formal education introduced by Christianity, helped to transform the conscience and wisdom of the subjects to the extent that the educated class were in a better position to understand and interpret the philosophy behind colonial rule. Such people later on became vanguards in the fight for independence. Others joined the civil service, teaching profession, the co-operative movements and all these later on helped to mobilize their people in the fight for improved conditions of living and fair treatment in the political, social and economic sectors.

As a result of affirmative actions put up by these people, the colonialists were prompted to revisit their policies and attitudes towards the Jupadhola. For example, there were changes in education policy and its financial management; in taxation policies which emphasized fairness when assessing and collecting taxes; provision of improved welfare services which led to establishment of medical health centers and improved services therein and provision of agricultural services and hire purchase services of agricultural inputs. The establishment of the council system provided some kind of checks and balances against the despotic powers of chiefs whose activities were closely supervised.

As a result of the same formal education and a good dose of sensitization from those women who came from outside Padhola, Padhola women also woke up to challenge the negative attitudes men, chiefs and the colonial state had against them. They formed affirmative action groups that enabled them speak with one voice against cases of domestic violence, girl-child unfairness, denial of education and other forms of marginalization. This had a positive effect of prompting government to promulgate laws that protected women and encouraged girl-child education.

However, it is important to underline the fact that all the above positive developments were a result of the contradictions that are always inherent in imperialism. Unconsciously and unintendedly, the British colonial masters never knew that they were preparing their own grave diggers. These were unintended

benefits or mere crumbs of bread that fell from the rich man's table and Lazaro shared with the dogs.

The colonial experience which reached the common people through the activities of chiefs as implementers of the various colonial policies therefore, had serious negative impacts in Padhola. Politically, the pre-colonial leadership was destroyed, only to be replaced with the colonial system. Religion and formal education also dealt a serious blow to the indigenous practices. Economically, Padhola was tied to the wider capitalist system through the production of cotton for export. The marketing sector was dominated by the Indians, supported by the British financial bodies. All these were cases and processes of blatant exploitation that subsequently led to vicious conditions of continuous underdevelopment that has bedevilled meaningful living standards and transformation in Padhola.

6.3 Conclusion

The study therefore, contends that by being identified, recruited and appointed into the colonial local government administration and accepting to enforce the policies of the colonial state at the grassroots in Padhola, chiefs became parts and parcel of colonial exploiters whose activities plunged West Budama (Padhola) county into a state of permanent underdevelopment that this study attempted to unveil.

6.4 Recommendations

This study has revealed that most of the scholars who have endeavoured to study the history of Padhola have tended to concentrate on the colonial period. For example, Odoi-Tanga's study on the "Rise and Fall of Cotton Production in Padhola, 1900-1962", 1992, Ogeni Obbo's "History of Amori Kagulu Clan, 1992"; Onyango Aggrey's "Church and Politics in Padhola, 1994", Yokana Ogola's study of "The Bukedi Riots of 1960 with Special Reference to Padhola: A study of Peasant Uprising Against Colonial Rule", (1993) and his Ph.D study of "Chiefs and Colonial Local Government in West Budama (Padhola) County in Uganda, 1900-1962". There is, therefore, a dire need to study the pre-colonial and post colonial periods in order to highlight the richness of pre-colonial past and also the salient historical transformations that have occurred since the attainment of political independence.

These studies could then be amalgamated into a single publication as "A History of Padhola from Earliest Times to Present".

Finally, I have the honour to declare that any shortcomings that may be identified in this Thesis are entirely my own and not of any other person.

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APPENDICES

1. Names of People Interviewed

1.1 Names of Men Interviewed

1. Anderia Obeli, 76, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2010.
2. Anyoya Augustino, 79, Peasant, Peri-Peri Village, 2009.
3. Anyoya Makola, 70, Peasant, Mbula, 2010.
4. Aya John, 68, Ex-Sub Parish Chief, Mwenge Village, 2010.
5. Charles Othieno, 95, World War II Veteran, Mbula, 2008.
6. Eriya Onyango, 90, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2008.
7. Londo Machika, 80, Peasant, Mwenge Village, 1991.

8. Merekizadeki Ottogo, 85, Peasant, Seseme Village, Merikit, 2010.
9. Obadia Ochwo, Ex-Councillor, Sub-Parish Chief, Kisoko Village, 2010.
10. Obbo Andiriko, 90, Peasant, Parima Village, 2009.
11. Obbo Japian, 79, Retired Technical Teacher Educator, Sere, 2009.
12. Obbo Makola, 70, Retired Lecturer, Nagongera, March 2009.
13. Obbo Owora, 79, Ex-Sub Parish Chief, Pakoyi Village, 2008.
14. Obbo Yoga, 85, Ex-Sub Parish Chief, Komolo Village, 2009.
15. Obonyo Jawange, 83, Peasant, Mwenge Village, 2010.
16. Obonyo Olitho, 78, Ex-Chief, Nawire Village, 2009.
17. Oboth Alex, 85, Ex-Teacher, Maundo Village, 2008.
18. Oboth Aroda, 83, Ex-Public Worker, Peri-Peri Village, 2010.
19. Oboth Valantino, 80, Ex-Teacher, Pabala Village, 2010.
20. Oburu Erusania, 70, Peasant, Sere, 1992.
21. Oburu Peter, 88, Ex-Socialworker, Mbula Village, 2009.
22. Oburu Tomasi, 60, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2009.
23. Ocheng Kaisiano, 80, Peasant, Per-Per, 2009.
24. Ochieng Ogola, 65, Lecturer, Nagongera Trading Center, 2010.
25. Ochienga Jambaka, 81, Peasant, Paya, 2008.
26. Ochola Obango, 69, Peasant, Rubongi, 2010.
27. Ochwo Onder, 87, Ex-Teacher, Liwira, 1992.
28. Odel Ponsiano, 77, Peasant, Mulanda, 2008.
29. Odoi Tanga Fred, Senior Lecturer, Makerere University, 2008.
30. Odongo Ndelo, 80, Clan Leader, Paya, 2010.
31. Ofwono Jala, 68, Peasant, Kirewa, 2008.
32. Ogola Japian, 70, Businessman, Tororo, 2010.
33. Ogwang Ogol, 68, Peasant, Namwendia, 2008.

34. Ogwaro Silver, 72, Peasant, Nawire, 2009.
35. Okango Ochieng, Ex- Subcounty Clerk, Maundo Village, 2010.
36. Okello Amonya, 70, Retired Lecturer, Nagongera, September 2011.
37. Okello George, 81, Peasant, Sop-Sop, 2010.
38. Oketch Jamori, 71, Peasant, Nawire, 2008.
39. Oketch Pontian, 70, Peasant, Nabiyoga Village, 2010.
40. Oketcho Odumo, Ex-Subcounty Chief, Paya Village, 2006.
41. Oketcho Vona, 72, Retired Head Teacher, Nagongera, 2009.
42. Okongo Matias, 70, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2008.
43. Okoro Dison, 81, Ex-Local Government Guard, Pokongo Village, 2009.
44. Okoth Adioma, 80, Retired Civil Servant, Nagongera, February 2007.
45. Okoth Asiel, 68, Peasant, Nabiyoga, 2008.
46. Okoth Owora, 70, Peasant, Paya, 2009.
47. Okumu Ojupa, 75, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2008.
48. Okwiri Donato, 70, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2007.
49. Olowo Makola, 79, Retired Reverend, Sere, 2008.
50. Olowo Ofumbi, Teacher, Ramogi Village, Makauri, 2010.
51. Olweny Patrick, 69, Peasant, Peasant, Kirewa, 2008.
52. Omolo Jackson, 85, peasant Iyolwa Village, 2009.
53. Omolo Mark, 69, Ex-Chief, Mulanda, 2009.
54. Omolo Stephen, 68, Peasant, Kirewa, 2008.
55. Ondere Safan, 70, Peasant, Mbula, 2008.
56. Ongweni Owora, 65, Peasant, Parima Market, 2010.
57. Onyango Olengo, 69, Peasant, Kidera, 2009.
58. Ongango Y.Y, Ex-Teacher, Ramogi Village Makauri, 2010.
59. Opendi Salmon, 72, Peasant, Mulanda, 2009.

60. Opendi Silver, 70, Local Council Chairman, Per-Per, 2009.
61. Oringo Esau, 81, Ex-Sub-Parish Chief, Pambedi Village, 2009.
62. Oringo, 81, Retired Reverend, Nagongera, 2010.
63. Osoli Julius, 80, Peasant, Mbula Village, 2009.
64. Otako John, 68, Peasant, Kirewa, 2008.
65. Othieno Paskal, 68, Ex-Chief, Iyolwa, 2009.
66. Owino Odu, 88, Farmer and Businessman, Nagongera, 2008.
67. Owino Owora, 75, Ex-Teacher, Paya, 2010.
68. Owor Erika, 81, Peasant, Mbula, 2008.
69. Owori Dauda, 87, Ex-Health Worker, Pambaya Village, 2010.
70. Samson Kirdi, 71, Businessman, Mugulu Village, Butalejja, 2009.
71. Stanley Ondhoro, 85, Ex-Public Servant, Parima Market, 2010.
72. Sebastiano Owino, 75, Peasant Mbula, 2010.
73. Opio Ndelo, 65, Sere, Paya, 2010.
74. Steven Owori, 85, Clan Elder, Rubongi, 2011.
75. Ogumbo Stephen, 77, Peasant, Kirewa, 2010.
76. Olaka Sunday, 75, Health worker, Atangala, 2010.
77. Odunde Makola, 79, Peasant, Mbula, 2009.
78. Olengo Stephen, 71, Businessman, Walaweji, 2008.
79. Mukulo Sam, 72, Ex-Teacher, Namwaya, 2008.
80. Opondo Gaster, 67, Teacher, Sere, 2008.
81. Okola Stephen, 68, Teacher, Nawire, 2009.
82. Ofwono Sam, 70, Ex-Teacher, Kidoko, 2009.
83. Dewo Wilber, 72, Businessman, Mbula, 2010.
84. Owino Samson, 77, Peasant, Maruki, 2011.
85. Apusi Stephen, 69, Peasant, Sop-Sop, 2011.

86. Odeli jayang, 69, Peasant, Mwenge, 2012.
87. Olowo Oringo, 63, Fishmonger, Kidoko, 2010.
88. Opendi Salmon, 69, Peasant, Kisoko, 2010.
89. Opendi Oringo, 69, Peasant, Dida, 2011.
90. Opio Ndelo, 60, Church Worker, Sere, 2011.
91. Ochwo Oburu, 66, Teacher, Pajwenda, 2008.
92. Obbo Yoga, 80, Ex-Chief, KOMolo, 2010.
93. Okach Palele, 66, Parima Market Worker, 2011.
94. Okware Dan, 66, Teacher, Kidoko, 2011.
95. Opendi S., 68, Local Council, Per-Per, 2011.
96. Onjie Angeta, 72, Peasant, Sere, 2008.
97. Owino Omal, 70, Farmer, Nawire, 2008.
98. Masial Akona, 68, Retired Sub-County Chief, Nawire, 2008.
99. Oketcho Tomasi, 65, Bussinessman, Mbula, 2009.
100. Oyo Patrick, 73, Businessman, Mulanda, 2011.

1.2 Names of Women Interviewed

1. Achienga Sylvia, 69, Peasant, Kanang, 2010.
2. Adongo Margadalene, 67, House Wife, Mbula, 2009.
3. Agat Okecho, 70, Widow, Barinyanga, 2008.
4. Agnesi Makola, 82, Peasant, Sere, 2009.
5. Ajwang Jeska, 80, Peasant, Kisoko, 2010.
6. Akech Jassa, 69, Peasant, Nyamalogo, 2010.
7. Akello Betty, 71, Peasant, Mulanda, 2010.
8. Akongo Betty, 70, Peasant, Nabiyoga, 2009.
9. Akongo Edisa, 66, Retired Teacher, Maundo, 2010.
10. Akongo Jeska, 66, House wife, Kirewa, 2009.

11. Akoth Betty, 68, Peasant, Nagongera, 2009.
12. Akoth Leya, 69, Peasant, Nyamalogo, 2010.
13. Akoth Salume, 70, Peasant, Mwenge, 2009.
14. Alowo Christine, 71, Businesswoman, 2010.
15. Alowo Jeska, 68, Peasant, Nyamalogo, 2010.
16. Angelina Achieng, 76, Peasant, Mbula, 2010.
17. Apenda Christine, 69, House Wife, Rubongi, 2009.
18. Apio Marita, 69, Businesswoman, Mulanda, 2011.
19. Asinasi Owanda, 80, Peasant, Per-Per, 2009.
20. Athieno Christine, 64, Peasant, Kanang, 2010.
21. Athieno Leya, 70, Ex-Teacher, Mulanda, 2009.
22. Awinjo Christine, 69, House Wife, Senda, 2009.
23. Awino Catherine, 65, Peasant, Maruki, 2010.
24. Awino Zipola, 73, Businesswoman, Mulanda, 2010.
25. Debula Oboru, 78, House Wife, Mbula Village, 2008.
26. Eseza Abbo, 70, Peasant, Nagongera, 2008.
27. Grace Obonyo, 68, Women Leader, Sere Village, 2009.
28. Jenifer Oketch, Women Leader, Mulanda, 2009.
29. Jesika Abbo, 67, House Wife, Agumit, 2010.
30. Kotlida Paya, 81, House Wife, Mwenge, 2009.
31. Loda Nyapendi, 68, Peasant, Mbula, 2009.
32. Loy Okero, 69, Widow, Sere, 2010.
33. Malizera Akoth, 79, Ex-Police, Mulanda, 2010.
34. Mary Awino, 80, Peasant, Namalogo, 2009.
35. Matilida Achieng, 65, Peasant, Kirewa, 2010.
36. Mrs. Oketcho, 70, Retired Teacher, Pakoyi, 2011.

37. Mwajuma Ondur, 81, Widow, Sere.
38. Nando Asteri, 72, Peasant, Butalejja Township, 2011.
39. Nyaakecho Saviour, 68, Peasant, Kirewa, 2011.
40. Nyafono Alice, 70, Retired Teacher, Senda, 2009.
41. Nyafwono Marita, 69, Peasant, Kirewa, 2011.
42. Nyakecho Tolofisa, 80, Widow, Mbula, 2009.
43. Nyaketcho Stella, 67, Retired Teacher, Nagongera, 2010.
44. Nyamwenge Obbo, 71, Peasant, Mwenge, 2009.
45. Nyapendi Christine, Peasant, Senda, 2009.
46. Nyapendi Nola, 68, Peasant, Rubongi, 2009.
47. Nyapendi Zipola, 69, Peasant, Rubongi, 2009.
48. Perpetwa Aboth, 71, Retired Women Leader, Petta, 2010.
49. Petelina Abbo, 70, Peasant, Komolo, 2011. 50. Yakoba Akumu, 69, Peasant, Mbula, 2008.

2. Field Photographs

2.1: Group Discussion in Morikiswa Village 30th/ August/ 2011



2.2: The Late Dolotia Achola (Mama D.P), Morikiswa Village



2.3: Showing the Researcher at the County Headquarters Kisoko



2.4: Oral Interviews with Peter and Deborah Oburu at their Home, Mbula Village



2.5: The Grave Yard of the Late Kamu Oboth, a Prominent Chief in West Budama



The original part of this house was destroyed during the Bukedi Riots of 1960.

2.6: Oral Interviews with Angelina Owino, Paya



Alina is a wife to Owino Owora who has featured in this thesis as an active participant in the Bukedi Riots of 1960. He composed a protest song against forceful cassava production in Padhola.

2.7: Focus Ground Discussion, Paya Trading Centre 16th /July/2010



2.8: Ex-Chief Obadia Ochwo at His Home in Kisoko Village



2.9: The Researcher Interacting with Obadia Ochwo at His Home



**2.10: Obtaining Oral Information from Okoth Owora, at Paya Sub-County
Headquarters, August/20th /2009**



3: Translation of a Letter Addressed to the District Commissioner

Sir,

We have the honour to welcome you.

We are glad to see that you have decided to come and settle our grievances.

Reference to our letter to Secretary General in which the D.C. got a copy of it. We remind you to settle the difficulties we are facing here in Bunyole as follows:-

1. We are assessed higher taxes, this was done so that to get excess funds.
2. Chiefs did not follow rules which were made by Assessment Committee.
3. They did not follow the forms which were recommended by the Assessment Committee.
4. County Chief has broken the rules of the Assessment Committee.
5. County Chief to do the assessing of tax whereas he is the chairman of the Appeals Committee. By doing this we had no chance of appealing.
6. Sir, we people of Bunyole have not refused to pay tax, but what we are appealing is that, we should be given a reasonable amount to pay, as we are ordinary bakopi, not to take us as traders, for example Kachonga collected Shs. 7.736/= excess excluding your taxpayers.

In 1959 Bunyole County allotted quota was Shs. 534,294/= but in 1960 the quota is Shs. 49,500/=. Therefore in 1959 we were not forced to pay more, whereas the amount was bigger that this year, 1960. We want as ordinary Bakopi to pay Shs. 40/= being A.L.G. tax, the remainder of our quota to be paid by chiefs and other employees including young taxpayers who are starting this year.

By saying this we refer you to Min. 54/59 brought by Mr. Ochieng, County Chief, West Budama, who was chairman of the Assessment Committee. The quota to each County was too big, and it was referred to Finance Committee to decrease.

Sir, reference to the above quote subjects all Banyole have passed a resolution that we will not pay Tax;

- (a) Committee of Inquiry be appointed.
- (b) All old people be exempted permanently.
- (c) County Chief should retire soon. He started serving in 1916, it is now over a jubilee.

SOURCE: Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Eastern Province, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1960 p. 70.

4: Message from the District Commissioner to the People of Bukedi

I am satisfied that in some cases African Local Government graduated tax has been wrongly or arbitrarily assessed. A Commission of Inquiry has been set up by the Provincial Commissioner to investigate the complaints and until such time as the findings of this commission are produced, no pressure will be brought to bear on the people to pay their taxes. This commission, however, cannot start its work until all the people return to their normal occupations and discontinue their acts of violence. You should, therefore, continue with your normal work and when the inquiry is taking place in your area, give the commission every assistance you can.

The Provincial Commissioner wishes it to be understood that acts of violence will not be tolerated and persons who cause damage to buildings or property will be punished, individually or collectively.

SOURCE: Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Eastern Province, Government Printer, Entebbe, 1960, p. 87.

5: Interview Guides

PART A: Background.

1. Sex:- Male Female
2. Age:-.....
3. Occupation:-.....
4. Village:-.....
5. Sub-county:-.....

PART B: Historical Background.

6. How can you explain the arrival of Jupadhola in Padhola?
7. What kind of people occupied the place before?
8. How did the new comers relate with their neighbors?
9. How did the Jupadhola organize their leadership?
10. Who was Majanga?
11. What was his clan?
12. What factors helped Majanga to climb to position of authority in Padhola?
13. What were Majanga's achievements?
14. How did men relate with their wives?
15. What were the cultural rules governing gender relations?
16. What was the nature of economic relations?
17. Were there cash crops?

PART C: Establishment and Consolidation of Colonial Rule in Padhola, 1901-1953.

18. When did the Baganda agents arrive in Padhola?

19. Who was Semei Kakungulu?
20. What activities did Semei Kakungulu and Baganda followers carry out in Padhola?
21. What was the reaction of the Jupadhola?
22. How did Kakungulu organize his rule in Padhola?
23. What was Kakungulu's relation with the colonial state?
24. How did the Jupadhola react to Kakungulu's leadership?
25. How did the British play their cards between the Jupadhola and Kakungulu and his agents?
26. When did missionaries arrive in Padhola?
27. What activities did they engage in?
28. What was their role in economic transformation?
29. What was their role in early formal education?
30. When was cotton introduced in Padhola?
31. What was the reaction of the people?
32. Was it grown on peasant or plantation system?
33. How was local government administration organized?

PART D: Mechanism of Recruitment and Appointing Chiefs 1905-1953.

34. How were chiefs recruited and appointed into service?
35. Can you elaborate the challenges encountered when recruiting and appointing chiefs?
36. How did the Jupadhola relate with their Iteso neighbors?
37. What were the relations among the Padhola clans?
38. Explain how people accessed positions of leadership as chiefs.
39. What was the role of religion in recruiting and appointing chiefs?

40. Comment on other factors that influenced recruitment and appointment of chiefs.

PART E: Tasks and Challenges Encountered By Chiefs in Colonial Administration.

41. What roles did chiefs play in tax collection?
42. Explain the part played by chiefs in advancing economic development.
43. What were people's attitudes towards chiefs?
44. What can you say about chiefs' roles in social development?
45. How did people react towards their rule?
46. Tell us how chiefs promoted peace, law and order.
47. Explain the chiefs' part in local administration.
48. What special privileges were accrued to chiefs?
49. How did religion influence the activities of chiefs?
50. Explain how chiefs wielded their chiefly status.
51. Do you think chiefs enjoyed their work and status as chiefs?
52. What was the Bukedi Riots of 1960?
53. How and where did it originate from?
54. How did chiefs relate with their people they ruled and the British who appointed them?
55. What difficulties did chiefs face in their work?

PART F: The Effect of Local Government Administration in Padhola.

56. Explain the role of cotton production on the development of Padhola.
57. What part was played by chiefs in enforcing cotton production?
58. What part was played by the Jupadhola in the marketing of cotton?
59. What role was played by Indians in marketing cotton?

60. How did the colonial system affect the pre-colonial political structure of Padhola?
61. What can you say about the effects of Padhola Riots of 1905 on Buganda agents?
62. How did it affect the Jupadhola?
63. Explain how the Bukedi Riots of 1960 affected the relations between the Jupadhola and the British.
64. How did it affect the intra-clan relations in Padhola?
65. Tell us the role of chiefs in the Bukedi Riots of 1960.
66. How did the structure of local government administration influence the Bukedi Riots?
67. What was the reaction of the colonial regime to the Riots of 1960?
68. What positive results did the Jupadhola achieve as a result of the Riots of 1960?
69. What was the overall effect of Christianity in the community of Padhola?